





TWO OF THE

SAXON CHRONICLES

PARALLEL

WITH SUPPLEMENTARY EXTRACTS FROM THE OTHERS

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION NOTES AND A GLOSSARIAL INDEX

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Erat enim historia nihil aliud nisi annalium confectio: cuius rei memoriæque publicæ retinendæ causa ab initio rerum Romanarum usque ad P. Mucium Pontificem maximum, res omnes singulorum annorum mandabat literis Pontifex maximus referebatque in album et proponebat tabulam domi, potestas ut esset populo cognoscendi; ii qui etiam nunc Annales Maximi nominantur. Hanc similitudinem scribendi multi secuti sunt, qui sine ullis ornamentis monumenta solum temporum hominum locorum gestarumque rerum reliquerunt.—Qui neque tenent quibus rebus ornetur oratio, modo enim huc ista sunt importata, et dum intelligatur quid dicant, unam dicendi laudem putant esse brevitatem.—Non exornatores rerum sed tantummodo narratores fuerunt. — CICERO De Oratore ii. 12. § 52 sqq.

And now it was that I began to keep a journal of every day's employment; for indeed at first I was in too much hurry.—Robinson Crusoe.



INTRODUCTION

CHRONICLES are the simplest form of History; and early General Preattempts at History have generally taken the form of Chromarks on the nicles. When we use the word History in the fullness of its Structure of the Chronical Chronical Structure of the Chronical Chronical Structure of the Chronical Struct meaning, we understand by it the study of human events in cles. the complexity of their mutual relations and bearings on each A Chronicle (as the name implies) is only a narrative of events in the order of time-and we hardly call it History until these facts have undergone a new arrangement, having been re-examined, criticised, distributed and grouped.

Out of this difference between History and Chronicle there follows another. A History, when once cast into its form, is impatient of after modifications; the Chronicle admits alterations indefinitely. History is like a web of cloth; you cannot add to it or take from it without destroying its integrity. The Chronicle is like a set of tesseræ arranged on a recurring mathematical plan that can be continued ad infinitum in any direction, and can accommodate insertions in any part.

There are places in the Saxon Chronicles where the narrative exhibits a touch of genius and approaches to the dignity of history; nor is there anything in the chronicle-form which absolutely excludes the exercise of a higher talent, though it provides only an imperfect arena for it. But without any special gift a man might make a sufficient Chronicler, as his office was merely to write a statement of fact, or to copy an extract from an author and insert it under the right date. There was no need of observing proportion-a great event might be told briefly, and yet no reason why a minor event should not be told with local prolixity. Nothing more was required than that the records should be truly arranged in order of time.

With all this simplicity and elasticity and capacity of development, the Chronicle was particularly calculated to be the vehicle of history in early times, when literary facilities were scanty, and when the work of history had to be done in fraternities by a succession of very unequal hands. We do not look for shape or symmetry in any Chronicle, more especially in Chronicles which have grown without a plan, by the work of many hands labouring without concert. After a period of accumulation, the compiler enters, and then for the first time the whole collection is rendered subject to the law of one mind. But his operation turns chiefly on selection or rejection, and the new Chronicle shews where modern interests have ejected the more ancient.

For about four centuries the whole of our contemporary history (excepting Beda) is contained in vernacular Chronicles, and this literature survived a century after the fashion of it had been superseded by Latin chroniclers. The main features of the anonymous and many-handed Chronicle may be seen in a high state of preservation in the Saxon Chronicles. They represent various stages of literary progress, and they exhibit the taste and historical demands of many different generations. Towards their close we have historical composition of considerable maturity, but in their most primitive parts we have almost the rudest conceivable attempts at history. It is in this wide range of variety and diversity, and the illustration it affords of the early national progress, that the worth of the Saxon Chronicles (considered as a literary monument) must be discovered; and they must not be judged, as some writers have inconsiderately judged them, by the literary standards of the nineteenth century.

The diversity of language and of style which exists in these Chronicles is in some places so palpable that a short examination would enable the student to trace it, and mark off a series of distinct sections. But as the distinguishing features are not everywhere equally plain, and as the investigation is sometimes embarrassed by the circumstance that new compilers imparted something (however little) of their own to the old materials; and further, from the fact that the most primitive work is not to be found (where it might perhaps be looked for) at the earliest date, or even near it; it may

be useful to set before the student a somewhat minute analysis. so as to enable him to resolve the composite work into its elementary parts, at least with some approach to verity. This dissecting process will fall chiefly upon two of the Chronicles, A and E, the two which are printed entire in this Edition. And that will be the case, not by an arbitrary selection, but by natural incidence. For these two are, in different senses, the most prominent, and challenge the largest amount of notice; the one because it is the highest source, the other because it presents the latest and largest development, and the most composite structure of the whole set.

But before we enter upon this analysis, it is desirable to Earliest form a right notion of the first rude uses of chronicling. what? Originally a Chronicle was not a device for arranging a store of events, and for reducing the accumulations of history to literary order. It was not (what it at length became) a method, a system of registration, whereby each event was put into its chronological place as soon as it reached the bureau. The chronicle-form had a more primitive use. This was to characterise the receding series of years, each by a mark and sign of its own, so that the years might not be confused in the retrospect of those who had lived and acted The same thing is done in our day when a man in middle age begins to experience that the hurry of life engenders confusion in the memory, and the bygone years grow less and less distinguishable. In such a case he probably creates for himself a little ten or twenty years' chroniclevery brief, each entry only a single notice.

Such a Chronicle as this is not a depository of the accumulations of past events, but a chart of time for preserving chronological order among the stores of the memory. This is naturally the first kind of Chronicle which men require. Perhaps the following may represent the chronological outline as inscribed in some cotemporary memories:-

- 1807. Abolition of the Slave Trade.
- 1815. The year of the Peace.
- 1829. Catholic Emancipation.
- 1830. Death of George IV-Accession of William IV.
- 1832. The Reform Bill passed.
- 1837. The Accession of Queen Victoria.

1848. Year of Revolutions.

1851. The Great Exhibition.—Anticipations of Universal Peace.

1854. The English and French landed in the Crimea— The Battle of Alma.

The Definition of the Immaculate Conception.

1857. The Indian Mutiny.

1858. The grand Comet, and the drought so great that in some midland parts the green corn was cut to feed the cows.

1859. Magenta and Solferino. — The last of the dry summers.

1860. The severe winter.

1861. April. Fort Sumter.

December. The Prince Consort died.

1862. The International Exhibition.

In early times the particulars of past events were much more trusted to the memory than they are now; and only the chronological scaffolding was committed to parchment.

We are informed in Professor Wilson's *Prehistoric Man* that the Peruvians had a *memoria technica*, made of knots upon diversely-coloured strings. A Peruvian woman shewed a bundle of knotted strings, and said her whole life was there. Each knot was the index to a story, and all the stories were preserved in her memory.

Our own early Chronicles are something like this series of knots; for in their laconic annals much was implied and little expressed, and therefore they are a set of knots of which the solution died out with their authors. To posterity they present merely a name or two—as of a battle-field and a victor—but to the men of the day they suggested a thousand particulars, which they in their comrade-life were in the habit of recollecting and putting together. That which to us seems a lean and barren sentence, was to them the text for a winter evening's entertainment.

Their unfagged memory was richly stored with the events of their own day, and the legends of their ancestors. What one had forgotten another remembered, and where memory failed, imagination came to aid. So far were they from needing books as depositories of events, they were overwhelmed

with the treasures of their own memory, and only needed some guarantee of order amidst the riches of which they were in possession. Tradition and experience furnished them with more facts than they had the capacity to accommodate. Where memory failed, fancy promptly entered, as into a forfeited domain. The wild and frolic fancy was ever ready, in the absence of any controlling system of order, to promote dislocation by an arbitrary reconstruction, to foment confusion and revel in it, and to conjure up out of the chaos new and grotesque combinations. Therefore they wanted-not History, but Chronology.

When men had felt the necessity of guarding themselves against mytho-poesy, they found their first guarantee for the security of historical truth in tables of chronology. As long as past events were regarded only as material for an evening's entertainment, no one cared to preserve them from confusion and embellishment; but when a desire of certainty about the past began to be felt, and unadorned facts came to be valued, even above the more specious legend, then it is interesting to watch the steps by which they arrived at what they wanted. The Saxon Chronicles exhibit this process more than any (perhaps) in existence.

A numerical list of years was prepared, with a blank space, Mechanical generally only a single line, opposite each number. The Chronicles. smallness of the space shews that nothing great was designed, but only a year-mark to know and distinguish the year by. As many of these blanks were filled in as the compiler had matter ready for, and the rest were left open for supplementary insertions. Capgrave in the Dedication of his Chronicle of England (to be spoken of below) thus explains the utility of such blank spaces: If other studious men, that have more red than I, or can fynde that I fond not, or have elde bokes whech make more expression of thoo stories that fel fro the creacion of Adam onto the general Flod than I have, the velim lith bare, save the noumbir, redi to receive that thei wille set in. Many of them remained blank to the last, and in the older Chronicles they are seen as blank lines; but in the later the figures have been copied continuously, as if they formed part of the text. Out of this mechanical process of construction grew the fashion of begin-

ning the annals with an adverb not of time but of place, HER, in this place, at this point of the series. The blanks which were left were not without their use; they served to give a quick and almost pictorial measure of the intervals between the entries.

A tabular system of this sort was appropriately designated by a word which we find in the Latin chroniclers, Chronographia*, a sketch or chart of time, a time-table. And this is but an amplification of the more general term Chronicon, a Chronicle, a Time-book, a book of years; דברי הימים. How long the historical mind continued to stand at this incipient stage, and by what steps it came to require history of a maturer sort, may in some measure be seen by the analysis of these Chronicles. And as they range through a space of many centuries, we must try to fix that point or epoch of time, at which they originated and from which they have grown in two directions, backward and forward. It will be a main object of our analysis to form some clear opinion on this point. Dr. Pauli has concurred in the opinion "that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles were first commenced under Alfred." That the reign of Alfred is an important epoch in the history of these Annals, and that in some sense it was a starting-point, is plain from the great uniformity of all the several members of the series up to a date in Alfred's reign, as compared with their divergencies after that date. But the difficulties of imagining that such a collection of annals (meagre as it often is), covering a period of 437 years, could have been made in 892 if Chronicles had not been kept before, are insuperable. Had there been a series of authors like Bede, offering to the collector whatever he chose to select, it would be different. But even during the period for which Bede is available; we find Annals purely domestic, and derivable neither from Bede nor from any source that is known to us: I propose then to analyze the præ-Ælfredic Chronicle, not with the expectation of arriving at an incontestable natural dissection, but in the hope of exhibiting as well the heterogeneousness of the materials that enter into the compilation, as also the diversities and tran-

^{* * &}quot;Chronographia pangenda est," Ordericus Vitalis, vi. 1. "Marianus chronographus," Flor. 1052.

sitions of plan and purpose which mark it as a compilation made from earlier Chronicles.

The seven Chronicles are designated by the seven first letters of the Alphabet: A, B, C, D, E, F, G. And first of

A

A Saxon Chronicle containing Annals from B.C. 60 to A.D. 1070.

This is a manuscript in the library of Corpus Christi Col- The Winlege, Cambridge. (MS. C.C.C. CLXXIII.) That Society ac-Chronicle quired it by the gift of Archbishop Parker. It is described (X). by Wanley, p. 130, and by Mr. T. Duffus Hardy, vol. i. p. 651. It has every title to rank first in the list of Saxon Chronicles. Its original handwriting stops at 891, and the summary of Wessex Kings with which the book is prefaced ends with These features indicate a Chronicle which was composed in Alfred's reign, or a copy of such a Chronicle. Whether it is really a manuscript of the last decade of the ninth century I hesitate to judge.

The penmanship is almost too mature for so early a date. The style certainly exhibits archaisms fitting the reign of Alfred, but from the irregular way in which they are scattered up and down, they appear like exceptional instances in which the copier lapsed into the manner of his original. There are, however, a few ancient forms in the first handwriting which are so constant as to give this MS. an appearance of the highest originality. Such are a for ea, as in al, Walas; some archaic uses of the rare diphthong ie, as in hiera, Miercna; and the form cuom for com. These have been sometimes called Mercian, and have been supposed to indicate a Mercian nativity for the early parts of the Chronicle. But it should be remembered that the vernacular was first cultivated in Northumbria, and that the Wessex orthography must at first have been more or less borrowed from the north.

At the Reformation this book belonged to the monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, as we learn from some notes of Joscelin's, preserved in a volume of the Cotton Library*. But

^{*} Vitellius D. vii.—See below, in the description of manuscript B, where Joscelin's note will be quoted in full.

its association with Canterbury is almost wholly of the external kind; the internal characteristics connect it rather with Winchester. It will appear from the analysis of the contents that this book or its original was a native of Winchester, and was compiled there in Alfred's reign. If not an original, we may suppose that when in process of time this Chronicle had become famous and venerable, a careful transcript of it was ordered for the Library of Christ Church, Canterbury.—(See below on § 11.)

But to proceed to our analysis.

§ 1. The prefatory list of the Wessex kings from Cerdic was originally like a Table of Contents to the Chronicle, and developed with it pari passu. It seems to have at one time stopped at Beorhtric, and then again at Æthelwulf, and lastly to have been brought down to Alfred's accession, at some time during his reign. It closes with the mention of his age at the time of his accession, and computes the years from the foundation of the dynasty to the same point. To Alfred's reign we must assign all the Annals down to 449, and many inserted Annals down to 731. The former were derived entirely from Latin authors, and chiefly from Bede. They are often a bold verbal translation of the Chronological Epitome appended to the Historia Ecclesiastica: e.g. Anno 47. Her Claudius ober Romana cyninga Bretene lond gesohte, &c. is a verbal rendering of Bede's "Claudius secundus Romanorum Britannias adiens." But the Annals between 449 and 731 are mixed; and here we have only to do with those which are borrowed from Bede. These are—449, 538, 544, 547 (to onwoc), 565, 601, 603, 604, 606, 616, 625, 626, 627, 633, 640, 642, 644, 650, 651, 653, 654, part of 655, 660, 664, 668, 670, parts of 673 and 675, the last clause in 676, 678, 679, 680, a line and half in 685, 688 (the genealogy excepted), half of 690, 704, 705, the last clause of 709, parts of 716, 725 (part), 728 (part), 729, 731 (part).

Of this whole section, only the preface is original; the rest is a work of collection, translation, and bookmaking. It belonged to the editorial task of throwing the book into shape, and giving it the required completeness as a Chronicle embracing the Christian era generally. It was probably done

₮§1.

about the year 887. The reasons for this opinion will appear when we come to that date.

§ 2. The annals from 455 to 634 which have not been classed in the former section. This represents the gleanings and reconstruction of the half-lost early history of Wessex, at the time of the first compilation (855). Embodying antiquities of a high type, it is not the oldest composition preserved in this Chronicle. It is such history as could still be made out of oral traditions, and it probably represents the collected information of the bardic memory aided by the runic stones, and the roll of kings. Its character is betrayed by an artificial chronology, in which the numbers 8 and 4 are prevalent factors. We find for example the following series: 457, 465, 473, 477, 485. Again, 552, 556, 560, (565 belongs to the previous section) 568. Certain statements appear to be only fanciful, the offspring of rude etymological speculations. Among such may with probability be reckoned the names of Ælle's sons in 477, Cymen, and Wlencing, and Cissa, which correspond with a suspicious resemblance to three Sussex townships, Shoreham (see note on 477), Lancing, and Chichester. No doubt the first adventurers did often call places after their own names, and therefore it cannot be denied that the above may be historical.

But no critic will admit the personality of Port, who is said to have arrived in 501 in the place called (of course, after himself) Portsmouth. Clearly the existence of such a hero as Port was a presumption that arose out of a mistaken notion of the name Portsmouth, a name which embodies the Latin word portus, a harbour.

In 508, a local name, Neatanleah (now Netley), which probably meant a pasture for oxen, is ambitiously associated with one of the most famous of British dynastic names. (See the note on 508.)

That the hero Wihtgar (514, 534, 544) is a fiction, and his name merely an eponym for Wihtgaræsburh (530) or Wihtgaraburh (544), is beyond doubt; whether we suppose -garæs- or -gara- to be another form of -wara- (=inhabitants), as in Cantwaraburh; or whether we take this "gar" to be caer or car (the form usual in Cornwall), the British word for a castle or stronghold.

A' § 2

No general assertion can be made concerning the historical quality of this section: each clause must be estimated and valued for itself. Some parts are pure dream-work, while others have a historical and trustworthy appearance. These prevail more and more towards the close of the period, as if indicating the existence of better documents, which it is natural to suppose would have been kept with more or less care from the reception of Christianity. And therefore the date 634 has been fixed on as the close of this Section, although there is no appearance of a division, the traditional being intermingled with the earliest traces of documentary annals.

Æ § 3.

§ 3. The annals from 635 to 682, except those which are disposed of in § 1. This period, which covers a long generation of men, contains the first documentary annals of this Chronicle, and indeed of the whole series of Saxon Chronicles. In order to understand the nature of this Section, we must carefully exclude adventitious matter. The insertions from Bede have already been collected under § 1. Here and there may be seen an annal, expressed in riper language, which (though not found in the Chronological Epitome of Bede) must be marked as the interpolation of a later Editor. a one is 650. Further, we must eliminate occasional amplifications, also by a later Editor. Two such may be found on page 26, in the annals 643 and 648, which have both been continued by a later hand. The continuation is betrayed in both instances by the employment of the demonstrative SE in a peculiar manner. In 643, the original annal, the part which alone belongs strictly to this Section, ends at "wint." A later Editor added: "And this Cenwalh bade build the church in Winchester." Similar continuations are found also in the previous Section, e.g. 597, 611. The probable author of these will be pointed out by and bye. When all these accretions are struck off, there remains a set of very simple and sober annals, quite free from the romancing air which discovers itself in the foregoing Section, and without any of that attempt at detail which learning afterwards demanded. These annals are mere land-marks of time, points fixed here and there to save memory from chaos, a Chronologia rather than a Chronicon.

The note appended to 643 about the foundation of Winchester Cathedral is a guiding one for us in this dissection. It gives the $\partial\mu\phi\alpha\lambda\delta\gamma$ of which we are in search, the central and germinating point of the Chronicle. The Chronicle which was begun at Winchester in Cenwalh's churchtown, supplied the base of all after collections and accretions, and to this we trace back the course of English History.

We can hardly suppose that these annals are all strictly contemporary. Their irregularity forbids the notion. They were from time to time, perhaps not oftener than once in a generation, posted up to the current date. Consequently we may expect to find here and there some tokens of approach to the actual time of writing. Such an indication may perhaps be traced in the annal 682, which I have fixed on for the close of this Section. It is the first instance in which we find "On pissum geare—" instead of HER. This feature recurs 889; and the greater certainty of contemporary writing in that place may be reflected back on this.

§ 4. The next trace of an ancient cessation is at the word 'Cumbran' in the annal 755. Between 682 and 755 there were probably one or more intermediate terminations, and the marks of such may perhaps be discovered, with more or less distinctness. A likely spot is between 718 and 725, where the annals are strongly archaic, relate almost exclusively to Wessex, and are comparatively circumstantial. But at the date of 755 we find the conditions of a break more completely satisfied. The entries of the Bishops of Winchester, which are given with great regularity from Birinus in 634 down to the accession of Cyneheard in 754, are henceforth omitted, and are never again entered except in the most fitful and accidental manner. This seems to indicate a change of some significance. Hitherto their accession is recorded as regularly as that of the kings, and even (as in 676) taking precedence of the king: but now they are dropped altogether. It is clear that in the year 755 the State of Wessex fell into disorder, and that there was a political schism if not a civil war. The prolongation of the annal of 7.55 from "and se Cynewulf &c." has been appended by a later collector. This Section is almost purely composed of royal and ecclesiastical Fasti: not domestic merely, but also Kentish, Northumbrian, and Mercian.

T § 4.

T\$5. § 5. The next break was probably at the close of 822. In the beginning of this Section (758 sqq.) we have mere chronography—an ineffectual attempt to fill out the tale of years with corresponding events. The annal 784 seems to shew that

the prolongation of 755 had not yet got into the Chronicle.

The annal 800 though not very long is very circumstantial, and it relates the death of Beorhtric, of whom at the mention of his accession in 784 it is said, "and his ryht fædren cyn gæb to Cerdice;" being the last instance of this archaic formula. Of Beorhtric it is used in the prefatory list of Saxon Kings, and with him it ceases there, as well as here in the body of the Chronicle*. These marks seem to indicate a pause somewhere in the reign of Ecgbryht, and it is fixed at 822 because there the prevalent characteristic of this Section suddenly ceases. For this Section is highly ecclesiastical, not only by notices of English bishops and synods, but also it venerates Rome more than any section previous to the twelfth century. Nor may we suppose that this is due to later insertions: because the matter is suited to these times, because it would be hard to say to what other epoch it should be assigned, and because we can trace the same disposition on for a few years after 800, which we fix as the first cotemporary pause of this chronographer. The same hand may be recognized down to the close of 822, where there appears to be a sudden change in the character of the entries. No more about Popes and Synods; all is military and political.

To this hand I should attribute the insertion of that interesting observation on the death of Abp. Theodore in 690: Ær wærun Romanisce biscepas. siphan wærun Englisce.

§ 6. At the year 855 the Termination of an ancient Chronicle is plainly seen, like the lines of some ancient sea-coast high up in the mainland. At the close of Æþelwulf's reign we find a grand genealogical demonstration, in a style that implies the utmost heraldic effort of which the times were capable. In the Preface also we find Æþelwulf distinguished by a pedigree attached to his name, running back to Cerdic.

But in the Termination of 855 the line of Wessex progenitors

X § 6.

^{*} The length of the reign of Ecgbryht is not proleptically told at his accession, as Beorhtric's is in 784.

is continued through Cerdic back to Woden, and through Woden back into the mists of high mythology, whence the line of Scripture patriarchs is laid hold of, and so up to Adam, whose name is then spiritualized into Christ. Whether this represents merely the epilogue of that ancient royal Stemma, of which we have had instalments from time to time, or whether it was composed expressly for this place, it is observable that from this point forward we have no more of the old pedigrees which in the former part are so frequent. Either supposition lends itself readily to the probability that here we are nearing contemporary history again. For if it was merely a Stemma that was incorporated into the Chronicle, the termination with Æthelwulf seems to imply that he was at the time of its incorporation the king last deceased.

There is an appearance of recent interest about the reign of Æthelwulf. The Capitals at his accession, and in the year 851, strengthen the significance which we might be inclined to attach to the triumphal and solemn air of his Pedigree. with its final AMEN. At one time I thought this Section might with fair probability be brought home to Swidhun who was Bishop of Winchester when Æthelwulf died. There is something about the second paragraph of 853 and the whole of 855 that seems to prompt such an idea. The expression pa was domne Leo pap &c. would very naturally proceed from one who had accompanied Alfred to Rome. Leo died the same year as Æthelwulf. The first clause in 855 is probably there by error instead of under 851, as may be seen by a comparison of Asser. Putting that clause aside, the remainder of 855 is very germane to such a character as Swidhun. The devotion of one-tenth of his land to religious uses is told with pious satisfaction; and the troubles, domestic and civil, which were averted by Æthelwulf's return from the continent, with a discreet reticence not expressed but only glanced at in the phrase, and his people were fain of his return. But such an idea seems untenable, if only for the following reason. The continuation of 855 and the annal of 860 appears like a later appendix by the same hand, and as the duration of the reign of Ethelbryht is given under 860, this could not have been written earlier than 865-whereas Swidhun died in 862.

Any how, we have here an Editor whose work we can define and whose hand we can trace even through the mazes of this composite Chronicle. To him must be assigned, not the Chronicle as it now stands from the beginning, but from 455 (Hengist and Horsa) to 855, making the necessary exceptions for later insertions, chiefly those already indicated in § 1. The Chronicle of Swidhun then, (for so I may surely be permitted to call it, honoris causâ, as it is at least probable that it was first wound up during his episcopate and at his See,) consisted of the Sections § 2-\$ 6. In this Edition the old genealogical Preface which had been closed with Beorhtric, was carried down to "Cerdicing" (p. 4). To this Editor must be assigned all those amplifications of annals, in which the connection is effected by a somewhat marked use of the Demonstrative SE with a Proper Name, a use which was not continued in the sequel of the language (as it was in Greek, & Σωκράτης &c.), but which seems to have had its crisis about this time. Instances are 597, 611, 643, 648, 660, 670, 674 (without Proper Name), 685, 688, 694, 709 (without Proper Name), 728, 731, 755, 827, 836, 855, 860. The "se Epelbryht" of 860 is (I think) the last instance of this peculiar usage, which is rendered in F by "Ses ÆSelbyrht." repeated "se Carl se Carl" of 885 is a different thing. Here there is a contra-distinction, like that expressed by the Greek $\delta \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \dots \delta \delta \dot{\epsilon}$.

Another little trait may be noticed as marking this Editor. He has here and there put a Latin title, dux, 837 and 851, domne Leo pāp, 853; which is a thing that merits notice only because of its extreme rarity in these times. On this account we may almost venture to fix on the annal 792 as an insertion by this Editor, on account of its "Æpelbryhte rex," in which it is not followed by any of the more recent editions BCDEF. The prefix domne to the Pope's name had more favour, it is kept by BC. In G it is Saxonised thus, "pa wæs donne Leo papa on Rome."

Another interesting feature in this Section is the mention (for the first time) of the present day, and the appearance of the grammatical First Person; "and these made the greatest carnage on heathen marauders that we have heard tell of up to the present day" (851). This expression might

be used in a contemporary annal, but I am inclined to think it a later insertion; and partly because BCDE have a different

order of the paragraphs here.

§ 7. The next division is marked by the change of handwriting in 891. Whatever uncertainty may beset the previous analysis, there is no doubt that here we have a natural Section. It covers a period of 27 years, and every year has its annal; a circumstance which (occurring here for the first time) is in itself a ground of distinction. Some of the annals are full and circumstantial, chiefly 867, 871, 878, and 885; others are so in a less degree: while those which are brief, as 869, 872, 873, 879, 880, 886, contain well-selected matter, even where the scene is altogether beyond seas, as in 881, 883, 884. But these characters change very remarkably at the close of 887. Here we have a singular transition to trivial notices; and one annal, that of 889, consists of a twofold observation, half negative and half positive; one if not both of which would soon have perished from memory, had it not been quickly committed to writing. What makes it more remarkable, these small matters which from their very insignificance indicate a contemporary pen, are ecclesiastical, whereas the general character of the Section is by no means so. Moreover, it is to be observed that the annal 889 opens, not with the customary HER, but with On bissum geare; a feature which has already been noticed in § 3, where the use I made of it might seem questionable, but for this confirmatory example. Here then it appears to me that we are actually on cotemporary ground, and I differ from Mr. Wright (Biographia Lit.—Asser), who thinks that this part of the Chronicle "was most probably not in existence till long after Alfred's death." A contrary view of the case would have dispelled one of his perplexities, and he would have been at no loss to account for the discontinuance of the contribution from the Saxon Chronicle at the year 887, in a work which purports to be composed in 893. No doubt there were copies made of a Chronicle which ended with 887, and one of these was in the hands of the composer of the Asserian Biography. The last clause of 887 and thence to the close of the first hand at "gefor" in 891, is largely the work of a man of peace, whereas the Section as a whole sounds of war. Rare inser-

A § 7.

tions in keeping with this appendix appear at 874, 878, 885. In this Section we have some of the most archaic Saxon in the whole Chronicle, and this may appear strange to those who are not familiar with the intricacies of its structure. The annal of 876 is one of the best preserved and least altered pieces of pristine Englise, and its antiquated style has baffled the interpreters. Except the story under 755 there is hardly anything to match it. And this is only a strong instance of what is felt at many parts of this Section; it is very stiff and primitive. The obvious inference is, that the older parts have undergone a process of modernisation, to which this has not been subjected. But there are certain archaic forms which are found both in this and the previous Sections, which we here take leave of. After this Section we have no more cuom, cuomon, but com, comon; no more hiera, but hiora and hira; no more instances of warun or other plural præterites in -un. It appears doubtful what is the exact position of the remainder of 891 (after the change of handwriting) down to the close of 893. It does not claim to belong to the next Section, and it is contained in manuscripts (E F) which omit the next Section. The expression at the opening of 893, "se micla here be we gefyrn ymbe spræcon," i.e. the great host which we before spoke about, seems to claim for this isolated portion identity of authorship with the annals immediately preceding, and therefore we will consider it as an Appendix of this Section.

A § 8.

§ 8. Here we have the hand of one who is something more than an ordinary Continuator, in the author who furnishes the six and half pages which follow. This is the most remarkable piece of writing in the whole series of Chronicles. It is a warm, vigorous, earnest narrative, free from the rigidity of the other annals, full of life and originality. Compared with this passage, every other piece of prose, not in these Chronicles merely, but throughout the whole range of extant Saxon literature, must assume a secondary rank. There is somefine diction in C and D, there is fluent and rhetorical language in Ælfric, but the present passage is to these what Thucydides is to Xenophon.

Here the reader may feel the personal presence of the narrator more sensibly than anywhere else. It is not merely that he speaks in the first person (swa ic ær sæde, p. 92); this we may find elsewhere, as in E 1086, which is also a passage of much freshness. But this piece of X is so full of native force, that its life seems always fresh in it, and it reads more like a narrative of our own times than of Alfred's.

The writer closes his annual periods with a colophon like Thucydides, who sums up as each έτος τῷ πολέμω ἐτελεύτα τῷδε ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν. So this writer:

§ and bæt wæs ymb twelf monað bæs þe hie ær hider ofer sæ comon.

§ þæt wæs ymb twa ger þæs þe hie hider ofer sæ comon.

§ þæt wæs ymb þreo ger þæs þe hie on Limene muðan comon hider ofer sæ.

As to the date of this Continuation it is almost superfluous to enter into detail, when once the vigour and earnestness of the narrative are appreciated. Dr. Pauli in his Life of Alfred says, that this was written "in the following century." As the end of the century was so near, this may be literally true; it may have been written as late as the spring of 901. I should however prefer to believe that it was composed in the winter following the campaign of 897, and there is a style about the paragraph at the foot of page 94 which invites such a conjecture. It flags after 897, and I doubt not it was on parchment before Alfred's death in 901. That the Section belongs to that group of Anglo-Saxon literature with which the name of Alfred has been justly associated, is manifest in every part of it, as might be illustrated by several particulars. E.g. the unusual expression which puzzled Wheloc, "buton swipe gewaldenum dæle" (p. 91)=" except a very considerable division." This we meet with again in Orosius iv. 9, "mid gewealdenan fultume"-and I have not noticed it elsewhere. (Adverbially gewealden occurs in the fragment of Zosimas, p. 110. l. 20. Appendix to my Swidhun.)

But while the annals 894-897 form a complete episode in themselves, I cannot distinguish them in anything except their fullness and exuberance and warmth, from the annals which follow down to 924 fin. These two parts appear like the work of one mind in different moods. The piece 894-897 exhibits greater intensity of feeling, and so far keeps true to the drama of history. That the latter items of 897, and

especially the paragraph about the death of the king's horsethane, as also (though less manifestly) the annal of 898, are contemporaneous entries—desultory and incidental jottings in a dormant interval of the Chronicle-seems, under all the circumstances, presumably certain. The death of Alfred and the sedition of Ædelwold do not appear to have been inserted till after the latter had run its course in 905, or rather perhaps until five years later, 910. The two sections of Ædelwold's escapade, under 901 and 910, have not the force of the piece at the head of the Section, but they bespeak the same hand. The ten years 901-910 are however but scantily furnished, and in a chronographic manner. The notices of ecclesiastics may partly be due to personal distinction, as in the cases of Grimbald and Asser; but as they are isolated and exceptional, forming part of no sequence (the line of Winchester bishops, for example, having been neglected since 754), we must regard them partly as an eking out of the chronography. From the middle of 910 to the close of 924 we have a steady, regular, well-written narrative, homogeneous and unmixed in matter, like the head-piece of this Section, and unlike all the rest of the Chronicle. It is all sieges and battles, and fortifications and garrisons, and surrenders and armed pacifications. Not a word of home affairs whether of Church or State. It is a model of uniformity both in matter and manner.

One might be prompted to find a break at 920 where A first parts company with BCD, after they have gone thus far together from the beginning. But this indication, standing alone, is no evidence of a break in the continuity of A,—it concerns only the literary history of BCD. As in the last Section, so in this, the Termination coincides with a change in the handwriting; and it may not be amiss to record the fact, that this transition of penmanship has only made our division to be put at the close of 924 instead of 925, at which, from internal evidence (before I noticed the change of hand), I had long ago placed it.

A § 9.

§ 9. The annals 925-975. This Section is so conspicuously contrasted with the preceding, so clearly defined at its close, and so strongly characterized in every respect, that I speak with less diffidence in pronouncing it a natural division. In

the first place it is wonderfully meagre, a charge which is often unreasonably alleged against these Chronicles in the most undiscriminating manner, but which may be justified here by a comparison with the historical literature of two earlier generations. When a critic opens the Saxon Chronicle, in the seventh century, and cries "How meagre!"—we wonder what standard of comparison he is thinking of, and we should like to be informed where he has found a nobler vernacular work produced by any nation at a like stage of its history! But here we are in the Tenth Century, and we have behind us a period of 59 years, during which scarcely a year but has been chronicled. The earlier chronography or year-markingcalendar has gradually expanded, and a genial interest in detail has been unfolding itself-when by a transition from hot to cold we suddenly find ourselves again in a bare chronography such as we took leave of as far back as 822, the last year of § 5.

In the next place it is devoid of all uniformity—there is no appearance of a plan. What served instead of a plan, was a taste for collecting and preserving the national songs. Section is as irregular as the last was uniform. The first twelve years are disposed of in less than as many lines; the first six having only one entry, viz. the demise of the crown. Here we find bishops again, the long-neglected succession of bishops—a mere expedient to fill out the vacant years. poverty is however disguised, and not inadequately redeemed by the insertion of those poetical pieces which constitute the singular merit and ornament of this Section. There are four pieces: The Battle of Brunanburh, 937; the Annexation of Mercia, 942; The Coronation of Edgar at Bath, 973; The Death of Edgar with attendant circumstances, 975. There is a very observable difference between the first three of these pieces and the last of them. The first three are concerned each with a single and momentary event; the last is a narrative poem and covers a considerable space of time. To say the least, it enters upon a second year. The first three have the semblance of popular songs which the collector of 975 merely enshrined in the Chronicle; but the closing poem of the Section appears to have been composed for the place in which we find it. It would seem to be the work of the collector himself, who had a taste for poetry and was himself a poet and an admirer of poets. The matters contained in the poem of 975 are not heroic or otherwise proper to poetry (as those in 937, 942 and 973 are), they are simply historical and would make excellent prose. Nothing but that love for versification which at a later date produced a special form of rhyming literature, can account for the poetic dress of this annal. But this singularity on the one hand corresponds strikingly with the composition of this Section on the other-a Section whose chief merit lies in the old songs it has provided a setting for. It appears to me we can get at one little particular in the biography of this Collector and Poet. He was a friend and admirer of Cyneweard, whom he has contrived in the course of his brief contribution to mention twice; once in prose 964, as Abbot of Middelton, and once in verse 975, as Bishop. We cannot say that Cyneweard's name would have literally perished but for these two notices, because his name was enrolled among the Bishops of Wells, and there is a Charter extant with his signature (Cod. Dipl. 589). But name and office are hardly enough to quicken the memory of a man: and this Collector it is who has given Bishop Cyneweard a niche in history. Not the public importance of the man, but the personal affection of the chronicler, dictated the language of this commemoration:

And him tir fæst hæleð tyn nihtum ær bisceop se goda þurh gecyndne cræft dam wæs Cyneweard nama.

And forth away the far-famed hero, ten nights before [Edgar's death] from Britain had departed, the bishop who was good by inherited craft; whose name was Cyneweard.

The expression "from Britain departed" has been interpreted to signify his death. If this is the meaning, it is a great solecism, and must be supposed to convey the great loss his native land had sustained. But the phrase which tells us most about Cyneweard is "se goda þurh gecyndne cræft," the meaning of which has (I suspect) been overlooked. Cræft is scientia; thus the astronomers are called in this same piece cræft gleawe men, scientiæ periti homines; and Cyneweard is said to have been "good by inherited craft," bonus per patriam indolem, artem, scientiam; πατρώαν τέχνην (Soph.

El. 1500). And what craft is it likely to have been that endeared Cyneweard to our Collector-what but the minstrel's craft? I venture to suggest that Cyneweard Bishop of Wells was the Poet Laureate of his day, and that he is really the author of the three pieces in this Section, which are so nobly and truly poetic, and so unlike the rhythmic labours at its close. But can we make out anything more about this Cyneweard? If the above exposition is admitted, Cyneweard was a poet, and the son of a poet. Now we have in Anglo-Saxon Literature a poet of a kindred name, of whom we would gladly know more than we do. The poet of the "Elene" has conveyed his name to posterity in Runes, which he has woven into his poem, and hence we know that his name was Cynewulf. Grimm seeks to connect this Cynewulf with Aldhelm, early in the eighth century. To dissent from an opinion of Jacob Grimm is like disputing parental authority-but in regard to the date of the "Elene" I cannot follow him. To my eyes it is palpably a work of the tenth century, and I know that I am not swayed to this view by the present exigency, because I find observations to this effect which I had long ago forgotten, and which were made when I had no theory to serve in the matter. Indeed the diction of the "Elene" is so like that of these three minor poems, that it must be pronounced certainly to belong to the same period. I venture then to imagine that Cyneweard the Bishop of Wells may have been a son of Cynewulf the poet of the "Elene." It is well known that in Anglo-Saxon families the first part of the name was held in common by many members of the family, while the second was changed. Thus four of the sons of Ædelwulf had names beginning with Ædel—viz. Ædelstan, Æðelwald, Æðelbriht, and Æðelred. At another time we find the word Ead continued from generation to generation in the the Royal Family: Ead weard, Ead mund, Ead red, Eadwig, Ead gar, Ead weard. And now as to the 'departure' of Cyneweard, which is expressed in these well-marked words, "him of Brytene gewat"-it seems to be suited to a setting forth to go to a foreign land, and unsuited to signify death. It appears to be the just opposite of that on p. 115:

ofer bradbrimu Brytene sohtan over the broad sea, came to Britain.

As far as this text is concerned, we should not be authorised to fix the death of Cyneweard in 975, but rather his quitting the country whether into exile or otherwise. His successor Sigar dates from 975, which would not prove the death of his predecessor, but would provide a sufficient account for Cyneweard's death being entered in the Chronicles under 975: which entry would cause an unguarded interpretation of this poetical notice about his departure. In the tenth century the natural country for an exiled ecclesiastic to retire to was Italy; and it is from Italy that we have obtained the only known original of the "Elene," as well as the other poems of the Codex Vercellensis. These fragments of our tenth century literature, which the desolations of the eleventh century caused to perish at home, come back to us (like the Paris Psalter) from the lands to which they were carried by exiled Englishmen. May not Cyneweard have carried into Italy the poems of Cynewulf *?

A § 10.

§ 10. The annals 978-1001. At the close of 1001 the handwriting again changes, and it is up to that point that a later MS. (G) is copied from this. Also the matter changes; so that we have no doubt of a natural Section here. But it is hardly worthy of the name of a Section at all; it shows the neglect of an age when the vernacular literature could not keep its ground against the now much-cultivated Latin. There is this point of interest about it, that the whole Section is peculiar to A (G). The only annal which merits particular notice is the last, that of 1001. This annal has all the appearance of contemporaneous writing, and most of the others were perhaps a mere chronography to connect this with the Chronicle. Also, this annal, and indeed the whole Section, bears the local impress of Winchester, thus offering a contrast to the subsequent entries.

A § 11.

§ 11. The annals 1005-1070. Eleven scattered entries covering a period of 69 years, and consisting of matters interesting at Christ Church, Canterbury. The succession of the Archbishops of Canterbury, and the accession of one or

^{*} It is not impossible that Cynewulf and Cyneweard may be the same person. Examples are not wanting in which the first part of the name remaining constant, the second part varies: e. g. Wig ben (833) is Wig fer of in E.

two kings, among whom Cnut the benefactor of Christ Church. His gift of the harbour of Sandwich is commemorated in 1031, a mutilated annal. The annal of most importance is that of 1070, the year of Lanfranc's arrival in England. This annal is the earliest record of the dispute for precedence between the Sees of Canterbury and York. It is significant, that this Chronicle should cease its vernacular entries at the arrival of Lanfranc, that distinguished patron of literature. Such a phenomenon as that of a Saxon Chronicle stopping at such an epoch, may have been among the causes which led to the belief that William the Conqueror had entertained the design of extinguishing the native language. If, however, we examine the evidence of this Chronicle more closely, we shall be rather disposed to conclude that Lanfranc may have been the instrument of bringing this Chronicle to Canterbury, and lodging it in the place which kept it till the days of the Reformation. For the whole of this Section agrees in diction with its last entry—was therefore all written at Canterbury and after Lanfranc's accession; but the latest previous entry (1001) is conspicuously localised at Winchester—the MS, was then probably fetched from Winchester about Lanfranc's coming when the monks of Christ Church were collecting books, for their own Library had been consumed in the recent fire. It was then brought down (in a way) to 1070 in Canterbury matters and in Canterbury Saxon, and it was never taken in hand again until the influence of the continental professor had made the learned society of Christ Church look down on their mother This took place about five years after Lanfranc's death, and then a summary was appended in Latin, which carried the history down to the consecration of Anselm*.

This Latin continuation represents the transition, which (after long vacillation) was at length effected from vernacular Saxon to Latin as the language of English history. However, the latest work done on this manuscript has yet to be noticed, and it is in Saxon. This is by an interpolator and reviser of the twelfth century, whose entries are in this Edition printed in small italics. I have sometimes indicated him by the sign a, as on p. 18 n. Many of his entries are on

^{*} In the present Edition this is given in the Appendix, p. 271.

erasures which he has made of ancient matter uninteresting to himself and therefore condemned—such are especially the old pagan pedigrees. Then in his insertions, he discovers himself to have a local affection for Kent (e. g. 784), and this, with the likeness of penmanship, makes strongly for his identity with the compiler of F.

The next three manuscripts have so much in common that they may be considered as forming a group

B, C, D.

The great features which these have in common are as follows:—1. Their relationship to T is very similar though not identical, that is, they are rather cousins to each other than sisters. 2. They all belong to a central period, the period when the Saxon Literature culminated, and 3. they are central in the sense that they are free from provincialisms of language, and 4. their local characteristics are frequently, though not always, in common—e.g. the chronicle of Mercia, 902-921. 5. These three, and no others after T, possess the great passage 894-901; and indeed this agreement stretches further (while E F are almost silent) to the end of 918.

With these great features in common, they have also their several characteristics, which shall next be considered.

В

A Saxon Chronicle from the Incarnation to A.D. 977.

The Chronicle of Saint Augustine's, Canterbury.

This is one of the Cotton Manuscripts in the British Museum (MS. Cott. Tiber. A. vi. ff. 1-34). It is described by Wanley, p. 224; and by Mr. T. Duffus Hardy, vol. i. p. 655.

This Manuscript had originally a genealogical Frontispice like that of X; but carried down to Edward the son of Edgar, who was the reigning monarch at the final date of this book. This piece is now wanting to the MS., and our knowledge of it is derived from notes in the handwriting of Joscelin, and from a transcript in the Bodleian, made in the 16th or 17th century, before B had lost its 'Genealogia.' Joscelin'snote is preserved in a volume of the Cotton Library (Vitellius D. vii.), entitled Joh. Joscelini Collectanea. This is a volume

of disjointed papers, and on No. 138 Joscelin has copied the genealogical Preface, and at its conclusion he notes:

We know from other notes by the same scholar, that his *Historia Saxonica Monasterii Augustini Cant*. is our MS. B: and therefore we have Joscelin's evidence as well as that of the Bodleian Transcript, to prove that B *had* a genealogical frontispice which terminated in the same reign as the annalistic portion.

There is a single leaf in a volume of the Cottonian Library (Tiber. A. iii. f. 175.) which has been identified both by Wanley (p. 199) and Hardy (p. 576) with the missing frontispice of B. It contains a genealogy almost entirely corresponding with what we have of Joscelin's copy from B, even to the circumstance of breaking off abruptly at and heold—. The variations are these: Tiber, A. iii. has eadmund (eadmond. Joscelin) and, ha feng eadwig to eadmundes sunu cinges (8a feng eadwig eadmundes sunu to rice, Joscelin). Insignificant as these variations are, they are perhaps enough to make us doubt the identity of the said leaf with that which has disappeared from B. If it is not the identical leaf, the coincidence of its fitting our MS. is all the more curious. Dr. Pauli (Life of Alfred) thinks it has come from some lost MS. If so, that MS. must have been nearly related to our B, for it is plain their historical area was coincident, and the penmanship is so like that of B, that it requires close scrutiny to distinguish the one from the other. Upon careful examination it does however appear that the writing of this odd leaf is firmer and more vigorous than that of B, and therefore I am inclined to agree with Dr. Pauli that it is a fragment from a MS. unknown to us, but probably one made at the same time and even the

same place. A Facsimile of this leaf is given in Mr. Thorpe's Edition of the Chronicles.

The date indicated by the close of this Preface corresponds perfectly with the date of 977 at which the annals terminate: and everything tends to render it probable that this was the true date of this Compilation. As a slight confirmation may be noticed the insertion of a single word in the annal for 643. It is in B that "the church at Winchester" is first altered to "the old church at Winchester"—and this emendation would naturally occur to a copier in 977, when Bishop Æ'delwold's new church was in building. But it does not appear probable that B itself is the identical Chronicle that was made in 977. It is in the same hand throughout, which though not conclusive against its originality, is injurious to such a pretension. For the autograph itself would have been usually written by a scribe down to the close of the Chronicle which served as a copy, and after that the Annalist would commence his work in his own handwriting. And the appearance of B suggests the idea that it is in fact a scribe's copy of this kind prepared for a stock to graft further annals upon, which intention was never carried out. It is a nice question for the Saxon expert to decide, what is the true date of our manuscript B. Mr. Duffus Hardy has in fact decided the question differently in two places of his Catalogue. When speaking of the odd leaf he has attributed it to the eleventh century, and when speaking of the Chronicle itself he has assigned it to the twelfth. Yet he holds that these two are only parts of one whole. Verum operi longo fas est obrepere somnum. There is an oversight here, and I take Mr. Hardy to mean the eleventh century in both cases. First, for the penmanship is decidedly bolder and rounder than that of our known examples of the twelfth century, such as E, F; and "a" the interpolator of A. These are specimens of twelfth century handwriting, and they already betray a tendency to that pinched angular and cursive hand which after the twelfth century changed the aspect of MSS. Secondly, the language in so far as it has a distinct character, claims kindred with A § 11, of which the date is plainly 1070 or thereabout. In both there is a great proneness to the termination in -an, instead of -on (plural of verbs) and instead of -um (dative). This

is a variation from which hardly any Anglo-Saxon writing is free, but it is found in B in such uncommon abundance as to constitute a feature of the text: e.g. gefuhtan 881, wurdan, weran, eodan 882, naman 886, forhergodan 887 &c., gecyrdan 867, where all the others have -on, and wæs cuman (instead of the participal termination -en) p. 1781., is more marked.

This manuscript is one of the least valuable of the extant Few peculiarities in B. Chronicles. It has fewer special characteristics than any one of the others, and contains very little historical matter which is peculiar to itself. Consequently, there is no one of the set which could be spared with less detriment to Saxon literature. Even those which stand much lower in the scale of excellence, such as F and G, are more historically important, because they have peculiarities to recommend them.

Rarely, it offers a variation which is interesting; there is one such at 709, where T C D E F all say that Aldhelm was bishop on the western side of the wood (se wæs be westan wuda biscop)—B has 'Selwood,' (be westan Selewuda,) to the west of Selwood. A peculiarity in 755, utan ymbeodan, where the others have the simple be-, is not without its use in illustrating the prefix be-. Where T (p. 95 m) with T C and T D have "sume hæfdon LX ara" B has the weak form of the genitive plural, arena. But most of its peculiarities are of a feeble and indistinct kind. Bryten-walda 827, where T C D E have -wealda, may be called a faint archaism. A singularly strange form occurs at 891, betuh—which T B has with T C; where betueoh T, betueoh T G, betwix T B, betwyx T F.

B has a marked affinity for the next Chronicle C; beyond that of a common relationship to A. They have modifications of A, and additions to A, and one peculiarity of arrangement in common with each other, and in contradistinction from the later D E. For example: Anno 643 B C agree in the addition ealdan which is not in A, and most likely was not in D (now mutilated in this part), as far as we may judge of the hiatus from its imitator E. Under 855, in the close of the genealogy, B and C have Hadra Hwalaing. Hwala Bedwiging. Bedwig Sceafing. id est filius Noe, where D reads Hapra. Hwala Beowung. Beowi Sceafing. id est filius Noe; thus exhibiting B and C united in a strong

divergence (we should have said a corruption-but Kemble accepted the form Bedwig) from D, where all three are yet more widely at variance with A. A decisive instance of the agreement of B and C against D and E occurs under 877 -where B and C coincide in an omission that mutilates the grammar, while D and E present complete transcripts of A. thus demonstrating that they derived through a channel independent of B C. The words omitted are, "and ba mette hie mucel ust on sæ." A second time in the same annal, B and C have an omission in common, as compared with A, where D and E give the full text of A. The words are, "er hie on pam fæstene wæron pær him mon to ne mihte." Again, the Mercian Chronicle of Æthelflæd, which is printed in the Appendix (p. 269) has been embodied by B, C, D. But in B and C it figures as an indigesta moles after the year 915, whereas in D it is chronologized and distributed among the other materials.

From the above considerations I regard B as an eleventh century copy (made probably at St. Augustine's) of a Chronicle which was compiled about 977, upon the basis (not indeed of A itself but) of one of that family of transcripts of which A is the extant representative. All the evidence favours the supposition that its existence is due to some local stimulus which was imparted to literary pursuits in the first half of the eleventh century; and of which G (A) is another relic.

C

A Saxon Chronicle from the Invasion of Julius Casar to A.D. 1066.

The Abingdon Chronicle. This is one of the Cotton manuscripts in the British Museum; Cott. Tiberius, B. i. It is described by Wanley, p. 219; by Hardy, p. 656. The first handwriting stops at 1046. It is preceded by two poetical compositions, with which it is written consecutively, and which look as if they had been meant to stand as a sort of prelude to the Chronicle. The one is a description of the months and marked days of the year, a sort of versified Calendar; the second is a string of proverbs. Joscelin has set his Title Chronicle of Abingdon at the head of both of these pieces. Their intimate association with the Chronicle seems to call for their insertion here;



Cronica Saxonica, Abbingdonia adammon 1060

A Y D. ENINGA PVIcor RIST PÆSA@N onmisne princep mæpe peosen ece ælim hag on pre eapteosan sæs hælens zehaten heoron pucer

From Cottonian Ms. Tib. B. 1. Fol. 110. (Ms. C.)

and they illustrate the condition of some branches of knowledge and culture which are cognate to the study of history. The first poem may be considered as the text to a Runic Club-Almanack. The native month-names are preserved in it, while the Roman are put forward more prominently: and under the Christian modifications we may perhaps discern some traces of the old heathen Calendar. Thus in the month of February, after fixing the 7th as the day on which winter ends and spring begins, it seems the ancient Year-Rime went on to tell how the warrior then began to bestir himself, "and se wigend pa..." The sentence thus begun is diverted from its original course, and the warrior melts away into S. Matthias, whose Festival is seventeen days later.

Cronica Saxonica Abbingdoniæ ad annum 1066.

*Crist was acennyd cyninga wuldor on midne winter mære þeoden ece ælmihtig on þy eahteoðan dæg hælend ge haten heofon rices weard. Swa þa sylfan tiid side herigeas folc unmæte habbað fore weard gear. for þy se kalendus cymeð geþincged on þam ylcan dæge us to tune forma monað hine folc mycel ianuarius gerum heton.

January

And bees embe fif niht beet te fulwiht tiid eces drihtnes to us cyme's been twelfta dæg tir eadige hæle's hea's urofe hata's on brytene in foldan her.

February

pæt te sol mona's sige's to tune butan twa nihtum swa hit ge tealdon geo februarius fær frode ge sipas ealde æ gleawe. And þæs embe ane niht þ we Marian mæssan healda's cyninges modor for þan heo Crist on þa dæge bearn wealdendes brohte to temple. Đænne þæs emb fif niht þ afered by's

Swylce emb feower wucan

^{*} These Poems have been published by Hickes in his Thesaurus (1705), vol. i. p. 203, with a Latin translation: and again in a separate form by the Rev. Samuel Fox with an English translation; Menologium sen Calendarium Poeticum, etc. (1830.)

winter of wicum and se wigend ha æfter seofentynu swylc hrowade niht ge rimes nergendes hegen Mathias mære mine ge fræge hæs he lencten on tun ge liden hæfde werum to wicum.

hræd monað *March*

> Swylce eac is wide cub vmb iii. and twa beodum ge wel hwær his cyme Kalend ceorlum and eorlum (butan bænñ bises ge boden weore feorgan geare þæñ he furgor cymeg ufor anre niht us to tune) hrime ge hyrsted hagol scurū færð geond middan geard Martius rede hlyda healic. Dænne se halga bæs emb xi niht æbele scynde Gregorius in Godes wære breme in Brytene. Swylce Benedictus embe nigon niht bæs nergend sohte heard and hige strang bæne heria wel in gewritum wise wealdendes beow rincas regol fæste swylce eac rim cræftige on ba vlcan tiid em niht healda8 forðan wealdend God worhte æt frymðe on by sylfan dæge sunnan and monan.

> Hwet ymb feower niht fæder on sende pæs pe em nihte eorlas healdað heah engel his se hælo abead Marian mycle p heo meotod sceolde cennan kyninga betst swa hit ge cyded weard geond middan geard wæs p mære wyrd folcu ge fræge.

Easter mona8 Apryll

Swylce emb feower and preo niht ge riimes pte nyrgend sent
Aprelis monas on pam offust cyms seo mære tiid mannu to frofre drihtnes ærist pæn dream ge rist wel wide ge hwær swa se witega sang.*

"Pis is se dæg pæne drihten us wisfæst worhte wera cneorissu

^{*} Psalm cxviii. 24. The rhythmical version here quoted is that of the Paris Psalter (Oxonii, 1835. Ed. Thorpe)—where it is (according to the Latin Psalter) Ps. cxvii. 22.

eallum eorð warum eadigū to blisse."
ne magon we þá tide be ge tale healdan dagena rimes ne drihtnes stige
on heofenas up for þan he hwearfað á á wisra ge wyrdū ac sceal wintrum frod on circule cræfte findan halige dagas. Sculan we hwæðere gyt martira ge mynd ma areccan wrecan wordum forð wisse ge singan þembe nihgon tyne niht þæs þe Easter monað to us cymeð þæt man reliquias ræran on ginneð halige ge hyrste þis healic dæg bentīid bremu.

brymylce mona8 May

Swylce in burh rabe smicere on gearwum wudū and wyrtū cyme's wlitig scriban brymlice on tun bearfe bringes Maius micle geond menigeo ge hwær. Swa bi ylcan dæge æbele geferan Philippus and Jacob feorh agefan modige mago begnas for meetudes lufan. And bees embe two niht be tehte God Elenan eadigre æbelust beama on þam þrowode þeoden engla for manna lufan meotud on galgan be fæder leafe. Swylce ymb fyrst wucan butan anre niht \$te yldum bring8 sigel beorhte dagas Sumor to tune wearme ge wyderu þæñ wangas hraðe blostmū blowas swylce blis astihs geond middan geard manigra hada cwicera cynna. cyninge lof secga8 mænifealdlice · mærne brema& ælmihtigne. Þæs emb eahta and nigon dogera rimes pte drihten nam in over leoht Agustinus blidne on breostū bæs be he on Brytene her ea&mode him eorlas funde to Godes willan · swa him se gleawa be bead Gregorius. ne hyrde ic guman awyrn*

^{*} Sic MS. A correction has been indicated by Grein (Glossar. v. fyrn), who would, as I understand him, read gumena fyrn.

anigne ær æfre bringan ofer sealtne mere selran lare bisceop bremran. nú on Brytene rest on Cantwarum cyne stole neah mynstre mærū.

Liða monað June

pænne monas brings ymb twa and preo tiida lange ærra liða us to tune Junius on geard on ba gim astiho on heofenas up hyhst on geare tungla torhtust and of tille agrynt to sete sigeð. wyle syððan leng grund be healdan and gangan lator ofer foldan wang fægerust lohta woruld ge sceafta. þæñ wuldres þegn ymb breetyne beodnes dyrling Iohannes in geardagan weard acenned tyn nihtum eac we ba tiid healdað on midne sumor mycles on æbelum. Wide is ge weorood swa b wel ge rist haligra tid geond hæleða bearn Petrus and Paulus. hwæt bå apostolas beoden holde browedon on Rome ofer midne sumor miccle ge wisse furðor fif nihtū folc bealo þrealic mærne martyr dom. hæfdon mænige ær wundra ge worhte geond wær beoda. Swylce hy æfter þam unrim fremedon swutelra and gesynra burh sunu meotudes ealdor begnas. Dænne ædre cymö emb twa niht bæs tidlice us Iulius monad on bā Iacobus ymb feower niht feorh ge sealde on twentigū trum in breostum frod and fæst ræd folca lareow Zebedes afera. And bæs symle scrib ymb seofon niht bæs sumere ge brihted weod monad on tun wel hwet bringed Augustus yrmen beodum

Julius

Augustus

^{*} Tille.—A rare and interesting word, nom. til: which Ethmüller (Lex. p. 519) identifies with the German itel, goal, aim, butt. The sun having ascended to his highest elevation, then from his goal descends to the ground.

hlaf mæssan dæg · swa þæs hærfest cymð ymbe oder swylc butan anre wanan wlitig wæstmu hladen wela byð ge ywed fægere on foldan. þæñ forð ge wat ymb breo niht bæs beodne ge trywe burh martyr dom mære diacon Laurentius. hæf& nu lif wid ban mid wuldor fæder weorca to leane. Swylce bæs vmb fif niht fægerust mægða wifa wuldor sohte weroda God for suna sibbe sige fæstne ham neorxna wange · hæfde Nergend þa fægere fostor lean fæmnan for golden ece to ealdre. þæñ ealling by8 ymb tyn niht bæs tiid ge weordad Bartholomeus in Brytene her wyrd wel bungen. swylce eac wide byd eorlū ge ypped æbelinges deas ymb feower niht se be fægere iu mid wætere ofer wearp wuldres cyne bearn wiga weorblice · be him Wealdend cwæb 5 nan mærra man geond middan geard be tux wife and were wurde acenned. Ond bæs ymbe breo niht geond beoda feala bte halig mon's helebū gebinged fere's to folce swa hit fore gleawe ealde ub witan æror fundan. Septembres fær and by seofoban dæg в acenned weard cwena selost drihtnes modor. bæñ dagena worn ymbe breo tyne begn un for cu8 god spelles gleaw gast on sende Matheus his to metod sceafte in ecne ge fean. bæñ ealling cym8 ymb breo niht bæs beodū wide

September

emnihtes dæg ylda bearnum.

Hwæt we weorðiað wide geond eorðan heah engles tiid on hær feste

Michaheles swa þ menigo wat fif nihtum ufor þæs þe folcu byð eorlu ge ywed em nihtes dæg.

And þæs embe twa niht þ se teoða monð

winter fille o October on folc fere's frode ge beahte October on tun us to genihte winter fulles swa hine wide cigs igbuende Engle and Seaxe weras mid wifum. swylce wigena tiid ymb twentig bæs twegra healda8 and fif nihtum samod æt gædere on anne dæg we þa æþelingas fyrn ge frunan \$ hy fore mære Simon and Judas symble wæron drihtne dyre for bon hi dom hlutan eadigne up weg. and bes ofstum bring embe feower niht folce ge nihtsum blot mona's on tun bearnum to wiste Novembris niča bearnū eadignesse swa nan ober na deb mona8 maran miltse drihtnes. And by ylcan dæge ealra we healda Sancta symbel þara þe sið oððe ær worhtan in worulde willan drihtnes. Syppan wintres dæg wide gange's on syx nihtū sigel beortne genim hærfest mid herige hrimes and snawes forste gefeterad be frean hæse в us wunian ne mot wangas grene foldan frætuwe. bæs ymb feower niht bte Martin' mære geleorde wer womma leas wealdend sohte up engla Weard. bænne embe eahta niht and feowerum \$ te fangode be senctun on sægrund sige fæstne wer on brime haran be iu beorna felda Clementes oft clypias to bearfe. and bæs embe seofon niht sige drihtne lof æbele Andreas up on roderum his gast ageaf on Godes wære fus on ford weg. þæñ folcu bringð morgen to mannum mona to tune Decembris drihta bearnū ærra jula. swylce emb eahta and twelf niht ge rimes bæt te nergend sylf

prist hydigū Thomase for geaf

November

alibi Julmonað December wið earfeðum ece rice bealdum beorn wigan bletsunga his. Þænne emb feower niht þæt te fæder engla his sunu sende on þas sidan ge sceaft folcum to frofre, nu ge findan magon haligra tiid þe man healdan sceal swa bebugeð ge bod geond Bryten ricu Sexna kýninges on þas sylfan tiid.

CYNING SCEAL RICE HEALDAN

ceastra beo's feorran ge syne organc enta ge weorc (babe on bysse eorgan syndon) wrætlic weall stana ge weorc. wind by on lyfte swiftust. bunar by bragū hludast. brymmas syndan Cristes myccle. wyrd by swisost winter by cealdost. lencten hrimigost · he by blengest ceald · sumor sun wlitegost · swegel by 8 hatost · hærfest hreð eadegost hæleðum bringeð geres westmas babe him god sended. sod bid swicolost * sinc byd decrost gold gumena ge hwam and gomol snoterost fyrn gearū frod se be ær feala ge bide . wea bid wundrum clibbor t wolcou scridad. geongne æbeling sceolan gode ge siðas byldan to beaduwe and to beah gife . ellen sceal on eorle · ecg sceal wid hellme hilde gebidan · hafuc sceal on glofe wilde ge wunian · wulf sceal on bearowe · earn an haga · eofor sceal on holte to mægenes trum · til sceal on e le domes wyrcean daro sceal on handa gar golde fah gim sceal on hringe standan steap and geap stream sceal on youm mecgan mere flode · mæst sceal on ceole segel gyrd seomian 'sweord sceal on bearme driht lic isern · draca sceal on hlæwe frod frætwum wlanc · fisc sceal on wætere cynren cennan · cyning sceal on healle

^{*} This maxim, Truth is most misleading, has a strange Machiavellian look—but the virtuous rendering of Hickes, Verus facillime decipitur, can by no means be admitted.

^{+ &#}x27;clibbor,' adj. adhesive. Woe is wonderfully clinging. Cf. Halliwell, v. Clibby.

beagas dælan · bera sceal on hæ'e eald and eges full · ea of dune sceal flod græg feran · fyrd sceal æt somne tir fæstra ge trum · treow sceal on eorle wisdom on were wudu sceal on foldan blædum blowan · beorh sceal on eorban grene standan. God sceal on heofenū dæda demend duru sceal on healle rum recedes muy rand sceal on scylde fæst fingra ge beorh · fugel uppe sceal lacan on lyfte · leax sceal on wæle mid sceote scrifan scur sceal on heofenū winde ge blanden in bas woruld cuman. beof sceal gangan bystrum wederum . byrs sceal on fenne ge bunian* ana innan lande ides sceal dyrne cræfte fæmne hire freond ge secean gif heo nelle on folce ge beon b hi man beagū gebicge · brim sceal sealte weallan lyft helm and lagu flod ymb ealra landa ge hwylc flowan firgen streamas · feoh sceal on eorgan tydran and tyman tungol sceal on heofenum beorhte scinan swa him be bead Meotud . god sceal wid yfele · geogod sceal wid yldo · lif sceal wid deabe · leoht sceal bid bystrum · fyrd wið fyrde feond wið oðrum lay wiy labe vmb land sacan synne stælan. a sceal snotor ycgean ymb bysse worulde ge winn wearh hangian fægere on gildan b he ær facen dyde manna cynne. Meotod ana wat hwyder seo sawul sceal syddan hweorfan: and ealle ba gastas be for Gode hweorfað æft' dea'd dæge · domes bida'd on fæder fæðme · is seo forð ge sceaft digol and dyrne. Drihten ana wat nergende fæder. næni eft cyme's hider under hrofas be \$ her for so's mannum secge hwylc sy Meotodes ge sceaft sige folca ge setu · þær he sylfa wunað ;

ÆR CRISTES GEFLÆscnesse &c. &c.

^{*} gewunian (Hickes) weakens the sense, and destroys the alliteration.

ray mid ge people crispede plis open fridde yffpa peal R TRISTES GEFLE apete pomana bysenland gerotic physic

For tod mannum rece. hpile ti meocoder ge reape

The folca ge feeth pap he tita punad;



The Abingdon nativity of C rests mainly on the note of Joscelin, but it may be corroborated, though not abundantly yet in some measure, by internal evidence. Both C and D (as compared with the previous Chronicles) tend to enlarge our view on the north of the Thames towards the west, in the line from Abingdon to Hereford. These two are evidently works of nearly the same date; they are one in language, style, and general complexion.

Their general similarity gives special value to the contrasts discoverable between them: an interesting illustration of their substantial agreement with verbal differences is to be seen under 1040. Some of the independent entries of C countenance its Abingdon origin. For instance, D is silent where C relates in 1044, the promotion of Siward Abbot of Abingdon to be Archbishop of Canterbury, and the election of churchwarden Eðelstan to fill the vacant Abbacy:-1047, the death of Abbot Edelstan: -- 1048 Siward's return from Canterbury to Abingdon. When we find such entries as these, not appearing in the intimately related D, occurring in C just before and after the date (1046) at which the first handwriting stops, we can hardly hesitate to conclude that the book was written at Abingdon in the midst of these events. To the same effect is the evidence of the language, which is of the most ripe and polished kind, marking the culmination of Saxon Literature.

Towards the close of the first hand, we find a series of terse and spirited annals, offering some of the finest extant samples of the highly developed Saxon of the eleventh century. The annal of 1040 may be cited as a fine piece of history in small. It is full of fact and full of feeling—brief and clear—and leaves no doubt as to the sentiments and judgments of the writer. No one could have written that annal who had not a vivid remembrance of the occurrences. The like may be said of others on p. 166 sqq.

There are some vigorous annals in the Continuation between 1046 and 1056, after which the narrative is suspended until 1065. The death of Edward the Confessor is then narrated with extraordinary solemnity, and the accession of Harold is noticed in terms which imply that the catastrophe of his reign was already known. Yet his story is pursued only so far as success attended him. Halfway through the drama of 1066

our anonymous author conducts us, to the point where he leaves Harold victorious at Stamford Bridge. This Abingdon historian seems to have enjoyed some peculiar opportunity of information concerning the two great northern fights of Wednesday, Sept. 20, 1066, and the following Sunday; -possibly some Northumbrian was visiting Abingdon in his travels, and repaying their hospitality by a contribution to their historical collection.

A Northum-

One might go on to surmise, that at last he took the pen brian paragraph at the in his own hand and added the incident which closes the book. close of C. The dialect of this paragraph is not well defined, but the more salient and constant features appear to be northern. That old and strong Northumbrian feature of CT where the Anglo-Saxon spelling is HT, and which is so familiar to the readers of Beda's Church History, who never writes Beorht or Berht but Berct, e.g. Bercta, Berctfrid, Berctgils, Berctham, Berctred, Ædilberct, Cudberct, Erconberct, &c., as also Drycthelm, Wictgils, Wictred, Wictuarii, and many more such,—this feature is found twice in the strange addition to C, without a single case of HT. There is micte for milite, and nactes for nahtes. The (so early) examples of CH as gerechen, chinge, michel; the forms seite, burustang, and, not least, the Norsk word brunie, seem all to indicate a northern penman.

There are a few marginal annotations in C, in a handwriting of the sixteenth century, chiefly in the way of identifying localities. They are the work of a hand whom it would be interesting to discover. The first of the series occurs at 4.57, and the note on that annal will indicate where the others are to be found.

In 976 there is an isolated little annal, of a great famine, unnoticed in any other Saxon Chronicle: but not overlooked by Florence. Another annal peculiar to C is that dated 1039 (p. 166 of this Edition), where the Welsh part of the entry seems to answer to what we read in Annales Cambria under the same date.

The relations between C and D are sometimes so intimate, as almost to suggest that the one may have been actually on the table at which the other was written. Such a solecism as that in 992, where three verbs stand in unbroken series, would

not survive many transcriptions. Both C and D have "sceoldon cunnian meahton hi"=should try whether they could &c.—but E (who gives the passage almost word for word with C and D) varies at this place and writes "gif hi muhton."

There is no apparent reason for assigning to C a priority over D—except the undecisive circumstance, that it closes thirteen years earlier. The body of C and D is identical, being the Chronicle which is represented in the Latin Annals of Florence of Worcester. At the same time, together with this central agreement, there is a divergence in the accretions of each. C embodies extracts from A and B, which do not appear in D. On the other hand the latter amplified his history by the incorporation of northern affairs, and became the parent of a strain of Chronicles of which E represents the fullest development.

While therefore it is doubtful whether the serial position of conclusion as to the C between B and D is chronologically true, it is convenient as origin of C an expression of the relation which C bears to B on the one hand and to D on the other. I suppose then that in or about the year 1045, the community at Abingdon borrowed books from Canterbury (B) and from Worcester (D) and composed from them the present Chronicle: making use of the briefer Canterbury records for the earlier period. That this part was copied from a Canterbury book like B, is suggested by an omission of an essential clause in 877 init. which C imitates, but which is not followed by D. Another argument for the close relations between B and C is found in 902, where a premature entry of the death of Ealhswiö, which must have originated in a blunder, appears in B and C only.

D

A Saxon Chronicle from the Incarnation to A.D. 1079.

This is one of the Cotton Manuscripts in the British Museum: The Worcester Chro-Cot. Tiber. B. iv. It is described by Wanley, p. 220; by nicle. Hardy, p. 657. It is written in the same hand to A.D. 1016, after which it exhibits varieties of penmanship, which are but faintly distinguishable.

This manuscript was called by Josselin Chronicon Wigornia:

and there is internal evidence to confirm this designation. Many of its marks of locality are common to it with C—and accordingly much that might belong here has been anticipated.

It remains to fix our attention on that which signalizes this Chronicle and distinguishes it from the others which have been described, but more especially from C. Here, for the first time, we find a descriptive Preface taking the place of the old genealogical one. But the chief distinction of this Chronicle arises from the introduction of additional materials, enlarging the field of history by digesting the Mercian and Northumbrian Annals in their relative chronological position. This amounts, as Mr. Hardy has already hinted, to the incorporation of a distinct Chronicle, or more than one, unless we suppose it to have been of a composite nature.

This element may be discerned forming a part or the whole of the annals 737, 744, 752*, 759, 760, 761, 762, 765*, 766*, 768*, 774, 776*, 777, 778*, 779, 780*, 782*, 785 (the legatine embassy from Rome is likewise found first in D), 788*, 789*, 790, 791*, 792, 793*, 794, 795*, 796, 797, 798*, 800, 802 (both these are eclipses of the moon, which appear to rest upon the northern authority), 803, 806*, at which point this source seems to stop. Here there is a large influx of material, which appears for the first time in D. The annals marked with an asterisk are entirely composed of new (northern) material. All this mass of particulars now flows into the series of our Chronicles for the first time, and through Florence it became the heritage of all the historians. Mr. Stubbs has supposed (Archaelogical Journal, No. 75, p. 236 note) that this collection may owe its origin to the distinguished bishop of Worcester, Wereferth, who sate from 873 to 915. He was one of the chief literary friends and allies of King Alfred, and Asser ascribes to him the Saxon Translation of Gregory's Dialogues. The part of the Chronicles which would be specially attributable to him, are the Mercian and Northumbrian materials of the eighth century, which we can trace back to Worcester and no further, and of which Wereferth may very well have been the collector and curator. It is quite in accordance with the position of Worcester as a bishopstôl of Mercia, that the preservation of these pieces of history should be due to that monastery.

That D obtained the early or Winchester annals, direct from Winchester, and not through Canterbury or Abingdon, appears by a place in 877 where B and C both omit a clause which is necessary to the sense, and where D has the passage complete.

In the year 915, while keeping otherwise to his copy, he inserts four words [wæs Wærincwíc getimbrod and] which tell the foundation of Warwick.

In the tenth century it has the annals 925, 926, 947, 948, peculiar to itself. And in 959 it is D that first exhibits the Rime of the Reign of Edgar. At this part D begins to break away from its old companionship with ABC and to strike into a new line, in which it is followed by EF. Thus we have the trio DEF on such salient passages as 959, 973 and 979. At 983 C joins this group, and CDE go on together till about 1020, F sometimes falling in and sometimes falling out. In this combination we must look upon D as the leader.

It is worthy of observation, that certain entries (956, 1023) in which the archbishop of York is styled simply "Archbishop," are traceable to D, and may have resulted from the intimacy which existed in the tenth century between the Sees of York and Worcester. There is an interesting mark of contemporaneity in 1012. It is there said that mighty works were done at the tomb of S. Alphege in London, and eleven years later (1123) we have the narrative of his translation to Canterbury. This is told with an interest and warmth peculiar to D, and I attribute the entry of 1012 to D rather than to C, who shares it. No Chronicle except D has an entry to the year 1026.

But the part in which D assumes a strong and distinct character of its own is after 1043, and the annal 1052(1) which relates the outlawry of Godwine is the most brilliant passage of this Chronicle. In this part it has several local particulars of Western Mercia, (1049, an earthquake was felt at Worcester, Wic(?), and Derby,) and of the Welsh wars, which are peculiar to itself. More especially to be noticed in this respect are the annals 1057–1063. In one of these (1059) is the consecration of a tower at Peterborough which is omitted by E, doubtless because that tower had been destroyed in the fire of 1116. More unaccountable is the omission in E of

a fact in D, 1060, viz. that Archbishop Kinsie was buried at Peterborough. Was the site of his grave lost in the fire? When we come to the year 1066, we find D taking a distinct line from C, in that while the latter is entirely engaged with the events in the north, D is briefer about the two great fights there, and goes on to tell the Battle of Hastings, in which this Chronicle is singular, no one of the others giving any account of this decisive battle. The narrative is remarkable for its Saxon spirit, deploring the catastrophe as a judgment from heaven for national sin. In the thirteen years during which this Chronicle is continued below the Conquest, the matter is entirely new, that is, absent from previous Chronicles, and it has been only partially transferred to the pages of E.

Like C, this book ends with a memorandum by a strange hand in a strange dialect—only here the historical position of the event recorded is as problematical as the person of the recording historian. In this Edition it is printed in a distinct

type, p. 216.

An interval in the series of Chronicles.

The gap of time between the close of this Chronicle and the commencement of that which comes next is over forty years, taken at its minimum. The latest entry of D is 1079, and the compilation of E took place, as will be shewn, in 1122. But the difference in character is far greater than this space of time would account for. The local difference must be taken into account, D being a western and E an eastern book. The compilers of E have written almost, if not entirely, in the current phraseology of their day, and their diction is quite that of the twelfth century; whereas in D, though the most important part of it was written in the eleventh century, we find little to distinguish it from the language of the tenth century, and we feel that we have to do with the preserved and cultivated diction of a cloister. But at the same time the matter of the history is not so much infected with the spirit of the cloister in the earlier group as in the latter.

The earlier not "monastic."

The Chronicles which have hitherto been described are so remarkably free from local colouring, that they barely afford sufficient internal evidence as to their native locality. It is more by external than by internal evidence that they are assigned to this or that monastery. At a later date, viz. in the thirteenth century, the Latin Annals acquired a strongly

monastic character, and this has led to a confused way of treating all the early Chronicles, as if there were no difference between them. When it is said, that the monkish annals ignore matters of public concern, and that their attention is confined to the interests of the house or of the order—such criticism has no place in regard to A, B, C, D. If we except a late entry in A (1031), we shall hardly find a sentence in which local partiality has led the record off from the high road of national history. (Thus it has been observed by Mr. Hardy that E has more notices of Abingdon than D has.) But in the Chronicles of the twelfth century the narrowing influence of the cloister begins to be felt, though they do not become monastic in the full sense in which that term is emphatically applied to the Annals of the thirteenth century.

E

A Saxon Chronicle from the Incarnation to A.D. 1154.

This is one of the Laud manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, The Peter-Bodl. Laud 636 (formerly, E. 80). It is described by Wanley, chronicle. p. 64; by Hardy, p. 657. In many respects this is the most important of the whole series of Chronicles. It gives 75 years' history beyond any of the others; and the variety of styles renders it one of the chief luminaries of the English language before the Conquest. It is in one hand to the end of 1121. It is a book of the Abbey of Peterborough, and affords copious proof of its own origin. Its existence is probably due to a disastrous fire that occurred at Peterborough, on Friday, August 3, 1116, in which the Minster was entirely consumed and all the buildings around except the Chapter House and Dormitory; most of the town was burnt also. Probably they lost their books, and it may have been in consequence of this loss that we find a new Chronicle started in 1121. may have been brought down to that date under superintendence, and then have passed from the scribe into the hand of the principal, who carried the record down to the close of 1131. The work being thus divided into an Old Part and a New Part, each must have a separate examination.

§ 1. Down to the close of 892 the Old Part embodies the E. §1.

contents of A § 1 to § 7 (except the Preface, in which E follows D), besides some additional materials. These additions are, 1. The Anglican Chronicle of the eighth century, which has been already traced in D, where it appeared for the first time; 2. A small Chronicle of Frankish kings in Latin, e.g. 769, 778, 800, 810, 812, besides a few Latin entries of English history, e.g. 890, 892; 3. Large entries (documentary or quasi-documentary) on the foundation, endowment, privileges, &c., of Peterborough Abbey: e.g. 654, 656, 675, 686, 777, 852. Some of these are not only in the diction but also plainly are conceived in the spirit of a much later age than their date purports; as in 675 (p. 38) the extravagant pretence that the Abbot of Peterborough was to be papal legate for all England.

In these inserted pieces we find a confirmation of the date of E's compilation. A comparison of these with the language of the continuation after 1121 places it beyond doubt that the work was compiled at the date where the first hand stops. At the same time the diction of the insertions cannot be said to be identical with that after 1121; for the insertions have a slovenliness all their own. I surmise that the drawing up of these instruments was committed to a separate person, who had perhaps special qualifications in that respect, and that the scribe copied his whimsical orthography with scrupulous fidelity, as it was legal documents. In the rest of the text, though the orthography is modified, it is not brought to a uniformity with the insertions, and we mostly find the phraseology of the older books preserved in a mechanical sort of a way. But now and then an alteration seems to be forced upon the compiler, where the old phrase was too obsolete to be endured: e.g. in 688, A has and se papa hine heht Petrus, B and C only change the archaic spelling of heht to het, but E transforms the expression into and he him scop Petrum to name. The contents of these insertions are worthy of their date. Under the year 656, an exemption for the Abbey from episcopal superintendence is pretended (p. 31), confirmed by pope Vitalianus (p. 33), and under 675, confirmed by pope Agatho, whose bull is recited. This, of course, is pure fiction, and a transplantation of the monkish ambition of the twelfth century back into the seventh.

§ 2. Between 892 and 991 is a very meagre century. E. § 2. Sometimes a few brief annals barely redeem the blank, where the older books are richest. Together with some scraps from the fuller sources is found also some additional matter, especially touching northern affairs; e.g. 921, 927, 928 (Latin), 933, 942, 949, 952, 963. A few larger pieces, e.g. The Rimes of Edgar 959 and 975, and the Elegy on king Edward 979, complete this meagre century. Into the midst of these is inserted in the diction of 1121, the restoration of Peterborough Abbey under Bp. Athelwold, 963. The fine history of Edward the Elder, and his victorious career, is utterly ignored.

§ 3. With 991 (the year marked by the famous name of E.§s. Brihtnood) begins a series of comparatively unbroken continuity, if we overlook the gap at 1026, 1027, and that at 1035, where are faults running through all the Chronicles. But here we observe traces of a literary motive which has not appeared in the earlier Chronicles. The compiler is not so much collecting a history as practising the art of book-making. Having a good store of records before him, he culls from this source and from that source such items as are interesting to himself, or where he has no preference he seems to take for each year quantum sufficiet. He had such a Chronicle as C, and such a Chronicle as D, for sometimes he is in verbal agreement with the one and sometimes with the other. He agrees with C in 1042, 1043, copying in the latter year a fact of merely local interest at Abingdon. And C appears to receive his first attention, the harmony between D and E being often through the medium of C. But that D was also present appears from such a case as 1020, where E has copied from D matter not found in C. In addition to C and D, however, our compiler had here the help of a chronicle which is otherwise unknown to us. From such a chronicle must that clause in 1041 have been copied, where king Edward is prayed for in terms which could only proceed from a contemporary. Healde ba hwile be him God unne: May he hold it as long as God permits-a formula like God save the King. Other independent annals about the same date, e.g. 1031, 1032, 1043, argue the presence of such a source. The author of this unknown Chronicle must be con-

sidered as the speaker in the spirited record of 1048, where he feels warmly on the subject of the Dover quarrel, and is on the side of Godwine. While on the one hand E brings in new matter from sources unknown to us, and thus swells the total of the historical collection, yet on the other hand he appears as an abbreviator or excerptor of history wherever we can compare his originals. In fact we have here the earliest example of a *Flores Historiarum*. We see large and interesting matters rejected, which we are confident met the compiler's eye—e.g. the deposition of Stigand, 1042. The passages relating to Burh (Peterborough) are original and earnest, e.g. 1066, 1069; and especially the account of the ravaging of the Abbey by Hereward and his gang in 1070. This Section closes perhaps with 1075.

E. § 4.

§ 4. This is a Section of peculiar interest. Passing over some annals which are mere collectanea and filling up, we enter with 1083 upon the work of a vigorous and sympathetic annalist, somewhat despondent and lugubrious, and prone to the gloomy view; but one whose diction has a certain gush, and whose whole work has the unity of a genuine and original outpouring. I cannot confidently trace his hand beyond the close of 1000. His language is pathetic, sometimes even passionate. The writer was certainly an old man. Frequent are such words as reowlic, 1086; and on p. 220 it occurs four times. It appears already in 1083. The interiection Eala too, 1086; and twice on p. 220. This Section corresponds partially with that portion of the Chronicles which has been assigned* to Wulfstan, the famous Bishop of Worcester. I so far agree with that view as to feel confident that the Section is dated from Worcester, but I do not believe Wulfstan to have been the author. The way in which Wulfstan is mentioned in 1087 (p. 2241) seems presumptive against his authorship, while it indicates some one who was conversant with him. It says: The revered bishop Wulfstan seeing these things was greatly disturbed in his mind: for he it was who had the charge of holding the castle.

^{*} Dean Hook (Archwological Journal, March 1863) accepts this authorship on the representation of the work entitled A Regular Dissection of the Saxon Chronicle, 1830.

The writer uses the first person (plural) several times (p. 223t; 1089, 1090), and in one oft-quoted place dwells on his qualification to describe the person of the Conqueror, so as we apprehended him, who looked on him and formerly resided at his court (p. 221 h).

In accordance with the experience claimed by this author is the extension of the horizon of observation which may here be noted; e.g. 1086, he notices Spanish affairs.

In this Section we first fall in with the modern Definite Article the: e.g. to be cynerice, 1076; be Arceb', 1085; be over man - be b'stol on Lundene, 1086. This feature demanded a passing remark; but the progress of the language as exhibited in these Chronicles is far too large a matter to be entered upon here.

Neither can we here find room to attempt so intricate and vext a subject as the Chronology of the Chronicles; but we may just note in passing that this Section seems to contain some indications of the year beginning with Lady Day. At this period the year mostly begins at Christmas, and C 1053 has been pointed out [in M. H. B. p. 118, note (3)] as a late example of beginning on March 25. But here we have in 1083 a notice of something that happened "the same year after midwinter;" and in 1085 the annal begins with the Easter Court. Of this Section let it suffice to add that it must ever reckon among the loci classici of history, and that it must be read in the original to be appreciated.

§ 5. The Section 1091-1121 (at the close of which the E. § 5. first hand comes to an end) may be distinguished from the last by its frequent use of the prepositional phrase On mang; e.g. on mang bam; on mang bisum, p. 227; on mang bison, p. 232. Though differing from the former Section in its tokens of authorship, it appears to be indebted to the same source, at least in the first half of the Section, and to represent Worcester at second-hand. Through all the modifications which it receives in passing through the hand of the Peterborough compiler, it still preserves much of the splendid Wigornian eloquence which is known to us at first-hand in Chronicle D. The compiler of E had before him a Worcester chronicle which had been carried down to 1107, and this was his chief resource while it lasted, though he had

others by the side of it. By comparing Florence in this part we find verbal resemblances, and where these fail, we still find identity of sequence in the paragraphs. By such tokens it plainly appears, that while Florence and E have each independent materials, yet that there is still a common element. Sometimes an original paragraph was inserted, written at Peterborough, and then we have an opportunity of seeing the contrast between English of Worcester modified at Peterborough, and the genuine English of Peterborough. The readiest illustrations of this are in 1107 and 1114, where the paragraphs about Ernulf declare their own origin, and exhibit a strong contrast of language. The closing paragraphs in 1098 and 1102 are also examples. In the former of these two the writer feels for the tilth on marsh lands as became a resident in the fens. The same may be said of the notice in 1099 of damage caused by a high flood-tide. The bulletins of seasons, crops, &c., is quite a new feature in this Section, coming in as they do with a formal regularity at or towards the close of most of the annals. Perhaps a succession of bad seasons had compelled attention to the subject. These are altogether domestic Peterborough work, on which Worcester has no claim-they are not in Florence. In 1102 we detect an omission by E, where Florence gives a list of the Abbots who were deposed, and among them Godric, Abbot of Burh. These paragraphs are of nearly the same style as the large insertions above noticed concerning the Abbey of Peterborough. If not so identical as to indicate the same hand, they have enough general likeness to be of the same time and place. The annal 1114 helps to confirm the prima facie date of the compilation of E down to 1121. It ends with an ejaculation for the welfare of Ernulf as living:and he died in 1124. In 1106 there is a complication of dates. The account of a strange star appears to have been put on record at the time of its appearance, and then in 1122 when that memorandum was inserted in the Chronicle, a further comment was added: Divers persons said that they in these times saw more strange stars, but we wrote it not more particularly (openlicor), because we did not see it ourselves.

It is a strong feature of this Section, that as a rule each annal begins with a notice of the King's Christmas Court,

those of Easter and Whitsuntide being sometimes added. It is worthy of notice that there are three expressions for Christmas, and that the preposition which goes with them is always "to." Thus: to mide wintra—to Cristes mæssan—to Natiuiteð. There is no doubt here at what season the year begins. At the same time however that the year begins at Christmas, we find (1096) January I, after the old Roman Calendar, spoken of as geares dæg, i. e. Year's Day, Jour de l'An. None of these Curial Fasti are in Florence.

§ 6. Comprising 1122-1131. This is probably the continuation of the Peterborough interpolator or of his collaborateur. At any rate, this appears to be ten years of genuine Peterborough chronicling. Here therefore we consider that E is for the first time standing on its own ground. The date 1122 seems to have been recognised at Peterborough as the beginning of a new local era. The Chronicon Petroburgense (printed by the Camden Society, Ed. Stapleton) begins at 1122; though the main business of that book, viz. the administration of Abbot Robert de London, dates from 1274.

With this Section that provincial diction and orthography which has appeared hitherto only at intervals, becomes prevalent. The king's name is generally spelt Heanri; and many other words shew ea contrary to the usual orthography. Examples: weas, wearen, forbearnde, hwear, Sear, seagon, Gleastingbyrig, geamene, heafde, beteahte, heafdon, 1101. Such forms are rarely found in the earlier parts: e.g. streangde, heafde. Other novelties in spelling are Norhtwic, Norhthamtune, burch 1122, Burch 1124. That this would have been considered negligent English by many even at that time we may see by the hand of a corrector that has been at work in one or two places. Thus on p. 252 he has corrected heftninge to the literary form heftnunge, and he has supplied a was, indicating that weas or even was was not according to approved orthography. There are in this Section three allusions to portions of the Liturgy (1122, 1127, 1131), of which the opening words are cited. Notices of the physical condition of the people grow more explicit, and towards the close of the Section ejaculations thicken. There is every appearance that the writing of these

E. § 6.

annals followed close upon the events. For example, the closing words of 1127 indicate that the ejection of Abbot Henri, which took place in 1132, was at the date of writing vet future.

E. § 7.

§ 7. The last Continuation, 1132-1154, is also undoubtedly a domestic composition of Peterborough. Written twenty-five years later, it measures the decadence of the language at the self-same spot, and shews what it had become after transmission to a succeeding generation, the latest that ever wrote history in Englisc.

In this Section, among other modernisms, we may note that th is common, as a substitute for the old or the older p. Some letters have changed their forms, especially r, which is no longer written p, but with a nearer approach to our modern r, and becoming withal so like r, the character used in Saxon writing for s, that it misled Gibson to edit rachenteges as sachenteges, of which word he notes, Quæ sit hujus vocabuli significatio videant alii.

The manuscript of this Chronicle (E) has been described by Mr. Hardy as ending in a mutilated state; and Wanley seems to convey the same idea by saying abrupte desinit Codex. Certainly the manuscript gives this impression at first sight; indeed it requires a minute and patient examination to discover the fact that there is no mutilation. The last page appears to have been long exposed to accidents without a cover, and it has been so rubbed that its contents are but partially and faintly legible. Dr. Ingram went far astray in reading it, and his interpretation of the closing annal was one of the most fanciful things that the study of these Chronicles has ever engendered. But it will be seen by the text here presented that it has been nearly all made out, and that the last clause was a pious commendation of the new Abbot, and that it terminates formally with a triangular punctuation. The italics are not conjectures, but copied from the MS. with much difficulty, and consequently some uncertainty. But I believe I have not printed (without brackets) a single letter which I have not seen. When in doubt, I tested my reading by referring to my ever-ready friend, the Rev. Henry Octavius Coxe, now Bodleian Librarian. Those only are conjectures which are enclosed in brackets.

This Chronicle appropriately ends with a local record, as with a keynote. The pervading spirit of the work is local, as that of the former four is national. The old chronicles are made use of chiefly as a setting for the Annals of Peterborough, and it is sensibly felt throughout that the reader is rapidly approaching the time when their cloister was to be all the world to the English monks. Political news is entered merely as matter of curiosity, and as a contribution to domestic entertainment. The generous forward and onward movement which enlivens the first group is here replaced by a backward and retrospective lingering, animated by no stronger passion than the desire to save a few scraps out of the general wreck. Both E and F are scrap-books of History, and they belong to that class of compositions which attained its full development in the Latin Flores Historiarum.

Our present manuscript was probably one of the very last vernacular histories written in England, and almost certainly the last ever compiled in Peterborough Abbey. From this time they adopted the Latin, and produced many chronicles in that language. The collection in Sparke's folio Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores are mostly works of Peterborough extraction, and give Peterborough a prominent place. Hugo Candidus appears to have made use of this Chronicle (E), from which he took the past history and rights of the Abbey, amplifying it rather in treatment than in substance. In his first sentences he declares that he wrote nothing de suo proprio, but that he had found it all in old Histories.

The Laud MS. has a considerable number of blunders in it which all Editors have uniformly corrected. But over and above these there are a certain number of cases in which it may be doubtful whether we have an error or a provincial peculiarity. My rule has been in doubtful cases to keep to the reading of the MS. A very common instance is d for 3, and reversely. I believe I have retained the reading of the MS. in such cases more frequently than any other editor; and if I had the text to print again, with eight years more experience, I should probably change still less.

The two Chronicles which remain to be noticed need not occupy us long. They are both of Canterbury, and both of minor value, but in other respects very dissimilar.

F

A Saxon and Latin Chronicle from the Incarnation to A.D. 1058.

A bilingual Chronicle of

This is one of the Cotton manuscripts in the British Museum; Canterbury. Cott. Domitian A. viii. It is described by Wanley, p. 220; by Hardy, p. 660. This is the "Cod. Cotton" of Gibson. It is in one hand throughout, and that a feeble shambling one, not unlike the late interpolator (a) in A. A good place for identifying these two litterateurs is 943, where the text of F fits in exactly to supply a mutilation in a. It must be ascribed to the twelfth century; its abrupt ending at 1058 affords no token of date. It marks by its bilingual arrangement the transition period from the use of the vernacular to the use of the Latin in English history. There is no external tradition informing us to what home it belonged, but the internal evidence assigns it to Christ Church, Canterburv.

> The matter which is peculiar to it belongs to Kentish ecclesiastical history, and the first piece is a narrative of the Council of Baccancelde at which Wihtred king of Kent presided, in 694. In 784 his Latin gives a curious double interpretation of the HER with which the Saxon Annals begin: 784 Hic tunc temporis fuit in Cantia rex Ealhmundus. In 1006, it shews a very characterizing lection, prutne here and uneargne, where CDE have ranche here and unearhne. This is probably the oldest example of the French Prud used in our modern sense of Proud: and it seems to imply an advanced decade of the twelfth century. Some of the entries are only in Latin. One of these is Cnut's grant of the port-dues of Sandwich to Christ Church, of which A's account (1031) is mutilated. This whole Chronicle bears a literary affinity to § 11 of A, which we have traced to the Cathedral Minster at Canterbury, and we have vet to notice another book which issued (but earlier than F) from the same Scriptorium.

G

A Saxon Chronicle from Julius Casar to A.D. 1001.

This is one of the Cotton manuscripts in the British Museum, A Canterbury Edition marked Otho, B. xi. It is noticed in Wanley, p. 219; and of the Windescribed by Mr. Hardy, p. 654. This volume was supposed Chronicle. to have entirely perished in the fire of 1731 that destroyed much of the Cottonian Library then at Westminster. three leaves, including annals from 837 to 871, have been recovered, and a facsimile of one of them is given in the Monumenta Historica Britannica. The handwriting is of the eleventh century and is most like that of Chronicle B. It also resembles that of the manuscript of Beowulf. In matter, it is simply a copy (without extra insertions) of § 1-\$ 10 of Chronicle X, and made probably before A contained any subsequent addi-Happily, this manuscript had been printed by Wheloc, whose edition is now our authority for most of this text. No other copy could have been spared with less damage, because no other had been edited without intermixture of texts.

Among Usher's Collections in Dublin, there is a transcript by Lambard, "apparently," says Mr. Hardy, "of this MS." Seeing the close resemblance of this manuscript to A, and the fact that its antiquity is not clearly inferior to that of any manuscript except A, I was dissatisfied with the notation G, and I have sometimes designated it as A, a more modern form of A. The sign G wrongs this copy in point of date in placing it at the end of the series-while on the other hand it fails to represent the fact that it now rests on an Edition and not on manuscript authority. The sign A as being a shadow of A, or the sign W, the initial of Wheloc, which Mr. Thorpe has adopted, expresses this better. There is this objection to Mr.

manuscript independently of the edition.

This edition is really a servile reproduction of T, with nothing original but its spelling. It seems to have been made from A in the eleventh century at Christ Church (Canterbury) at the time they received T from Winchester, and before they had made any of the later or Kentish additions to A. Had we not possessed A itself, this copy would have

Thorpe's notation, that we lose the means of indicating the

been highly esteemed. The following are some of its variations in spelling:

A	G (A)
Creoding. Creoda	Cryding. Cryda 626
þeode	piode 627
huerf	hwerf 633
Eadwig	Eadwic
cyning	cynine
bonces	ðonges -
belocen hæfdon	belogene wæron 755
Beorhtric	Byrhtric 784
Wiferp	Wiverb
sige	syge 800
scire	scyre 851
ridon hie þider	rydon hy ŏyder
hieran	hyran 897
hierdon	hyrdon
gehierdun	gehyrdun
Sigulf	Siwulf 905
hira }	∫ heora
hiera J	hiora

It prefers the δ to the β , the y to the i (also for eo)—but its chief novelties are in the gutturals: e.g. Wicganbeorche 851, doctor (=dohtor) 853.

One thing that distinctly classes G(A) with the elder group ABCD, and distinguishes it from the younger group EFa, is its keeping the old genealogies.

The handwriting exhibits that peculiar y which is a prominent feature in the calligraphy of X, and which may be seen in the facsimiles. See *Monumenta Historica Britannica* for a specimen from the earlier annals, and Mr. Thorpe's edition for an extract from the tenth century.

Supposed traces of other Saxon Chronicles. The known copies of Saxon Chronicles having now been described, it remains to consider what likelihood there is that more copies may yet be discovered, or whether there are any traces or notices in literature which justify such an expectation. For there have been surmisings of the kind in more quarters than one. Dr. Ingram supposed that the "Hist. Petrob." referred to as the authority of certain collations in D, indicated a Chronicle which we do not now possess. But a

comparison of these readings with the text of E will demonstrate that no other book is meant, but E itself, which has so just a title to be called a Peterborough History. A more promising trace seemed to be indicated in the Monumenta Historica Britannica (Pref. p. 77 note), where, as a hint to future enquirers, is quoted a note of Dr. Brett's citing Dom Ruinart's Life of Pope Urban for the fact that there was in his time a manuscript Saxon Chronicle in the Abbey of S. Germains des Prés. During the French Revolution, the manuscripts of the Abbey of S. Germains that had not already been stolen were removed into the Bibliothèque Imperiale, and my valued friend M. le Vicomte de la Villemarqué made, at my request, the most careful search and enquiry to see if any such a Saxon Chronicle could there be found. He identified the passage in Dom Ruinart, which is as follows; "Nusquam legitur quot vel qui episcopi ei [synodo] interfuerint, nisi quod in veteri chronico Saxonico quod Ms. habemus, dicatur Henricus in ea Synodo à ducentis ferè patribus communione ecclesiastica privatus fuisse." What manner of book was indicated by this vague expression, whether vernacular or Latin, insular or continental, was uncertain, and the doubt would still have existed to tantalize the enquirer, had not my indefatigable friend a second time renewed the search, and succeeded in identifying the volume in the Manuscript Department of the Bibliothèque Imperiale. It is marked S. G. P. [S. Germains des Prés No. 440, and is entitled Chronicon Saxonicon, but its second title and that which indicates its real character, is Chronicon Magdeburgense ab anno Dni 741 ad annum 1139. It is in Latin, and has been published in the Collections of Dom Bouquet and of Pertz.

We proceed next to trace the course of Saxon history as Gradual oblivion of emanating from these Chronicles, and embodied by the earliest Saxon History. Latin Annalists, and then to observe how it gradually fell into neglect, until the Revival of Literature again drew attention to the originals, and a reconstruction of our early history has been the consequence.

The Biography of Alfred which is attributed rightly or wrongly to Asser, has embodied the whole contents of the Chronicle from 851 to 887, with other matter; and it is no easy problem to solve in what relation these Latin annals

stand to our Saxon text. In some parts the Latin is the more ample (e.g. 853), and one might incline to think the Saxon a vernacular abridgment of the Latin original. Reversely in 855, the Latin wears the aspect of a translation many removes apart from the original Saxon, the sense of which is at once amplified and corrupted. But the whole question is surrounded with difficulties, and it does not appear to me to find a solution in Mr. T. Wright's rejection of the authenticity. No theory of the authorship and date of the work has ever been proposed which on the whole meets the facts of the case better than that set forth in the book itself, that it was written in 893. And I consider the fact of the coincidence with A ending so early as 887, at a place where we have independent reasons for declaring a natural break (see above, A & 7) in the Saxon Chronicle, is strongly in favour of the truthfulness of the professed date.

The Latin Chronicle of

But the first comprehensive Latin work founded on the Chronicle of Ethelweard. Saxon Chronicles is that which bears the magnificent name of Patricius Consul Fabius Quæstor Ethelwerdus

> The best judges * seem to agree in identifying the chronicler Æthelweard, with that 'Ealdorman Ethelwerd' to whom Ælfric addressed certain of his works, and likewise with Æðelward ealdorman who was sent in 994 to Anlaf at Southampton. Possibly he is also the same with the 'Æthelwerd Dux' who signs charters 976-998.

> Æthelweard's Chronicle closes with the last year of Eadgar's That it is in the main a translation of vernacular reign. Chronicles cannot be doubted. The close resemblance which it bears to some which we now possess, especially (as Mr. Stevenson says) to A, leaves no room for speculation as to whence Æthelweard obtained the main body of his material. The only uncertainty in regard to his work is, how much of that which is peculiar to his Chronicle was found in the Saxon Chronicle which he used-in other words, how far we may assume the existence at the close of the tenth century of a Saxon Chronicle or Chronicles like the Latin Chronicle of Æthelweard. It is quite conceivable that with his

^{*} So Mr. Hardy and Mr. Riley; the latter in the Gentleman's Magazine, July, 1857—an article to which I am under obligations in this Section.

noble connections and high public offices he might have had access to occasional gleanings of new information, and thus he may possibly have been not merely a translatorthe most monstrously absurd of all pedantic translators—but in some little measure an original chronicler and an enricher of the stores of history. Provoking and irritating as this writer's manner is, we cannot but prize highly the possession of his work. He is the only Latin Chronicler that breaks the vast blank from Asser to Florence, a space of two centuries—his faults illustrate while they caricature the culture of his time - and his mistakes afford the best light to shew us what originals he was working from. It is specially in this aspect that he claims attention here, and therefore a few particulars shall be given of the information which is peculiar to him, and also of the passages in which he discovers an acquaintance with our Saxon Chronicles.

Describing the Saxon people somewhat after the manner of E 449, he adds: Porro Anglia Vetus sita est inter Saxones et Giotos, habens oppidum capitale, quod sermone Saxonico Slesuuic nuncupatur, secundum vero Danos, Haitheby. Ideoque Britannia nunc Anglia appellatur, assumens nomen victorum.

- 500. Sexto etiam anno adventus eorum (i.e. of Cerdic and Cynric) occidentalem circumierunt Britanniæ partem, quæ nunc Uuest-Sexe nuncupatur.
- 519. The battle of Cerdicesford, where Cerdic and Cynric conquered the Britains and from which dates the rise of the kingdom of Wessex, is described as being "in fluvio Avene"—which Mr. Riley considers decisive for Charford on the Avon, Hants.
- of more notice than that bestowed by the Editors of M H B, "Hallucinatus est Ethelwerdus;" he was clearly half asleep when he translated "æt Peonnum," i.e. at Pen, into Latin by the words "et Pionna,"—thus "Cenmeath et Pionna reges, &c.," thus transforming Pen from a battlefield into a king. The other case is also that of mere inattention, where he has rendered the two words "gehergeade Wulfhere" as if Wulfhere were the object instead of the subject of

- the verb. But we have this interesting result, that by finding the cause of his errors in our extant Saxon text we obtain a demonstration of the fact that Æthelweard was translating Saxon Chronicles, and those so far identical with our own.
- 710. Here the translator makes the Cornish king Gerent to be called "Uuthgirete," because his Saxon said that Ine and Nun fought "wid Gerent," i.e. against Gerent; he blending the preposition with the name, says, "Nunna et Ine reges bellum gesserunt contra Uuthgirete."
- 787. The passage about the first arrival of the Danes is quoted in the Notes to this date.
- 823. Of the slain at Ellendun: "et Hun ibi occiditur dux provinciæ Sumorsæton; requiescitque nunc in urbe Uuintana."
- 855. After Æþelwulf's pedigree (in which Bældæg is called Balder), he gives a peculiar legend of Scef: "Ipse Scef cum uno dromone advectus est in insula oceani quæ dicitur Scani, armis circundatus, eratque valde recens puer, et ab incolis illius terræ ignotus; attamen ab eis suscipitur, et ut familiarem diligenti animo eum custodierunt, et post in regem eligunt; de cujus prosapia ordinem trahit Athulf rex."
- 867. "in eodem anno migravit Eanulf dux provinciæ Sumersetun," (and presently his burial) "ducis quippe supradicti in cœnobio quod Glastingabyrig nuncupatur."
- 870. The burial of Edmund king of E. Anglia at Bury St. Edmunds: "cujus corpus jacet mausoleatum in loco qui Beadoricesuuyrthe nuncupatur."
- 871. He tells a strange story of Æþelwulf aldorman, who fell at Reading: "Corpus quippe supradicti ducis abstrahitur furtim, adduciturque in Merciorum provinciam, in locum qui Northworthige nuncupatur, juxta autem Danaam linguam Deoraby." But we cannot credit extraordinary tales in a writer who is capable of such a blunder as that which follows.

876. Et in ipsius anni decursu, exercitus qui in Grantanbricge fuerat, conjecit statum communem cum occidentali exercitu, quod ante non usi sunt. juxta oppidum quod Vuerham nuncupatur, depopulataque est ab eis pars major provinciæ illius. Quinetiam rex pactum cum eis pacis confirmat, simulque pecuniam dando. Unlike as this is to the present Saxon texts, it is plain that Æthelweard had our Saxon text before him. The clauses peculiar to him are here printed in thick type, and indeed they are most peculiar and extraordinary. He makes the army at Cambridge to join in common quarters (statum communem) with the western army, a thing which has no existence at all. Yet this community of encampment and that visionary western army are both extracted out of the genuine Saxon text. He manifestly understood "bestæl" in the sense of "installing;" making the same mistake (inversely) as that which has been made about the word "stælwyroe," (p. 94, and see note). Hence his "conject statum communem!" Then the western army-"cum occidentali exercitu,"-is a substitution for the opposite party, viz. the West-Saxon militia, "Wessexena fierde!" After this, we need hardly trouble ourselves to search for the original of his next special piece of information—that Alfred bought and paid for the treaty! A thing so incongruous to the whole tenor of events must come through better hands than Æthelweard's before we need concern ourselves about it.

But the Annalist who was the most vigorous of all the Latin The Latin But the Annalist who was the most vigorous of all the Chronicle of compilers, and who more than any other embodied the Saxon Florence of Worcester. Chronicles into his work, was Florence of Worcester. He died in 1118, four years before the compilation of E, and his last annal is 1117. But the first Continuator who carries his Chronicle on to 1141 goes over the ground occupied by those subsequent annals which are the special property of E. The narrative of Florence may often be identified with the Saxon Chronicle, more especially with D (for the early part), whose words are sometimes rendered into strange forms of

Florence of Worcester. Latin, as in 1052 (1051) where the micel unræd of D is Latinized into magnum insilium. The intimacy between Florence and D is another proof of the Worcester nativity of the latter. For the period after 1079, where our D ceases, Florence must certainly have had by him a continuation of that same Chronicle (now lost), which continuation was excerpted from by the compiler of E. There seems no other way of explaining the result of a comparison between Florence and the only Saxon Chronicle (E) which here remains to be compared. Florence appears to give the whole Chronicle of which E presents selections. Thus the death of Wulfstan, which is told in Florence with the utmost pomp, is omitted in E. On the other hand the great passage of E (1085 sqq.) which has been called "The Annals of Wulfstan" are not found in Florence—a thing quite unlikely had they really been Wulfstan's. After the date of 1107 the affinity with Florence disappears. Subsequent historians followed Florence, and the narrative of E from 1107 to 1154 remained unknown to history until modern times.

A good illustration of the wide interval between the early Saxon Chronicles and Florence is supplied in 901, the account of the death of Alfred. There is in the original all the simplicity of a contemporary bulletin, but in Florence is seen the magnifying effect of two centuries of posthumous fame. It is for the sake of this contrast that the parallel passage of Florence is given opposite to X 901 (p. 97).

There is often an amplification of language in the Latin annalists which might seem at first sight to point to a fuller record than these Saxon originals, when it is really no more than a rhetorical expansion. The following parallel furnishes only an ordinary example:—

D 827.

and se Ecgbryht lædde fyrde to Dore wið Norðhymbre and hi him þær eadmedo budon and geþwærnysse and hi on þam to hwurfon.

FLORENCE 827.

Deinde suam movit expeditionem ultra Humbræ flumen; cui Northymbrenses, in loco qui Dore vocatur, occurrentes pacificè, ei concordiam humilemque subjectionem obtulere; et sic ab invicem divisi sunt magna mentis alacritate.

There are, however, important additions in Florence, both Florence of Worcester. such as might be expected from his seeing Chronicles lost to us, and also observations and reflections such as contemporary writers were not in a position to make. Thus in 1007, where all the Saxon Chronicles merely notice in the fewest words the appointment of Eadric as ealdorman of Mercia, Florence draws his character and gives enough of his pedigree to exhibit the degree of kin in which Earl Godwine stood to him.

Where, however, the Saxon is unintelligible, and we expect light from early Latin translators, there it is rare to get it. They seem to have felt the same difficulties as we do. Thus in the next annal to that last noticed, viz. in 1008, where there is much obscurity, we find in Florence nothing but a bald verbal translation, and we only learn from it that he had the same Saxon before him as we have, and could make no more of it than we can.

Simeon of Durham need only be noticed here with reference to the first of the two Chronicles that go by his name. Into this composition the Saxon Chronicles do not largely enter-but he produces between 735 and 802 materials from some Northern chronicles or registers that we have no other trace of.

Henry of Huntingdon was wanting in some of the chief The Latin Chronicle of qualities which make a historian, but he was richly endowed Henry of Huntingwith those of secondary rank. He was a bad chronographer, don. and not jealous of inaccuracy; but he delighted in graphic narration and he had a poetical love for antiquity. He was an amateur and an antiquarian. To him we owe the earliest mention of Stonehenge. He had a great fondness for the old Saxon Chronicles, which in his day were already something curious and out of date, although his Annals close at the same date as E, viz. 1154. He does not decline to notice the old genealogies, leading up to Woden or higher, and which the enlightened of his day affected to despise. Nay, it is in that twilight of history, where the Saxon Chronicle is of most dubious authenticity, that he has poured out the wealth of his historical rhetoric, imitated from Orosius and perhaps some historians of the classic age. Thus in 508 he has expanded two lines into a circumstantial battle-field occupying a considerable paragraph. In 514 we have another example of fictitious

Henry of Huntingdon. ornament, only here he draws not upon his classic studies, but upon his memories of old native poetry, which are far more entertaining. On the whole it may be said that not one of the early Chroniclers shews so much of the Englishman, and none grounded his work so entirely on Saxon Chronicles.

He is the only one who has attempted a Latin version of the old Saxon ballads. His translation has been quoted on page 113 opposite to the old Song of the Battle of Brunanburh, and it may readily be seen how the old poetic Englisc puzzled him. He was forty or fifty years junior to Florence, and in the twelfth century this interval made a great difference in the transition of the language. Florence rendered the short annal of 671 Har was but micle fugla wal thus, Avium strages facta est permaxima, but Henry of Huntingdon by Maxima puqua volucrum in Anglia: and he goes on to confirm the credibility of such an event by averring that a battle of the birds had happened at Rouen in his own day, that thousands were slain, and that the foreign birds took to flight. It cannot be said that the word well excludes this interpretation; it is in fact just as dubious as Florence's Latin strages, who seems to have exercised a sort of economy in adopting this exact verbal rendering. Roger of Wendover took the Battle of the Birds for his Flores Historiarum, using the phraseology of Henry of Huntingdon, except that the millia occisa became multa millia occisa.

Henry of Huntingdon has the appearance of special knowledge in two or three places concerning the kingdom of Kent at the crisis of its fate, when it was about to be merged in the growing power of Mercia. Lappenberg gives him credit for it (Geschichte, vol. i. p. 233), but on examination it comes to nothing in every case but one. That one is considered in my note A. D. 785.

On the year 1006 I cannot forbear to notice a rendering which has both surprised and gratified me. I have ventured, in a note on this annal, to paraphrase what appeared to me to be the feeling conveyed in the words to heora garwan feorme, and which I imagined no one had pointed out. Florence neglects it, and I had overlooked Henry of Huntingdon who has given it admirably: Quocumque autem pergebant, quæ parata erant hilariter comedentes, cum discederent in retribu-

tionem procurationis reddebant hospiti cædem hospitio flam- Henry of Huntingmam.

In the year 1008 we have a specimen of his antiquarianism, in the definition, which he has added, of a 'Hide': Hida autem Anglicè vocatur terra unius aratri culturæ sufficiens per annum.

Again in 1011, the Sack of Canterbury, we see that he had before him the old Elegy Was &a rapling &c. (C D E), which we cannot trace in the lamentations of Florence.

These are the Latin Annalists of the first rank after the Neglect of Saxon Lite-Saxon Chronicles, and these became the new medium of the rature. old Saxon history. We perceive in reading their pages, and in Henry more than any other, that Saxon Literature is already a thing of the past. If we had not been able to look as it were through their eyes at the Saxon Chronicles, we could not have discovered how antiquated they had become in the twelfth century. Already in 1154, where Henry and E alike end, the country had gone far in that transition which made Saxon a dead language. The continuation of E down to a date which enables it to close abreast of Henry, is a peculiarity and must be regarded as a mark of special attachment to the old neglected vernacular. In those days of local isolation there were many places in which a fashion or a sentiment might hold out as in a stronghold against a prevalent disposition for change. Nor is it perhaps altogether foreign to remark, that this specimen of a Saxon Chronicle which overlived its day, comes to us from that part of England which has the credit of having stood out longest for Saxon independence.

William of Malmesbury comes after Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmes not as a matter of dates, but as belonging to a new class of bury. writers. He aimed at being a historian of a higher order, at grouping his history, and making it more instructive and entertaining. To a certain extent he succeeded: but he too utterly slighted the office of the chronographer. The further history departs in form from the Chronicle, the more necessary is it that the historian should be strong in his chronographic elements. Malmesbury was not so-he sometimes inverts the order of events. His main idea was entertainment, and for that purpose he embodied materials not only from Chronicles and other sources properly historical, but also took the attrac-

tive stories out of the hagiographies. He does not, like Wendover, adopt a title which avowedly sets forth this intention; but history was now moving altogether in the direction of *Flores Historiarum* or Elegant Extracts out of Historybooks.

As Malmesbury used a variety of sources for English History, and as he moreover worked in a good deal of contemporary foreign history occasionally, and all this without making his work much more bulky than that of Florence-it follows manifestly that he had less room to spare for the Saxon Chronicles, of which large portions were now dropped out of history, not again to be taken up, until modern times. For Malmesbury's work carried with it a prestige of finality,—and it was long before any one reopened the sources from whence he had drawn. Thus it came to pass, that with the growing mass of ever-accumulating materials of history, the later having always preference over the earlier, the Saxon period shrunk up into the smallest compass and no one ever attempted to The work of Matthew of Westminster two reconstruct it. centuries later, was the next history that obtained a wide circulation—but it was, as its title bears, a Flores Historiarum. When English history had been for three centuries and more in the hands of these Latin historians, and when the mother tongue begins again to appear in history, Saxon history had almost vanished. What place it held in the view of the historians of the fifteenth century we may judge from Capgrave's Chronicle of England. The Provincial of the Austin Friars composed this work in his old age for his own particular use, as a mnemonic of history. Here is his own account of it: Now is age com, and I want ny al that fchuld longe to a ftudier; yet it pleased me, as for a solace, to gader a fchort remembrauns of elde ftories, that whanne I loke upon hem, and have a fchort touch of the writing, I can fone dilate the circumftaunfes. It is instructive to note how little Saxon history was appreciated by this diligent student and voluminous writer, one of the most learned men of his time. His Chronicle is busied about Popes and Emperors and Sarasines, &c., insomuch that his Saxon ancestors never get mentioned till 701. Then he produces "the Heptarchy" complete: And undir this Pope too Kyngis of Ynglond went to

Rome, and were mad there monkis; and this was aftir the Brutes blood was oute of the lond, for than was the lond divided in to vii kyngdammes.

And ye fchal undirftand that this division began in the first coming of Saxones, whech was in the 3ere of our Lord 455. And here we will express the vii regiones, who [how] thei were departed in this lond.

The first kyngdam was in Kent, where the first Kyng was Hengist, &c.

After an interval which fills ten octavo pages we have another notice of Saxon history, under 855, as follows:—

In this tyme the Danes aryved into Ynglond, with too curfed captaynes, Hingwar and Hubba. Thei diftroyed the cuntre, and killid the glorious Kyng Edmund, first with schot of arowis, and then smete of his heed.

The history of King Alfred is disposed of in the following lines:—

In this tyme regned Alured in Ynglond, the fourt son of Adelwold. He began to regn in the 3ere of our Lord DCCCLXXII. This man, be the councelle of Seint Ned, mad an open Scole of divers fciens at Oxenford. He had many batailes with Danes; and aftir many conflictes in which he had the wers, at the laft he overcam hem; and be his trety Godrus here Kyng was baptized, and went hom with his puple. XXVIII 3ere he regned, and deied the servaunt of God.

These illustrations will serve to shew to what a state of inanition Saxon history was reduced in the fifteenth century. Few only of the historical names are known, and these are handled with a strangeness suitable only to phantoms like Cophetua, Moelmud, and Pharamund. There is a seminythical air over the feeble narrative, which might have developed into a downright myth, but for lack of interest.

The 'Heptarchy' itself is a real myth, a thing which no writer could have propagated, but under the favouring shadow of general ignorance. In short, Saxon history was lost and forgotten. It has been admirably observed by Lappenberg, that the splendour of the Norman aristocracy extinguished the memory of Saxon times, and that Shakspeare, whose genius found materials in all lands, and in all ages of European

historia quam habet Doctor Wutton Decanus Eccl'iæ Chri Cant.

This Dr. Wotton (Nicholas) was the first Dean of Canterbury, made by Henry VIII in 1541, after the Dissolution. He was also made Dean of York (1544), and Prebendary of York (1545). He managed to hold both Deaneries under Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth. He was one of Henry VIII's executors, of Edward VI's privy-council, Secretary of State (1540-50), Ambassador to Naples (1551), one of Queen Elizabeth's first privy-council. He died January 26, 1567. This distinguished and well-endowed ecclesiastic was a papist, and therefore Archbishop Parker can hardly be considered as an impartial judge of his character; but he speaks of "Mr. dean Wotton" as having been not over scrupulous about appropriating church property*. A fine Italian statue of him (kneeling) may be seen in the Cathedral at Canterbury, at the N.E. curve of the apse, close to where was once the shrine of Becket. He was great-uncle to Isaac Walton's Sir Henry Wotton.

Joscelin is called by Strype (P. ii. 251), "John Josselyn, an Essex man, the Archbishop's Secretary." In the same page it appears that he wrote himself "Mr. John Goscelin." Elsewhere he is spoken of as Sir Thomas Josseline's brother, an antiquary in the archbishop's house, who wrote the history De Antiquitate Britannica Ecclesia†.

The Chronicle C is called by Joscelin not only "Chronicon Abbendoniæ," but also "MS. Boyer." This is explained by Mr. Hardy as follows:—"Before it became the property of Sir Robert Cotton it belonged to Bowyer, who was keeper of the Records in the Tower."

With the revival of literature English History came to be composed on a larger scale, and the list of books which Holinshed prefixes to his History of England is an illustration that research was now pushing its way back into antiquity, although the necessity of reaching the highest sources was not yet perceived. It was reserved for John Milton to lead his countrymen back to the originals of their early history,

^{*} Correspondence of Archbishop Parker (Ed. Parker Society), p. 304.

⁺ Ibid., Introductory Notice.

by being the first to publish a history of the Saxon period derived from the Saxon Chronicles. In exploring the Saxon literature he had the guidance of his friend Junius, the famous Anglo-Saxon scholar and editor of Cædmon; and who appears from his collations to have contemplated editing the Chronicles. But there was already a published edition, and Milton was the first historian that had the benefit of a printed Saxon Chronicle. Abraham Wheloc, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, had published it in 1643, under the title of Chronologia Anglo-Saxonica, at the end of his edition of Beda's Historia Ecclesiastica (folio). He used the manuscripts A, which he calls the Bennett MS., and A (G), which he calls the Cotton MS. It was from this latter that he took his text, probably because he found it rather the easier to understand. The variations were added from A. This edition is now all the more prized since its principal has been almost consumed by fire, and consequently the print has assumed the place of an original. The three imperfect leaves which have been saved, are evidence of the fidelity of Wheloc's edition, and establish his text as a true representative of A (G). But his translation exhibits mistakes such as might be expected in the first revival of the old Englisc historical literature. Thus in 894 (p. 91 of this Ed.) buton swipe gewaldenum dæle (except a very considerable division) is translated "exceptâ validâ Wallensium parte," and printed "buton swipe Gewealdenum dæle." In the same annal (p. 93) sio laf (the remnant) is made a man's name of: "Tum Laf de East-Anglis et Northymbris magnum exercitum ante hiemem coegit." In 897 it is said that Alfred had long ships built, shapen neither on the Frisic nor on the Danish model, but just as he himself thought most likely to be useful-nawder ne on Fresisc gescæpene, ne on Denisc, &c., which Wheloc renders, "neque inter Fresones neque Danos fabricabantur." In 937 he bespeaks the consideration of the reader: "Idioma hic et ad annum 942 et 975 perantiquum et horridum Lectoris candorem et diligentiam desiderat." In 962, mancwealm an epidemic and manbryne a conflagration, with the aggravatory prefix man (Germ. mein as in meineib), are translated as if the first syllable were man = homo; "Eodemque anno permagna erat mortalium lues; mortaliumque magna Londini

inflammatio." In 975, ofer ganotes bæð (over the gannet's bath, i.e. over the sea) is rendered "per Ganotæ diluvium." Wheloe did not know of the qualities of this oceanic bird, the gannet, which from its great powers of flight can traverse vast tracts of sea or land in a short time, and which being met with very far from its usual haunts, would readily commend itself as an emblem of the sea to the seafaring mind of our ancestors.*

Gerard Langbaine (who died Provost of Queen's College in 1658) had been preparing an edition at Oxford, but when Wheloc's appeared he relinquished it. Wheloc's was a tolerable performance for his day, but Gibson's Edition in 1692 was a great improvement on it. The Title is Chronicon Saxonicum ex MSS. Codicibus nunc primum integrum edidit ac Latinum fecit Edmundus Gibson A. B. è Collegio Reginæ. It was at the instance of John Mill, the laborious author of the Exemplar Millianum, that Gibson was moved to undertake this work, and to do his best to produce a complete Edition. His friend Mill had urged him, he says: Esse nimirum Annales istos augustissimum plané Antiquitatis monumentum, ac quale frustra apud gentes vicinas quæsiveris; fontem ipsum è quo hausta sunt et ad quem exigenda. quæ de rebus istorum temporum tradunt Florentius aliique posteriores Historici. Chronicon hoc mirificè pradicare, ejusque editionem Cantabrigiensi multò auctiorem et quidem omnibus numeris suis absolutam flagitare eruditos. Gibson was greatly helped by the opportune publication of Hickes's Saxon Grammar, which enabled him to gain a firmer hold on this ancient language. He had also the great advantage of applying to Hickes himself in every difficulty. The consequence was that his Edition, if not quite as perfect as his ambition designed, was a great advance upon Wheloc's, and altogether an admirable work. His Latin version is in general not only correct but happy. Substantially it has been the basis of all later versions, although there are a certain number of passages which he did not understand. His text was based upon E with modifications from A, B (through a paper-tran-

^{*} Observations on Natural History, by the Rev. Leonard Jenyns. Van Voorst, 1846, p. 192.

script in the Bodleian), F and G. He considered it his business to construct a text by collation of these authorities, just as if he had been editing a Classical Author. He produced this edition at the early age of 23, and thus laid the solid foundation of that knowledge of English antiquity for which his name is still celebrated. In working on the Saxon Chronicle he acquired that interest in and admiration for Camden's Britannia, which led him next to translate and enlarge it.

From Gibson's Saxon-Latin Edition an English translation was made by Miss Gurney, and printed anonymously. When her work was far advanced, she learnt that Dr. Ingram's Edition was expected, and consequently she desisted from the idea of publication, and took only a limited impression for circulation among her friends. To this highly endowed and benevolent lady, however, belongs the honour of having first printed an English translation of the Saxon Chronicle. It was entitled, A Literal Translation of the Saxon Chronicle: Norwich, 1819. This is not a mere Englishing of Gibson's Latin, but a work which displays knowledge of the original. I have referred to it in the Notes on 871 and 896; in the latter case as giving the only real translation of the passage that has appeared up to the present day. In 905 the passage "betwuh dicum and Wusan &c." is thus illustrated with the translator's local knowledge of East Anglia: "and he laid waste their land between the Dyke (the Devil's Ditch) and the Ouse as far northward as the fens." The last clause in 1003, "ferde bær he wiste his yohengestas," (went where he wist his sea-horses were,) had been given up by Gibson with the exclamation, Hujusce clausulæ quis sit sensus me omnino latet. Miss Gurney translated it partly right, only she carried the poetical metaphor too far: "and thither he carried the irprovender to his horses of the sea, [his plunder to the ships]." In 1137 the word "horderwycan" was given up by Gibson: but Miss Gurney rendered it "treasurer's house," which, though only partly right, has never been bettered by any translator except Mr. Stevenson.

Dr. Ingram's Edition appeared in 1823, furnished with a variety of apparatus, and an English Translation parallel to the Saxon.

Dr. Ingram's praise consists in this, that he added to his Edition the yet unedited matter of the three important chronicles, BCD. In his *Preface* he spoke of the Saxon Chronicle in the following grandiloquent terms: "Philosophically considered, this ancient record is the *second* great phenomenon in the history of mankind. For, if we except the sacred annals of the Jews, contained in the several books of the Old Testament, there is no other work extant, ancient or modern, which exhibits at one view a regular and chronological panorama of a people, described in rapid succession by different writers, through so many ages, in their own vernacular language."

This is a passage of which it would be as difficult to dispute the sentiment, as to defend the diction. The meaning is plain, viz. that putting aside the Hebrew annals, there is not anywhere known a series of early vernacular history comparable with the Saxon Chronicles. This appears to be no more than the sober truth, and undeserving of the derision which Mr. George P. Marsh, in his Origin and History of the English Language (1862), has visited Dr. Ingram's expressions with. It is to be regretted that an author who has treated the latter part of his subject with knowledge and ability, should have thought it necessary to deal with a period which he has not studied. He has quoted as "fair specimens" of the Saxon Chronicle the annals 449, 473, 509, 616, 671, 793; and after conferring some faint praise on 755, he sums up,—" But taking the Chronicle as a whole, I know not where else to find a series of annals which is so barren of all human interest, and for all purposes of real history so worthless." (p. 105.) Mr. Marsh has failed to perceive that there might be more in the Saxon Chronicles than met his eye at the first glance.

In the year 1830 there appeared a volume entitled Ancient History, English and French, exemplified in a Regular Dissection of the Saxon Chronicle. In this work a spirited attempt was made to assign each section of the Chronicles to its true author—but there was too much arbitrary assertion and too little historical argument in this Essay. Had the author joined the requisite patience and delay to his talent for insight into antiquity, he might have cleared up some of the obscure passages of Saxon times.

In the year 1848 appeared the folio volume entitled Monumenta Historica Britannica, which was intended to be the first of a Series of the ancient Historians of this Realm; undertaken in pursuance of an Address presented to the Crown by the House of Commons in 1822. That plan has not been continued, but an octavo Series has been substituted for it. This splendid volume contains the Historians down to 1066, and among others the Saxon Chronicles, so far as that date, where they are broken off. The text is partly on the syncretistic and partly on the parallel plan, according to the degrees of harmony or divergence between the MSS. in each part. It had been prepared with great diligence and care by Mr. Petrie, and was completed and edited by Mr. Duffus Hardy. An English translation is given parallel to the original. The collection of readings at the foot of the page offers to the eye a comprehensive view of the varieties of orthography which characterize the several manuscripts.

In the year 1853 a Complete Translation of the Chronicles was published by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, Vicar of Leighton Buzzard, in a Series entitled *Church Historians of England* (Seeleys). This Translation consisted of the Version in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* (which Mr. Stevenson adopted by permission) as far as 1066; and a new or revised Version of his own down to 1154. On the whole, this appears to be the best Translation which has hitherto appeared.

The Master of the Rolls gave us in 1861, by the editorship of Mr. Thorpe, a complete Edition of the six manuscript texts in parallel columns. The seventh authority (G) was not admitted in the text of Wheloc, but only the small fragments of it which are preserved in three imperfect leaves of the original manuscript. It may be doubted whether the parallel scheme properly admits so much correction as the editor has supplied,—whether for instance it would not have been more true to the plan, if the annals of B had been left undated where they have been so left in the original—but it would be ungracious in the extreme to detract from the value of a book which must be allowed to be one of the greatest boons that could have been conferred on the Saxon student.

While critics and translators have been at work on the texts, the labour of the historian has been supplied by able

hands, so that the Saxon period has been at length thoroughly restored to modern history. In the Histories of Sharon Turner (1799-1805), of Sir Francis Palgrave (1832), of Lappenberg (1834), and the various works of the late Mr. Kemble, the treasures of Saxon History have been explored and are now placed within reach of all.

The present Edition of the Chronicles presents to the student the two texts which are most remarkable in themselves and most worthy of being set together in contrast, together with characteristic parts of the other texts, so as to supply a comprehensive view of the whole series without the omission of any important feature. In the Notes an attempt has been made to clear away some of the obscurities which still remain: and the Glossarial Index has been made as perfect as possible, in order both to open up the text and to take the measure of the Saxon historical vocabulary.

In conclusion, I have to thank many friends who have given me occasional help and information in the course of the work—but in particular I must name two, the late Archdeacon Hardwick, Fellow of S. Catharine's Hall, Cambridge, who compared my printed text of A with the MS., and the Rev. F. Harrison, Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, who gave me important help at a time when I was disabled by an accident in the eye.

I have also to acknowledge the kind and hospitable manner in which the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, enabled me to collate their valuable manuscript (A), not without trouble and contrivance on their part to observe the stringent rules by which their manuscript stores are guarded, and at the same time to prevent them from being an obstacle or inconvenience to me.

to the same of the

CORRIGENDA

Page 16 anno 552 for Seaxo read Searo

57 line 10 for ær read æt

106 .. 14 for út read ún

138 (F. 1003) for Exonia read Exonia

194 (C. 1065 line 4) for fo read for

222 line 13 for Mann read mann

223 .. 30 for wællan read pællan

248 .. 2 for ealles read ealle

252 .. 15 for Wundford read Mundford



TWO

SAXON CHRONICLES

PARALLEL.

THE PARKER MS.

 (\mathbf{A})

py GEARE pE WÆS AGAN FRAM CRISTES acennesse cccc wintra. and xciiii uuintra. pa Cerdic and Cynric his sunu cuom up æt Cerdices oran. mid v scipum. and se Cerdic wæs Elesing. Elesa Esling. Esla Gewising. Giwis Wiging. Wig Freawining. Freawine Fribugaring. Fribugar Bronding. Brond Bældæging. Bældæg Wodening.

Ond bæs ymb vi gear bæs be hie up cuomon ge eodon West Seaxna rice and bæt uuæron ba ærestan cyningas be West Seaxna lond on Wealum ge eodon and he hæfde bæt rice xvi gear and ba he ge for ba feng his sunu Cynric to bam rice and heold xvii winter. ba he ge for ba feng Ceol to bam rice and heold vii gear. Þa he ge fór þa feng Ceolwulf to his brobur and he ricsode xvii gear and hiera cyn gæb to Cerdice. þa feng Cynegils Ceolwulfes brobur sunu to rice and ricsode xxxi wintra and he on feng ærest fulwihte Wesseaxna cyninga and ba feng Cen walh and heold xxxi wintra and se Cen walh wæs Cynegilses sunu and ba heold Seax burg his cuen an gear bæt rice æfter him. þa feng Æscwine to rice bæs cyn gæb to Cerdice and heold ii gear. ba feng Cent wine to Wesseaxna rice Cynegilsing and ricsode vii gear þa feng Cead walla to þam rice þæs cyn gæþ to Cerdice and heold iii gear. Da feng Ine to Seaxna rice bes cyn geb to Ceardice and heold xxxvii wintra. þa feng Æþelheard to þæs cyn gæþ to Ceardice and heold xiiii winter. pa feng Cub red to bæs cyn gæb to Cerdice and heold xvii gear. ba

THE LAUD MS.

 (\mathbf{E})

Prittene igland is ehta hund mila lang. and twa hund brad. And her sind on his iglande fif ge heode. 1 Englisc. and Brittisc. and Wilsc. and Scyttisc. and Pyhtisc. and Boc Leden. Erest weron bugend bises landes Brittes. ba coman of 2 Armenia. and ge sætan suðewearde Bryttene ærost. þa ge lamp hit p Pyhtas coman suban of Scithian. mid langum scipum na manegum. and ha coman ærost on norh Ybernian up. and þær bædon Scottas b hi der moston wunian. Ac hi noldan heom lyfan. forðan hi cwædon³ þa Scottas. we eow magon beah hwadere ræd gelæron. We witan ober egland her be easton. ber ge magon eardian gif ge willa'd. and gif hwa eow widstent. we eow fultumiad. Be ge hit magon ge gangan. Da ferdon ba Pyhtas, and geferdon bis land norban weard, and suþan weard hit hefdon Brittas. swa we ær cwedon. And þa Pyhtas heom abædon wif æt Scottum. on þa ge rad b hi gecuron heora kyne ciñ áá on þa wif healfa. Bhi heoldon swa lange syððan. And þa gelamp hit imbe geara rina. Þ Scotta sum dæl ge wat of Ybernian on Brittene. and bes landes sum dæl ge eodon. and wes heora heratoga Reoda gehaten. from ham heo sind genemnode Dæl Reodi:

advecti.

¹ Ænglisc. Bryt Wylsc. Scottysc. Pihttisc. and Bốc læden. D. This Preface (which is found in D. E. F.) is gathered from the first two chapters of Beda's Eccl. Hist., of which it is a neat summary; and, excepting Beda's physical description, very complete.

² Armorica is meant. Beda i. 1. de tractu Armoricano, ut fertur, Brittaniam

³ forčan hi cwædon þa Scottas.] Here is an omission, occasioned by the copier jumping to another cwædon in advance of him. MS. D. gives the passage correctly: forbon þe hig cwædon þæt hi ne mihton ealle ætgædere gewúnian þær. And þa cwædon þa Scottas. We magon eow hwæðere ræd gelæron.

feng Sige bryht to þæs cyn gæþ to Cerdice and heold an gear. Þa feng Cynewulf to rice þæs cyn gæþ to Cerdice and heold xxxi wintra. Þa feng Beorht ric to rice þæs cyn gæþ to Cerdice and heold xvi gear. Þa feng Ecgbryht to þam rice and heold xxxvii wintra. and vii monaþ and þa feng Æþelwulf his sunu to and heold nigon teoðe healf gear. Se Æþelwulf wæs Ecgbryhting. Ecgbryht Ealh munding. Ealhmund Eafing. Eafa Eopping. Eoppa Ingilding. Ingild Cenreding. and Ine Cenreding. and Cuþ burg Cenreding. and Cuenburg Cenreding. Cenred Ceolwalding. Ceolwald Cuþ wulfing. Cuþ wulf Cuþ wining. Cuþ wine Celming. Celm Cynricing. Cynric Cerdicing.

Ond ha feng Æhelbald his sunu to rice and heold v gear. ha feng Æhelbryht his brohur to and heold v gear. ha feng Æhered hiera brohur to rice and heold v gear. ha feng Ælfred hiera brohur to rice and ha was agan his ielde xxiii wintra, and ccc and xcvi wintra hæs he his cyn ærest Wesseaxna lond on Wealum geodon:

AER Cristes geflæscnesse lx wintra. Gaius Iulius se Casere ærest Romana Bretenlond gesohte. and Brettas mid gefeohte enysede. and hie ofer swipde. and swa peah ne meahte pær rice gewinnan:

Anno 1. Octavianus ricsode lvi wintra. and on þam xlii geare his rices Crist wæs acenned.

- 2. Da tungel witgan of east dæle cuomon to pon pæt hie Crist weorpedon. And på cild on Bethlem of slægene wærun for Cristes ehtnesse from Herode.
- 3. Her swealt Herodus from him selfum ofsticod. and Archilaus his sunu feng to rice.

Sixtigum wintrum ær þam þe Crist were acenned. Gaius Julius Romana Kasere mid hund ehtatigum scipum⁴ ge sohte Brytene. Þer he wes ærost ge swenced mid grimmum ge feohte. and micelne dæl his heres forlædde ⁵. And þa he forlet his here abidan mid Scottum ⁶. and ge wat into Galwalum. and þer ge gadorode six hund scipa. mid þam he ge wat eft in to Brytene. And þa hi ærost to gedore ge ræsdon. Þa man of sloh ves Caseres ge refan. se wes Labienus ⁷ ge haten. Þa ge namon þa Walas. and adrifon sumre éa ford ealne mid scearpum pilum ⁸ greatum innan þam wetere. sy éa hatte Temese. Þa þ on fundon va Romani. Þa noldon hi faron ofer þone ⁹ ford. Þa flugon þa Bryt Walas to þam wudu færstenum ¹⁰. and se Kasere ge eode wel manega heh burh mid mycelum ge winne. and eft ge wat into Galwalum:

Anno 1. Octavianus rixade lvi wintra. and on þam xlii geare his rices. Crist wæs acenned.

2. Da tungel witegan of east dæle coman to þan þ hi Crist wurðoden. And þa cild on Bethleem of slagene wæron for ehtnesse fram Herode. and he swealt of sticod fram him sylfum. and Archelaus his sune feng to rice.

4 céolum D.

5 forlædde] disperdidit. Beda. This word puzzled Bp. Gibson, and he proposed to read forlæt (forlet). But forlædan is quite appropriate here, as Beowulf 4084 (Ed. Th.) will bear out. The usual meaning of forlædan is to mislead, lead into mischief; or as Kemble has it, Gl. Beow., "in perniciem ducere," which suits this place.

6 forlet his here abidan mid Scottum] legiones in hiberna dimisit. Beda. An odd mistake, but quite explained by the fact that many copies had hibernia or (the difference being in MS. little or none) hiberniam. Smith's Ed. first restored the true reading.

7 gerefan. se wes Labienus] Labienus tribunus occisus est. Beda. It was really Q. Laberius Durus. Cæsar. B. G. v. 15.

8 stængum D. acutissimis sudibus. Beda i. 2.

9 pone is demonstrative. They forded at another place. Quod ubi a Romanis deprehensum ac vitatum est. Beda i. 2.

10 An error of the scribe for fæstenum. Cf. mor festenum. 878. D. has westenum, wastes, wildernesses.

- 4. From frymþe middangeardes oþ þis gear wæron ágán v þusendu^a wintra and cc wintra.
 - 11. Her onfeng Herodes Antipatres sunu to rice in Iudea. and
- 12. Philippus and Herodes to dældun Lysiam and Iudeam feowricum to dældun.
 - 16. Her feng Tiberius to rice.
 - 27. Her onfeng Pilatus to gymenne ouer þa Iudeas.
- 30. Her wæs Crist gefulluhtud. and Petrus and Andreas gehwierfede. and Iacobus and Ioannes and Philippus and þa xii apostolas.
- 33. Her wæs Crist ahangen from fruman middangeardes ymb v þusendo wintra. and cc and xxvi wintra.
- 34. Her wæs Paulus gehwierfed, and ses Stephanus of torfod.
- 35. Her se ead ga Petrus se apostol gesæt biscep setl in Antiochia pære ceastre.
 - 39. Her onfeng Gaius rice.
- 45. Her se ead ga Petrus se apostol gesæt biscep setl on Rome.
- 46. Her Herodes aswalt. sebe Iacobum ofslog ane geare ær his agnum deabe.
- 47. Her Claudius oper Romana cyninga Bretene lond gesohte and pone mæstan dæl þæs ealondes on his gewald onfeng. and eac swelce Orcadus pa ealond Romana cynedome under peodde. Pis was bes feordes geares his rices. and on bys ylcan geare geweard se mycela hunger on Siria be Lucas reco on pare boc Act' Aplor'.
 - 62. Her Iacobus frater Domini prowode.
 - 63. Her Marcus se god spellere forb ferde.
 - 69. Her Petrus and Paulus prowodon.
 - 70. Her Uespassianus onfeng rice.

thority of A.

a The u has been erased, and so has the o in busendo, infra 33. These vowels have been restored on the au-

b Both here and in 45 the definite article has been erased.

- 11. Fram frym'de middan eardes op his gear wæron agan v husend wintra. and cc wintra.
- 12. Philippus and Herodes to dældon Iudeam. iiii ricu to dældon.
 - 16. Her feng Tiberius to rice.
 - 26. Her on feng Pilatus gymene ofer þa Iudeas.
- 30. Her wæs Crist gefullod. and Petrus and Andreas ge hwyrfede and Iacobus and Ioh's and þa xii apl's.
- 33. Hær wes Crist ahangen. fram fruman middan eardes ymb v þusend wintra. and cc. and xxvi.
- 34. Her wæs ses Paulus gehwyrfed and ses Stephanus of torfod.
- 35. Her se eadiga apostol Petrus ge set biscop setl on Antiochia ceastre.
 - 39. Her on feng Gaius to rice.
- 45. Her se eadiga Petrus se apostol ge set biscop setl on Rome.
- 46. Her Erodes swealt se de Iacobum of sloh. anum geare ær his agenum deade.
- 47. Her Claudius Romana cining ge wat mid here on Brytene. and p igland ge éode. and ealle Pyhtas. and Walas under peodde Romana rice. Dis ge feoht he ge fremede pam feorðan geare his rices. pam geare ge wearð se mycla hunger on Siria. pe wes fore witegad on Actib; Apl'orum purh Agabum pone witegan. pa feng Nero to rice æfter Claudie. se æt nextan forlet Brytene igland for his uncafscipe².
 - 62. Her Iacobus fr Dñi prowade.
 - 63. Her Marcus se godspellere forð ferde.
 - 69. Her Petrus and Paulus prowodon.
 - 70. Her Vespasianus onfeng rice.

1 This is the Chronology of Eusebius, founded on the numbers in the patriarchal genealogies according to the Septuagint. For once, the teaching of the great master is rejected. Beda preferred the authority of the Hebrew text, as Jerome had done, but so far from gaining followers, he was almost called a heretic for questioning the established opinion. Eusebii Chronicon, (Venetiis 1818,) pp. 66, 149. Browne's Ordo

Sæclorum, p. 334.

² uncafscipe, ignavia, neglect, sloth. The simple adjective caf is very rare in Anglo-Saxon, and in the other Gothic dialects almost if not quite lost. In the A. S. poets it is found once, Helen 56, cafe to cease, alacres ad pugnam, where see Grimm's note. Diefenbach (Gothisches Wörterbuch) would give it a distant connection with the widely branched root cwic, vivus, quick.

71. Her Titus Uespassianus sunu in Hierusalem ofslog Iudea exi þusenda.

81. Her Titus feng to rice sebe sæde þæt he bone dæg forlure þe he noht to gode on ne gedyde.

83. Her Domitianus Tites brodur feng to rice.

84. Her Iohannes se godspellere in Pathma þam ealonde wrat þa boc Apocalipsis.

99. Her Simon se apostol wæs anhangen. and Iohannes se godspellere hine gereste in Epheso.

101. Her Clemens papa forbferde.

110. Her Ignatius biscep prowude.

155. Her Marcus Antonius and Aurelius his broder fengon to rice.

167. Her Eleutherius on Rome onfeng bisë dom. and pone wuldorfæstlice xii winter geheold. To pam Lucius Bretene kyning sende stafas. bæd pæt he wære Cristen ge don. and he purh teah^d pæt he bæd. And hi syððon wunodon on rihton geleauon oððe Diaclecianes rice.

189. Her Severus onfeng rice and ricsode xvii winter. Se Breten lond mid dice be gyrdde^e from sæ op sæ. and þa ge endode on Euerwic. and Bassianus his sunu feng to rice.

200. Twa hund gæra.

283. Her prowade Scs Albanus mr.

300. Dreo hund gæra.

379. Her Gratianus feng to rice.

c The words of the A. S. Orosius, but not in the original Latin.

d By a little scraping and patching a has converted the simple prose of A into the more pompous form, and him wear's tipod peet he beed. The compound purh teon looked strange in Norman times, and it may be doubted whether it lived beyond the age of Elfred. It occurs twice in the A. S. Beda (Ed. Smith), p. 642, 30; 647, 2. (Bosw.) In Orosius vi. 1 (ad fin.) the participle duruhtogen.

e This looks as if culled from the A. S. text of Beda i. 5, where the style is very majestic.... and hit begyrde and gefæstnade mid dice and mid eorþwealle fram sæ to sæ fram oþrum elreordigum öeodum.

3 It is hard to fix the idea of bred. It seems to represent Beda's duxit, he led or drew a line of wall. And this agrees with the use of the preterite breid a little later, as in Lajamon. But the context suggests rather the ancient associations of oferbregdan, brægd, Andrew 1307, 1541, where Grimm renders superstruxit, induxit, texit.

There is a third phase of the word, brædan, to open, spread, extend. Thus of the expansion of birds' pinions, Cod. Ex. 289, 13, wineleas guma. gesiho him beforan fealwe wegas. babian brim fuglas. brædan febra. The upper work was a palisade. He spread a bulwark of open staking on the top. breden weall F. cf. to bræd 979 E.

71. Her Titus Uespasianus in Ierusalem of sloh Iudea cxi busend.

81. Her feng Titus to rice. se de sede p he pone dæg

forlure de he naht to gode on né dyde.

84. Her Domitianus Tites brodor feng to rice.

87. Her Iohannes se godspellere in Pathma þam iglande wrat þa bóc apocalypsin.

100. Her Simon se apostol wæs ahangen, and Iohannes se godspellere hine ge reste in Effesia.

101. Her Clemens papa for oferde.

110. Her Ignatius biscop Trowade.

114. Alexander hic constituit aquam benedictam fieri.

124. Syxtus papa hic constituit ymnum decantare. Scs. Scs. Scs. in officio misse.

134. Telesphorus papa hic constituit ymnum angelicum cantari gloria in excelsis deo diebus festis.

155. Her Marcus Antonius, and Aurelius his broðer fengon to rice.

167. Her Eleutherius on Rome onfeng biscop dom. and pone wurplice xv wint geheold. To Sam Lucius Brytwalana cing sende men. and bead fulluhtes. and he him sona sende. and heo siSSan wunodon on rihtan gelefan. oSSe Dioclitianus rice.

189. Her Severus feng to rice, and ferde mid here on Brytene, and mid ge feohte ge eode pes iglandes mycelne dæl and pa ge wrohte he weall mid turfum, and bred weall vær on ufon, fram sæ to sæ. Britwalum to gebeorge. He rixade, xvii gear, and pa ge endode on Eoferwic. Bassianus his sunu feng to rice, over his sunu wes gehaten Geza, se for wearð.

202. Victor papa hic constituit ut Pascha die dominico celebretur, sicut predecessor ejus Eleutherius.

254. Cornelius papa hic de catacumbis levavit per noctem corpora apostolorum, and posuit Pauli quidem via Ostensi ubi decollatus est. Petri autem juxta locum ubi crucifixus est.

286. Her prowade Scs Albanus mr.

311. Sõs Silvester papa xxiii. Hujus tempore celebratur Nicenum õcilium. Arelatense quoque primum, in quo fuit Avitianus Rotomagi archiepõ.

379. Her Gratianus feng to rice.

379. Hoc tempore celebratur Constantinopolitanum concilium cl patrum adversus Macedonum et Eunomium sub Damaso.

381. Her Maximianus se casere feng to rice. he wæs

on Bretene londe geboren f. and poñ for in Gallia. And he dar ofsloh done casere Gratianum. and his broder adraf of ædele. se wæs gehaten Ualentinianus. And se Ualentinianus eft ge samnode werod and ofsloh Maximum. and feng to rice. On ham timan aras Pelngies geslwyld geond middan eard.

- 409. Her Gotan abræcon Rome burg, and næfre siþan Romane ne ricsodon on Bretone, bæt wæs emhe æi hund wintra and x wintra þæs þe heo getimbred was. Eulles hi rixodon on Brytene feower hund wintra and hund seouanti wintra. syððan ærost Gaius Iulius þæt lond gesohte.
- 418. Her Romane gesomnodon al þa gold hord þe on Bretene wæron, and sume on eorþan ahyddon, þæt hie nænig mon siþþan findan ne meahte, and sume mid him on Gallia læddon.

423. Her Deodosius se gingra feng to rice.

ve! Patricius

430. Her Palladius se bisc wæs onsended to Scottum þæt he hiera geleafan trymede. from Cælestino þam papan.

443. Her sendon Brytwalas to Rome, and heom fultomes bædon wið Peohlas, ac hi þar næfdan nanne, forþan þe hi fyrdedon wið Ætla Huna cyninge. And þa sendon hi to Anglum, and Angel cynnes æðelingas ðæs ylcan bædan.

rtianus

449. Her Mauricius and Ualentines onfengon rice. and ricsodon vii wint. And on hiera dagum Hengest

F. 444. Her forðferde Ses Martinus.

448. Her Iohannes Baptista ætywede twam munecon þa comon fram eastdæle to gebiddenne hi on Ierusalem. his heauod. on þare stowe þe hwilan was Herodes wunung. On þone ylcan timan Martianus and Ualentinianus rixodan. and on þam timan com Angelcynn to Sisum lande. gelaðode fram Wyrtgeorne cinge. him to helpe. his fynd to ouercumende. Hi comon to þis lande mid Srim langon scipan. and heora heretogan wæron Hengest and Horsa. Ealra ærost hi Ses cinges fynd ofslogon. and aweg driuan. and sissan hi wenden agean þone cing. and agean þa Bryttas. and hi fardydon þurh fyr and Surh swyrdes egge.

the Chronicle, probably. In the following clause, lia was erased by a, and walas written over to make Galwalas.

f Maximus in Britannia imperator creatus. Beda i. 9. In the A. S. version: Maximus se casere wæs on Breotene acenned. From the Beda it passed into

- 380. Her Maximus feng to rice he wæs on Bryten lande ge boren, and þanon he for in Galwalas, and he öær of sloh þone kasere Gratianum, and his broöer adraf of eöele, se wæs ge haten Valentinianus, and se Valentinianus eft ge samnode weorod and of sloh Maximum, and feng to rice. On þam tidum árás Pelaies gedwild geond middan geard.
- 403. Innocentius papa hic misit decretalem epistolam Victricio Rotomagensi archiepo. Hic constituit sabbato jejunare quia eo die Dñs jacuit in sepulchro.
- 409. Her wæs to brocen Romana burh fram Gotum ymb xi hund wintra and x wintra. Þæs þe heo ge timbred wæs. Siððan ofer þ ne rixodan leng Romana cinigas on Brytene. Ealles hi ðær rixodan iiii hund wintra. and hund seofenti wintra. siððan Gaius Iulius þ land erost ge sohte.
- 418. Her Romane ge samnodan ealle þa gold hord de on Brytene wæron, and sume on eordan be hyddan. Þ heo nan man syddan finden ne mihton, and sume mid heom on Gallia lædden.
 - 423. Her Deodosius se gingra feng to rice.
- 425. Hujus temporis ætate extitit exordium regum Francorum: primus Faramundus.
- 430. Her Patricius wæs asend fram Celestine þam papan to bodianne Scottum fulluht.
- 431. Hoc tempore diabolus in Creta Judeis in specie Moysi apparens ad terram repromissionis per mare pede sicco perducere promittit; sicque plurimis necatis reliqui ad $X_{\overline{k}}^{-1}$ gratiam convertuntur.
- 433. Celestinus papa. Hujus tempore aggregata est Ephesina synodus ducentorum episcoporum cui profuit Cirillus Alexandrinus presul adversus Nestorium Constantinopolitanum episcopum.
 - 439. Leo papa. Hic sancivit Calcedonensem sinodum.
- 443. Her sendon Brytwalas ofer sæ to Rome, and heom fultumes bædon wið Peohtas, ac hi þær nefdon nænne, forþan ðe hi feordodan wið Ætlan Huna cininge, and þa sendon hi to Anglum, and Angel cynnes æðelingas þes ilcan bædon.
- 449. Hujus tempore celebratur Calcedonense concilium dexxx episcoporum adversus Euticem abbatem et Diosco-

and Horsa from Wyrt georne geleapade Bretta kyninge gesohton Bretene on ham stabe he is genemned Ypwines fleot. ærest Brettum to fultume, ac hie eft on hie fuhton. Se eing het hi feohtan agien Pihtas, and hi swa dydan, and sige hæfdon swa hwar swa hi comon. Hi da sende to Angle and heton heom sendan mare fultum, and heom seggan Brytwalana nahtnesse and das landes cysta. Hy ha sendan heom mare fultum. Da comon ha men of hrim megdum Germanie, of Euld Seaxum, of Anglum, of Iotum, Of Iotum comon Cantware and Wihtware, het ys seo mæid he nu eardad on Wiht, and het cyn on West Sexum he man gyt hæt Iutna cyn. Of Eald Seaxon comon East Sexa and Sud Sexa and West Sexan. Of Angle comon, se a syddan stod westi betwyx Iutum and Seaxum. East Engla, Midel Anglu, Mearca and ealle Nord hymbra.

455. Her Hengest and Horsa fuhton wip Wyrt georne pam cyninge. in pære stowe pe is gecueden Agæles prep. and his bropur Horsan man ofslog. and æfter pam Hengest feng to rice and Æsc his sunu.

457. Her Hengest and Æsc fuhton wip Brettas in pære stowe þe is ge cueden Crecgan ford. and þær ofslogon IIII werag, and þa Brettas þa forleton Cent lond, and mid micle ege flugon to Lunden byrg.

vio

465. Her Hengest and Æsc gefuhton uuiþ Walas neah Wippedes fleote and þær xii Wilisce aldor menn ofslogon and hiera þegn án þær wearþ ofslægen. þam wæs noma Wipped.

473. Her Hengest and Æsc gefuhton wib Walas. and genamon un arimedlico here reaf. and ba Walas

flugon þa Englan swa fýrh.

477. Her cuom Ælle on Breton lond and his iii suna. Cymen and Wlencing and Cissa. mid iii scipum on þa stowe þe is nemned Cymenes ora. and þær ofslogon monige Wealas. and sume on fleame bedrifon on þone wudu þe is genemned Ændredes leage.

F. 482. Her se eadiga abbod Benedictus þurh wuldor þara mihta þisum middan earde scan. eal swa se eadiga Gregorius recð on Dialogorum þare boc.

g IIII = 4000. feower werod F. feower weras A. cf. Ingram's note.

h swa man flicth fyr F.

rum. Her Martianus and Valentinus onfengon rice. and rixadon vii wint, and on beora dagum gelasode Wyrtgeorn Angel cin hider, and hi ha coman on hrim ceolum hider to Brytene, on bam stede Heopwines fleot. Se cyning Wyrt georn gef heom land on suðan eastan dissum lande, widdan be hi sceoldon feohton wid Pyhtas. Heo ba fuhton wid Pyhtas, and heofdon sige swa hwer swa heo comon. Hy da sendon to Angle heton sendon mara fultum, and heton heom secgan Brytwalana nahtscipe. and bes landes cysta. Hy da sona sendon hider mare weored bam o'orum to fultume. Da comon ba men of brim megðum Germanie. Of Ald Seaxum. of Anglum. of Iotum. Of Iotum comon Cantwara, and Wihtwara. \$\psi\$ is seo meg\delta be nu eardab on Wiht, and \$\psi\$ cyn on West Sexum be man nu git hæt Iutna cynn. Of Eald Seaxum coman East Seaxa, and Suð Sexa, and West Sexa. Of Angle comon se á syððan stod westig, be twix lutum and Seaxum. East Angla. Middel Angla. Mearca. and ealla Norbhymbra. Heora heretogan wæron twegen ge broðra. Hengest. and Horsa. \$\psi\$ wæron Wiht gilses suna. Wiht gils wæs Witting. Witta Wecting. Wecta Wodning, fram ban Wodne awoc eall ure cyne cynn. and Suðan hymbra eac.

455. Her Hengest and Horsa fuhton wið Wyrtgerne þam cininge on þære stowe þe is cweden Ægeles þrep. and his broðor Horsan man of sloh. and æfter þonn feng to rice Hengest. and Æsc his sunu.

456. Her Hengest and Æsc gefuhton wið Bryttas on þere stow þe is ge cweden Crecgan ford. and þer of slogon iiii werad. and þa Bryttas forleton þa Kentland. and mid mycclum ege flugon to Lunden byrig.

465. Her Hengest and Æsc gefuhton wið Walas neh Wippedes fleote. and ðær of slogon xii Wilsce ealdor men. and heora an þegn wearð þær of slegen. þam wæs nama Wipped.

473. Her Hengest and Æsc ge fuhton wið Walas. and genamon unarimenlicu here reaf. and þa Walas flugon þa Englan swiðe þearle.

477. Her com Ælle on Bryten land. and his iii suna. Cymen. and Wlencing. and Cissa. mid iii scipum on da stowe pe is genemnad Cymenes ora. and pær of slogon manige Walas. and sume on fleame be drifon. on pone wudu pe is nemned Andredes lege.

485. Her Ælle gefeaht wip Walas neah Mearc rædes burnan stæðe.

488. Her Æsc feng to rice. and was xxiii wintra Cantwara cyning.

491. Her Ælle and Cissa ymb sæton Andredes cester and ofslogon alle þa þe þær inne eardedon. ne wearþ þær forþon án Bret to lafe.

495. Her cuomon twegen aldormen on Bretene. Cerdic and Cynric his sunu. mid v scipum. in pone stede pe is gecueden Cerdices ora. and py ilcan dæge gefuhtun wip Walum.

501. Her cuomi Port on Bretene, and his ii suna Bieda and Mægla, mid ii scipum, on pære stowe pe is gecueden Portes mupa, and ofslogon anne giongne Brettisc monnan, swipe æpelne monnan.

508. Her Cerdic and Cynric ofslogon ænne Brettisc cyning. þam was nama Natanleod. and v þusendu

wera mid him. Æfter was þæt lond , nemned Neatan leaga op Cerdices ford.

514. Her cuomon West Seaxe in Bretene mid iii scipum. in þa stowe þe is gecueden Cerdices ora. and Stuf and Wihtgar. and fuhtun wiþ Brettas and hie gefliemdon.

West Sexena

519. Her Cerdic and Cynric, rice on fengun. and by ilcan geare hie fuhton wib Brettas bær mon nu nemneb Cerdices ford. And sibban ricsadan West Sexana cynebearn of ban dæge.

527. Her Cerdic and Cynric fuhton wip Brettas. in pære stowe þe is gecueden Cerdices leaga.

530. Her Cerdic and Cynric genamon Wihte ealond. and ofslogon feala men on Wiht garæsbyrg.

534. Her Cerdic for ferde. and Cynric his sunu ricsode for xxvi wintra. and hie saldon hiera tuæm

nefum Stufe and Wihtgare Wiehte ealond.

- 485. Her Ælle gefeaht wið Walas neh Mearcredes burnan steðe.
 - 488. Her Æsc feng to rice, and wæs xxxiiii wintra cining.
- 490. Hoc tempore beatus Mamertus, episcopus Viennensis, solennes letanias instituit rogationum.
- 491. Her Ælla and Cissa ymbsæton Andredes ceaster. and of slogon ealle þa de þær inne cardedon, ne weard þær forþen an Brit to lafe.
- 495. Her coman twegen ealdormen on Brytene. Certic and Cynric his sunu mid v scipum on hone stede. he is ge haten Certices ora. and on ham ilcan dæge ge fuhton wið Walas.
- 501. Her com Port on Brytene. and his twegan sunan. Bieda and Mægla. mid ii scipum in þære stowe þe is gecweden Portes muða. and sona land namon. and of slogon ænne gungne Brytisene man. swiðe æðelne.
- 508. Her Certic and Cinric of slogon ænne Bryttiscne cining. þam wæs nama Nazaleod. and v þusend wera mid him. and æfter þan wæs þ land genemnad Nazanleog. á oþ Certices ford.
- 514. Her com West Seaxa in Brytene mid þrim scipum in þa stowe ðe is ge cweden Certices ora. and Stuf and Wihtgar fuhton wið Bryttas. and hi geflemdon.
- 519. Her Certic and Kynric onfengon West Seaxna rice. and þi ilcan geare hi ge fuhton wið Bryttas. ðer man nu nemnað Certices ford. and siððan rixadon West Seaxna cynebarn of þam dæge.
- 527. Her Certic and Kynric ge fuhton wið Brittas. on þære stowa ðe is gecweden Certices ford.
- 528. Hoc tempore Dionisius in urbe R. circulum paschalem composuit. Tunc Priscianus profunda grammatica rimatus est.
- 530. Her Certic and Cynric ge naman Wihtland. and of slogon feala manna. on Wihtgaras birig.
- 534. Her Certic forp ferde. and Cynric his sunu rixade forp xxvi wintra. and heo sealdon heora twam nefum Stufe and Wihtgare eall Wihtland.

F. 509. Her ses Benedictus se abbud ealra muneca fæder ferde to heouenan:

i The u in cuom erased here and in 477, 514.

538. Her sunne apiestrode xiiii dagum ær Kl'. Mart from ærmergenne op undern.

540. Her sunne apiestrode on xii Kl'. Iulii. and steorran hie ætiewdon ful neah healfe tid ofer undern.

544. Her Uuiht gar forb ferde, and hiene mon bebyrgde on Wihtgara byrg.

547. Her Ida feng to rice. ponon Norpan hymbra and rixode twelf gear. and he timbrode Bebbanburh. cynecyn onwoc. k Ida wæs Eopping. Eoppa Esing. Esa seo was ærost mid hegge be tyned, and pær æfter mid wealle.

wæs Inguing. Ingui Angenwitting. Augenwit Alocing. Aloc Benocing. Benoc Branding. Brand Bældæging. Bældæg Wodening. Woden Freovolafing. Freovelaf Freovewulfing. Frivulf Finning. Finn Godulfing. Godulf Geating.

552. Her Cynric gefeaht wip Brettas in pære stowe pe is genemned læt Seaxo byrg. and pa Bret Walas gefliemde. Cerdic wæs Cynrices fæder. Cerdic Elesing. Elesa Esling. Esla Giwising. Giwis Wiging. Wig Freawining. Freawine Freodogaring. Freodogar Branding. Brand Bældæging. Bældæg Wodening.

556. Her Cynric and Ceawlin fuhton wip Brettas æt Beran byrg.

560. Her Ceawlin feng to rice on Wes seaxum. and

Idan for gefarenum. and

Elle feng to Norpanhymbra rice. Ælle wæs Yffing.

Yffe Uxfreaing. Uxfrea Wilgilsing. Wilgils Westerfalcning. Westerfalcna Sæfugling. Sæfugl Sæbalding. Sæbald Sigegeating. Sigegeat Swebdæging. Swebdæg Sigegaring. Sigegar Wægdæging. Wægdæg Wodening.

Woden Fridowulfing.

Her feng Ædelbriht to Cantwara rice. and heold liii wintra. On his 565. Her Columba mæsse preost com of Scottum dagum sende Gregorius us fulluht. And Columba mæsse preost com to Pyhtum. in Bryttas. Peohtas to læranne. and hi in Hii þam and hi gecyrde to Cristes geleauan. þæt synd þonne wærteras be norðum morum. ealonde mynster worhte.

538. Her sunne adestrode. on xiiii kl'. Mr'. from ærmorgene 4 op underne.

540. Her sunne abeostrode on xii kl'. Julii. and steorran heo ætewdon ful neh healfe tid ofer under⁵.

544. Her Wihtgar for oferde. and hine mon be byrigde on Wihtgaras byrig.

547. Her Ida feng to rice þanon Norðhymbra cyne kyn ærost awoc. and rixade xii gear. and he ge timbrade Bebban burh. sy wæs ærost mid hegge be tined. and þær æfter mid wealle.

552. Her Kynric feaht wið Bryttas on þære stowe þe is ge nemned Searo byrig 6. and þa Bryttas ge flemde.

556. Her Kynric and Ceawling fuhton wið Bryttas æt Beran byrig.

560. Her Ceawling rice onfeng on Weast Seaxum. and Ælle feng to Norðhymbra rice. Idan forðgefarenum. and hyra ægðer rixade xxx wintra.

565. Her feng Æðelbriht to Cantwara rice, and heold liii wintra. On his dagum sende Gregorius us fulluht. and Columba messa preost com to Pyhtum, and hi ge cyrde to Cristes geleafan. † sind þone wærteres be norðum morum.

F. 552. . And Egelberht wearð geboren Eormenraces sunu. and [on pam] tigoðan geare his rices he underfeng fulwiht ærost einga on Brytene.

4 æran morgene F.

5 In the Chronological Table of Eclipses, vol. i. of "L'Art de Vérifier les Dates," a Total Eclipse is registered A. D. 538, Feb. 15, at $8\frac{1}{2}$ A. M.; and a Total Eclipse A. D. 540, June 20, at $9\frac{1}{2}$ A. M. The dates in the text answer to Feb. 16 and June 20. Where records tally so nearly with scientific calculations, one discrepancy may well pass for an error.

6 geclyped Sælesberic F.

7 wearteres F. Not found elsewhere. Prob. akin to weard in 1. and weard, to weard, for weard, ham weard (ward=versus); 2. yrfe weard, Ead weard (ward=guard=custos), verb weardian; and so to ware, warian, warenian (beware), werian: but as

this chain of relations stretches from weorban at one end, to wyrre (guerre, war) at the other, the question is, where our word joints in? Very likely it combines the two ideas, I. inhabitants, 2. possessors, guardians, sentinels, warders. Graff has wartari, custos, speculator, from warten = weardian. Yet the data equally suit the sense of shepherds, keepers of cattle: cf. Graff, v. Fihuwart.

k This genealogy is (imperfectly) erased by a, in order to make room for matter more interesting to himself. His substituted text is here given in interlined Italics. The same has been the case with the genealogical part of 560, 626: cf. 565, 603, 604.

1 æt has been erased.

and heora cyng him gesealde þæt igland þe man Ií nemnað, þar syndon fif hida. þæs þe man seggað. Þar se Columban getimbrade mynster, and he þar was abb'. xxxii wintra. and þar forðferde, þa he was lxxvii wintra. Þa stowe habbað gyt his yrfnuman. Suð Pihtas wæron ær gefullode of Ninna biscope, se was on Rome gelæred, his mynster ys Hwiterne on S. Martines naman gehalyod, þar he resteð mid manegum halyum. Nu sceal beon æfre on Ií abbod, and na biscop, and þan sculon beon under ðeodde eulle Scotta biscopas, for þan þe Columban wos abbod, na biscop.

568. Her Ceaulin and Cupa. gefuhton wip Æpelbryht. and hine in Cent gefliemdon. and tuegen aldor men on Wibban dune ofslogon. Oslaf and Cnebban.

571. Her Cup wulf feaht wip Bretwalas æt Bedcan forda. and iiii tunas genom. Lygeanburg. and Ægeles burg. Bænesing tun. and Egones ham. and þy ilcan

geare he geforbferde m.

577. Her Cup wine and Ceawlin fuhton wip Brettas. and hie iii kyningas ofslogon. Commail and Condidan and Farinmail. in pære stowe pe is gecueden Deorham. and genamon iii ceastra Gleawan ceaster and Cirenceaster and Bapan ceaster.

583. Her Mauricius feng to Romana rice.

584. Her Ceawlin and Cupa fuhton wip Brettas. in pam stede pe mon nemnep Fepan leag. and Cupan mon ofslog. and Ceawlin monige tunas genom. and un arimed lice here reaf. and ierre he hwearf ponan to his agnum.

588. Her Ælle cyning forþ ferde. and Æþelric ricsode æfter him v gear.

590. Her Ceol ricsode v gear.

591. Her micel wæl fill wæs æt Woddes beorge. and Ceawlin wæs ut adrifen. and Gregorius feng to papdome on Rome.

593. Her Ceawlin and Cuichelm and Crida forwurdon. and Æþelfriþ feng to rice on Norðhymbrum.

m The old fashioned strong form gefor was to be converted by a into the later expression for pferde, but the operation was left incomplete. Above, in Lygeanburg, the u has heen made into an i. 8 Cf. Beda ii. 1. Gregorii Op. (Ed. Bened.), vol. iii. pp. 3, 285. Palmer's Origines Liturgicæ, cap. i. § 6. and heora cyning him ge sealde p egland pe man nemnad Ií. pær sindon v hida. Sæs pe men cweðap. Pær se Columba ge tymbrade mynster. and Sær he wæs abbot xxxii wintra. and pær forðferde sa sa he wæs lxxvii wintra. Da stowe habbas nu git his erfe wærdes. Suð Pyhtas wæron mycle ær ge fullode. Heom bodade fulwiht Nimia biscop. se wæs on Rome gelæred. Þæs cyrice and his mynster is æt Hwiterne. on Martines naman ge halgod. Þær he restað mid manegum halgum wærum. Nu sceal beon æfre on Ií abbod næs bisceop. and þam sculon under þædde ealle Scotta biscopes. forþam se Columba wæs abbod. nes bisceop.

568. Her Ceawlin and Cupa ge fuhton wið Æðelbriht. and hine on Cent ge flemdon. and ii ældor men on Wibban duna of slogon. Oslac and Cnebban.

571. Her Cuþa ge feaht wið Bryt walas. æt Biedcanforda. and feower tunas ge nam. Lygeanbyrig. and Æglesbyrig. and Benesing tun. and Egonesham. and on þam ilcan geare he forþfor. se Cuþa wæs Ceawlines broðor.

577. Her Cvöwine and Ceawlin gefuhton wiö Bryttas. and hi iii ciningas of slogon. Commagil. and Candidan. and Farinmagil. in pære stowe þe is ge cweden Deorham. and ge namon iii ceastra. Gleawcestre. and Cirenceaster. and Baþan ceaster.

583. Her Mauricius feng to Romana rice.

584. Her Ceawlin and Cupa ge fuhton wið ða Bryttas on þam stede ðe man nemnaþ Feþan lea. and Cupan man of sloh. and Ceawlin maniga tunas ge nam. and unarimedlice here reaf.

588. Her Ælle cining forðferde. and Æðelric rixade æfter him fif gear.

591. Her Ceolric rixade vi gear. Gregorius papa. Hic augmentavit in predicatione canonem, "Diesque nostros in tua pace disponas"."

592. Her Gregorius feng to pap dome on Rome. and mycel wæl gewearð on Brytene þes geares æt Wodnes beorge. and Ceawlin wæs ut ádrifen.

593. Her Ceawlin and Cwichelm and Crida forwurdon. and Æðelferð feng to rice on Norðhymbrum. se wæs Æðelricing. Æðelric Iding.

596. Her Gregorius papa sende to Brytene Augustinum, mid wel manegum munecum, be Godes word Engla Seoda godspelledon.

- 597. Her ongon Ceolwulf ricsian on West seaxum. and simle he feaht and won. oppe wip Angelcyn. oppe uuip Walas. oppe wip Peohtas. oppe wip Scottas. Se wæs Cupaing. Cupa Cynricing. Cynric Cerdicing. Cerdic Elesing. Elesa Esling. Esla Gewising. Gewis Wiging. Wig Freawining. Freawine Friðugaring. Friðugar Bronding. Brond Bældæging. Bældæg Wodening.
- 601. Her sende Gregorius papa Augustino ærce biscepe pallium in Bretene and wel monige godcunde lareowas him to fultome and Paulinus bisc gehwerfde Edwine Nordhymbra cyning to fulwihte.

Her Æyðan Scotta cyng feaht wið Dælreoda. and wið Æðelferþe 603. Her wæs gefeoht æt Ægesan stane.
Norþhymra cynge æt Dægstane. and man ofsloh mæst ealne his here.

Her Augustinus ge halgode ii biscopas. Mellitum and Justum. Mel-604. Her East Seaxe onfengon geleafan and fullitum he sende to bodiende East Seaxum fulluht. Var was se cing ge haten Sæbyrht. wihtes bæð. under Sæbrihte cinge and Mellite bis-Ricolan sunu. Æðelberhtes swyster. Þone Æðelbyrht gesette to cynge. And Æðelceope.

byrht gesealde Mellite biscop sell on Lundewic, and Iusto on Hrouesceyastre, seo is xxiiii mila fram Dorwit ceastre.

- 606. Her fordferde Gregorius ymb x gear þæsþe he us fulwiht sende.
- 607. Her Ceolwulf gefeaht wid Sud Seaxe. And her Ædelfrid lædde his færde to Leger cyestre, and dar of sloh unrim Walena, and swa weard gefyld Augustinus witegunge, he he cwæd. Gif Wealas nellad sibbe wid us, hi sculan æt Seaxana handa far wurhan. Har man sloh eac cc preosta. da comon dyder hat hi scoldon gebiddan for Walena here. Scrocmail was ge haten heora ealdor mann, se at bærst danon fiftiga sum.
- 611. Her Cynegils feng to rice on Wesseaxum. and heold xxxi wintra. Se Cynegils wæs Ceoling. Ceola Cuðing. Cuða Cynricing.
- 614. Her Cynegils and Cuichelm gefuhton on Bean dune. and ofslogon ii pusendo Wala and lxv.
- 616. Her Æpelbryht Cont wara cyning forp ferde and Ead bald his sunu feng to rice. Se for let his fulluht. and leouode on hæsenum peawe. swa p he hæstde his sæder laue to wiue. Pa mynte

596. Hoc tempore monasterium sancti Benedicti a Longobardis destructum est. Her Gregorius papa sende to Brytene Augustinum mid wel manengum munucum. þe godes word Engla þeoda godspellodon.

597. Her ongan Ceolwulf rixian on Weast Seaxum. and symble he feaht and wan. odde wid Angel cynn. oppe wid

Walas odde wid Pyhtas odde wid Scottas.

601. Her sende Gregorius papa Augustine arcebiscope pallium on Brytene. and wel manega godcunde larewas him to fultume. and Paulinus biscop ge hwirfede Eadwine Norðhymbra cining to fulluhte.

603. Her Ægðan Scotta cining feaht wið Deolreda. and wið Æðelferþe Norðhymbra kining æt Dægsan stane. and man of sloh mæst ælne his here. þær man of sloh Theodbald Æðelferðes broðor. mid eallan his weorode. Ne dorste siððan nan Scotta cininga lædan here on þas þeoda. Hering Hussan sunu lædde þone here ðider.

604. Her Augustinus ge halgode ii biscopas. Mellitum and Justum. Mellitum he sende to bodianne East Seaxum fulluht. pær wes se cing ge haten Sæberht. Ricolan sunu Æðelberhtes suster. þone Æðelberht ge sette þær to cininga. and Æðelberht ge sealde Mellite biscop setle on Lunden wíc. And Justo he sealde Hrofes ceaster. seo is xxiiii mila fram Dorwit ceastre.

605. Her forðferde Gregorius papa. And her Æðelfrið lædde his ferde to Lega ceastre. and þær of sloh unrim Walana. and swa wearþ ge fild Augustinus witegunge þe he cwað. gif Wealas nellaþ sibbe wið us. hy sculon æt Seaxena handa forwurþan. Þær man sloh eac cc preosta þa comon ðider þ heo scoldan ge biddan for Walana here. Scromail wæs ge haten hyra ealdor. se æt bærst ðanon fiftiga sum.

607. Her Ceolwulf ge faht wið Suð Seaxum.

611. Her Kynegils feng to rice. on Weast Seaxum. and heold xxxi wintra.

614. Her Kynegils and Cwichelm ge fuhton on Beandune. and of slogon ii pusend Walana. and lxv.

616. Her fordferde Æpelberht Cantware cining. se rixade lvi wintra. and æfter him feng Eadbold to rice his sunu. se forlet his fulluht. and lifode on hedenum peawe. swa p he heafde his feder lafe to wife. Da mynte Laurentius pe da

Laurentius & þa was erceb' on Cent. þ he wolde suð ofer sæ. and eall forlæton. ac him com to on niht se upl' Petrus. and hine hetelice swang. for an & he wolde Godes hyrde forlæton. and het hine gan to þam cynge. and bodian him rihtne ge leafan. And he swa dyde. and se cing ge cyrde to rihtan ge leauan. On þyses cinges dagum Laurentius erceb' se wæs on Cent æfter Agustine. forþ ferde. iiii N. Feb'. und he was be byred be Agustine. æfter him feng Mellitus to arceb' dome. se was biscop of Lund'. and þas binnan fif wintre Mellitus forð ferde. Þa æfter him feng to arceb' dome Iustus. se was b' of Hrouecistre and þar to gehalgode Romanum to biscope.

625. Her Paulinus fram Iusto þam erce bisë wæs gehadod Norþhymbrum to biscepe.

626. Her Eanfled Edwines dohtor cyninges wæs gefulwad in þone halgan æfen Pentecosten. And Penda hæfde xxx wintra rice, and he hæfde L wintra þa þa he to rice feng. ⁿPenda wæs Pybbing. Pybba Creoding. Creoda Cynewalding. Cynewald Cnebbing. Cnebba Iceling. Icel Eomæring. Eomær Angel&eowing. Angel&eow Offing. Offa Wærmunding. Wærmund Wihtlæging. Wihtlæg Wodening.

F. 616. . To sam timan was Laurentius arceb' and far pare sarinesse se he hæfde. far pes cinges ungeleauon, he hæfde gemynt eal pis land farlætan, and ouer sæ faran. Ac Scs Petrus se apl' anes nihtes hine heardlice swang, farpi se he wolde Godes heorde swa farlæton, and het hine pam cinge heardlice rihtne geleauan tæcan. And he swa dyde, and se cing gecyrde to rihte. On syses ylcan Eadboldes cinges dæge pes ylca Laurentius forp ferde. Se haliga Augustinus be his halan liue hine hadode to biscope, to si sæt Cristes gelaðung. Se sa git was niwe on Engla lande, nane hwile æfter his forðsiðe nære butan arcebiscope. Da æfter him feng Mellitus to arceb' stole pe was ær biscop on Lundene. And pes binnan fif wintran after Laurentius for syse, rixiende Eadbalde. Mellitus for to Criste.

troduction to the Fasti Catholici, p. 191 sq. For xxx° read dxxxi, the year from which the Dionysian Cycle dated, and xcv years before dcxxvi. Beda was the continuer of the Calendar after Dionysius: cf. H. E. v. 21. When the old Calendar was nearly run out, there sprung up a mania for calculation.

n This genealogy erased in A; recovered from A. B. C. See 716.

⁹ geyde=ge eode, acquired, got. Cf. above, p. 4. end of A's Pref. In La3amon it appears in the form ieode, which see in Glos. La3. Cf. Bouterwek Glos. v. gegangan.

¹⁰ On the ἐννεακαιδεκατηρίs of Dionysius Exiguus, cf. Mr. Greswell's In-

wæs ercebiscop on Cænt. Þ he wolde suþ ofer se. and Þ eall forlæton. ac him com to on niht se apostol Petrus. and hine hetelice swang forþan Þ he wolda swa þa godes hyrde forleton. and het hine gan to þam cininge. and him rihte ge leafan bodian. and he swa dide. and se cining ge cerde. and wearð ge fullod. On þises cininges dagum Laurentius ercebiscop ðe wæs on Cent æfter Augustinus forðferde. and wæs be byrged be Augustine in die iiii nonarum Feb'. Þa æfter him feng Mellitus to ercebiscop dome. Þe ær wæs biscop on Lundene. Þa wurdon Lunden ware heðene. Þær Mellitus ær wæs. and þes þa ymb v wintra rixiendum Eadbaldum Mellitus for to Criste. Þa æfter feng to þam ercebiscop dome Justus. and he ge halgode to Hrofeceastre Romanum þær he ær wæs biscop.

617. Her wærð Æðelfrið Norðhymbra cining of slagen fram Reodwalde East Engla cininge. and Eadwine Ælling feng to rice. and ge yde eall Brytene buton Cantware anre. and adrefde ut þa eðelingas Æðelfriðes suna þ wæs ærest. Eanfrid, Oswald, and Oswiu, Oslac, Oswudu, Oslaf, and Offa.

624. Her fordferde Mellitus ercebiscop.

625. Her Justus arcebiscop ge halgode Paulinum to biscope on xii kl' Augusti. Hic ciclus Dionisii quinque decennovenalibus constans, hoc est xcv annis; sumitque exordium á xxx° anno Incarnationis Domini et desinit in dcxxvi anno. Hic ordo decennouenalis quem Græci Ennia καιδ Johanes papa καρεπίρα vocat, á Sčis patribus in Nicea Sinodo fuit constitutus, in quo xiiii luna Paschalis omni anno sine ulla dubitatione 10.

626. Her com Eomer fram Cwichelme West Seaxna cininge. pohte p he wolde of stingan Eadwine cininge. ac he of stang Lillan his degn. and Fordhere. and pone cining ge wundode. and pære ilcan nihte wes Eadwine dohter acenned. seo wæs ge haten Eanfled. Pa ge het se cining Pauline p he wolde his dohter ge syllan Gode. gif he wolde abiddan æt Gode. p he moste his feond afyllan. pe pone scadan pider ær sende. and he pa for on West Seaxum mid fyrde. and afylde pær v ciningas. and pæs folces mycel of sloh. and Paulinus ge fullade his dohter on Pentecosten twelfa sum. and se cining binnan xii monad wæs ge fullod on Eastrum mid eallum his dugode. pa wæron Estran on ii id. Apr. Dis wæs ge don on Eoferwic. pær he ær het ge timbrian cyrican of treowe. seo wæs ge

- 627. Her Edwine kyning wæs gefulwad mid his beode on Eastron.
- 628. Her Cynegils and Cuichelm gefuhtun wip Pendan æt Cirenceastre. and geþingodan þa.
 - 632. Her was Eorpwald gefulwadq.
- 633. Her Edwine wæs ofslægen, and Paulinus huerf eft to Cantwarum, and gesæt þæt biscep setl on Hrofes ceastre.
- 634. Her Birinus bisc bodude West Seaxum fulwuht.
- 635. Her Cynegils wæs gefulwad from Birino þæm bisë in Dorce ceastre. and Oswold his on feng^r.
- 636. Her Cuichelm wæs gefulwad in Dorces ceastre, and þy ilcan geare forðferde. And Felix biscep bodade EastEnglum Cristes geleafan^s.
- 639. Her Birinus fulwade Cuored on Dorces ceastre. and on feng hime him to suna.
 - o cum suâ gente. Flor.
- P We now say fight with = pugnare cum hoste, just as we say join with, talk with, agree with. But in the 9th and 10th centuries wile was simply against, adversus; and mid was with, cum. We have still a trace of the ancient wile, in our withstand.
- q King of the East Engles, of the Royal Family of the Wuffingas. Beda ii. 15.
- r The words his onfeng mean the same as onfeng hine him to suna, below, 639; i. e. was his sponsor and received him from the font as undertaking to guide and instruct him further in the ways of Christianity. Filium de baptismo suscipere—ἀναδέχεσβαι. Cf. Bingham, Church Ant. Bk. xi. c. 8. § 7. cf. 994.
 - ⁸ His see was in civitate Domnoc

- (Beda), Dommuc (Flor.), i. e. Dunwich on the coast of Suffolk, now almost lost in the ocean. Thorpe's note in Florence, An. 636, gives the after history of this see.
- ¹ This Cadwalla, the British king, must not be confused with Ceadwalla, the W. Saxon, below, 685. Compare the language of Florence: Gloriosus rex Edwine.... a pagano rege Merciorum Penda, viro strenuissimo, et Ceadwala rege Britonum sæviore pagano, in campo Heathfeld, conserto gravi prælio, est occisus. In Lazamon he is,

Cadwalan be kene be king of Suðlonde;

and the magnificent story there told of his exploits with Penda and against Edwine is worth reading. Possibly it is not all fable. halgod on see Petres naman. pær se cining sealde Pauline biscop setl. and pær he het eft timbrian maran cyrican of stane. and her feng Penda to rice. and rixade xxx wintra.

627. Her wes Eadwine cining ge fullod fram Pauline. and eac þes Paulinus bodad fulluht on Lindisse. þær ge lifde arest sum rice man mid ealre his duguðe. se wæs ge haten Blecca. and in ðas tid Honorius feng to pap dome æfter Boniface þe sende Pauline hider pallium. and Justus ercebiscop forðferde iiii id' Nov. and Honorius wes ge halgod fram Pauline on Lincollan. þam Honorium se papa sende eac pallium. and he sende Scottum ge writ þ hi scoldon ge cerran to rihtum Eastrum.

628. Her Kynegils and Cwichelm ge fuhton wið Pendan æt Cirnceastre. and ge þingodon þa.

632. Her wæs Eorpwald gefullod.

633. Her wearð Eadwine cining of slagan, fram Cadwallan¹ and Pendan on Heðfelda on ii id' Octob, and he rixade vii gear, and eac man sloh his sunu Osfrið mid him, and þa syððan foran Ceadwala and Penda and fordydan eall Norðhymbra land. Þa þ Paulinus ge seah, þa ge nam Æðelburge Eadwines lafe, and ge wat on scipe to Cent, and Eadbold and Honorius him onfengon swiðe arwurðlice, and sealdon him biscop setle on Rofescestre, and he þær wunode to his ende.

634. Her feng to Dearne rice Osric. bone Paulinus ær ge fullode. se wæs Ælfrices sunu Ædwines federan. and to Bærnicum feng Æðelfriðes sunu Eanfrið. and eac her Birinus bodade ærest Weast Seaxum fulluht under Cynegilse cininge. se Birinus com þider be Honorius wordum þes papan. and he ðær wes biscop ob his lyfes ende. And Oswald eac her feng to Norðanhymbran rice. and he rixade ix winter. man getealde him þ nigonðe for þan heðenscipe þe hi drugon þe hi þet an gear rixodon be twix him and Eadwine.

635. Her Kynegils was gefulled fram Byrine pam biscope on Dorcaceastre. and Oswold Norohymbra cining his onfeng.

636. Her wæs Cwichelm ge fullod on Dorceceastre. and pam ilcan geare he forðferde. and Felix biscop bodade East Eanglum Cristes ge lefan.

639. Her Byrinus fullode Cubred on Dorce ceastre, and on feng hine him to sunu.

- 640. Her Edbald Cantwara cyning for pferde, and he ricsode xxv wintr. He hæste twegene sunu Ermenred and Ercenberht. and her Ercenberht rixode æster his sæder. And Ermenred ge strynde twegen sunu ha syddan wurdan gemartirode of dunore.
- 642. Her Oswald Norðan hymbra cyning of slægen wæs.
- 643. Her Cen walh feng to Wesseaxna rice. and heold xxxi wint. and se Cen walh het atimbran þa ciricean on Wintun ceastre.
- 644. Her Paulinus forp ferde se wæs ærce bisc on Eoferwiceastre, and eft on Hrofes ceastere.
- 645. Her Cenwalh adrifen was from Pendan cyninge.
 - 646. Her Cenwalh wæs gefulwad.
- 648. Her Cenwalh gesalde Cuprede^t his mæge iii pusendo londes be Æsces dune. Se Cupred wæs Cuichelming. Cuichelm Cynegilsing.
- 650. Her Ægel bryht of Galwalum. æfter Birine pam Romaniscan bisë onfeng Wesseaxna bisëdome.
- 651. Her Oswine kyning wæs ofslægen. and Aidan bisë forpferde.
- 652. Her Cenwalh gefeaht æt Bradan forda be Afne.
- 653. Her Middel Seaxe onfengon under Peadan aldormen ryhtne geleafan.
- 654. Her Onna cyning wearb ofslægen, and Botulf ongon mynster timbran.
- t Cenwalh rex de East Anglia rediit in West Saxoniam: et eodem anno non modicam ruris portionem dedit Cuthredo, fratrueli suo, Cuichelmi regis filio. Flor. Gibson translates iii þusendo londes, ter mille hidas terræ.
- ² Instead of Oswine Edwines, there is only Oswines in E, but the correction is obvious on comparison of

634 and 650. In Florence, An. 645, Oswine is called regis Edwini patruelis Osrici filius, which is one with the corrected text. The A. S. makes English by inversion of the order: Oswine, son of Osric the son of the uncle of Edwine. The Latin says, Oswine, son of king Edwine's first cousin. Take fedran suna as a compound, it = patruelis.

- 639. Her Eadbald Cantwara cining for offerde. se wæs cining xxiiii wintra. Pa feng his sunu Ercenbriht to pam rice. se to wearp ealla pa deofel gyld on his rice. and ærost Engliscra cininga he ge sette Eastor feasten. pæs dohter wæs ge haten Ercongota halifemne. and wundorlic man. pære modor wæs Sexburh Annan dohter East Engla ciningas.
- 641. Her wæs Osuuald of slagen Norðhymbra cining. fram Pendan Suþhymbrum on Maser feld on ðam dæge Nō Aug. and his lic wæs be byrged on Bearðan ege. þæs halines and wundor wæron syððan manigfealde ge cydde geond ðis egland. and his handa sindon on Bebbanburh unge brosnode. And her Cenwalh feng to Wæst Seaxena rice. and heold xxi wintra. se Cenwalh het atimbrian þa cyrican on Wintan ceastre. and he wæs Kynegilsing. and þam ilcan geare ðe Oswald wæs of slagen. feng Oswiu his broðor to Norðanhymbran rice. and he rixode twa læs xxx geara.
- 643. Her forðferde Paulinus ærcebiscop on Rofesceastre vi id' Octobr. se wæs biscop an læs xx wintra. and ii monðas. and xxi daga. And her feng Oswine Edwines² fedran suna sunu Osrices to Dearne rice, and rixade vii winter.
- 644. Her Cenwalh wæs adrifen of his rice fram Pendan cininge.
 - 645. Her Cenwalh wæs gefullod.
- 648. Her Cenwalh ge sealde Eadrede his mege iii þusenda landes be Æsces dune.
- 649. Her Ægelbriht of Galwalum æfter Byrine þam Romanisca biscop on feng Sexena biscopdomas.
- 650. Her het Oswiu cining of slean Oswine cining on xiii kl' Septēb. and þæs ymbe xii niht forðferde Aidanus biscop on ii kl' Sept.
- 652. Her Middal Engla onfengon under Pendan ealdor mæn rihtne ge leafan.
- 653. Her Anna cining wer's of slagen, and Botuulf ongan timbrian mynster æt Icanhoe, and her for'sferde Honorius ercebiscop on ii kl' Octobr.

655. Her Penda forwear, and Mierce wurdon Cristne. Da was agan from fruman middan geardes \bar{v} wintra. and DCCC and L wintr. and Peada feng to Mercha rice. Pending.

657. Her forpferde Peada. and Wulfhere Pending feng to Miercna rice.

3 The parallel is here dislocated, by an enlargement of the Laud MS., all its own. It consists of the first two instalments of a monograph on the Abbey of Peterborough, which is subsequently continued in parts, under the proper dates. This is a leading feature of E, and stamps it as a Peterborough Edition of the Chronicle.

It was (in a literary sense) a great mistake to embody in a national work so disproportionate a mass of local history: yet, through this very deformity of structure, new sources are opened for the illustration of the Chronicle. The very clumsiness of the performance, as it renders the evidence more palpable, enhances the value of the information that may be gathered from it.

With this digression we drop suddenly into a lower stage of the language. The same style recurs only with the continuations of the same subject, until towards the close of the first handwriting, A. D. 1121.

Thus, the insertions on the one hand, and the first pause in the work on the other, echo the same sound, and mutually determine each other's date. Hence we know, that the change of handwriting at 1121 is no delusive token, that the penman brought his history close up to the time of writing, and that the insertions now before us belong definitely to the same literary effort which produced (not merely this Edition but even) this particular MS. of the Chronicle.

The result is, that we have in E,

an unaltered specimen of English of a known date. As this appertains to a period in which such illustration is rare, we must hail it as a real contribution to the history of our language.

The following are some of the peculiar characteristics of the passage before us, and of the era which produced it.

- 1. The vowel e is on the increase. All vowels, certain diphthongs, and even some final consonantal syllables, are apt to fade away into this negligent and languid sound. Thus, we have § e instead of a (or even ia) in infinitive terminations, as, arwurden, wurdminten, areren, wunen, faren, gebidden, finden, wurdigen, læden, standen: in other parts of speech, as, toforen, beonen, leoue, here, luuen, brodre, swustre, oore godene manne, ealre halgane, andswerode: § instead of æ, in areren, red, hwere, del, mel, lered: § instead of -um, -an, o, y, ea, eo, in bægne, hæge, gare, betahten, wrohten, alesednesse, gef, werce, &c. This prevalence of e is the most universal feature of the Transition from the ancient inflected to the modern uninflected language.
- 2. At the same time e itself is often substituted by eo: less often, eo occupies the place of a former y. E. g. heorotogas, feostnode, steede, seende, geseend, feorde, heot, seette, heorda, seex.
- 3. In the general confusion æ takes the place of ea, and (exceptionally) of e, eo: e.g. wærð, ælle, hæge, æst, hældan; þægne, wæl, wæx.
 - 4. The character a no longer repre-

654. Her Oswiu of sloh Pendan on Winwid felda. and xxx cynebearna mid him. and þa wæron sume ciningas. ðere sum wæs Æðelhere Annan broðer EastEngla ciningas. Da wæs agan fram fruman middan geardes fif þusend wintra. and pccc wintra. and Peada feng to Myrcena rice Pending.

³ On his time þa comon togadere heo and Oswiu Oswaldes broðor cyningas. and sprecon þ hi wolden an mynstre areren Criste to loue and Sce Petre to wurðminte. And hi swa diden. and nama hit gauen Medeshamstede. forþan þet ðær is an wæl þe is gehaten Medes wæl. And hi ongunnan þa þ grundwalla. and þær on wrohten. betahten hit þa an munec. Saxulf wæs gehaten. He wæs swyðe Godes freond. and him luuede al þeode. and he wæs swyðe æþelboren on weorulde and rice. he is nu mycelne riccere mid Criste.

Oc se kining Peada ne rixade nane hwile. forpan he wæs beswicen purh his agen cwen on Estrentide.

655. Her Idamar Rofe ceastre biscop gehalgode Deus dedit to Cantwara byrig on vii kl. Apr.

656. Her wæs Peada of slagan. and Wulfere Pending feng to Myrcena rice.

On his time wæx þet abbodrice Medeshamstede swiðe rice. Þ his broðor hafde ongunnen. Þa luuede se kining hit

sents the full and pure vowel-sound which had entitled it to the first place in the gamut of letters: it begins to appear interchangeably with several of the less perfect vowels and diphthongs. Where the more usual is ea, in al, gare, halfe, gehalden: or æ, as in togadere, lawed, gað: or e, as in festnia, heorda, halgane.

5. The letter u is frequently put for f, e.g. siluer, loue, haue, gauen, luuede, luuen, leoue, æuestlice, Dereuorde, Cliue, gaule (=gafole).

6. The g initial or final is changed to i in some few cases: iateward, ietten, ani, dæi. This became very general afterwards, and y rather than i came to be employed for the substitute; hence a great many of the y's

in modern English are the representatives of a Saxon g.

7. But much as these innovations alter the complexion of a Language, their chief value lies in their connexion with the great change of the 12th century, the abolition of grammatical inflexions. Of this movement we see tokens in the interpolations of E. Gender, number, case, the governments of prepositions and of verbs, are in such confusion as to embarrass instead of aiding the operations of Speech; there was no remedy but to sweep them all away.

On the nether edge of the leaf, in the MS., is written in a hand of the 13th century; swide for his broder luuen Peada. and for his wed broderes luuen Oswi. and for Saxulfes luuen bes abbodes. cwed ha bet he wolde hit wurdeninten and arwurden be his broder ræd Ædelred and Merwala. and be his swustre red Kyneburges and Kyneswides. and be se ærcebiscopes ræd se wæs gehaten Deusdedit. and be al his gewiten ræd læred and lawed he on his kynerice wæron. and he swa dide.

Da seonde se kyning æfter bone abbode, bet he æuestlice scolde to him cumon, and he swa dyde. Da cwæd se kyning to ban abbode. La leof Sæxulf ic haue ge seond æfter be for mine saule purfe. and ic hit wile be wæl secgon for hwi. Min brofor Peada and min leoue freond Oswi ongunnen an mynstre Criste to loue and Sancte Petre. Oc min broder is faren of bisse liue swa swa Crist wolde. oc ic wile be gebidden la leoue freond b hii wirce æuostlice on pere werce. and ic be wile finden per to gold and siluer, land and ahte, and al pet bær to be hofeð. Da feorde se abbot ham and ongan to wircene. Swa he spedde swa him Crist hude. swa bet in feuna geare wæs b mynstre gare. Da ba kyning heorda bæt gesecgon. ha wærd he swide glæd, heot seonden geond al his beode æfter alle his bægne. æfter ærcebiscop and æfter biscopes, and æfter his eorles and æfter alle ba be Gode luuedon. bæt hi scoldon to him cumene. and seotte ba dæi hwonne man scolde b mynstre ge halegon.

Da man halgode seo mynstre. þa wæs seo kyning Wulfere þær. and his broðer Æðelred. and his swustre Kyneburg and Kynesuuith. And seo mynstre halgode seo ærcebiscop Deusdedit of Cantwarbyrig. and seo biscop of Rofecæstre Ithamar. and seo biscop of Lundone þe wæs Wina gehaten. and seo Myrcene biscop. Ieruman wæs gehaten. and Tuda biscop. And þær wæs Wilfrid preost þe siððon wæs biscop. and þær wæron ælle his ðegnas þe wæron on his kynerice.

Đa seo mynstre wæs ge halgod on Sancte Petres nama and S. Paules and S. Andr'. þa stod seo kyning up toforen ealle his vægna. and cwæd luddor stefne. Đancod wurð hit þon hæge Ælmihti God þis wurðscipe b her is gedon, and ic wile wurdigen bis dæi Crist and Sce Peter. and ic wille b ge ealle ge tide mine worde. Ic Wulfere gife to dæi Sce Petre and pone abbode Saxulf and pa munecas of pe mynstre pas landes and has wateres and meres and fennes and weres and ealle ba landes ba bær abuton liggeð ða of mine kynerice sindon freolice, swa det nan man na haue bær nan onsting buton see abbot and se muneces. Das is se gife. fram Medeshamstede to Nordburh, and swa to det stede bet man cleope's Folies, and swa æl se feon riht to Esendic, and fra Esendic to \$\bar{p}\$ steode \$p\$e man cleope\$ Fe\delta r mu\delta e. and swa \$\bar{p}\$ rihte weie x mile lang to Cuggedic. and swa to Raggewilh. and fra Raggewilh v mile to be ribte a be gad to Ælm and to Wisebece, and swa abutan iii mile to brokonholt, and fra prokonholt riht burh al de fen to Dereuorde b is xx mile lang, and swa to Grætecros, and fra Grætecros burh an scyr wæter Bradanæ hatte. and beonon vi mile to Paccelade. and swa ford burh ælle ba meres and feonnes ba liggen toward Huntendune porte. and pas meres and laces. Scælfremere and Witles mere and ælle þa oþre þa þar abutan liggan mid land and mid huses ba sindon on æsthalfe Scælfre mere. and peonen ælle pa feonnon to Medeshamstede. and fra Medeshamstede al to Welmes forde, and fra Welmes forde to Clive. and beonen to Æstune. and fra Æstune to Stanford. and fra Stanford swaswa b wæter renned to seo forensprecone Nord burh. Dis sindon pa landes and Sa feonnes pe seo kyning gef into Sce Petres mynstre.

Da cwæð seo kyning. Hit is litel þeos gife. ac ic wille þ hi hit hælden swa kynelice and swa freolice. Þ þær ne be numen of na geld na gaule. buton to þa munecan ane. Dus ic wille freon þis mynstre þet hit ne be under þed buton Rome ane. and hider ic wille þ we secan Sce Petre. ealle þa þa to Rome na magen faren.

Betwix has worde ha geornde see abb'e het he scolde him tyhian het he æt him geornde. and see kining hit him tydde.

Ic haue here godefrihte muneces ha wolden drohtien here lif on anker setle gif hi wisten hwere. Oc her is an igland han cleoped Ancar ig. and wile hes geornen have moten hær wircen an mynstre See Marie to loue. Het hi moten hær wunen had here lif wilen læden mid sibbe and mid reste.

Da andswerode seo kyning and pus cwæð. Saxulf la leof. ne þet an þ ðu geornest oc ealle þa þing þ ic wat þet ðu geornest on ure Drihtnes halfe. swa ic lufe and tyðe. And ic bidde þe broðer Æðelred. and mine swustre Cyneburh and Cynesuuith. for iure sawle alesednesse, þet ge beon witnesse, and þ geo hit write mid iure fingre. And ic bidde ealle þa ða æfter me cumen, beon hi mine sunes, beon hi mine breðre, ouþer kyningas þa æfter me cumen. Þ ure gyfe mote standen, swa swa hi willen beon del nimende on þa ece lif. and swa swa hi wilen æt beorstan þet ece wite. Swa hwa swa ure gife ouþer oðre godene manne gyfe wansiaþ, wansie him seo heofenlice iateward on heofenrice. And swa hwa swa hit eceð, ece him seo heofenlice iateward on heofenrice.

Das sindon ba witnes be ber weron, and ba b gewriten mid here fingre on Cristesmele. and ietten mid here tunge. Det wæs first seo kyning Wulfere be b feostnode first mid his worde and siððon mid his fingre gewrat on Cristes mel. and bus cwæð. Ic Wulfere kyning mid bas kyningas and mid eorles and mid heorotogas and mid bægnas bas gewitnesse mines gifes to foran bone ærcebiscop Deus dedit ic hit festnia mid Cristes mel. +. And ic Oswi Norhlimbre kyning peos mynstres freond. and pes abbotes Saxulf. hit loue mid Cristes mel. +. And ic Sighere kyning hit tybe mid Cristes mel. +. And ic Sibbi kyning hit write mid Cristes mel. +. And ic Ædelred bes kyningas broder bet ilce tyde mid Cristesmel. +. And we bes kyningas swustre Cyneburh and Cynesuith we hit louien. And ic Kantwarabyrig ærcebiscop Deusdedit hit tyde. Siddan þa getton hit ælle þa odre be bær wæron mid Cristes mel. +. Det wæron be nam.

Ithamar biscop of Rofecestre, and Wine biscop of Lundene, and Ieruman se wæs Myrcene biscop, and Tuda biscop, and Wilfrid preost seo wæs siððon biscop, and Eoppa preost þe seo kyning Wulhfere seonde to bodian Cristendome on Wiht, and Saxulf abbot, and Immine ealdorman, and Eadberht ealdorman, and Herefrid ældorman, and Wilberht ældorman, and Abon ældorman, Æðelbold, Brordan, Wilberht, Ælhmund, Freðegis, þas and feola oþre þa wæron þær kyninges þeonest men hit geotton ealle. Des writ wæs gewriton æfter ure Drihtnes acennednesse dclxiiii, þes kyningas Wulhferes seoucðende gear, þes ærcebiscopes Deusdedit ix gear. Leidon þa Godes curs and ealre halgane curs and al Cristene folces þe ani þing undyde þ þær wæs ge don. Swa beo hit, seiþalle, Am.

pa pis ping wæs ge don, pa seonde seo kyning to Rome to seo papa Uitalianus pe pa was, and geornde p he scolde tyðian mid his writ and mid his bletsinge eal pis forsprecene ping. And seo papa seonde pa his writ pus cwæðend. Ic Uitalianus papa geate pe Wulhfere cyning and Deusdedit ærcebiscop and Saxulf abb' ealle pe ping pe ge geornon, and ic forbede pet ne kyning, ne nan man ne haue nan onsting buton pon abb' ane, ne he ne hersumie nan man buton pone papa on Rome and se ærcebiscop on Cantwarbyrig. Gif hwa pis to brekep æniping. See Petre mid his sweord him adylige. Gif hwa hit hælt. S. Petre mid heofne keie un do him heofen rice. Dus wæs seo mynstre Medeshamstede agunnen. p man siððon cleopede Burh.

Siðon com an oþre ærceb' to Cantwarbyrig. seo wæs gehaten Theodorus. swiðe god man and wis. and heold his sinop mid his biscopes and mid þe lerede folc. Þa wæs Winfrid Myrcene biscop don of his biscop rice. and Saxulf abb' was þær ge coren to biscop. and Cuðbald munec of þe selue mynstre wæs coren to abbot. Þis sinað was gehalden æfter ure Drihtnes acennednesse seox hundred wintra. and iii and hund seofenti wintra.

658. Her Cenwalh gefeaht æt Peonnum wip Walas. and hie gefliemde op Pedridan. pis wæs gefohten sippan he of East Englum com. he wæs þær iii gear on wrece. hæfde hine Penda adrifenne and rices benumenne. forþon he his swostor an forlet.

660. Her Ægelbryht bisc gewat from Cenwale. and Wine heold bone biscep dom iii gear. and se Ægelbryht onfeng Persa bisc domes on Galwalum

bi Signe.

- 661. Her Cen walh gefeaht in Eastron on Posentes byrg. and gehergeade Wulfhere Pending op Æsces dune. And Cupred Cuichelming. and Coenbryht cyning on anum geare forp ferdun. And on Wiht gehergade Wulfhere Pending. and gesalde Wihtwaran Æpelwalde SudSeaxna cyninge. forpon Wulfhere hine onfeng æt fulwihte. And Eoppa mæsse preost. be Wilferpes worde and Wulfhere cyning. brohte Wiht warum fulwiht ærest.
- 664. Her sunne apiestrode and Arcenbryht Cantwara cyng forpferde. And Colman mid his geferum for to his cybbe. by ilcan geare wæs micel man cuealm. And Ceadda and Wilferb wæron gehadode. and by ilcan geare Deusdedit forpferde.

668. Her peodorus mon hadode to erce bisc.

669. Her Ecgbryht cyning salde Basse mæsse prioste Reculf mynster on to tymbranne.

670. Her forpferde Osweo Norpan hymbra cyning. and Ecg ferp ricsode æfter him. And Hlophere feng to biscep dome ofer Wesseaxan Ægelbryhtes bisë nefa. and heold vii gear. peodor bisë hine gehalgode. and se Oswio wæs Æpelferping. Æpelferp Æpelricing. Æpelric Iding. Ida Eopping.

671. Her wæs þæt micle fuglawæl.

672. Her forpferde Cen walh and Seaxburg an gear ricsode his cuen æfter him.

- 658. Her Cenwealh ge feaht æt Peonnum wip Walas. and heo ge flymde oð Pedredan. Þis wæs ge fohton syððan he of East Engla com. he wæs þær iii gear on wrecce sið. hæfde hine Penda adrefedne. and rices benumene for þan þ he his swustor forlet.
- 660. Her Æglbriht biscop gewat fram Cenwala. and Wine heold one biscop dome iii gear. and seo Æglbriht onfeng Persa biscop domes on Galwalum be Sigene.
- 661. Her Cenwealh feaht on Eastron on Posentes byrig. and gehergode Wulfhere Pending of Æsces dune. and Cupred Cwichelming. and Centbriht cining on anum geare forðferdon. And on Wiht gehergode Wulfhere Pending. and ge sealde Wiht warum Æðelwolde Suð Seaxena cininga. forþan Wulfhere hine onfeng æt fulwihte. and Eoppa preost be Wilferðes worde and Wulfheres cininges brohte Wiht warum fulwiht ærost manna.
- 664. Her sunne aðestrode on v nō. Mai. and on ðissum geare com micel mancwealm on Brytene igland, and on þam cwealme forðferde Tuda biscop, and wæs be byrged on Wagele, and Ercenbriht Cantwara cining forðferde, and Ecgbriht his sunu feng to þam rice, and Coleman mid his geferum for to his cyððe, and Ceadde and Wilferð wæron ge hadode, and on þam ilcan geare seo ærcebiscop Deus dedit forðferde.
- 667. Her Oswiu and Ecbriht sendon Wigheard preost to Rome. † hine man scolde halgian to ærcebiscope. ac he forðferde sona swa he þider com.
- 668. Her Vitalianus se papa ge hadode Theodorus to arcebiscop. and sende hine to Brytene.
- 669. Her Egbriht cining sealde Basse preost Raculf. mynster to tymbrianne.
- 670. Her Oswiu fordferde Nordanhymbra eining on xv k' Mr. and Ecferd his sunu rixade æfter him. and Hlothere feng to biscop dome ofer Weast Seaxum Æglbrihtes biscopes nefa. and heold vii gear. and peodorus biscop hine halgode.
 - 671. Her wæs p mycele fugla well.
- 672. Her forðferde Cenwalh. and Sexburh an gear rixade his cwen æfter him.

673. Her Ecgbryht Cantwara cyning forþferde and by geare wæs senoð æt Heorot forda. and Sce Æþeldryht ongon þæt mynstær æt Elige.

674. Her feng Æscwine to rice on Wesseaxum. se wes Cen fusing. Cen fus Cen ferþing. Cen ferþ Cuþ gilsing. Cuþ gils Ceolwulfing. Ceolwulf Cynricing. Cynric Cerdicing.

675. Her Wulfhere Pending. and Æscwine. gefuhton æt Biedan heafde. and þy ilcan geare Wulfhere forþferde. and Æþelred fengtorice.

4 Here the parallel is disturbed a second time, by the third article on Peterborough Minster. Like the two former, it is cemented to the Annal by the phrase On his time. The Language is of the same stamp as before; and the following remarks are in continuation of the note at p. 29.

Passing from letters to words, we see the old habits of Gender, Number, Case, falling out of rule, or dropping off altogether. The Article is particularly sensitive, and exhibits every phase of the prevailing perturbation. We meet with seo kyning; ba kyning; seo mynstre; seo ærcebiscop; \$ ilce forgiuenesse; se gife; Pl. se muneces; of bone muneca. But we also find be mynstre, and here the germ of order is already seen in the appearance of that impassive monosyllable, which soon levelled all distinctions of a degenerate Accidence, and concentrated in itself the once divided functions of the Definite Article. In this the English made a step, which even French has not yet come up to.

Verbs and Prepositions no longer command their wonted Cases. E. g. nama hit gauen Medeshamstede—betahten hit þa an munec—of þ abbodrice—be se ærcebiscopes ræd—to seo

foren sprecone Noro burh. In these instances the Nominative stands where the old classic Englisc would have had the Dative. This Case went first; the Accusative stood longer, and the Genitive has partially remained to our own day. In the Text, an Accusative often fills the place of the old Dative; e. g. geafon and getton bone abbot—æt bone stede—to foran bone ærcebiscop. An Accusative even stands for the Nominative; swa micel swa bone abbot wile: and a Nominative instead of the Accusative; Ic Agatho...grete wel seo... kyning!

Of the variety of Declensions little now remains; a single letter (s) forms the Plural of Nouns, and likewise their Genitive Singular. Hence we find the Genitives gifes; Kyneburges and Kyneswides; and the Plurals, sunes, heorotogas, landes: all in violation of the ancient Grammar.

Akin to the above, is the frequent rejection of the prefix ge before the past participle, and some substantives which it usually accompanied. Thus we find, faren, coren, sprecon, wroht, and the substantive writ instead of gewrit.

But this decay of an ancient Grammar only makes way for the bursting

673. Her Ægbriht Cantwara cining for offerde, and Theodorus ærcebiscop ge somnode sinoð æt Heortforde, and Sce Ædeldrib ongan b mynster æt Helige.

674. Her feng Æscwine to rice on West Seaxum.

675. Her Wulfhere Pending and Æscwine Cenfusing ge fuhton æt Bedanheafde. and þa ilcan geare Wulfhere forð ferde. and Ædelred feng to rice.

4 On his time ha seonde he to Rome Wilfrid biscop to ham pape be ba wes. Agatho he wæs gehaten, and cydde him mid writ and mid worde, hu his brefre Peada and Wulfhere and se abbot Saxulf, heafden wroht an minstre Medeshamstede wæs gehaten, and b hi hit heafden gefreod wid kyning and wið biscop of ealle pew dom. and bed him b he scolde b geten mid his writ and mid his bletsunge. And seo papa seonde pa his gewrite to Englalande pus cwedende.

Ic Agatho papa of Rome grete wel seo wurdfulle Ædelred Bulla pape Myrcene kyning and se ærcebiscop Theodorum of Cantwar byrig. and seo Myrcene biscop Saxulf seo ær wæs abbot, and alle pa abbotes pa sindon on Englalande Godes gretinge and minre bletsunge. Ic have geheord see kyninges Æðelredes geornunge and bes ærcebiscopes Theodorus, and bes biscopes Saxulfes. and bes abbotes Cuthbaldes, and ic hit wille \$\bar{p}\$ hit on ælle wise beo. swa swa ge hit sprecon hauen. And ic be beode of Godes half and S' Petres. and ealra halgan, and ealre hadode heafde, bet ne kyning ne biscop ne

forth of a young system which fills, and more than fills, the room of its predecessor. An elaborate Accidence is picturesque to the fancy, but to the operations of the mind it is hampering. One necessity of form begets another. Where the noun must be in a certain case, it will probably be found necessary to give the clause a particular shape, and that again will have its effect on the cast of the entire sentence. It has been a great advantage to us that the Transition took place when it did, and that it was so com-

plete. Here we gained a march on the cognate dialects, German and Dutch. Let any one try to imagine the great works of English Literature couched in an inflected Language. In so strait a garment, they could never have attained the ease and expansion for which they are so distinguished. Even this raw composition of the 12th century shews a sense of new freedom, as it marches along regardless of the forms of words, minding only their sensible worth and lucid collocation.

ne feording6 ne nanes cinnes deudom ne nime man of b

abbotrice of Medeshamstede. Ic beode æc † be scyr biscop

Abbas quasi Legatus Rome

ne seo swa dyrstlece † he ne hading ne haleging ne do on bis abbot rice buton see abbot hit him bidde. ne biscop wite ne sinad ne nanes kinnes bing na haue bær nan onsting. And ic wille b see abbot bee gehealden for legat of Rome ofer eal b iglande, and hwile abbot be beb ber coren of be munecan b he beo ge bletsad of ban ærcebiscop of Cant warbyrig. Ic wille and tyde \$ hwile man swa haued behaten to faren to Rome and he ne muge hit for Sian. ou Ser for untrumnisse, ouder for lauerdes neode, ouder for haueleste. ouder for hwilces cinnes oder need he ne muge per cumon. beo he of Engle lande ouder of hwile oder igland beo he. cume to \$\psi\$ mynstre on Medesham stede. and haue \$\psi\$ ilce forgiuenesse of Criste and S' Peter. and of bone abbot and of bone muneca b he scolde hauen gif he to Rome fore. Nu bidde ic þe broðer Theodorus þ þu lete bedon geond æl Engle lande bet seo sina wurde gegaderod. and bis write wurde geredd and gehealdon. Al swa ic beode be Saxulf biscop † swa swa þu hit geornest. † seo mynstre beo freo. swa ic for beode be and ealle be biscopas be æfter de cumon of Criste and of ealle his halgan b ge nan onsting ne hauen of † mynstre buton swa micel swa bone abbot wile. Nu wille ic hit segge mid worde b hwa swa halt bis write and bis bode. þa wurðe he efre wuniende mid God Ælmihti on heuenrice and hwa swa hit to brece's, ha wurde he amansumed and aniorod mid Iudas and mid ealle deofle on helle buton he cume to dedbote. AMEN.

Das writ seonde seo papa Agatho and an hundred and fif

⁵ This title occurs also above (p. 30) in the previous portion of the Peterborough story. In reference to the times spoken of, it is a strong anachronism, for there were no eorlas in England then. It was Danish, and came in with the Danes.

⁶ In Cod. Dipl. 990. feorging, wrong. The Latin text there gives the true sense; -non census, non tributum, non militia, non aliqua unquam servitutis occasio &c. Feording =fyrd, fyrding, expeditio, military service.

and twenti biscopes bi Wilfrid ærcebiscop of Eoferwic to Englalande. Pis wæs gedon æfter ure Drihtnes acennednesse dclxxx. Þes kininges vi gear Æðelredes.

Da heot seo kining pone ærcebiscop Theodorus p he scolde setton ealle gewitene mot æt pone stede p man cleoped Heat felde. Da hi wæron pær ge gaderod, pa leot he rædon pa gewrite pe seo papa pider seonde, and ealle hit getton and fulfeostnodon.

Da seide se kyning. Ealle þa þing þe min broðer Peada. and min broder Wulfere, and mine swuster Kineburh and Kynesuith geafon and getton Sce Peter and bone abbot ba wile ic b stande. and ic wile on min dæi hit æcon for here sawle. and for minre sawle. Nu gife ic Sce Peter to dæi in to his minstre Medeshamstede has landes, and eal b bær to ligged. bet is Bredune. Hrepingas. Ceden ac. Swines hæfed. Heanbyrig. Lodeshac. Scuffanhalch. Costes ford. Stret ford. Wættelleburne. Lufgeard. Æþelhuniglond. Barþanig. landes ic gife Sce Peter eal swa freolice swa ic seolf hit ahte, and swa p nan min æfter gengles bær nan bing of ne nime. Gif hwa hit do'd, bes papa curs of Rome and ealre biscope curs he habbe, and here ealre be her be gewitnesse. and his ic festnie mid Cristes tacne. +. Ic Theodorus ærcebiscop of Cantwarbyrig am witnesse of has gewrite of Medeshamstede. and ic festnie mid min ge write. and ic amansumie ealle ba bær anibing of breke, and ic bletsie ealle ba be hit healden. +. Ic Wilfrid ærceb' of Æferwic ic eam witnesse of has ge write. and ic gæte hæs ilce curs. +. Ic Saxulf he wæs first abbot and nu eam biscop ic gife hi min curs and ealle min æftergengle þe þis to breket. Ic Ostriðe Æðel redes ewen hit tybe. Ic Adrianus legat hit iete. biscop of Rofecestre ic hit write. Ic Waldhere biscop of Lundene hit festnie. Ic Cubbald abbot hit geate swa bet hwa swa hit breket. ealre biscope cursunge and eal Cristene foces he hafe. Am.

676. Her Æsewine for ferde, and Hedde feng to bisë dome, and Centwine feng to rice, and Centwine was Cynegilsing. Cynegils Ceolwulfing. And Æse red Miercna cyning oferhergeada Centlond.

678. Her opiewde cometa se steorra. And Wilfrip biscop wæs adrifen of his bisc dome from Ecgferpe cyninge.

679. Her Ælfwine wæs ofslægen. and Sce Æþelþryþ forb ferde.

680. Her gesæt þeodorius ærce biscop senoþ on Hæþ felda. forbon he wolde þone Cristes geleafan geryhtan. And þy ylcan geare forþferde Hild abbodesse on Streones heale.

682. On þissum geare Centwine gefliemde Bret wealas op sæ.

685. Her Ceadwalla ongan æfter rice winnan. Se Ceadwalla was Coenbryhting. Coenbrhyt Cading. Cadda Cupaing. Cupa Ceawlining. Ceawlin Cynricing. Cynric Cerdicing. And Mul was Ceadwallan brobur. and pone mon eft on Cent forbærnde. And þy ilcan geare Ecgferþ cyning mon ofslog. Se Ecgferþ wæs Osweoing. Osweo Æþelferþing. Æþelferþ Æþelricing. Æþelric Iding. Ida Eopping. And Hlophere þy ilcan geare forþ ferde.

686. Her Ceadwalla and Mul Cent and Wieht forhergedon.

prelacy of Egbalth. Such a notice is proper to a monograph, but very incongruous in a page of the national story, where the very key-note of the era is Theodorus.

F. 685. . . . Her wear's on Brytene blodi ren. and meole and butere wurdon gewend to blode.

⁷ The fourth piece of the records of Peterborough, peculiar to E. The intrusion is betrayed, not only by the language and the subject, but also by the Synchronizing of Theodorus with the

676. Her Æscwine forðferde. and Hedde feng to biscop dome, and Centwine feng to West Seaxna rice. and Æðelred Myrcena cining ofer hergode Centland.

678. Her ateowede cometa se steorra on Auguste. and scan iii mondas ælce morgen swilce sunne beam. and Wilferd biscop wæs adrifen of his biscop dome fram Ecferde cininge. and man ge halgode ii biscopas on his stal. Bosan to Derum. and Eatan to Beornicum. and man ge halgode Lindis warum to biscope Eadhed. se wæs on Lindissi ærost biscopa.

679. Her man of sloh Ælfwine be Trentan þær ðær Egferð and Æðelred ge fuhton. and her forðferde sce Æðeldrið. and Coludes burh for barn mid godcundum fyre.

680. Her ge set Theodorus ærcebiscopes sinoð on Hæð felda. forþan þe he wolde þone Cristes ge læfan ge rihtan. and þy geare Hild abboðessa on Streones heale forðferde.

681. Her man halgode Trumbriht biscop to Hagustaldes ea. and Trumwine Pihtum forþan hy hyrdon þa hider.

682. Her on öissum geare Centwine ge flymde Britwalas ob sæ.

684. Her on dissum geare sende Ecgferd here on Scottas. and Briht his ealdorman mid. and earmlice hi Godes cyrican hyndan and bærndon.

685. Her hæt Ecgferð cining ge halgian Cuðberht to biscope. and Theodorus archieß hine ge halgode on Eoferwic ham forman Eastor dæge to biscope to Hagustaldes ham. for ham Trumbriht wæs adon of dam biscop dome. and dy ilcan geare man of sloh Ecgferð cining be norðan sæ. and mycelne here mid him on xiiio kl' Junii. He wæs xv winter cining. and Aldfrið his brodor feng æfter him to rice. and her ongan Ceadwala winnan æfter rice. and hy ilcan geare Lodere Cant wara cining fordferde. and man ge halgode Iohannes on Agust' to biscope. and he hær wæs odde Wilfrih in com. Syddan feng Iohannes to Ceastre biscop dome. fordan Bosa biscop wæs fordfaren. ha wæs Wilferd his preost syddan ge halgod Ceastre to biscope. and † for to his mynstre on Derawuda. †i.e. John.

686. Her Ceadwala and Mul his brovor for hergodan Cent and Wiht. 7 pes Cædwala gef into see Petres minstre Medeshamstede Hoge. p is in an igland Heabureahg hatte. pa wæs abbot on pære minstre Egbalth wæs ge haten. heo wæs se pridde abbot æfter Saxulfe. pa wæs Theodorus ærceb' on Cent.

687. Her Mul wearp on Cent forbærned. and opre xii men mid him. and by geare Ceadwalla eft Cent

forhergeada.

688. Her Ine feng to Wesseaxna rice. and heold and he getim-xxxvii wint. And by ilcan geare Ceadwalla brade \$\frac{p}{menster}\$ for to Rome. and fulwihte onfeng from pam papan. and se papa hine heht Petrus. and ymb vii niht he forp ferde. pon was se Ine Cenreding. Cenred Ceolwalding. Ceolwald was Cynegilses bropur. and pa wæron Cupwines suna Ceaulininges. Ceaulin Cynricing. Cynric Cerdicing.

690. Her peodorius ærce bise forp ferde, and feng Beorhtwald to pam bise dome. Ær wærun Romanisce

biscepas. sibban wærun Englisce.

694. Her Cantware ge þingodan wiþ Ine. and him gesaldon xxx m̃u, forþon þe hie ær Mul for bærndon. And Wihtred feng to Cantwara rice and heold xxxiii wiñt. Se Wihtred was Ecgbryhting. Ecgbyrht Arcenbryhting. Erconbryht Eadbalding. Eadbald Æþelbryhting.

703. Her Hedde bisc forp ferde, and he heold pone

bisc dom xxvii wint on Winta ceastre.

704. Her Æþelred Pending Miercna cyning onfeng munuc hade. and þæt rice heold xxviiii wintra. þa feng Coenred to.

705. Her Aldferh Norðanhymbra cyning forþferde and Seaxwulf bisč.

709. Her Aldhelm bisë forpferde, se wæs be *westan wuda bisë, and wæs todæled in foreweardum Danieles dagum in tua bisëscira WestSeaxna lond and ær hit wæs ån, oper heold Daniel, oper Aldhelm. Æfter Aldhelme feng Forphere to. And Ceolred feng to

thirty men: probably an oversight. No doubt \tilde{m} stands for milia.

[&]quot; xxx punda B. xxx busend punda to freondscipe F. xxx milia librarum F. Lat. In Mon. Hist. Brit. the reading of A is given as xxx manna =

x Selewuda B.

687. Her Mul wærð on Cent bærned and oðre xii men mid him. and by geara Ceadwala eft forhergode Cent.

688. Her for Ceadwala cining to Rome. and onfeng fulluht æt Sergium þam papan. and he him scop Petrum to name. and he syððan ymbe vii niht forðferde on xii kl' Mai under Cristes claðum. and he wæs ge byrged innan Sce Petres cyrican. and Ine feng to rice on Wæst Sæxna æfter him. se rixade xxvii wintra. and syððan gewat to Rome. and þær wunode oþ his endedæg.

690. Her Theodorus ærceb' forðferde. he wæs xxii wintra b'. and he wæs be byrged innan Cantwarbyrig.

692. Her Brihtwold wæs ge coren to ærcebiscop on kl' Jul'. he wæs ær abbot on Raculfe. ær þissan wæron Romanisce biscopas. and syððan wæron Englisce. þa wæron ii ciningas on cent. Wihtred. and Wæbheard.

693. Her wæs Brihtwald ge halgod to ærcebiscope fram Godune Galwala biscop on v nō Jul'. innan þas tyd Gifemund b' forðferde. and Brihtwald ge halgode Tobian on his steall. and Brihthelm wæs of lyfe ge læd.

694. Her Cantwara ge öingoden wið Ine and him ge sealdon xxx þusenda forðan þe hi ær Mul forbærndon. and Wihtred feng to Cantwara rice. and heold thre and twenti wintra.

697. Her Suðan hvmbre of slogon Ostryðe Æðelredes ewen. Ecgfriðes swuster.

699. Her Pyhtas slogon Berht ealdorman.

702. Her Kenred feng to Suð hymbra rice.

703. Her Hædde b' for offerde. and he heold pone biscop dom xxvii wintra on Wintan ceastre.

704. Her Æðelred Pending Mircena cining onfeng munuc hade. and þet rice heold xxix wintra. þa feng Kenred to.

705. Her Aldfrið Norþan hymbra cining forðferde on xix kl' Jañ on Driffelda. Þa feng Osred his sunu to rice.

709. Her Aldelm biscop for offerde. see wæs be wæstan wudu b'. and wæs to dæled on fore weardum Danieles dagum on ii biscop scyra Wæst Seaxna landes. and ær hit wæs an. offer heold Daniel. offer Aldelm biscop. æfter Aldelme Forhere feng to. and Ceolred feng to Myrcena rice. and Cenred for to Rome and Offa mid him. and Cenred wæs pær of his lifes ende. and pi ilcan geare Wilfer biscop for offerde.

Miercna rice. and Ceonred for to Rome and Offa mid him.

710. Her Beorht friþ ealdormon feaht wiþ Peohtas. And Ine and Nun his mæg gefuhton wiþ Gerente Wala cyninge.

- 714. Her forp ferde Guplac se halga.
- 715. Her Ine and Ceolred fuhton æt Woddes beorge.
- 716. Her Osred Norþan hymbra cyning wearþ of slægen se hæfde vii winter rice yæfter Aldferþe. Þa feng Coenred to rice. and heold ii gear. Þa Osric and heold xi gear. And on þam ilcan geare Ceolred Miercna cyning forþ ferde. And his lic resteþ on Licet felda. and Æþelrædes Pendinges on Bearddan igge. and þa feng Æþelbaldz to rice on Mercium. and heold xli winter. Æþelbald wæs Alweoing. Alweo Eawing. Eawa Pybing. þæs cyn is beforan awriten.

And Ecgbryht se arwierpa wer on Hii pam ealonde pa munecas on ryht gecierde. pat hie Eastron on ryht heoldon, and pa ciriclecan scare.

- 718. Her Ingild forp ferde Ines bropur. and hiera swostur wærun Cuen burg and Cup burh. and sio Cup burh þæt liif æt Win burnan arærode and hio wæs forgifen Norþan hymbra cyninge Ald ferþe. and hie be him lifgendum hie gedeldun.
- 721. Her Daniel ferde to Rome. and by ilcan geare Ine ofslog Cynewulf.
- 722. Her Æþelburg cuen towearp Tantun^b and Ine ærtimbrede. and Aldbryht wræccea gewat on Suþrige and on Suþ Seaxe. and Ine gefeaht wiþ Suþ Seaxum.

725. Her Wihtred Cantwara cyning forbferde. þæs Eadberht feng to Centrice. cyn is beforan^c. And Ine feaht wip SupSeaxan. and þær ofslog Aldbryht.

728. Her Ine ferde to Rome, and pær his feorh gesealde and feng Æþelheard to Wesseaxna rice and

in Undalum. and his lic man lædde to Ripum. he wæs biscop xlv wintra. þone Ecgferð cining ær bedraf to Rome.

710. Her Acca Wilferdes preost feng to þam biscop dome þe he ær heold. and þam ilcan geare feoht Beorhtfrið ealdor man wið Pyhtas betwix Hæfe and Cære, and Ine and Nun his mæi gefuhton wið Gerente Weala cininge⁸, and þam ilcan geare man of sloh Hygebald.

714. Her Guðlac seo halga forðferde.

715. Her Ine and Ceolred ge fuhton æt Wodnes beorge.

716. Her Osred Norðanhymbra cininga wærð of slagen be suðan ge mære. se hæfde vii winter æfter Ealdferþe. þa feng Cenred to rice. and heold ii gear. and þa Osric and heold xi gear. and eac on þam ilcan geare Ceolred Myrcena cining forþferde. and his lic restað on Licet felda. and Æðelredes Pendinges on Bearðan ege. and þa feng Æðelbald to rice on Myrcum. and heold xli wintra. and Ecgbyrht se arwurþa wer íê hiwan to rihtum Eastrum. and to Sõe Petres scære.

718. Her Ingild forðferde Ines broðor, and heo swustra wæron Cwenburh and Cuðburh, and seo Cuðburh þ lyf æt Winburnan ærerde, and heo wæs forgifen Norðhymbra cininge Ealdferðe, and heo be him lifigendum gedældon.

721. Her Daniel for to Rome, and pi ilcan geare me of sloh Cynewulf pone æpeling, and her forðferde se halga biscop Ioh's, se wæs biscop xxxiii geara, and viii monðas, and xiii dagas, and his lic restað in Beoferlic.

722. Her Æðelburh cwen to wærp Tantun þone Ine ær tymbrade. and Ealdbriht wrecca ge wat on Suðrege. and on Suð Seaxe.

725. Her Wihtred Cantwara cining forðferde on nö kl' Mai. se rixade xxxiiii wintra. and Ine ge feaht wið Suðseaxum. and þær ofsloh Ealdberht þone æþeling þe he ær utflemde.

726. Her Ine for to Rome, and feng Æðelheard to West Seaxna rice his mæi, and heold xiiii gear.

y and æfter, the reading of A, seems to be an error.

z This Æþelbald was forced into exile by Ceolred, and had betaken himself to St. Guthlac, the Hermit of Crowland: with whom he found refuge and comfort (gebeorh and frofor). The holy man predicted a happy issue out

of his troubles, and assured him that he should be king of Mercia. Cf. A. Saxon Life of S. Guthlac (Ed. Goodwin), cap. 19.

a Anno 626. b be B.

c Anno 694.

8 See Smith and Stevenson on E. II. v. 18. (§ 410. Ed. Stev.)

heold xiiii gear And by geare gefuhton Æpelheard and Oswald se æpeling and se Oswald was Æpelbalding. Æpelbald Cynebalding. Cynebald Cupwining. Cupwine Ceaulining.

729. Her cometa se steorra hiene opiewde and Scs Ecgbryht forpferde.

730. Her Oswald se æbeling forb ferde.

731. Her was ofslægen Osric Norþan hymbra cyning and feng Ceoluulf to þam rice. and heold viii gear. And se Ceoluulf wæs Cuþaing. Cuþa Cuþwining. Cuþwine Leodwalding. Leodwald Ecgwalding. Ecgwald Aldhelming. Aldhelm Ocging. Ocga Iding. Ida Eopping. And Beorhtwald ærce bisë gefór.

And by ilcan geare Tatwine was gehalged to arce bisc.

733. Her Æþelbald ge eode Sumur tún and sunne apiestrode.

734. Her wæs se mona swelce he wære mid blode begoten and ferdon forþ Tatwine and Bieda.

736. Her Nobhelm ærce biscep onfeng pallium from Romana bisc.

737. Her Forphere bise and Fripogip cuen ferdun to Rome.

738. Her Ead bryht Eating Eata Leodwalding feng to Norpan hymbra rice. and heold xxi wiñt. and his bropor wæs Eegbryht Eating ærce bisc and hie restap begen on Eofor wic ceastre on anum portice.

741. Her Æþelheard cyning forþ ferde and feng Cuþræd to Wesseaxna rice and heold xvi wiñt and heardlice gewon wiþ Æþelbald cyning And Cuþbryht wæs to ærce bisc gehalgod. and Dún bisc to Hrofes ceastre.

743. Her Æþelbald and Cuþræd fuhton wiþ Walas.

727. Her fordferde Tobias biscop in Rofecestre. and on his stal Brihtwold ærcebiscop gehalgode Aldulf to biscope.

729. Her atewoden twegen cometan. and pi ilcan geare Osric forðferde seo wæs xi winter cining. and seo halga Ecgbriht in Ií. þa feng Ceolwulf to rice. and heold viii gear.

730. Her Oswald æðeling forðferde.

731. Her Brihtwold ærcebiscop forðferde on Id' Janr. seo wæs biscop xxxvii wintre. and six monðas and xiiii dagas. and þy ilcan geare man ge halgode Tatwine to ærcebiscop. seo wæs ær in Mercum preost in Breodune. hine halgodan Daniel Wæntanbiscop. and Ingwald Lundenbiscop. and Aldwine Licet felda b'. and Aldulf Rofeceastre b'. die x Junii mensis.

733. Her Æðelbold ge eode Sumor tun and sunne aðestrode. and Acca wæs adrifen of biscop dome.

734. Her wæs se mona swilce he wære mid blode begoten. and Tatwine forðferde erceb'. and eac Beda. and man ge halgode Ecgbriht to biscope.

735. Her onfeng Ecgbriht b' pallium æt Rome.

736. Her Nophelm ercebiscop onfeng pallium fram Romana biscope.

737. Her Ford here biscop, and Frydegip cwen ferdon to Rome, and Ceolwulf cining feng to Petres scære, and sealde his rice Edberhte his federan sunu, se rixade xxi winter, and Ædelwold biscop and Acca fordferdon, and Cynewulf man ge halgode to biscope, and by ilcan geare Ædelwold hergode Nordhymbra land.

738. Her Eadbriht Eating Eata Leodwalding feng to Nordhymbra rice, and heold xxi wintra, and his brodor was Ecgbriht Eating arceb', and heo restad begen on Eoferwic ceastre on anum portice.

740. Her Æðelherd cining forðferde. and fæng Cuðred his mæg to West Seaxna rice. and heold xvi gear. and heardlice ge wann wið Æðelbold Myrcena cining. and Eadberht wæs to ærceb' ge halgod. and Dunn b' to Rofescæstre.

741. Her forbarn Eoferwic.

743. Her Æðelbald Myrcena cining and Cuðred West Seaxna cining gefuhton wið Wealas. 744. Her Danihel gesæt on Wintan ceastre and Hunferb feng to bisë dome.

745. Her Danihel forb ferde. þa was xliii wint' agan

sippan he onfeng bisc dome.

746. Her mon slog Selred cyning.

748. Her wæs ofslægen Cynric Wesseaxna æþeling and Eadbryht Cantwara cyning forþ ferde. and Æthelbyrht Wihtredes sunu cinges feng to þam rice.

750. Her Cup red cyning gefeaht uuip Æþelhun bone ofermedan aldorman.

752. Her Cupred gefeaht by xii geare his rices æt Beorg feorda wib Æbelbald.

753. Her Cupred feaht wip Walas.

754. Her Cupred forpferde and Cyneheard onfeng bisë dome æfter Hûnferpe on Wintan ceastre and Cant wara burg forbærn by geare and Sige bryht feng to Wesseaxna rice and heold an gear.

755. Her Cynewulf benam Sigebryht his rices and West Seaxna wiotan for unryhtum dædum. buton Ham tun scire, and he hæfde ba ob he ofslog bone aldor mon be him lengest wunode, and hiene ba Cynewulf on Andred adræfde. and he bær wunade. ob bæt hiene an swan dofstang æt Pryfetes flodan, and he wræc bone aldor mon Cumbran, and se Cynewulf oft miclum gefeohtum feaht uuib Bret walum. and ymb xxxi wint bæs be he rice hæfde he wolde adræfan anne æbeling se wæs Cyneheard haten and se Cyneheard was bas Sigebryhtes brobur. And ba geascode he bone cyning lytle werode on wif cybbe on Meran tune, and hine per berad and pone bur utan be eode ær hine þa men onfunden þe mid þam cyninge wærun. and þa ongeat se cyning þæt and he on þa duru eode and þa un heanlice hine werede. ob he on bone æbeling locude and ba ut ræsde on hine and hine miclum gewundode, and hie ealle on bone cyning wærun 744. Her Daniel ge sæt on Wintan cæstre. and Un feng to b'dome. and steorran foran swyðe scotienda. and Wilfer's seo iunga se wæs b' on Eoferwic for'dferde on iii kl' Mai. se wæs xxx wintra biscop.

745. Her Daniel for oferde. þa wæs xlvi wintra agan sy oðan he onfeng biscop dome.

746. Her man sloh Selred cining.

748. Her wæs of slagen Cynric West Seaxna æþeling. and Eadbriht Cantwara cining forðferde.

750. Her Cubred Wæst Seaxna cining ge feaht wib Æþelhun bone eofer modigan ealdor man.

752. Her Cupred Wæst Seaxna cining ge feaht þy xxii geara his rices æt Beorh forda. wið Æðelbald Myrcena cing. and hine geflymde.

753. Her Curred Wæst Seaxna cyning ge feaht wir Wealas.

754. Her Cubred WæstSæxna cining forbferde and Cyne heard onfeng biscop dome æfter Hunferbe on Wintan ceastre. and Cantwara byrig forbarn by geare and Sigbriht his mæg feng to WæstSeaxna rice and heold i gear.

755. Her Cynewulf benam Sigebrihte his mæge his rice. and Wæst Seaxna witan for unrihtum dædum buton Hamtun scyre, and he hafde ba of he of sloh fone ealdor man be him lengs wunode, and hine ba Cynewulf on Andred adrefede. and he per wunode of p an swan hine of stang et Pryftes flodan. sæ swan wræc oone ealdorman Cumbran. and se Cynewulf oft feaht mycclum ge feahtum wid Britwealas. and ymb xvi wintra þæs þe he rice hæfde. he wolde adræfan ænne æðeling se wæs Cyneheard gehaten, se Cyneheard wes bæs Sigebrihtes brodor, and ba acsode he bone cining lyt wyrede on wif cy&an on Merantune. and hine per berád. and bone bur uton be eodon. ær hine ba men afundan be mid ham cyninge wæron. and ha ongeat se cyning h. and he on da duru eode and ha un heanlice hine werode. od he on bone æbeling locade, and ba ut resde on hine, and hine mycclum ge wundode, and he ealle on Sone cining feohtende

larum, Personarum (Thope's Ancient Laws of England), the position, duties and rights of each class may be ascertained.

d a quodam subulco juxta Pryfetesflodan lanceâ perforatur. Flor. There were two kinds of swine-herd, the free and the bond. In Rectitudines Singu-

feohtende op bæt hie hine ofslægenne hæfdon. And pa on bæs wifes gebærum onfundon bæs cyninges begnas ba unstilnesse and ba bider urnon swa hwelc swa bonne gearo wearb and radost And hiera se æbeling gehwelcum feoh and feorh gebead and hiera nænig hit gebicgean nolde. Ac hie simle feohtende wæran ob hie alle lægon butan anum Bryttiscum gisle and se swibe gewundad wæs.

Da on morgenne gehierdun þæt þæs cyninges þegnas þe him beæftan wærun þæt se cyning ofslægen wæs þa ridon hie þider. and his aldorman Osric and Wiferb his begn and ba men be he beæftan him læfde ær and þone æþeling on þære byrig metton þær se cyning ofslægen læg and þa gatu him to belocen hæfdon and þa þær to eodon. And þa gebead he him hiera agenne dom feos and londes gif hie him þæs rices upon. and him cypdon pæt hiera mægas him mid wæron þa þe him from noldon. And þa cuædon hie bæt him nænig mæg leofra nære bonne hiera hlaford and hie næfre his banan folgian noldon and pa budon hie hiera mægum þæt hie gesunde from eodon. And hie cuædon þæt tæt ilce hiera geferum geboden wære þe ær mid þam cyninge wærun. þa cuædon hie þæt hie hie þæs ne onmunden þon ma þe eowre geferan þe mid þam cyninge ofslægene wærun. And hie þa ymb þagatu feohtende wæron oppæt hie bær inne fulgon and bone æbeling ofslogon and ba men be him mid wærun alle butan anum se wæs þæs aldor monnes god sunu and he his feorh generede and beah he wæs oft gewundad.

And se Cynewulf ricsode xxxi wiñt. and his lic lip æt Wintan ceastre and þæs æþelinges æt Ascan mynster and hiera ryht fæder cyn gæþ to Cerdice.

And by ilcan geare mon ofslog Æþelbald Miercna

wæron. oð þet hig hine of slægen hæfdon. and þa on ðæs wifes ge bæron onfundon þæs ciningas þegnas þa unstilnessa. and þa þider urnon. swa hwilc swa ðonne gearo wearð hraðost. and se æðeling ge hwilcan feoh and feorh bead. and heo nænig þicgan noldan. ac heo symle feohtende wæron. oþ hig ealle of slagene wæron. buton anum Brytwyliscum gisle. and se swyðe gewundod wæs.

pa on morgen gehyrdon p pes ciniges begnas be him bæfton wæron b se cining of slagen wæs. ba ridon bider and his ealdorman Osric. and Wifer's his begn. and ba men be he him beæfton læfde ær, and bone æðeling on bære byrig ge metton bær se cining of slagen læg, and heo ba gatu heom to belocen hæfdon, and da der to eodon, and ha bead he heom heora agene dom feos and landes gif heo him bæs rices udon, and heom cydde p heora maga him mid wæron oa be him fram noldon. and þa cweðon hig. Þ heom nænig mæg leofra nære bone heora hlaford, and heo næfre his banan folgian noldon, and ba budon hi heora magon b hi heom gesunde fram eodon. And hi cwædon b b ilce heora ge ferum ge boden wære be ær mid þam cininge wæron. Da cwædon hi b b hi bæs ne ge mundon bonn ma be heora geferen be mid bam cininge wæron of slagene. hi þa ymb ða gatu feohtende wæron oð hi bær in flugon, and bone æbeling of slogon, and ba men de mid him wæron ealle buton anum. se wæs þes ealdormannes godsunu. and he his feorh generede. and he wæs oft ge wunded.

And se Cynewulf rixade xxxi wintra. and his lic ligð on Wintan ceastre. and þæs æðelingas on Axan mynster. and heora riht fæderan cyn gæð to Certice.

And by ilcan geare man of sloh Æðelbald Myrcene cining on

F. 755. Her Cynewulf benam Sib'te cinge his rice. and Sib'tes broöer Cynehard gehaten. ofsloh Cynewulf on Merantune. And he rixode xxxi gear. And öas ylcan geares man ofsloh Ævelbald Myrcena cing on Hreopandune. And Offa gefeng Myrcena rice. geflymdon Beornrede.

cyning on Seccan dune. and his lic lip on Hreopa dune. and Beornræd feng to rice. and lytle hwile heold and ungefealice. And by ilcan geare Offa feng to rice. and heold xxxviiii wint. And his sunu Egfer heold xli daga and c daga Se Offa wæs þincg ferþing þincg ferþ Ean wulfing Eanwulf Osmoding Osmod Eawing Eawa Pybbing Pybba Creoding Creoda Cynewalding Cynewald Cnebbing Cnebba Iceling Icel Eomæring Eomær Angelþowing Angel þeow Offing Offa Wærmunding Wærmund Wyhtlæging Wihtlæg Wodening.

758. Her Cubbryht arce bisc forbferde.

759. Her Bregowine wæs to erce bisë gehadod to Sëe Michaeles tide.

760. Her Æþelbryht Cant wara cyning forþferde. se was Wihtredes cing sunu.

761. Her wæs se mycla wiñt.

763. Her Ianbryht wæs gehadod to ærce bisc on pone feowertegan dæg ofer midne winter.

764. Her Iaenbryht ærce bisc onfeng pallium.

768. Her forbferde Eadberht Eating cing.

772. Her Milred bisc forpferde.

773. Her op iewde read Cristes mæl on hefenum æfter sunnan setl gonge and by geare gefuhton Mierce and Cantware æt Ottan forda and wunderleca nædran wæron gesewene on Sup Seaxna londe.

8 This is the Ceolwulf whose name is famous through the Dedication of the Ecclesiastical History. GLORIO-SISSIMO REGI CEOLUULPHO BAEDA Famulus Christi et Presbyter. We have had his accession to the Northumbrian throne in 729, and

his abdication and retirement to a monastic life in 737. Monachus apud Lindisfarnensem insulam factus est. (Sim. Durh.) Accounts differ widely as to the year of his death. He was canonized, and placed in the Calendar Jan. 15. (Stevenson's Bæda.) Secandune. and his lic restat on Reopandune. and he rixade xli wintra. and ha feng Beornred to rice. and litle hwile heold and unge fealice. and ha ilcan geare Offa ge flymde Beornred and feng to ham rice. and heold xxxix wintra. and his sunu Ecgfert heold xli daga. and c daga. se Offa wæs þingc ferþing.

757. Her Eadberht Nordhymbra cining feng to scære. and Osulf his sunu feng to þam rice. and rixade i gear. and

hine of slogon his hiwan on ix kl' Augusti.

758. Her Cubbriht ærceb' forbferde.

759. Her Bregowine wæs to ærceb' ge halgod to sce Michaeles tyde. and Moll Æðelwold feng to rice on Norð hymbrum. and rixade vi wiñt. and hit þa forlet.

760. Her Æðelbriht Cantwara cining forðferde. and Ceolwolf eac forðferde⁸.

761. Her wæs se myccla winter. and Moll Norþhymbra cining of sloh Oswine æt Ædwines clife. on octauo id' Augusti.

762. Her Ianberht wæs ge hadod to ærceb' on on xl dæg ofer midewinter. and Frioewald biscop æt Witerne foroferde on nō Mai. se wæs ge halgod on Ceastrum on xviii kl' Sept. pam vi wintra Ceolwulfes rices. and he wæs b' xxix wintra. pa man ge halgode Pyhtwine to b' æt Ælfet ee on xvi kl' Aug' to Hwiterne.

765. Her feng Alhred to Norohymbra rice. and rixade eahta winter.

766. Her forðferde Ecgberht ærceb'. in Eoferwic on xiii kl' Decemb'. se wæs b' xxxvi wintra. and Friðeberht in Hagustaldes éé. se wæs biscop xxxiiii wintra. and man ge halgode Æðelberht to Eoferwic. and Ealhmund to Hagustaldes ee.

768. Her forðferde Eadberht Eating on xiiii kl' Septembris.

769. Initium regni Karoli regis.

772. Her Mildred b' for oferde.

774. Her Norðhymbra fordrifon heora cining Alhred of Eoferwic on Easter tid. and genamon Æðelred Molles sunu heom to hlaforde. and se rixade iiii gear. and men ge segon read Cristes mel on heofenum æfter sunnan setlan gange. on by geare ge fuhton Myrce and Cantwara æt Ottan forda. and wundorlice nædran wæron ge seogene on Suðseaxna lande.

776. Her foroferde Pehtwine biscop on xiii kl' Octob'. se wæs b' xiiii wintra.

777. Her Cynewulf and Offa gefuhton ymb Benesing tún and Offa nam þone tuun.

780. Her Ald Seaxe and Francan gefuhtun.

F. 777. Her was Æ8elbyrht gehalgod to b' to Hwit'ne on Euerwic.

778. Her feng Alwold to rice and rixad x winter.

779. Her Æðelbyrht arb' forðferde. and Eanbald was gehalgud an his loh. and Cynebald geset in Lindisfarna éé.

780. Her Alcmund b' on Hagstd'éé for ferde. and Tilb'eht

9 The fifth piece of the records of Peterborough Minster. It is two old documents; the first a Lease of Abbey Lands, the second an instrument of affiliation.

The historian has his originals before him; he divests them of their technicalities, and gives them a more familiar form. So it was with the earlier parts also: for we may sometimes discern in them the fragmentary traces of an older form, though we know nothing of it from any other source. There is a document in existence concerning the gift of Ceadwala in 686, but it is spurious. It may be seen in Mr. Kemble's great work, the Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici (No. 40). But the present insertion may be compared with extant originals; Cod. Dipl. Nos. 165. 168. The former identifies itself completely with the text, and forms an excellent illustration.

In nomine gubernantis dei monarchiam totius mundi! Ego Beonna abbas gratia dei, cum conscientia et licentia fratrum deum colentium in monasterio quod appellatur Medeshamstede, tradidi Cuthberhto principi terram x. manentium, quæ nuncupatur æt Suinesheabde, cum pratis et pascuis ac silbis cunctisque ad se pertinentibus. Hanc autem terram ille Cuth-

berht a me digno comparauit prætio, id est mille solidis, et singulis annis mihi meisque successoribus unius noctis pastum aut triginta . . . rauit siclos. Hoc territorium præfatus princeps ea conditione adquisiuit, ut post completionem diei illius, qui ab eo meruere satagunt hæredibus derelinguat, et hæredes prædecessoris præfatam conditionem conseruent in pastu uel pecunia; et post uitam illorum absque offendiculo pacis ad ius pristinum antenominata terra reuertatur. Huius autem rei ita gestæ hi fideles testes aderant et conscripserunt.

Ego Offa gratia dei rex Merciorum signo crucis Christi propria manu + Ego quoque Ecgferth roboraui. rex Merciorum consensi et subscripsi. + Ego Hygeberht archiepiscopus firmando subscripsi. + Ego Ce[ol]uulf episcopus scribendo consensi. + Ego Unuuona episcopus scribendo firmaui. + Ego Beonna abbas hanc meam munificentiam signo crucis Christi fir-+ Ego Uu[ig]bald presbyter et arc consensi. + Ego Beornuuald presbyter subscribendo consenso. + Ego Eanred presbyter subscribo et consenso. + Ego Tilbegn scribendo firmaui.

777. Her Cynewulf and Offa ge flyton ymb Benesingtun. and Offa genam pone tun. And py ilcan geare man gehalgode Æðelberht to biscope to Hwiterne in Eoferwic on xvii kl' Iulii.

⁹On þas kinges dæi Offa. wæs an abbot on Medeshamstede Beonne gehaten. se ilca Beonne þurh ealle þa munekered of þere minstre þa let he Cuðbriht ealdorma x bonde land æt Swines heafde mid læswe and mid mædwe. and mid eal þet þær to læi. and swa þ seo Cuðbriht geaf þone abbote L punde þær fore. and ilca gear anes nihtes feorme ouðer xxx scyllinge penega. swa eac þ eafter his dæi scolde seo land on gean into þa mynstre. At þis gewitnesse wæs seo kining Offa. and seo kining Egferð. and seo ærceb' Hygeberht. and Ceolwulf biscop. and Inwona b'. and Beonna abbot. and feola oþre biscopes and abbotes. and feola oðre rice men.

On þes ilca Offa dæi. wæs an ealdorman Brordan wæs ge haten. he geornde at se kyning. Þ he scolde for his luuen freon his ane mynstre Wocingas het. for þi ðet he hit wolde giuen into Medeshamstede. and Sce Peter. and þone abbote þe þa was. he was Pusa gehaten. seo Pusa wæs æfter Beonna. and seo kining hine luuede swiðe. and seo kyning freode þa Þ mynstre Wocingas wið cining and wið biscop and wið eorl. and wið ealle men. swa Þ nan man ne hafde þær nan onsting. buton S. Peter and þone ab'. Dis wæs don on þe cininges tune Freoric burna hatte.

778. Her Æðebald and Hearberht of slogon iii heah ge refan Ealdulf Bosing æt Cininges clife. and Cynewulf. and Ecgan æt Hela þyrnum on xi kl' Apr. and þa feng Alfwold to rice. and Æðelred be draf on lande. and he rixade x winter.

Karolus in Hispanias intravit. Karolus Saxoniam venit. Karolus Pampileniam urbem destruxit, atque Cesar Augustam: exercitum suum conjunxit, et acceptis obsidibus, subjugatis Sarracenis, per Narbonam Wasconiam Franciam rediit.

779. Her Ealdseaxe and Francon ge fuhton. and Norð hymbra heah ge refan forbearndon Beorn ealdorman on Sele tune on ix kl' Janr. and Æðelberht erceb' forðferde in Ceastre. and on þæs stall Eanbald wæs ge halgod. and Cynebald b' ge sæt in Lindisfarna ee.

780. Her Alchmund biscop in Hagsta'd ee foroferde on vii

784. Her Cyneheard ofslog Cynewulf cyning and he bær wearb ofslægen and lxxxiiii monna mid him and ba onfeng Beorhtric Wesseaxna rices. and he ricsode xvi gear and his lic lib æt Werham. and his ryht fædren cyn gæb to Cerdice. To bysan timan rixode Eath mund cing innon Cent.

785. Her wæs gestit fullic senop æt Cealc hype. and Iaenbyrht ærcebisc forlet sumne dæl his biscdomes. and from Ossan kyninge Higebryht wæs gecoren. and

Ecgferb to cyninge gehalgod.

787. Her nom Beorhtric cyning Offan dohtor Eadburge. And on his dagum cuomon ærest iii scipu and þa se gerefa þærto rad and hie wolde drifan to þæs cyninges tune þy he nyste hwæt hie wæron. and hiene mon ofslog. Þæt wæron þa ærestan scipu Deniscra monna þe Angelcynnes lond gesohton.

790. Her Iaenbryht ærcebisc forpferde. and by ilcan geare wæs gecoren Æþelheard abbud to bisc.

was gecoren þan to. and Hibald to Lindisfarana éé. and Alwold cing sende to Rome æfter pallium to Eanboldes arb' behoue.

782. Her forðferde Cynewulf b' of Lind' and Sino's was at Aclea.

785. Her sæt full sino at Cealchy e. and Ianberht arb' farlet sum dæl of his b'dome. and fram Offan cinge Higbyrht was gecoren. and Egfer to cinge gehalgod. and on tis timan wæron ærendracan gesend fram Adriane papan to Englalande to geniweanne to geleavan. Ta scs Gregorius us sende. and hi man mid wurdscipe underfeng.

787. Her Brihtric eing nam Offan doht' Eadburhge to wive. and on his dagan coman ærost iii seipa Norðmanna of Hereðalande. Þ wæran ða æroston seipa Denisera manna ðe Angeleynnes land gesohton.

788. Her was Sino\(\) gegaderod on Nordhumbralande \(\) terminate Pincanheale.

789. Her was Alwold Noröhymbra cing wearð ofslagen and heovonlice lioht was gelome gesawen ðar ðar he ofslagen was. and Osred Alcredes sunu feng to rice forðan he was Alwoldes neva. And mycel sinoð was at Aclea.

790. Her Ianbyrht arb' for eferde. and sas ylcan geares was gecoren Aselhard Hludensis monasterii abb' to arb'. and Osred Norschymbra cing was aflymed of rice. and Æselred Aselwaldes sunu eft feng to rice.

791. Her Baldulf was gehalgod to b' fram Eanbalde arb' and

fram Æ8elb'hte b' to Hwit'ne.

id' Sept. and Tilberht man ge halgode on his steal on vi no Octob'. and Highald man ge halgode to biscop æt Soccabyrig to Lindisfarna ee. and Ælfwold cining sende man æfter pallium to Rome and Eanbald dyde to ærceb'.

782. Her forðferde Wærburh Ceolredes cwen. and Cyne wulf b' in Lindisfarna ee. and seonod wæs at Aclea.

784. Her Cyneheard of sloh Cynewulf cining. and he wærð þær of slagen. and lxxxiiii manna mid him. and þa onfeng Brihtric West Seaxna cining to rice. and he rixade xvi gear. and his lic lið ær Wærham. and his riht fædern cyn gæð to Certice.

785. Her forðferde Botwine abbot in Hripum. and her wæs ge flit fullic sinoð æt Cealchyðe. and Ianberht erceb' forlet sumne dæl his biscop domes. and fram Offan cininge Hygebriht wes ge coren. and Ecgferð to cining ge halgode.

And in Sas tid wæren ærendracen ge send of Rome fram Adrianum papan to Ængla lande to niwianne þone geleafan and þa sibbe Se scs Gregorius us sende þurh þone b' Augustinum. and hi man mid wurðscipe under feng.

787. Her nam Breohtric cining Offan dohter Eadburge. and on his dagum comon ærest iii scipu Norðmanna of Hereða lande. and þa se gerefa þær to rad. and he wolde drifan to ðes cininges tune þy he nyste hwæt hi wæron. and hine man of sloh þa. Đæt wæron þa erestan scipu Deniscra manna þe Angel cynnes land gesohton.

788. Her wæs sinoð ge gaderod on Norðhymbra lande æt Pincanheale on iiii nō Sept. and Aldberht abb' forðferde.

Karolus per Alemanniam venit ad fines Bauuarie.

789. Her Alfwold Norðanhymbra cining wæs of slagan fram Sigan on ix kl' Octobr. and heofenlic leoht wæs gelome seogen ðær þer he of slagen wæs. and he wæs be byrged on Hagust'd ee. innan þære cyrican. and sinoð wæs ge gaderod æt Aclea. and Osred Alchredes sunu feng to rice æfter him se wæs his nefa.

790. Her Ianbriht arcebiscop for offerde, and py ilcan geare wæs ge coren Æ oelheard abb' to arceb', and Osred Nor oan hymbra cining wæs be swicen and of rice adrefed, and Æ oelred A oelwaldes sunu eft feng to rice.

791. Her wæs Baldwulf ge halgod to b' to Hwiterne on xvi kl' Aug. fram Eanbalde arceb'. and fram Æðelberhte biscope 792. Her Offa Miercna cyning het Æþelbryhte

rex bæt heafod ofaslean.

794. Her Adrianus pāp and Offa cyning forþferdon. and Æþelred Norþan hymbra cyning wæs of slægen from his agenre þeode and Ceolwulf bisë and Eadbald bisë of þæm londe aforon. and Ecgferþ feng to Miercna rice. and þy ilcan geare forþferde. And Eadbryht onfeng rice on Cent. þam was oþer noma nemned Præn.

796. Her Ceolwulf Miercna cyning oferhergeade Cantware op Mersc and gefengun Praen hiera cyning and gebundenne hine on Mierce læddon.

797. Her Romane Leone þæm pāp his tungon forcurfon and his eagan astungon and hine of his setle afliemdon. and þa sona eft Gode fultomiendum he meahte geseon and sprecan. and eft was papa swa he ær wæs.

792. Her Offa cing het Æðelb'hte cinge † heavod of aslean.

793. Her wæran rese forebycna cumene on Noröhymb'land. and solc earmlice drektan. Swæran ormete ligræscas, and wæran gesawenæ fyrene dracan on Sam lifte fleogende, and sona fylygde mycel hunger, and æfter Sam Ses ylcan geares earmlice hæsenra hergung adyligodan Godes cyrican in Lindisfarena éé. Surh reaflac and manslyht.

794. Her Adrian' papa and Offa cing for ferdon, and A elred Nor h' cing was of lagen, and Ceolwulf b' and Eadbald b' of an lande foron, and Egcfer feng to Myrc'rice, and on an geare for ferde, and Eadb'ht Præn on feng rice on Cent.

795. Her was se mona a estred, betwyx hancre and dagung, and Eardulf feng to Nordh'rice, and gebletsod to cing fram Eanbalde arb' and Æ elb'hte b', and Higbalde, and Badewulfe b'.

796. Her on öyson gearæ Ceolwulf Myrcna cing overhergode Cent. and gefeng Eadberht Præn heora cing and gebundene lædde on Myrce. and let him pycan ut his eagan. and ceorfan of his hand.*

797. 798. 799. . . (E. 797) . . and Alfhun b' fordferde on Sudd'i. he weard bebyrged on Domuce. and Tidfrid weard gecoren æfter him. and Siric Eastsexana cing ferde to Rome. In dysum ylcan geare Wihtburge lichama weard gefunden eal gehal and unfor . . ‡ . . d a Deorham after fif and fifté gearon has de heo of dysum live gewat. (‡ sine corruptione. F. Lat.)

792. Her Offa Myrcena cining het Æðelbrihte þ heafod of slean. and Osred þe wæs Norþanhymbra cining æfter wræc siðe ham cumenum ge læht wæs. and of slagen on xviii kl' Octobr. and his lic ligð æt Tinan muþe. and Æðelred cining feng to niwan wife. seo wæs Ælfled ge haten. on iii kl' Octob.

793. Her wæron reðe forebecna cumene ofer Norðanhymbra land, and þ folc earmlice bregdon. þ wæron ormete lig ræscas and wæron ge seowene fyrene dracan on þam lyfte fleogende, þam tacnum sona fyligde mycel hunger, and litel æfter þam þæs ilcan geares on vi id' Jañr earmlice heðenra manna hergung adiligode Godes cyrican, in Lindisfarena ee, þurh reaflac and man sleht, and Sicga forðferde on viii kl' Mr.

794. Her Adrianus papa and Offa cining forðferden. and Æðelred Norðanhymbra cining wæs ofslagan fram his agenre peode on xiii k' Mai. and Ceolwulf b' and Eadbald biscop of pan lande aforon. and Ecgferð feng to Myrcene rice. and py ilcan geare forðferde. And Eadbriht onfeng rice on Cent pam wæs oðer nama nemned Præn. And Æðelheard ealdorman forðferde on k' Aug. and pa hæðenan on Norðhymbrum hergodon. and Ecgferðes mynster æt ðone muþe berefodon. and pær heora heretogena sum ofslægen wearð. and eac heora scipu sume þurh ofer weder wurdon to brocene. and heora feala pær adruncon. and sume cuce to pam stæðe comon. and pa man sona of sloh æt ðære ea muðan.

795. Her wæs seo mona aðistrod be twux hancred and dagunge on v kl'Apr. And Eardwulf feng to Norþanhymbran cine dome on ii id Mai. and he wæs syððan ge bletsod and to his cinestole ahofen on vii k' Junii on Eoferwic fram Eanbalde arceb' and Æðelberhte, and Higbalde, and Badewulfe.

796. Her forðferde Offa Myrcena cining on iiii id' Augusti. se rixode xl wintra, and Eanbald arceb' on iiii id Aug' þæs ilcan geares, and his lic ligð on Eoferwic, and þes ilcan geares forð ferde Ceolwulf b', and man gehalgode oþerne Eanbald on þæs oðres stal on xix kl' Sept. and þy ilcan geare Ceolwulf Myrcena cining ofer hergode Cantware and Mersc ware, and ge fengon Præn heora cining, and ge bundenne hine læddon on Myrce.

797. Her Romane Leone þam papan his tungan forcurfan. and his eagan ut astungon. and hine of his setle aflymdon. and þa sona eft Gode ge fultumiendum he mihte ge seon and sprecan. and eft wæs papa swa he ær wæs. and Eanbald

799. Her Æþelheard ærce bisë and Cynebryht Wesseaxna bisë foron to Rome.

800. Her Beorhtric cyning forbferde and Worr aldor mon. And Ecgbryht feng to Wesseaxna rice. And by ilcan dæge rad Æbelmund aldorman of Hwiccium ofer æt Cynemæres forda. Þa mette hine Weoxtan aldor man mid Wilsætum. Þær wearþ micel gefeoht and þær begen ofslægene þa aldor men. and Wilsætan namon sige.

802. Her wæs gehadod Beorn mod bisë to Hrofes ceastre.

803. Her Æpelheard ærce bisë forpferde and Wulfred wæs to ærce bisë gehadod. and Forpred abbud forpferde.

804. Her Wulfred ærce bisc pallium onfeng.

805. Her Cubred cyning forbferde on Cantwarum and Ceolburg abbudesse and Heabryht aldorman.

812. Her Carl cyning forþferde. and he ricsode xlv wiñt. And Wulfred arce bisc and Wigbryht Wesseaxna bisc foron begen to Rome.

813. Her Wulfred ærce bisc mid bledsunge þæs papan Leon hwearf eft to his agnum bisc dome and

F. 806. (E). . Eac on öyse ylcan geare. ii nō Iunii. rode tach wear's ateowed on sam monan. anes Wodnes dæges. innan sare dagenge. and eft on öysum geare iii kl' Sept. an wunderlic trendel wear's ateowed abutan sare sunnan. (Luna xii, die Dominica, hora iiii mirabilis corona in circuitu solis apparuit. F. Lat.)

809. Her seo sunne aðestrode on angynne ðare fifte tide ðas dæges xvii kal' Augusti. ii feria. luna xxix.

toniensibus ascendit contra eum; commissoque gravi prælio, multi ex his et ex illis ceciderunt, amboque duces occisi corruerunt, victoriam verò Wiltonienses habuerunt. (Flor.)

¹⁰ Eodem vero die quo rex Brihtricus vita decessit, contigit Merciorum
ducem Æthelmundum de Mercia cum
suis exiisse, vadumque, quod linguâ
Anglorum Cymeresford nominatur,
transisse; cujus adventu cognito, Wiltoniensium dux Weohstanus cum Wil-

¹ Wihstan B. Wehostan C.

² Brihtric's death; Asser 855.

onfeng pallium on vi id' Sept. and Æðelberht b' forðferde on iii kl' Nov.

798. Her wæs mycel ge feoht on Norðhymbra lande on lengtene on iiii nō Apr. æt Hweallæge. and þær man of sloh Alric Heardberhtes sunu. and oðre mænige mid him.

799. Her Æðelred arceb' and Cynebriht Wæst Sæxna biscop foran to Roma.

800. Her wæs se mona aðistrad on ðære oðre tid onniht on xvii kl' Febr. and Brihtric cining forðferde 2. and Worr æaldorman. And Ecgberht feng to Wæst Seaxna rice. And þy ilcan dæg rad Æþelmund ealdorman of Hwiccum 10 ofer æt Cynemæres forda. Þa ge mette hine Weohstan 1 ealdorman mid Wil sætum and þær wærð mycel ge feoht. and þær begen of slagene wæron. Þe ealdormen. and Wilsæte namon sige.

Karolus rex imperator factus est, et a Romanis appellatus Augustus; qui illos qui Leonem papam dehonestaverant morte damnavit, sed precibus papæ morte indulta exilio retrusit. Ipse enim papa Leo imperatorem eum sacraverat.

802. Her adeostrade se mona on dagunge on xiii kl' Jañr. and Beornmod wæs ge halgod to b' to Rofeceastre þy ilcan geare.

803. Her forðferde Higbald Lindisfarna b' on viii k' Julii. and man ge halgode on his steal Ecgberht on iii id' Junii. and Æðelherd arceb' forðferde on Cent. and Wulfred to arceb' gehalgod.

804. Her Wulfred arceb' onfeng pallium.

805. Her Cubred cining for bferde on Cantwarum. and Ceolburh abb'e. and Heard berht.

806. Her se mona aðistrode on kl' Sept. and Eardwulf Norðanhymbra cining wæs of his rice adrifen. and Eanberht Hagusteald bs forðferde.

810. Karolus cum Niceforo imperatore Constantinopol' pacem fecit.

812. Her Karl cining for offerde and he rixade xlv wintra. and Wulfred arceb'. and Wigbriht Wæst Sæxna b' foran to Rome. Cireneius Karolo imperatori legatos suos cum pace mittit. Karolus imperator obiit.

813. Her Wulfred arceb' mid bletsunge hæs papan Leon hwearf eft to his agenum biscop dome. and hy geare ge her-

by geare gehergade Ecgbryht cyning on West Walas from easte weardum op weste wearde.

814. Her Leo se æþela pāp and se halga forþferde.

and æfter him Stephanus feng to rice.

816. Her Stephanus pāp forþferde, and æfter him was Paschalis to papan gehadod. And þy ilcan geare forborn Ongol cynnes scolu.

- 819. Her Cenwulf Miercna cyning forpferde and Ceolwulf feng to rice. and Eadbryht aldor mon forp ferde.
 - 821. Her wearb Ceolwulf his rices besciered.
- 822. Her tuegen aldormen wurdon ofslægene Burg helm and Muca. and senob wæs æt Clofes hoo.
- 823. Her wæs Wala gefeoht and Defna æt Gaful forda. And by ilcan geare gefeaht Ecbryht cyning and Beornwulf cyning on Ellen dune. and Ecgbryht sige nam. and þær wæs micel wæl ge slægen. Þa sende he Æplwulf his sunu of þære fierde and Ealhstan his bisc and Wulfheard his aldor mon to Cent micle werede and hie Baldred þone cyning norþ ofer Temese adrifon. and Cant ware him to cirdon and Suþrige and Suþ Seaxe and East Seaxe þy hie from his mægum ær mid un ryhte anidde wærun.

And by ilcan geare East Engla cyning and seo beod gesohte Ecg bryht cyning him to fribe and to mund boran for Miercna ege and by geare slogon East Engle Beornwulf Miercna cyning.

825. Her Ludecan Miercna cyning and his v aldor men mon ofslog mid him and Wiiglaf feng to rice.

827. Her mona apistrode on middes wintres mæsse niht.

And by ilcan geare ge eode Ecgbryht cyning Miercna rice and al bæt be suban Humbre wæs. and he wæs se eahteba cyning sebe Bretwalda wæs. Ærest Ælle Sub Seaxna cyning se bus micel rice hæfde. se

gode Ecgberht cining on West Walas fram easteweardum o'd westewearde.

- 814. Her Leo se æðela papa and se halga forðferde. and æfter him Stephanus feng to rice.
- 815. Her Stephanus papa forðferde. and æfter him wæs Paschalis to papan ge halgod. And þy ilcan geare forbarn Angel cynnes scolu.
- 819. Her Cenwulf Myrcena cining for offerde, and Ceolwulf ³ feng to rice, and Eadberht ealdorman for offerde.
 - 821. Her wærð Ceolwulf his rices bescered.
- 822. Her twægen aldormen wurdon of slagene Burhhelm and Muca. and sinoð æt Clofeshó.
- 823. Her wæs Weala ge feoht and Defena æt Gafol forda. And þy ilcan geare ge feaht Ecgberht West Seaxna cining and Beornulf Myrcena cining æt Ellan dune. and Ecgberht sige nam. and þær wæs mycel wæl ge slægen. Þa sende he Æðelwulf his sunu of þære ferde. and Ealhstan his b'. and Wulfheard his ealdorman to Cent mycele wærede. and hi Baldred þone cining norð ofer Temese adrifen. and Cantwara him to cyrdon. and Suðrig. and Suðseaxe. and Eastseaxe. þy hi fram his magum ær mid unrihte anydde wæron.

And by ilcan geare East Engla cining and see peod ge sohte Ecgbriht cining him to fribe and to mundburan for Myrcena ege. and bi ilcan geare slogon East Engle Beornulf Myrcena cining.

- 825. Her Ludecan Myrcena cining. and his v ealdormen man ofsloh mid him. and Wiglaf feng to rice.
 - 827. Her se mona adistrode on middes wintres messa niht.

And by geare geeode Ecgbriht cining Myrcena rice. and eal be besudan Humbre wæs. and he wæs se eahtoda cining se be Bryten wealda wæs. And ærest wæs Ælle Sudseaxna cining se

3 Between Cenwulf and Ceolwulf was a brief reign of the sainted king, Cenhelm: found in no MS. of the Chronicle. Florence celebrates him: Rex Merciorum S. Kenulphus, filium suum Kenelmum septennem regni reliquit hæredem. Sed paucis mensibus evolutis, germanæ suæ Quendrythæ insidiis, cujus sævam conscientiam dira cupido regnandi armarat, ausu

crudelitatis ab Asceberhto, nutritore suo cruentissimo, in vasta sylvaque nemorosa sub arbore spinosa occulte traditur jugulo; verum qui solo teste cœlo est jugulatus, cœlo teste per columnam lucis postmodum est revelatus, &c. Dr. Ingram quotes an early English Life of S. Kenelm, from a MS. in the Library of Trin. Coll. Oxon. (No. 57. Arch.)

æftera wæs Ceawlin Wesseaxna cyning. se þridda wæs Æþelbryht Cantwara cyning. se feorþa wæs Rædwald East Engla cyning. fifta was Eadwine Norþan hymbra cyning. siexta wæs Oswald se æfter him ricsode. seofoþa wæs Oswio Oswaldes broþur. eahtoþa wæs Ecgbryht Wesseaxna cyning.

And se Ecgbryht lædde fierd to Dore wip Norpan hymbre. and hie him pær eapmedo budon and gepuærnesse. and hie on pam tohwurfon.

828. Her eft Wilaf onfeng Miercna rices and Æþel-wald bisë forþferde and þy ilcan geare lædde Ecgbryht cyning fierd on Norþ Walas. and he hie to eapmodre hersumnesse gedyde.

829. Her Wulfred ærce bisë forpferde.

830. Her Ceolnop wæs gecoren to bisc and gehadod. and Feologid abbud forpferde.

831. Her Ceolnop ærce bisc onfeng pallium.

832. Her hæþne men oferhergeadon Sceapige.

833. Her gefeaht Ecgbryht cyning wib xxxv scip hlæsta æt Carrum. and bær wearb micel wæl geslægen and ba Denescan ahton wæl stowe gewald And Hereferb and Wigben tuegen biscepas forbferdon and Dudda and Osmod tuegen aldormen forbferdon.

835. Her cuom micel sciphere on West Walas and hie to anum gecierdon. and wip Ecgbryht West Seaxna cyning winnende wæron. Þa he þæt hierde and mid fierde ferde and him wip feaht æt Hengest dune. and þær ge fliemde ge þa Walase ge þa Deniscan.

836. Her Ecgbryht cyning forþferde and hine hæfde ær Offa Miercna cyning and Beorhtric Wesseaxna cyning afliemed iii gear of Angel cynnes lande on Fronc lond ær he cyning wære and þy fultumode Beorhtric Offan þy he hæfde his dohtor him to cuene And se Ecgbryht ricsode xxxvii wint' and vii monaþ.

pus mycel hæfde. opær wæs Ceawlin West Seaxna cining. pridde Æpelbriht Cantwara cining. feorðe Redwald East Engla cining. fifta Ædwine Norþan hymbra cining. sixta wæs Oswald þe æfter him rixade. seofaðe wæs Oswiu Oswaldes broþor. eahtoða wæs Ecgbriht West Seaxna cining.

And se Ecgbriht lædde fyrde to Dore wið Norþanhumbra. and hi him þær eadmedo budon. and þwærnessa. and hi mid þan to hwurfon.

828. Her Wiglaf eft onfeng Myrcena rice. and Æðelbald b' forðferde. and þy ilcan geare Ecgbriht cining lædde fyrde on Norð Wealas. and he heom ealle to eadmodere hyrsumnesse ge dyde.

829. Her Wulfred ærceb' for oferde.

830. Her Ceolnop was to b' gecoren and gehadod, and Feolagild abbot for offerde.

831. Her Ceolno & ærceb' onfeng pallium.

832. Her hæðene men ofer hergodon Sceapege.

833. Her Ecgbriht cining ge feaht wið xxv sciphlæsta æt Carrum. and þær wærhð mycel wæl ge slagen. and þa Deniscan ahton wælstowe ge weald. and Hereferð and Wigferð ii b' forðferdon. and Duda and Osmod ii ealdormen forðferdon.

835. Her com micel sciphere on Wæst Wealas, and hi to anum ge cyrdon, and wið Ecgbriht Wæst Seaxna cining winnende wæron. Þa fyrdode him to geanes, and wið him feaht æt Hengestes dune, and þær ægðer aflymde ge þa Wealas ge þa Deniscan.

836. Her Ecgbriht cining forðferde. and hine ær hæfde Offa Myrcena cining and Byrhtric Wæst Sæxna cining aflymde iii gear of Angel cynnes lande on Franc land ær he cining wære. and se Ecgbriht rixade xxxvii winter. and

e These Walas or West Walas are the men of Cornwall. So 710, 823. They are called CornWalas, 891,997E. The Gothic folks gave the name Walas to strange races on all sides, to the Celts in Gaul and Britain, and to those who spoke the Roman dialects in the South. The Saxons called the natives of Gaul, Gal Walas: of Britain, Bret Walas; of Cerniu, CornWalas or West Walas; those north of the Bristol Channel, NorbWalas (922), now Wales; those

of Strathclyde, Stræcled Walas (875, 924). The Old High German calls the Latin Language, or any of its dialects, Walahisca; and the designation still lives in Germ. Wālsch. In Mid High German it was used as equivalent to not-German, as, in allen Welschen und in Tiutschen richen (Ziemann M. H. D. Wört.) = in all the world. Hence wal-nut, Germ. wallnuss = foreign nut. A. S. wealh, wylen. Cf. Graff. v. Walah.

AND FENG EpElwulf Ecgbrehting to Wesseaxna rice. And he salde his suna Æpelstane Cantwara rice and East Seaxna and Suprigea and Sup Seaxna.

837. Her Wulfheard aldor man gefeaht æt Ham tune wiþ xxxiii sciphlæsta and þær micel wæl geslog. and sige nom. and þy geare forþferde Wulfheard And þy ylcan geare gefeaht Æþelhelm dux wiþ Deniscne here on Port mid Dornsætum and gode hwile þone here gesliemde. and þa Deniscan ahton wæl stowe gewald and þone aldor mon ofslogon.

838. Her Here bryht aldor mon wæs ofslægen from hæþnum monnum and monige mid him on Mersc warum and þy ilcan geare eft on Lindesse and on East Englum and on Cantwarum wurdon monige men of slægene from þam herige.

839. Her wæs micel wælsliht on Lundenne and on Cwantawic and on Hrofes ceastre.

840. Her Æþelwulf cyning gefeaht æt Carrum wib xxxv sciphlæsta. and þa Deniscan ahton wælstowe gewald.

845. Her Eanulf aldor man gefeaht mid Sumur sætum and Ealch stan bisë and Osric aldorman mid Dorn sætum gefuhton æt Pedridan muþan wiþ Denisene here and þær micel wæl geslogon and sige namon.

851. Her Ceorl aldermon gefeaht wip hæpene men mid Defena scire æt Wicgan beorge and þær micel wæl geslogon and sige namon.

AND by ILCAN geare Æþelstan cyning and Ealchere dux micelne here ofslogon æt Sondwic on Cent and ix scipu gefengun and þa oþre gefliemdon and hæþne men ærest ofer winter sæton.

And by ilcan geare cuom feore healf hund scipa on Temese mupan. and bræcon Cont wara burg and Lunden burg and gesliemdon Beorhtwulf Miercna vii mondas. And feng Æbelwulf his sunu to West Seaxna rice. and Æðelstan his oðer sunu feng to Cantwara rice. and to Subrigan, and to Subseaxna rice.

837. Her Wulfheard ealdorman ge feaht æt Hamtune wið xxxiii sciphlesta, and bær mycel wæl ge sloh, and sige nam. and by geare for offerde Wulfheard, and Æbelhelm ealdorman ge feaht wið ba Deniscan on Port mid Dorsætum, and se ealdorman wærð ofslægen, and ba Deniscan ahton wælstowe ge weald.

839. Her wæs mycel wæl sleht on Lundene. and on Cant wic and on Rofescæstre.

840. Her Æðelwulf cining ge feaht æt Carrum wið xxxv sciphlesta. and ba Deniscan ahton wæl stowe ge weald.

845. Her Earnulf dux mid Sumor sæton, and Ealchstan b'. and Osric dux mid Dorsæton ge fuhton æt Pedredan muban wid Denisce here, and bær mycel wæl ge slogon and sige namon.

851. Her Ceorl ealdorman ge feaht wið heðene men mid Defene scire æt Wic gean beorge, and bær mycel wæl ge slogon, and sige genamon, and hædene men on Tenet ofer winter ge sæton.

And by ilcan geare com feorbe healfhund scipa on Temese muban, and bræcon Cantware burh, and ge flymdon Brihtwulf Myrcena cining mid his fyrde, and foran þa suð ofer Temese on Subrige. and him ge feaht wid Æbelwulf cining, and Ædelbald his sunu æt Acléa mid Wæst Sæxna fyrde, and bær b mæste wæl geslogon on hædene here be we æfre gesecgan herdon, and bær sige namon.

And by ilcan geare Æðelstan cining, and Ealhere dux ge fuhton on scipum, and mycelne here of slogon æt Sandwic. and ix scipu gefengon, and ba odre geflymdon.

852. Her on bis tima leot Ceolred abb' of Medesham stede and ha munecas Wulfrede to hande bet land of Sempingaham Sempigaham to b forewearde b æfter his dæi scolde b land in to be minstre. and Wulfred scolde gifen b land of Sliowa forda in to Medeshamstede. and he scolde gife ilca gear in to be minstre sixtiga foora wuda. and twælf foour græfan. and sex foður gearda. and twa tunnan fulle hlutres aloo. and twa slæg næt. and sex hund hlafes. and ten mittan Wælsces aloo. and ilca gear an hors and prittiga scillinga.

cyning mid his fierde. and foron þa suþ ofer Temese on Suþrige and him gefeaht wiþ Æþelwulf cyning and Æþelbald his sunu æt Aclea mid WestSeaxna fierde and þær þæt mæste wæl geslogon on hæþnum herige þe we secgan hierdon oþ þisne andweardan dæg and þær sige namon.

853. Her bæd Burgred Miercna cyning and his wiotan Æþelwulf cyning þæt he him gefultumade þæt him NorþWalas gehiersumade He þa swa dyde and mid fierde fór ofer Mierce on NorþWalas and hie him alle gehiersume dydon.

And by ilcan geare sende Æþelwulf cyning Ælfred Ahis sunu to Rome Þa was domne Leo pāp on Rome and he hine to cyninge ge halgode and hiene him to biscep suna nam.

pa by ilcan geare Ealhere mid Cantwarum and Huda mid Suprigium ge fuhton on Tenet wip hæpnum herige and ærest sige namon and bær wearb monig mon ofslægen and adruncen on ge hwæbere hond.

Ond þæs ofer Eastron geaf Æþelwulf cyning his dohtor Burgrede cyninge of Wesseaxum on Merce.

855. Her hæþne men ærest on Sceapige ofer wiñt sætun. And þy ilcan geare gebocude Æþelwulf cyning teoþan dæl his londes ofer al his rice Gode to lofe and him selfum to ecere hælo.

And by ilcan geare ferde to Rome mid micelre weorpnesse and bær wæs xii monab wuniende and ba him ham weard for and him ba Carl Francna cyning his dohtor geaf him to cuene and æfter bam to his leodum cuom and hie bæs ge fægene wærun. And ymb ii gear bæs be he on Francum com he gefor. and his lic lib æt Wintan ceastre and he ricsode nigon teobe healf gear. Ond se Æbelwulf wæs Ecgbrehting Ecgbryht Ealhmunding Ealhmund Eafing Eafa Eop-

and ane næht gefeormige. Her wæs wið se eining Burhred. and Ceolred ærceb'. and Tunberht b'. and Cenred b'. and Alhhun b'. and Berhtred b'. and Wihtred abb'. and Werhtherd abb'. Æðelheard ealdorman. Hunberht ealdorman. and feola oðre 4.

852. Her Burhred Myrcene cining under Seodde him Nord Wealas mid Æpelwulfes cininge fultume.

And by ilcan geare Ealthere mid Cantwarum. and Huda mid Suðrigum gefuhton on Tenet wið hæðene here. and þær wæron feala ofslægene and adruncen on ægðre hand. and þa ealdormen bege dæde.

And Burhred Myrcene cining feng to Æðelwulfes dohtor West Seaxna cininges.

855. Her hæþene men ærest on Sceapege ofer winter sæton. And þy ilcan geare ge bocade Æðelwulf cining teoðan dæl his landes ofer eal his rice Gode to lofe. and him selfum ecre hæle.

And by ilcan geare ferde to Rome mid mycclum wurðscipe. and bær wunade xii monað. and he feng to Karles dohter Francna cining þa he hamweard wæs. and ge sund ham com. and bæs ymbe ii gear forðferde. and his lic lið on Wintanceastre. and he rixade ix gear. He wæs Ecgbrihting.

4 Peterborough Record, No. 6. The original is extant, and more, it is in the mother tongue.

The philologer, as well as the historian, will be gratified to have at hand the document upon which the text was based. Cod. Dipl. No. 267.

In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti! Ceolred abbud and da higan on Medeshamstede sellad Wulfrede det land æt Sempingaham in das gerednisse; det he hit hæbbe and brûce sua lange sua he life and anum ærfeuuarde æfter him; and elce gere sextig fodra wuda to dæm ham on Hornan dæm wuda, and tuelf foder græfan and sex fodur gerda. End fordon we him dis land sellad, det he des landes fulne friodom bigete in æce ærfeweardnisse

æt Sempingaham and æt Slioforda, and brűce őére cirican láfard on Medeshámstede des landes æt Slioforda, and Wulfred des on Sempingaham: and he geselle éghwelce gére tó Medeshámstede tuá tunnan fulle luhtres aloo, and tua sleg neat, and sex hund lafes and ten mittan wælsces aloo, and vere cirican laforde geselle éghwelce gére hors and brittig scillinga, and hine ane niht gefeormige fiftene mitta luhtres aloo, fif mitta welsces aloo, fiftene sestras lides: and hi sion symle in allum here life eadmode and hearsume and underbeodde, and ofer here tuega dæg donne agefe hió det land into vere cirican to Medeshamstede mid freodome; and we him dis sellad mid felda and mid wuda and mid fenne sua ver to belimpev. &c.

ping Eoppa Ingilding Ingild wæs Ines brobur West-Seaxna cyninges þæs þe eft ferde to Sõe Petre and þær eft his feorh ge sealde and hie wæron Cenredes suna Cenred wæs Ceolwalding Ceolwald Cuþaing Cuþa Cuþwining. Cuþwine Ceaulining Ceawling Cynricing Cynric Cerdicing Cerdic Elesing Elesa Esling Esla Giwising Giwis Wiging Wig Freawining Freawine Friþogaring Friþogar Bronding Brond Bældæging Bældæg Wodening Woden Friþowalding Friþuwulf Finning Fin Godwulfing God wulf Geating Geat Tætwaing Tætwa Beawing Beaw Sceldwaing Sceldweaf Heremoding Heremod Itermoning Itermon Hraþraing se wæs geboren in þære earce Noe Lamach Matusalem Enoh Iaered Maleel Camon Enos Sed Tdam. primus homo et pater noster. est Xps Tmen.

Ond ha fengon Æhelwulfes suna twegen to rice Æhelbald to Wesseaxna rice and Æhelbryht to Cant wara rice and to EastSeaxna rice, and to Suhrigea and to Suh Seaxna rice and ha ricsode Æhelbald v gear.

860. Her Æþelbald cyng forþferde and his lic lip æt Scira burnan and feng Æþelbryht to allum þam rice his broþur and he hit heold on godre ge þuærnesse and on micelre sibsumnesse.

And on his dæge cuom micel sciphere up and abræcon Wintanceastre, and wip pone here gefuhton Osric aldor man mid Ham tun scire and Æpelwulf aldormon mid Bearruc scire and pone here ge fliemdon and wæl stowe gewald ahton and se Æpelbryht ricsode v gear and his lic lip æt Scire burnan.

865. Her sæt hæþen here on Tenet and genamon friþ wiþ Cantwarum and Cantware him feoh geheton wiþ þam friþe and under þam friþe and þam feoh ge hate se here hiene on niht up bestæl. and oferhergeade alle Cent eastewearde.

And ha fengon his ii sunu to rice. Æðelbald to West Seaxna rice. and to Suðrigean. And he rixade v gear.

860. Her Æðelbald cining forðferde. and his lic lið æt Scireburnan. and feng Æðelbriht to eallum þam rice his broðor.

And on his dæge com mycel sciphere up. and abræcon Wintanceastre. and wið þone here fuhton Osric ealdor man mid Hamtune scire. and Æðelwulf ealdorman mid Barrucscire and þone here ge flymdon. and wælstowe ge weald ahton. and se Æðelbriht rixade v gear. and his lic lið æt Scirburnan.

865. Her sæt se hæðene here on Tenet and ge nam frið wið Cantwarum. and Cantware heom feoh be heton wið ðam friðe. and on þam feoh be hate se here hine on niht up be stæl. and oferhergode ealle Cent eastewarde.

B. 855. . (X) . . . Itermon Ha\u00e8raing. Ha\u00e8ra Hwalaing. Hwala Bedwiging. Bedwig Sceafing. id est filius Noe se wæs geboren on \u00e9ære earce Noes. Lamech. Matusalem. Enoc. Iared. Malalehel. Camon. Enos. Seth. Adam primus homo & pater \u00fcr. Id est X\u00fcs.

F. 861. Her for ferde S. Swiðun b'. and Æðelbald cing. and he lið on Scirburnan. and Æðelb'ht feng to eallan ðan rice his broðer. and on his dæge com mycel sciphere and abræcan Wintanceast' and wið ðone here fuhtan Hamtunscir and Bearrucscir and ðone here geflymdon. and ðes Æðelbyrht rixode v gear and his lic lið at Scirburnan.

In the mythological stage, B.C.D. go

higher than A; all up to Sceaf, the mysterious ancestor of fabled kings. This remote progenitor appears in the Beowulf, but only as the patronym of Scyld, the oldest personage of whom any doings are there related. The Longobards preserved the name of Sceaf at the head of their traditions, as may be gathered from the Traveller's Song, line 64. For further information cf. Kemble's Preface to his Beowulf, vol. ii.

f This pedigree outruns all others in the Chronicle. It is rare to mount higher than Woden, the divine father of kings. In 547 we are carried up to Geat, which is quite transcendental. But here, the lineage strains after the loftiest attainable elevation, quitting the mythological for the Scriptural genealogy, and from the summit of the latter soaring away into the region beyond.

866. Her feng Æþered Æþelbryhtes brobur to Wesseaxna rice And þy ilcan geare cuom micel here on Angel cynnes lond and wint'setl namon on East Englum and þær gehorsude wurdon and hie him friþ namon.

867. Her for se here of East Englum ofer Humbre muþan to Eofor wic ceastre on Norþhymbre And þær wæs micel un þuærnes þære þeode betweox him selfum and hie hæfdun hiera cyning aworpenne Osbryht and ungecyndne cyning underfengon Ællan. and hie late on geare to þam gecirdon þæt hie wiþ þone here winnende wærun and hie þeah micle fierd gegadrodon and þone here sohton æt Eoforwic ceastre and on þa ceastre bræcon and hie sume inne wurdon and þær was ungemetlic wæl geslægen Norþan hymbra sume binnan sume butan. and þa cyningas begen ofslægene and sio laf wiþ þone here friþnam.

And þy ilcan geare gefór Ealchstan bisc and he hæfde þæt bisc rice L wint' æt Scire burnan, and his lic liþ þær on tune.

868. Her for se ilca here innan Mierce to Snotengaham and bær wint'setl namon And Burgræd Miercna cyning and his wiotan bædon Æbered West Seaxna cyning and Ælfred his brobur bæt hie him gefultumadon bæt hie wib bone here gefuhton And ba ferdon hie mid Wesseaxna fierde innan Mierce ob Snotenga ham. and bone here bær metton on bam geweorce. and bær nan hefelic gefeoht ne wearb and Mierce frib namon wib bone here.

869. Her for se here eft to Eoforwicceastre and pær sæt i gear.

870. Her rad se here ofer Mierce innan East Engle and wint setl namon. æt peodforda. And by wint' Eadmund cyning him wib feaht. and ba Deniscan

866. Her feng Æðelred Æðelbrihtes broðor to West Seaxna rice. And þy ilcan geare com mycel hæðen here on Angel cynnes land. and winter setle namon æt East Englum. and þær ge horsade wurdon. and hi heom wið frið ge namon.

867. Her for se here of East Englum ofer Humbre muðan. to Eoferwic ceastre on Norðan hymbre. and þær wæs mycel unðwærnesse ðere þeode betwux heom sylfum. and hi hæfdon heora cining aworpene Osbriht. and unge cynde cining under fengon Ællan. and hi late on geare to þam ge cyrdon. Þ hi wið þone here winnende wæron. and hi ðeah myccle fyrd gegadorodan. and þone here sohton æt Eofewic ceastre. and þa ceastre bræcon. and hi sume inne wurdon. and þær wæs ungemet wæl ge slægen Norðanhymbra sume binnan sume butan. and þa ciningas bægen of slægene. and seo lafe wið þone here fryð nam.

And by ilcan geare ge for Ealhstan b'. and he hæfde b biscop rice æt Scireburnan L winter. and his lic lið bær on tune.

868. Her for se ilca here innan Myrce to Snotingham. and þær winter setle namon. and Burhcred Myrcena cining and his witan bædon Æðelred West Seaxna cining and Ælfred his broðor þet hi him fultumedon. þæt hi wið þone here ge fuhton. and þa færdon hi mid Wæst Sæxa fyrde in on Myrcene oþ Snotingaham. and þone here metton þær on þam ge weorce. and hine inne be setton. and þær nan hefilic ge feaht ne wearð. and Myrce frið namon wið þone here.

869. Her for se here eft to Eoferwic ceastre. and pær sæt angear.

870. Her for se here ofer Myrce innon East Ængle. and winter setle namon æt Deodforda, and on þam geare sce Ædmund cining him wið ge feaht, and þa Deniscan sige

4 The national force is called fierd, fyrd; and the invading armament is here. The latter word probably meant at first a body of men, a band; and this unprejudiced sense still lives in the Germ. Heer. But in A. S. it contracted the bad notion of a troop; viz. that of waste, pillage, buccaneering. Hence the words, hergian, hergung, to harry, &c. In the Laws of King Ine it has a criminal sense, and is nu-

merically defined. If more than 35 persons band together, it is here: from 7 up to that number it is only hlod: 7 or less are merely thieves.

The fierd was the national militia, embodied in each shire under the eald-orman: so called from their marching off on service (faran); in Latin named expeditio. No property in the country was exempt from the obligation to send its contingent to the fyrd.

sige namon and pone cyning ofslogon, and pæt lond all ge eodon.

And by geare gefor Ceolnob ærce bisc. and Ebered Wiltunscire biscop wearh gecoren to ærcebiscpe to Cantuare beri.

871. Her cuom se here to Readingum on West Seaxe and pæs ymb iii niht ridon ii eorlas up. þa gemette hie Æbelwulf aldorman on Engla felda and him þær wiþ gefeaht and sige nam. Þæs ymb iiii niht Æþered cyning and Ælfred his brobur þær micle fierd to Readingum gelæddon and wib bone here gefuhton and bær wæs micel wæl geslægen on gehwæpre hond and Æpelwulf aldormon wearp ofslægen and þa Deniscan ahton wæl stowe gewald And bæs ymb iiii niht gefeaht Æpered cyning and * Ælfred his brobur wip alne bone here on Æscesdune and hie wærun on twæm gefylcum. on oþrum wæs Bachsecg and Halfdene þa hæþnan cyningas and on obrum wæron þa eorlas, and þa gefeaht se cyning Æbered wib bara cyninga getruman and bær wearb se cyning Bagsecg ofslægen. and Ælfred his brobur wip para eorla getruman and pær wearp Sidroc eorl ofslægen se alda and Sidroc eorl se gionega and Osbearn eorl and Fræna eorl and Hareld eorl and þa hergas begen gesliemde and fela þusenda ofslægenra and onfeohtende wæron op niht. And þæs ymb xiiii niht gefeaht Æpered cyning and Ælfred his broður wip bone here æt Basengum and bær þa Deniscan sige namon And þæs ymb ii monaþ gefeaht Æþered cyning and Ælfred his brobur wib bone here æt Mere tune and hie wærun on tuæm gefylcum and hie butu gefliemdon and longe on dæg sige ahton and þær wearþ micel wæl sliht on gehwæþere hond and þa Deniscan ahton welstowe gewald. and her wearb Healmund bisc ofslægen and fela godra monna and æfter bissum gefeohte cuom micel sumor lida. And

naman. and pone cining of slogon. and p land eall ge eodon. and fordiden ealle pa mynstre pa hi to comen. on pa ilcan tima pa comon hi to Medeshamstede. beorndon and bræcon. slogon abbot and munecas. and eall p hi pær fundon. macedon hit pa p ær wæs ful rice. pa hit wearð to nan ping. and py geare ge for Ceolnop arcebiscop.

871. Her rad se here to Readingum on Westseaxe. and þes ymb iii niht ridon twegen eorlas up. þa ge mette Ædel wulf ealdorman hie on Englafelda, and heom bær wið ge feaht and sige nam. and weard bær se ober of slægen. bæs Da ymb iiii niht Æðelred cining. and nama wæs Sidrac. Ælfred his broðor þær mycle fyrd to Rædingum gelæddon. and wid bone here gefuhton, and bær wæs mycel wæl ge slægen on ge hwadere hand, and Ædelwulf ealdor man weard of slægen. and þa Deniscan ahton wæl stowe ge weald. ymb iiii niht ge feaht Ædered cining and Ælfred his brodor wið ealne done here on Æsces dune, and hi wæron on twam ge fylcum. on o'rum wes Basecg and Halfdene da hædene ciningas, and on o'rum wæron ba eorlas, and ba feaht se cining Ædered wid dara cininga ge truman, and bær weard se cining Bagsecg of slægen. and Ælfred his brodor wid para eorla ge truman and bær wear'ð Sidrac eorl of slægen se ealda. and Sidrac se geonga and Osbearn eorl. and Fræna eorl, and Harold eorl, and ba hergas begen ge flymde, and feala busenda of slagenra, and on feohtende wæron og niht. And Sees ymb xiiii niht ge feaht ÆSered cining, and Ælfred his brodor wid bone here æt Basingum. and bar ba Deniscan sige ge namon. and bæs ymb twægen mondas ge feaht Ædered and Ælfred his brodor wid bone here æt Mære dune. and hi wæron on twam ge fylcum. and hi butu ge flymdon. and lange on dæg sige ahton, and bar weard mycel wæl sliht on hwæðre hand. and þa Dæniscan ahton weal stowe ge weald. and bær Hæhmund biscop of slagen and feala godra manna. and æfter bisum gefeohte com mycel sumer lida to Readingum.

pæs ofer Eastron gefor Æpered cyning and he ricsode v gear and his lic lip æt Winburnan.

ha feng Ælfred Æþelwulfing his brobur to Wesseaxna rice and þæs ymb anne monaþ gefeaht Ælfred cyning wib alne þone here lytle weredeg æt Wiltune and hine longe on dæg gefliemde and þa Deniscan ahton wælstowe gewald.

And bæs geares wurdon viiii folc gefeoht gefohten wib bone here on by cynerice be suban Temese and butan bam be him Ælfred bæs cyninges brobur and anlipig aldormon and cyninges begnas oft rade onridon be mon na ne rimde and bæs geares wærun ofslægene viiii eorlas and an cyning. And by geare namon West Seaxe frib wib bone here.

872. Her for se here to Lunden byrig from Readingum and þær wint'setl nam. and þa namon Mierce friþ wiþ þone here.

873. Her for se here on Norphymbre. and he nam wint'setl on Lindesse æt Tureces iege and þa namon Mierce friþ wiþ þone here.

874. Her for se here from Lindesse to Hreope dune and pær wint setl nam. and pone cyning Burgræd ofer sæ adræfdon ymb xxii wint pæs pe he rice hæfde and pæt lond all ge eodon and he for to Rome and pær gesæth and his lic lip on Sca Marian ciricean on Angel cynnes scole. And py ilcan geare hie sealdon anum unwisum cyninges pegne Miercna rice to haldanne, and he him apas swor and gislas salde, pæt he him gearo wære swa hwelce dæge swa hie hit habban wolden, and he gearo wære mid him selfum, and on allum pam pe him læstan woldon, to pæs heres pearfe.

875. Her for se here from Hreopedune. and Healfdene for mid sumum þam here on Norþhymbre. and nam wint' setl be Tinan þære ei. and se here and þær æfter Eastron ge for Æðered cining. and he rixade v gear. and his lic lið æt Winburnan mynster.

Da feng Ælfred Æðelwulfing his broðor to West Seaxna Alfrede rice and þæs ymb i monað ge feaht Ælfred cining wið ealne pone here litle werede æt Wiltune. and hine lange on dæg ge flymde. and þa Deniscan ahton wælstowe ge weald.

ge flymde. and þa Deniscan ahton wælstowe ge weald.

And þes geares wurdon ix folcgefeoht ge fohten wið þone here on þam cine rice be suðan Temese. butan þam þe hi Ælfred þes cinges broðer. and ealdor men. and ciningas þægnas oft rada on riden þe man nane rimde and þæs geares wæron of slagene ix eorlas. and an cyning. and þy geare namon West

872. Her for sehere to Lunden byrig fram Redingum. and pær nam winter setle. and pa naman Myrce frið wið þone here.

873. Her nam sehere winter setle. æt Turcesige.

874. Her for se here of Lindesse to Hreopedune. and pær winter setle nam. and pone cining Burgred ofer sæ adrefdon ymb xxii wintra pæs pe he rice hæfde. and pet land eall ge eodan. and he for to Rome and pær sæt. and his lic lið on sca Marian cyrican on Angel cynnes scole. And py ilcan geare hi sealdon Ceolwulfe anum un wisum cynges pegne Myrcena rice to healdenne. and he him aðas swor and gislas sealde. Pet hit him georo wære swa hwilce dæge swa hi hit habban woldon. and he geare wære mid him sylfum. and mid eallum pam pe him ge læstan wolden to pæs heres pærfe⁵.

875. Her for se here fram Hreope dune. and Healfdene for mid sumum pam here on Norðan hymbre. and nam winter setle be Tinan pære ea. and se here pet land ge eode.

Seaxa frið wið þone here.

⁸ Æthelweard says: Erat autem exiguus tum Anglorum exercitus propter absentiam regis, qui eodem tempore exequias fratris impleverat.

h par wunode ealto his lifes ende. F.

i Instead of swa hwelce, B has swylce, C swilce.

⁵ Lappenberg remarks, that the object of the Danes was not power, but plunder. So they did not occupy the vacant thrones, but placed in them nominal kings to serve as the instruments of their rapacity.

bæt lond ge eode. and eft hergade on Peohtas. and on Stræcled Walas. And for Godrum and Oscytel and Anwynd. þa iii cyningas. of Hreopedune to Grante brycge. mid micle here. and sæton þær an gear.

And by sumera for Ælfred cyning ut on sæ mid sciphere, and gefeaht wib vii sciphlæstas, and hiera

an gefeng. and þa oþru gefliemde.

876. Her hiene bestæl se here into Werham. Wesseaxna fierde, and wip pone here se cyning frip nam, and him pa apas sworon on pam halgan beage, pe hie ær nanre peode noldon, pæt hie hrædlice of his rice foren, and hie pa under pam hie nihtes bestælon pære fierde se gehorsoda here into Escan ceaster.

And by geare Healfdene Norban hymbra lond ge dælde, and ergende wæron and hiera tilgende.

877. Her cuom se here into Escan ceastre from Werham, and se sciphere sigelede west ymbutan, and ha mette hie micel yst on sæ, and hær forwearh cxx scipa æt Swanawic. and se cyning Ælfred æfter ham gehorsudan here mid fierde råd op Exan ceaster, and hie hindan ofridan ne meahte ær hie on ham fæstene wæron, hær him mon to ne meahte, and hie him hær fore gislas saldon, swa fela swa he habban wolde, and micle ahas sworon, and ha godne frih heoldon, and ha on hærfæste gefor se here on Miercna lond, and hit gedældon sum, and sum Ceolwulfe saldon.

878. Her hiene bestæl se here on midne wiñt, ofer tuelftan niht. to Cippanhamme, and geridon Wesseaxna lond and gesæton, micel þæs folces ofer sæ adræfdon, and þæs oþres þone mæstan dæl hie geridon, and him to gecirdon, buton þam cyninge Ælfrede, and he lytle werede, un ieþelice, æfter wudum for, and on mor fæstenum.

And bes ilcan wintra wes Inweres brobur and

and oft ge hergode on Pehtas. and on Strætlæd Wealas. and for Godrum. and Oscytel. and Anwend. þa þry ciningas of Hreope dune to Grantan brycge. myd mycclum here. and sæton þær an gear.

And by sumera for Ælfred cyning ut on sæ mid scip here. and ge feaht wið vii scip hlesta. and heora an ge feng. and þa oðre ge flymde.

876. Her hine be stæl se here into Wærham West Seaxna fyrde. and siððan wið þone here se cyning frið nam. and him þa gislas sealdon þe on þam here weorþuste wæron to þam cyninge. and him þa aðas sworon on þam halgan beage þe hi ær nanre þeode don noldon þet hi hredlice of his rice foron. and hi þa under þam hi nihtes be stælon þære fyrde se gehorsade here into Exan ceastre.

And þy geare Healfdene Norðan hymbra land ge dælde. and hergende weron. and heora tiligende wæron. Rollo cum suis Normaniam penetravit. and regnavit annis liii.

877. Her com se here to Exanceastre fram Wérham, and se sciphere seglode west ymbutan, and þa ge mette hi mycel yst on sæ, and þear forwearð cxx scipa æt Swanawíc, and se cing Ælfred æfter þam ge horsedum here mid fyrde rád oð Exanceastre, and hi hindan of ridan ne mihte ær hi on þam feastene wæron þær him man to ne mihte, and hi him þar fore gislas sealdon swa feala swa he habban wolde, and mycele aðas sworon, and þa godne frið heoldan, and þa on herfeste ge for seo heora on Myrcena land, and hit ge dældon sum, and sum Ceolwulfe sealdon.

878. Her hine bestæl sehere on midne winter ofer twelftan niht to Cippanhamme, and geridan West Seaxna land and ge setton, and mycel þæs folces ofer sæ adræfdon, and þæs oðres þone mæstan dæl hi geridon butan þam cynge Ælfrede litle werede un yðelice æfter wudum for, and on mor festenum.

And bes ilcan wintra wæs Iweres brodor and Healf-

Healfdenes on West Seaxum. on Defena scire. mid xxiii scipum. and hiene mon pær ofslog. and dccc monna mid him. and xl monna his heres.

And þæs on Eastron worhte Ælfred cyning. lytle werede, geweorc æt Æþelinga eigge^k, and of þam ge weorce was winnende wiþ þone here, and Sumur sætna, se dæl se þær niehst wæs. Þa on þære seofoðan wiecan ofer Eastron he gerad to Ecgbryhtes stane.

be eastan Seal wyda. and him to co bær ongen Sumor sæte alle and Wilsætan, and Hamtun scir se dæl se hiere behinon sæ was, and his gefægene wærun. and he for ymb ane niht of pam wicum to Iglea. and bæs ymb ane to Eban dune. and bær ge feaht wib alne bone here, and hiene gefliemde, and him æfter rad ob bæt geweore, and bær sæt xiiii niht. and ba salde se here him fore gislas and micle abas. bæt hie of his rice uuoldon. and him eac geheton bæt hiera kyning fulwihte onfon wolde, and hie bæt gelæston swa. And þæs ymb iii wiecan com se cyning to him Godrum þritiga sum þara monna þe in þam here weorbuste wæron æt Alre. and þæt is wib Æbelinggaeige, and his secyning bær onfeng æt fulwihte, and his crism lising was at Webmor, and he was xii niht mid pam cyninge, and he hine miclum and his geferan mid feo weor dude.

879. Her for se here to Cirenceastre of Cippan hamme. and sæt þær án gear.

And by geare gegadrode on hlob wicenga and gesæt æt Fullan hamme be Temese.

And by ilcan geare apiestrode sio sunne ane tid dæges.

880. Her for sehere of Ciren ceastre on East Engle. and gesæt þæt lond. and gedælde.

denes on West Sexum on Defenan scire. and hine mon per sloh. and dccc manna mid him. and xl manna his heres. and par wæs se guðfana genumen þe hi ræfen heton.

And bæs on Eastron wrohte Ælfred cyning lytle werede ge weorc æt Ædelingaige, and of bam geweorce wæs winnende wið þone here, and Sumer sætena se del þe þær nehst wæs, þa on dere seofedan wucan ofer Eastron he gerad to Ecgbrihtes stane be easton Wealwudu, and him comon bær on gean Sumor sæte ealle, and Will sæte, and Hamtun scyr se dæl be hire be heonan sæ wæs. and his ge fægene wæron, and he for ymb ane niht of bam wicum to Æglea, and bæs ymb ane niht to Edandune, and bær ge feaht wid ealne here and hine ge flymde. and him æfter rád oð þet ge weorc. and þær sæt xiiii niht. and ha sealde se here him gislas. and mycele adas. bet hi of his rice woldon, and him eac ge heton bet heora cyng fulwihte on fon wolde. and hi p gelæston. and bæs ymb iii wucan com se cyng Godrum, brittigum sum, bara manna be in ham here weorouste wæron æt Alre, and b is wid Ædelingaige, and his se cyng onfeng bær æt fulwihte. and his crismlysing was at Wedmor. and he wes xii niht mid pam cynge, and he hine mycclum and his ge feran mid feo weordode.

879. Her for sehere to Cirenceastre of Cippanhamme. and sæt þær an winter.

py geare gegaderodon an hloð wicinga. and gesæt æt Fullanhamme be Temese.

And by ilcan geare abystrode seo sunne antid dæges.

880. Her for se here of Circnceastre on East Engle. and gesæt † land and gedælde.

k The "Isle of Princes" was formed and fortified by the stagnate waters of the Tone and Parrot at their junction. Hence the maxima gronnia paludosissima et intransmeabilia of Asser. It is now drained and cultivated, and known as Athelney Farm, in the Parish of Stoke St. Gregory, east of the line of rail from Bridgewater to Taunton, and about seven miles distant from each of those places. In the year 1693 the celebrated "Alfred

jewel" was found in Newton Park, somewhat north of this spot. It is deposited in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, and it has often been figured and described in books. The legend upon it gives a point to the locality of the discovery, and invests the object itself with an interest beyond all other extant monuments of Saxon Art. It says: ** AELFRED MEC HEHT GE WYRCAN.

And by ilcan geare for se here ofer se be ær on Fullan homme sæt on Fronc lond to Gend. and sæt bær an gear.

881. Her for se here ufor on Fronc lond. and þa Francan him wiþ gefuhton. and þær , wearþ se here gehorsod æfter þam gefeohte.

882. Her for se here up on long Mæse feor on

Fronclond. and bær sæt an gear.

And by ilcan geare for Ælfred cyning mid scipum ut on sæ. and gefeaht wiþ feower sciphlæstas Deniscra monna. and þara scipa tu genam. and þa men ofslægene wæron þe &er on wæron. and tuegen scipheras him on hond eodon. and þa wæron miclum forslægene and for wundode ær hie on hond eodon.

883. Her for se here up on Scald to Cundop. and pær sæt an gear.

884. Her for se here up on Sunnan to Embenum. and þær sæt án gear.

885. Her to dælde se fore sprecena here on tu. oper dæl east. oper dæl to Hrofes ceastre. and ymb sæton ar ceastre. and worhton oper fæsten ymb hie selfe. and hie þeah þa ceastre aweredon oþþæt Ælfred

com, mid fierde. þa eode se here to hiera scipum. and forlet þæt geweorc. and hie wurdon þær behorsude. and sona þy ilcan sumere ofer sæ gewiton.

And by ilcan geare sende Ælfred cyning sciphere on EastEngle. sona swa hie comon on Stufemuþan. þa metton hie xvi scipu wicenga. and wiþ 8a gefuhton. and þa scipo alle geræhton. and þa men ofslogon. þa hie þa ham weard wendon mid þære here hyþe. þa metton hie micelne sciphere wicenga. and þa wiþ þa gefuhton þy ilcan dæge. and þa Deniscan ahton sige.

by ilcan geare ær middum wintra. forb ferde Carl Francna cyning. and hiene ofslog an efor. and ane And by ilcan geare for se here ofer sé pe on Fullanhamme sæt on Frangland to Gent. and sæt pær angear.

881. Her for se here ufor on Frang land, and þa Francan him wið ge fuhton, and þær þa warð se here horsad æfter þam ge feohte.

882. Her for se here up andlang Mæse ofor on Frangland and þær sæt an gear.

And by ilcan geare for Ælfred cyng mid scipum ut on sæ. and ge feaht wið iiii scip hlæstas Deniscra manna. and þara scipa twa ge namon. and þa men of slogon. and twa him on hand eodon. and þa men wæron myclum of slagene and for wundode ær hi on hand eodan.

883. Her for se here up on Scald to Cundoð, and þær sæt an gear. and Marinus papa sende þa lignum dm Ælfrede cynge, and þy ilcan geare lædde Sighelm, and Æðelstan þa ælmessan to Rome þe Ælfred cing ge het þider, and eac on Indea to sõe Thome, and to sõe Bartholomee, þa hi sæton wið þone here æt Lundene, and hi þær Godes þances swyðe bentigðe wæron æfter þam gehatum.

884. Her for se here up on Sunnan to Embenum. and per set angear.

885. Her to dælde se forsprecena here on twa. oðer east. oðer dæl to Hrofeceastre. and ymb sæton þa ceastre. and wrohton oðer fæsten ymb hi sylfe. and hi þeah þa ceastre aweredan oððet Ælfred cyng com úton mid fyrde. þa eode se here to heora scipum. and forleton þet ge weorc. and hi wurdon þær be horsade. and sona þy ilcan sumera eft ofer se ge witon.

Dy ilcan geare sænde Ælfred cyng scip here of Cænt on East Engle. sona swa hi comon on Sture muðan þa ge mætton hi xvi scipa wicinga. and wið þa ge fuhton. and þa scipa ealle ge ræhton. and þa men of slogen. þa hi þa ham weard wæron mid þære here huðe. þa ge metton hi mycelne sciphere wicinga. and wið þa ge fuhton þy ilcan dæge. and þa Deniscan ahton sige.

And by ilean geare ær middan wintra forðferde Carl Francna cyng. and hine of sloh an éofor. and ane geare ær

F. 884. Her for ferde se welwillenda b' Æ elwold. Hic obiit Æ elwoldus episcopus Wentoniensis, et electus est in loco ejus Alfee qui alio nomine vocabatur Godwinus.

geare ær. his broður forþferde, se hæfde eac þæt west rice, and hie wæron begen Hlopwiges suna, se hæfde eac þæt west rice, and forþferde þy geare þe sio sunne aþiestrode, se wæs Karles sunu þe Æþelwulf West Seaxna cyning his dohtor hæfde him to cuene.

And by ilcan geare gegadrode micel sciphere on AldSeaxum. and bær wearb micel gefeoht. tua on geare. and ba Seaxan hæfdun sige. and bær wæron Frisan mid.

þy ilcan geare feng Carl to þam west rice, and to allum þam west rice behienan Wendel sæ, and be geondan þisse sæ, swa hit his þridda fæder hæfde, butan Lidwiccium, se Carl was Hloþwiges sunu, se Hloþwig was Carles broþur, se wæs Iuþyttan fæder þe Æþelwulf cyning hæfde, and hie wæron Hloþwiges suna, se Hloþwig was þæs aldan Carles sunu, se Carl was Pippenes sunu.

And by ilcan geare forbferde se goda papa Marinus. se gefreode Ongel cynnes scole be Ælfredes bene West Seaxna cyninges. and he sende him micla gifa. and bære rode dæl þe Crist on þrowude.

And by ilcan geare se here on EastEnglum bræc frib wib Ælfred cyning.

886. Her for se here eft west þe ær east gelende. and þa up on Sigene. and þær wint' setl namon.

py ilcan geare gesette Ælfred cyning Lundenburg. and him all Angel cyn to cirde þæt buton Deniscra monna hæftniede was. and hie þa befæste þa burg Æþerede aldormen to haldonne.

887. Her for se here up purh þa brycge æt Paris. and þa up andlang Sigene oþ Mæterne. oþ Cariei. and þa sæton þara and innan Ionan. tu winter on þam twam stedum.

And by ilcan geare forbferde Karl Francna cyning. and * Earnulf his brobursunu vi wicum ær he forbferde

his broðor forðferde. se heafde eac þ west rice. se forðferde þy geare þe seo sunne aðystrode. se wæs Carles sunu þe Aðelwulf West Seaxna cyng his 7 dohtor hæfde to cwene.

Dy ilcan geare for offerde se goda papa Marinus. se ge freode Marin' Angel cynnes scole be Ælfredes bene West Seaxna cyninges. and he sende him myccle gifa⁸. and þære rode dæl þe Crist on offersom of

And by ilcan geare for se here on Estenglum. and brec frið wið Ælfred cyning.

886. Her for se here eft west þe ær east ge lende. and þa up on Sigene. and þær winter sætu namon æt Paris þære byrig ⁹.

Dy ilcan geare ge sette Ælfred cyning Lunden burh. and him eall Angel cyn to ge cyrde. † butan Deniscra manna hæfnede wes. and he þa befeste þa burh Æþerede ealdormen to healdenne.

887. Her for se-here up purh oa brycge æt Paris. and þa up andlang Sigene oo Mæterne. and þa up on Mæterne oo Caziei. and þa sæton þar innan Ionan twa winter on þam twam stedum.

And by ilcan geare for offerde Carl Francena cyng. and Earnulf his broodr sunu hine vi wucan ær he for offerde be

7 "He was the son of that Charles whose daughter Æthelwulf had for his queen."

When the Language had no distinct Relative Provoun except the indeclinable be, oblique cases were made out by a contrivance which is usual in Hebrew, viz. the addition of the Personal Pronoun in the case required.

Thus be . . . his = whose

be . . . hine = whom

be . . . hyra = quorum.

A more succinct Relative Pronoun was at length obtained, by the gradual employment of a word which had hitherto been known only as an Interrogative. Such is the history of our present Interrogative and Relative Pronoun who: up to about the year 1200 it had only the function of questioning, but in the early part of the 13th century it acquired the position of a declinable Relative. The two texts of La3amon illustrate this fact very well, instances of Who-Relative occurring in the later text, but (?) not in the earlier.

8 micele giua on halidome F.

9 This siege of Paris is minutely described by Abbo of Fleury in two Books of Latin Hexameters. Cf. Felibien, Histoire de la Ville de Paris, l.iii. (Ingram.)

* hine hæfde seems to be wanting here.

berædne æt þam rice. and þa wearþ þæt rice to dæled on v. and v kyningas to gehalgode¹. þæt wæs þeah mid Earnulfes geþafunge. and hi cuædon. þæt hie þæt to his honda healdan sceoldon. forþæm hira nán næs on fædren healfe to geboren. buton him anum. Earnulf þa wunode on þæm londe be Eastan Rin. and Roþulf þa feng to þæm middel rice. and Oda to þæm west dæle. and Beorngar and Wiþa to Long beardna londe. and to þæm londum on þa healfe muntes. and þæt heoldun mid micelre unsibbe. and tu folc gefeoht gefuhton. and þæt lond oft and gelome forhergodon. and æghwæþer oþerne oftrædlice ut dræfde.

And by ilcan geare be se here forforb up ofer babrycge æt Paris. Æbelhelm aldor mon lædde Wesseaxna ælmessan and Ælfredes cyninges to Rome.

888. Her lædde Beocca aldormon Wesseaxna ælmessan and Ælfredes cyninges to Rome. and Æþelswiþ cuen. sio wæs Ælfredes sweostor cyninges. forþferde and hire lic liþ æt Pafian.

And by ilcan geare Æpe'red ercebisc and Æpelwold aldormon. forbferdon on anum monbe.

889. On pissum geare næs nan færeld to Rome. buton tuegen hleaperas Ælfred cyning sende mid gewritum.

890. Her lædde Beorn helm abb' WestSeaxna ælmessan to Rome and Ælfredes cyninges.

And Godrum se norperna cyning forpferde. bæs fulluht nama wæs Æbelstan. se wæs Ælfredes cyninges god sunu. and he bude on EastEnglum. and bæt lond ærest gesæt.

And by ilcan geare for se here of Sigene to Sant Laudan. bæt is butueoh Brettum and Francum. and Brettas him wib gefuhton. and hæfdon sige. and hie bedrifon ut on ane ea. and monige adrecton.

Her was Plegemund ge coron of Gode m and of eallen his halechen.

rædde æt bam rice. and ba weard bet rice to dæled on v. and fif cyningas to ge halgode, bet weas bæh mid Earnulfes pafunge, and hi cwædon b hi him bet to handa healdan scoldan, forðan þet heora nan næs of fædren halfe geboren butan him anum. Earnulf wunode on pam lande be æstan Rine. and Hrobulf pa feng to pam middelrice. and Opa pa to bam weast dæle. and Beorngar and Wiða to Langbeardna lande, and to bam landum on ba healfe muntes, and bet heoldan mid mycel un sibbe. and twa folc ge feoht ge fuhton. and b land oft and gelome for hergodon, and æghweder overne oftrædlice ut adræfde.

And by ilcan geare be se here for for of up ofer ba brycge + æt Paris. Æðelhelm ealdorman lædde Weast Seaxna ælmessan Elemofina and Ælfredes cyninges to Rome.

no Debitu.

888. Her lædde Beocca ealdorman West Seaxna ælmessan and Ælfredes cyninges to Rome, and Æðelfrið cwæn seo wæs Ælfredes swustor cyninges. and heo forðferde 10. and hire lic lið æt Pauian.

And by ilcan geare Ædered arcebiscop1. and Abewold ealdorman foroferdon on anum monbe.

889. On bissum geare næs nan færeld to Rome buton twegen hleaperes Ælfred cyng sende mid gewritum.

890. Her lædde Beornhelm abb' West Seaxna ælmessan to Rome. and Ælfredes cynges.

And Godrum se norderne cyning fordferde. bæs fulluht nama wæs Æðelstan se wæs Ælfredes godsune cyninges. and he bude on East Englum. and b land ærest ge sæt.

And by ilcan geare for se here of Sigene to Scandlaudan. pet is betwix2 Bryttum and Francum. and Brittas him widge fuhton. and hæfdon sige. and hi bedrifon ut on ane éa. and manige adrencton.

Hic Plegemundus archiepiscopus a Deo et omni populo electus est.

rice on Cantwareb'i F.

¹ and fif cingas bar wæron to gehalgode. and p mid Arnulfes gedafunge. and hie beheton b hi on his handa healdan sceoldon F.

m and of eallan folce to bam arb'

¹⁰ be Rome wege F. cf. Wendover.

¹ se ærceb' of Cantwaraberi F. 2 betweeh A. betuh B. betwyx F.

891. Her for se here east, and Earnulf cyning gefeaht wið æm ræden here ær þa scipu cuomon, mid East Francum and Seaxum and Bægerum, and hine gefliemde.

And prie Scottas cuomon to Ælfrede cyninge. on anum bate butan ælcum gereprum. of Hibernia^o. ponon hi hi bestælon. forpon pe hi woldon for Godes lufan on elpiodignesse beon. hi ne rohton hwær. se bat wæs geworht of priddan healfre hyde pe hi on foron. and hi namon mid him pæt hi hæfdun to seofon nihtum mete. and pa comon hie ymb vii niht to londe on Corn walum. and foron pa sona to Ælfrede cyninge. pus hie wæron genemnde. Dubslane and Macc bethup and Maelinmun^q. And Swifneh^r se betsta lareow pe on Scottum wæs gefor ^s.

And by ilcan geare ofer Eastron. ymbe gang dagas obbe ær. æt eowde se steorra þe mon on boc læden hæt cometa. same men cweþab on Englisc þæt hit sie feaxede steorra. forþæm þær stent lang leoma of. hwilum on ane healfe. hwilum on ælce healfe.

893. Her on þysum geare for se micla here. þe we gefyrn ymbe spræcon. eft of þæm east rice west weard to Bunnan. and þær wurdon gescipode, swa þæt hie asettan him on ænne siþ ofer mid horsum mid ealle. and þa comon up on Limene muþan mid cel hunde scipa. se muþa is on easte weardre Cent. æt þæs miclan wuda east ende þe we Andred hatað, se wudu is east lang and west lang hund twelf tiges mila lang oþþe lengra, and þritiges mila brad, seo ea þe we ær ymbe spræcon lið ut of þæm wealda. on þa ea hi tugon up hiora scipu oþþone weald, iiii mila fram þæm muþan utan weardum, and þær abræcon an ge weore, inne on þæm fæstenne sæton feawa cirlisce men on and wæs samworht.

þa sona æfter þæm com Hæsten mid lxxx scipa up on Temese muðan. and worhte him geweorc æt Middeltune. and se oþer here æt Apuldre. 892. Her for se myccla here þe we gefyrn ær ymb spræcon eft of þam east rice weast ward to Bunan. and þær wurdon ge scipode swa þ hi ásætton hi on ænne sið ofer mid horsum mid ealle. and þa comon up on Limine muðan mid þridde healf hund scipa. se muða is on east warde Cent æt þes mycclan wuda east enda þe we Andræd hatað. se wudu is west lang and east lang hund twelftig mila lang. oððe lengre. and xxx mila brad. se éa þe we ær ymb spræcon. lið ut of þam wealda. on þe éa hi túgon up heora scipa oð ðone weald iiii mila fram þam muþan utan weardum. and þær abræcon an ge weorc inne on ðam fænne³ sæton feawa cyrlisce men on, and wæs sam worht.

pa sona æfter pam com Hæsten mid lxxx scipa up inne Tæmesemupe and worhte him geweorc æt Middeltune. and seo over here æt Apuldre.

Hic obiit Wulfhere Nordanhymbrorum arceps.

3 fæstenne B. fæstene C. D. fenne T. A. F. fænne E.

Though four of the MSS. have fenne (fænne) against three that exhibit fæstenne (fæstene): yet from the context, and from the evidence of the Latin historians, there can be no doubt that the latter is the true reading. The Editors of the Mon. Hist. Brit. restored it to the text, and it may be regarded as established. Æthelwerd says: in Limneo portu constituunt puppes, Apoldre loco condicto, orientali Cantiæ parte; destruuntque ibi prisco opere castrum, propter quod rustica manus exigua quippe intrinsecus erat. Florence thus: quamdam arcem semistructam, quam pauci inhabitabant villani, diruerunt; aliamque sibi firmiorem in loco qui dicitur Apultreo, construxerunt.

n råde B. rad D. contra pedestrem exercitum Flor. This was an important battle, and by it the kingdom of Arnolph was rid of the devastators. It was fought on the river Dyle, near Louvain, Septr. 1. 891: a day long afterwards kept up in memory of the victory. Cf. Lappenberg, vol. i. p. 341.

In the next year they had to flee before the famine which their own ravages had caused, and they fell back on those western provinces which were under the sway of less doughty warriors than Arnolph. Guided by Hasting, a viking of great renown, they burst upon England like a storm,—the last which agitated the eventful life of Alfred.

The concerted invasion, and the promptness of the king to meet the foe wherever his dominion was assailed, are here told in a narrative which has all the freshness and reality of contemporary writing.

- o Yrlande F.
- P Maccheőaő B. Machbeőu C. Macbeőu D. F.
- q Maelinmuin B. Maelinmumin C. Maelmumin D. F as A.
 - r Suifne B.
- * At this point ends the first handwriting in A; and the narrative is continued in a new hand, and on a greatly enlarged scale. At the same time, E shrinks into the smallest compass: and this untoward coincidence will throw out the parallel for many pages.

894. On bys geare. bæt wæs ymb twelf monad bæs be hie on bæm east rice geweorc ge worht hæfdon. Norhhymbre and EastEngle hæfdon Ælfrede cyninge abas ge seald. and East Engle fore gisla vi and beh ofer ba treowa, swa oft swa ba obre hergas mid ealle herige ut foron, bon foron hie, obbe mid obbe on heora healfe an. þa gegaderade Ælfred cyning his fierd. and for þæt he gewicode betwuh þæm twam hergum. bær bær he niehst rymet hæfde. for wudu fæstenne ond for wæter fæstenne. swa bæt he mehte ægberne geræcan gif hie ænigne feld secan wolden. ba foron hie sibban æfter bæm wealda hlobum and flocradum, bi swa hwaberre efes swa hit bon fierdleas wæs. and him mon eac mid obrum floccum sohte mæstra daga ælce. obbe on niht, ge of bære fierde, ge eac of bæm burgum. hæfde se cyning his fierd on tu to numen. swa bæt hie wæron simle healfe æt ham, healfe ute, butan bæm monnum be ba burga healdan scolden. ne com se here oftor eall ute of bæm setum þoñ tuwwa. oþre siþe þa hie ærest to londe comon. ær sio fierd gesamnod wære. obre sibe ba hie of bæm setum faran woldon. ba hie gefengon micle here hy8. and ba woldon ferian norb weardes ofer Temese in on East Seaxe ongean þa scipu. Þa for rad sio fierd hie foran. and him wid ge feaht æt Fearnhamme, and bone here ge fliemde, and ba here hypa ahreddon, and hie flugon ofer Temese buton ælcum forda. þa up be Colne on anne iggað. besæt sio fierd hie þær utan þa hwile þe hie þær lengest mete hæfdon ac hie hæfdon þa heora stemn ge setenne. and hiora mete ge notudne. and wæs se cyng þa þider weardes on fære. mid þære scire þe mid him fierdedon. ba he ba wæs bider weardes. and sio

operu fierd wæs ham weardes, and Sa Deniscan sæton bær be hindan, forbæm hiora cyning wæs ge wundod on bæm ge feohte, bæt hi hine ne mehton ferian.

pa ge gaderedon þa þe in Norþ hymbrum bugeað. and on East Englum. sum hund scipa. and foron suð ymb utan. and sum feowertig scipa norþ ymb utan. and ymb sæton an ge weorc on Defna scire be þære norþ sæ. and þa þe suð ymb utan foron. ymb sæton Exan cester. Da se cyng þæt hierde. þa wende he hine west wið Exanceastres mid ealre þære fierde. buton swiþe ge waldenum dæle easte weardes þæs folces.

ba foron for obbe hie comon to Lundenbyrg. and þa mid þæm burg warum and þæm fultume þe him westan com, foron east to Beam fleote, was Hasten ba bær cumen mid his herge. be ær æt Middel tune sæt. and eac se micla here wæs þa þær tocumen. be ær on Limene muban sæt æt Apuldre. Hæsten ær geworht bæt geweore æt Beamfleote. and wæs þa ut afaren on hergab, and wæs se micla here æt ham. þa foron hie to and gesliemdon bone here. and bæt geweore abræcon, and ge namon eal bæt bær binnan wæs. ge on feo. ge on wifum. ge eac on bearnum. and brohton eall in to Lundenbyrig. and ba scipu eall obe to bræcon. obbe for bærndon. obbe to Lunden byrig brohton obbe to Hrofes ceastre. and Hæstenes wif. and his suna twegen mon brohte to bæm cyninge. and he hi him eft ageaf. forbæm be hiora wæs oper his godsunu. oper Æderedes ealder monnes. hæfdon hi hiora on fangen ær Hæsten to Beam fleote come. and he him hæfde ge seald gislas and agas. and se cyng him eac wel feoh sealde. and eac swa ba he bone cniht agef and bæt wif. ac sona swa hie to Bleam fleote comon. and bæt geweorc ge

worct wæs. swa hergode he his rice pone ilcan ende pe Æpered his cum pæder healdan sceolde. and eft opre sipe he wæs on hergað gelend on pæt ilce rice. papa mon his geweorc abræc.

pa se cyning hine pa west wende mid pære fierde wið Exancestres. swa ic ær sæde. and se here pa burg be seten hæfde. pa he pær to gefaren wæs. pa eodon hie to hiora scipum.

þa he þa wið þone here þær wæst abisgod wæs. and ba hergas wæron ba gegaderode begen to Sceobyrig on East Seaxum. and bær geweore worhtun. foron begen æt gædere up be Temese, and him com micel eaca to. ægþer ge of East Englum. ge of Norþ hymbrum. Foron þa up be Temese oþþæt hie gedydon æt Sæferne. þa up be Sæferne. Þa gegaderode Æþered ealdormon, and Æbelm ealdorman, and Æbelnob ealdorman, and þa cinges þegnas þe þa æt ham æt þæm ge weorcum wæron. of ælcre byrig be eastan Pedredan. ge be westan Seal wuda ge be eastan. ge eac be norban Temese. and be westan Sæfern. ge eac sum dæl bæs Nord Weal cynnes. þa hie þa ealle gegaderode wæron. þa offoron hie þone here hindan æt Butting tune. on Sæferne stabe. and hine bær utan be sæton on ælce healfe. on anum fæstenne. Þa hie 8a fela wucena sæton on twa healfe þær é. and se cyng wæs west on Defnum wip bone scip here. ba wæron hie mid metelieste gewægde, and hæfdon miclne dæl þara horsa freten. and þa oþre wæron hungre acwolen. þa eodon hie ut to væm monnum be on east healfe bære é wicodon. and him wib gefuhton. and ba Cristnan hæfdon sige. and þær weard Ordheh cyninges þegn

of slægen. and eac monige opre cyninges pegn ofslægen. and se dæl pe pær aweg com wurdon on fleame ge nerede. på hie on EastSeaxe comon to hiora ge

weorc. and to hiora scipum. þa gegaderade sio laf eft of East Englum. and of Norð hymbrum. micelne here onforan winter. and be fæston hira wif and hira scipu and hira feoh on East Englum. and foron an streces dæges and nihtes. þæt hie gedydon on anre westre ceastre on Wirhealum. seo is Lega ceaster ge haten. þa ne mehte seo fird hie na hindan of faran. ær hie wæron inne on þan ge weorce. be sæton þeah þæt geweorc utan sume twegen dagas. and genamon ceapes eall þæt þær buton wæs. and þa men ofslogon þe hie foran forridan mehton butan ge weorce. and þæt corn eall forbærndon and mid hira horsum fretton on ælcere efenehðe. and þæt wæs ymb twelf monað þæs þe hie ær hider ofer sæ comon.

895. Ond þa sona æfter þæm. on öys gere. fór se here of Wírheale in on Norö Wealas. forþæm hie öær sittan ne mehton, þæt wæs foröy þe hie wæron be numene ægöer ge þæs ceapes ge þæs cornes. öe hie ge hergod hæfdon. Þa hie öa eft ut of Norö Wealum wendon mid þære here hyöe þe hie öær genumen hæfdon. Þa foron hie ofer Norö hymbra lond and East Engla. swa swa sio fird hie geræcan ne mehte. oþþæt hie comon on East Seaxna lond easteweard. on an igland þæt is ute on þære sæ. þæt is Meresig haten.

And has ehere eft ham weard wende, he Exanceaster be seten hæfde, ha hergodon hie up on Suð Seaxum neah Cisse ceastre, and ha burg ware hie ge fliemdon, and hira monig hund ofslogon, and hira scipu sumu genamon.

Da by ylcan gere on foran winter ba Deniscan be on Meres ige sæton. tugon hira scipu úp on Temese. and ba up on Lygan. bæt wæs ymb twa ger bæs be hie hider ofer sæ comon.

896. On þy ylcan gere worhte se fore sprecena here geweore be Lygan xx mila bufan Lunden byrig.

þa þæs on sumera. foron micel dæl þara burg wara. and eacswa obres folces, bæt hie gedydon æt bara Deniscana ge weorce. and bær wurdon gesliemde. and sume feower cyninges begnas ofslægene. þa þæs on hærfæste. þa wicode se cyng on neaweste þare byrig. ba hwile be hie hira corn gerypon. bæt ba Deniscan him ne mehton bæs ripes for wiernan. ba sume dæge rad se cyng up be bære eæ. and gehawade hwær mon mehte þa éa for wyrcan. þæt hie ne mehton þa scipu ut brengan. and hie þa swa dydon, worhton da tu geweore. on twa healfe bære éas. Da hie da bæt ge weorc furbum ongunnen hæfdon, and bær to ge wicod hæfdon. þa onget se here þæt hie ne mehton þa scypu utbrengan. ba forleton hie hie. and eodon ofer land bæt hie gedydon æt Cwat brycge be Sæfern. and bær gewere worhton. Da rad seo fird west æfter bæm herige. and þa men of Lunden byrig ge fetodon þa scipu, and þa ealle þe hie álædan ne mehton tobræcon. and þa þe þær stæl wyrðe wæron binnan Lunden byrig gebrohton, and þa Deniscan hæfdon hira wif befæst innan EastEngle ær hie ut of bæm ge weorce foron. ba sæton hie bone wint' æt Cwat brycge. bæt wæs ymb preo ger bæs be hie on Limene mudan comon hider ofer sæ.

897. Da þæs on sumera on öysum gere tofor se here. sum on EastEngle. sum on Noröhymbre. And þa þe feohlease wæron him þær scipu begeton. and suð ofer sæ foron to Sigene.

Næfde se here. Godes ponces. Angel cyn ealles for swide gebrocod. ac hie wæron micle swipor gebrocede on pæm prim gearum mid ceapes cwilde and mona. ealles swipost mid pæm pæt manige para selestena cynges pena pe pær on londe wæron. ford ferdon on pæm prym gearum. para wæs sum Swidulf biscop on Hrofes ceastre. and Ceolmund ealdor mon on Cent.

and Beorhtulf ealdormon on EastSeaxum. and Wulfred ealdormon on Hamtun scire. and Ealhheard biscop æt Dorce ceastre. and Eadulf cynges þegn on Suð Seaxum. and Beornulf wie gefera on Winte ceastre. and Ecgulf cynges hors þegn. and manige eac him þeh ic ða geðungnestan nemde.

by ilcan geare drehton ba hergas on EastEnglum and on Nordhymbrum West Seaxna lond, swide be bæm suð stæðe. mid stæl hergum. ealra swiþust mid væm æscum þe hie fela geara ær timbredon. Þa het Alfred cyng timbran lang scipu ongen da æscas. þa wæron fulneah tu swa lange swa þa oðru. sume hæfdon lx ara. sume má. þa wæron ægger ge swiftran ge un wealtran, ge eac hieran bonne ba odru, næron nawder ne on Fresisc gescæpene, ne on Denisc, bute swa him selfum ouhte bæt hie nyt wyrooste beon meahten. þa æt sumum cirre þæs ilcan geares. comon bær sex scipu to Wiht, and bær mycel yfel gedydon, ægder ge on Defenum ge wel hwær be dæm sæ riman. þa het se cyng faran mid nigonum tó para niwena scipa, and for foron him bone niugan foran on uter mere. þa foron hie mid þrim scipum ut ongen hie, and breo stodon æt ufeweardum bæm mudan on drygum, wæron ba men uppe on londe of agane, þa gefengon hie þara þreora scipa tú æt 8æm mudan uteweardum, and ba men ofslogon, and bæt an od wand, on bæm wæron eac ba men ofslægene buton fifum. þa comon forðy on weg de dara oberra scipu asæton. þa wurdon eac swide un edelice aseten. breo asæton on da healfe bæs deopes de da Deniscan scipu aseten wæron. and ba ooru eall on obre healfe. bæt hira ne mehte nan to odrum. ac da bæt wæter wæs ahebbad fela furlanga from þæm scipum, þa eodan & Deniscan from bæm brim scipum to bæm odrum brim be on hira healfe beebbade wæron.

and pa pær gefuhton. pær wearð ofslægen Lucumon cynges gerefa. and Wulf heard Friesa. and Æble Friesa. and Æðelhere Friesa. and Æðel ferð cynges geneat. and ealra monna. Fresiscra and Engliscra lxii and para Deniscena cxx. pa com pæm Deniscum scipum peh ær flod to. ær pa Cristnan mehton hira ut á scufon. and hie forðy ut oð reowon. pa wæron hie to pæm gesargode. pæt hie ne mehton Suð Seaxna lond utan be rowan. ac hira pær tu sæ on lond wearp. and pa men mon lædde to Winte ceastre to pæm cynge. and he hie ðær ahon het. and pa men comon on East Engle, pe on pam ánum scipe wæron. swiðe for wundode.

Dy ilcan sumera forweard nolæs þoñ xx scipa mid monnum mid ealle. be þam suðriman.

Dy ilcan gere for ferde Wulfric cynges hors begn. se wæs eac Wealh gefera.

898. Her on þysum gere gefor Æðelm. Wiltunscire ealdormon. nigon nihtum ær middum sumere. and her forðferde Heahstan. se wæs on Lundenne biscop.

901. Her gefor Ælfred Apulfing. syx nihtum ær ealra haligra mæssan. Se wæs cyning ofer eall Ongel cyn butan & dæle þe under Dena on walde wæs. And he heold þæt rice oþrum healfum læs þe xxx wintra. And þa feng Eadweard his sunu to rice.

Da gerad Æðelwald his fædran sunu. Þone ham æt Winburnan. and æt Tweoxneam. butan ðæs cyninges leafe and his witena. Þa rad se cyning mid firde. oð he gewicode æt Baddan byrig wið Winburnan. and Æðelwald sæt binnan þæm ham mid þæm monnum þe him to gebugon. and hæfde ealle þa geatu forworht in to him. and sæde þæt he wolde oðer oððe þær libban oððe þær licgan. Þa under þæm þa be stæl he hine on niht on weg. and ge sohte þone here on Norð hymbrum. and se cyng het ridan æfter. and

901. Her ge for Ælfred cyning vii kl' Novēb'. and he heold pet rice xxviii wintra and healf gear. and pa feng Ædward his sunu rice 4.

F. 901. Her ge fordferde Ælfred cing. vii id' Noūb'. and he heold be rice xxviii wintra and healf gear. and de feng Eadward his sunu to rice. Rex Ælfred' ob' & fili' ei' Edward' suscep' regnū. Ælfred' regnaū xxviii annis.

D. 901. Her gefor Ælfred cyning vii k' Nouembris and heold bone rice xxviii wintra and healf gear. And ba feng Eadweard his sunu to rice.

And þa [gerad] Æþelwold æðeling his fæderan sunu þone ham æt Win burnan. and æt Tweoxnám þæs cynges unþances and his witena. Þa rad se cyning mid fyrde. oð he gewicode æt Baddan byrig wið Win burnan. and Aþelwold sæt binnan þam hame mid þam monnum þe him to gebugon. and he hæfde ealle þa gatu forworhte into him. and sæde þ he wolde oþþe ðær libban oð þær licgean. þa under þam þa rad se æþeling on niht aweg and ge sohte þone here on Norð hymbrum. and hi hine under fengon him to cyninge and him

4 Famosus bellicosus victoriosus, viduarum pupillorum orphanorum pauperumque provisor studiosus, poetarum Saxonicorum peritissimus, suæ genti carissimus, affabilis omnibus, liberalissimus; prudentia fortitudine justitia temperantia præditus; infirmitate qua assidue laborabat patientissimus, in exequendis judiciis indagator discretissimus, in servitio Dei vigilantissimus et devotissimus, Angul Saxonum rex ÆLFREDUS, piissimi regis Athulfi filius, xxix annis, sexque mensibus regni sui peractis, indictione quarta, mortem obiit, feria quarta, v kal' Novembris [28 Oct.], et Wintoniæ in Novo Monasterio sepultus, beatæ immortalitatis stolam, et resurrectionis gloriam cum justis expectat. Huic filius successit EADWARDUS, cognomento Senior, litterarum cultu patre inferior, sed dignitate potentia pariter, et gloria superior; nam, ut in sequentibus clarebit, multo latius quam pater fines regni sui dilatavit, siquidem civitates et urbes multas ædificavit, nonnullas vero de-

structas reædificavit; totam EastSaxoniam, East Angliam, Northhymbriam, pluresque etiam Merciæ provincias, quas Dani multo possederant tempore, manibus illorum extorsit; Merciam, post obitum suæ germanæ Ægelfledæ, totam obtinuit et possedit; Scottorum. Cumbrorum, Streatgledwalorum, omnesque Occidentalium Britonum reges in deditionem accepit; reges et duces ab eo, prœlio victi, cæsique quamplurimi. Ex muliere nobilissima Ecgwyna filium suum primogenitum ÆTHEL-STANUM, ex regina autem sua Eadgiva filios tres Eadwinum, Eadmundum, Eadredum, filiamque, Deo devotissimam virginem, Eadburgam, tresque insuper habuit filias; quarum unam Otto, Romanorum imperator octogesimus nonus, alteram vero in conjugem habuit rex Occidentalium Francorum Karolus; cujus amitam, Karoli scilicet imperatoris filiam, uxorem duxit rex Occidentalium Saxonum Athulfus; tertiam autem filiam in uxorem habuit rex Northanhymbrorum Sihtricus. (Flor.) pa ne mehte hine mon of ridan. Þa berad mon þæt wif þæt he hæfde ær genumen butan cynges leafe and ofer þara biscopa gebod. forðon ðe heo wæs ær to nunnan gehalgod.

And on bys ilcan gere for ferde Æpered. wæs on Defenum ealdormon. feower wucum ær Ælfred cyning.

903. Her gefor Apulf ealdormon. Ealhswide brodor. and Uirgilius abbud of Scottum. and Grimbald mæsse preost. viii idus Iulii.

904. Her com Æ\delwald hider ofer s\vec{\pi} mid \pi \vec{\pi} m flotan \pi e he mid w\vec{\pi} s on EastSexe.

905. Her aspon Ædelwald bone here on East Englum to un fride, bæt hie hergodon ofer Mercna land of hie comon to Crecca gelade, and foron bær ofer Temese, and namon ægder ge on Bradene ge vær ymb utan eall bæt hie ge hentan mehton. and wendan da eft ham weard. ha for Ead weard cyning æfter, swa he rayost mehte his fird gegadrian, and oferhergade eall hira land betwuh dicum and Wusan. eall od da fennas nord. Þa he da eft þonan ut faran wolde. ba het he beodan ofer ealle ba fird bæt hie foron ealle ut æt somne. þa æt sæton da Centiscan bær beæftan ofer his bebod. and seofon ærend racan he him hæfde to asend. ba befor se here hie der. and hie vær gefuhton. and þær weard Sigulf ealdor mon ofslægen. and Sigelm ealdormon. and Eadwold cynges Segen. and Cenulf abbod. and Sigebreht Sigulfes sunu. and Eadwald Accan sunu. and monige eac him. beh ic da ge dungnestan nemde. Sara Deniscena healfe weard ofslægen Eohric hira cyng. and Ædelwald ædeling. de hine to bæm unfride ge spon. and Byrht sige Beornoves sunu ævelinges. and Ysopa hold. and Oscytel hold. and swide monige eac him. be we nu genemnan ne magon. And bær

wæs on gehwæðre hond micel wæl ge slægen. and þara Denescena þær wearð má ofslægen. þeh hie wæl stowe ge wald ahton.

And Ealh swid gefor by ilcan geare.

(F) 903. Her for ferde Grībaldi þes sac' and þys ylcan geares was ge halgod Niwe mynster on Wincest'. and S' Iudoces cyme. Ob' S' Grībaldi sac'. & aduent' S' Iudoci. & dedicat' Noui Monast' Went'.



(D) to bugon. Þa berad man þ wif þet he hæfde ær genumen butan þæs cynges leafan and ofer þæra biscopa gebodu forþam heo wæs ær to nunnan gehalgod.

And on bys ilcan geare for ferde Æbered wæs on Defenum ealdor man. iiii wucan ær Ælfred cyning.

903. Her gefor Apulf ealdorman. Ealh swyee broeor. Eadweardes moder cynges, and Uirgilius abbud of Scottum, and Grimbald mæsse preost.

904. Her com Aöelwold hider ofer sæ mid eallum þam flotan þe he begitan mihte and him to gebogen wæs on East Seaxe.

905. Her cometa æteowde xiii k' Nouembris.

Her gelædde Abelwold bone here on East Englum to unfride. \$ hi gehergodon ofer eall Myrcna land of hi comon to Creoccgelade. and foron bær ofer Temese and namon ægber on Brædene ge bær on buton. eall \$\bar{p}\$ hi gehentan meahton. and wendon \$\bar{p}\$a east ham weard. pa for Eadweard cyning æfter swa he raðost mihte his fyrd gegaderian. and ofer hergode eall hyra land betweeh dicum and Wusan eall oð fennas norð. Þa he eft þanon faran wolde. þa het heo beodon ofer ealle þa fyrd. B hi foron ealle ut æt somne. Da æt sæton þa Centiscan bær beæftan ofer his bebod, and vii ærendracan he him hæfde to asend. Da befor se here hi bær, and hi dær gefuhton, and bær [wear8] Siulf ealdorman ofslægen. and Sihelm ealdorman. and Eadwold cynges beng. and Kenulf abb'. and Sigebryht Siulfes sunu. and Eadwold Accan sunu. and manige eac to him. beah ic ba ge bungenestan nemde. And on bæra Deniscena healfe wæs ofslægen Eoric cyning, and Adelwold æbeling be hi him to cyninge gecurum. and Beorht sige Beorht no es sunu æbelinges. and Ysopo hold. and Os kytel hold. and swide mænige eac mid him. be we nu genemnan nemagon. And bær wæs on gehwædere hand mycel wæl geslægen. and bæra Deniscna wearð ma ofslægen. þeah hi wæl stowe ge weald ahton. And Ealhswid gefor by ilcan geare.

906. Her on bys geare gefor Ælfred wæs æt Baðum gerefa. And on bæm ilcan gere mon fæstnode bone frið æt Yttinga forda. swa swa Eadweard cyng gerædde. ægðer wið EastEngle ge wið Norð hymbre.

908. Her gefor Denulf. se wæs on Winte ceastre biscop.

910. Her feng Fridestan to biscop dome on Winte ceastre. and Asser biscop gefor æfter dæm. se wæs æt Scire burnan biscop.

And by ilcan gere sende Eadweard cyng firde ægðer ge of West Seaxum ge of Mercum. and heo gehergade swiðe micel on þæm norð here. ægðer ge on mannum ge on gehwelces cynnes yrfe. and manega men ofslogon þara Deniscena. and þær wæron fif wucan inne.

911. Her bræc se here on Norð hymbrum þone frið. and forsawon ælc frið þe Eadweard cyng and his witan him budon. and hergodon ofer Mercna lond. and se cyng hæfde gegadrod sum hund scipa. and wæs þa on Cent. and þa scipu foran be suðan east andlang sæ togenes him. þa wende se here þæt his fultumes se mæsta dæl wære on þæm scipum. and þæt hie mehten faran un be fohtene þær þær hie wolden. þa ge ascade se cyng þæt þæt hie ut on hergað foron. þa sende he his fird ægðer ge of West Seaxum ge of Mercum. and hie offoron ðone here hindan. þa he hamweard wæs. and him þa wið gefuhton and þone here gefliemdon. and his fela þusenda ofslogon. and þær wæs Ecwils cyng ofslægen.

912. Her ge for Æðered ealdormon on Mercum. and Eadweard cyng feng to Lundenbyrg and to Oxna forda. and to ðæm landum eallum þe þær to hierdon.

913. Her on þys geare ymb Martines mæssan. het Eadweard cyning atymbran þa norðran burg æt



906. Her ge festnode Eadward cyng for neode frið ægðer

ge wið East Engla here. ge wið Norðhymbre.

910. Her Engle here and Dene gefuhton æt Teotan heale. And Æbered Myrcena ealdor for offerde, and Eadward cyng feng to Lunden byrig. and to Oxnaforda, and to ealle bam landum be bær to gebyredon. And mycel sciphere hider com suban of Lidwicum, and hergedon swide be Sefærn, ac hi bær mæst ealle siððan forforon.

909. Her gefor Denulf b' of Winceast'. Denulf' eps Wentan' ob'. (F) 910. Asser b' of Scirb' ob'. Her Eadward cing feng to Lundenb'i and to successor Oxanaforda and to eallū &ā landon þe &arto hyrdon. Hic rex Eaduuard' suscep' Lundoniā & Oxanaford & oms trās q'illis adjacent. Fridestan' suscep' ep'atū Wentoniensē.

(D) 906. Her wæs see Oswaldes lichoma alæded of Beardanigge. Her on bysson geare Ælfred gefor. wæs æt Baðumtune gerefa. And on þam ylcan geare man gefæstnode þone frið æt Ytingaforda. swa swa Eadward cyning gerædde. ægþær ge wið East Ænglum ge wið Nord hymbræ.

909. Her Myrce and West Seaxe gefuhton wid bone here neh Teotan heale. on viii idus Agustus. and sige hæfdon and by ilcan geare Æbelflæd getimbrode Bremes burh. Her gefór Denewulf se

wæs on Wintan ceastre b'.

910. Her feng Fristan to biscop dome on Winta ceastre. and

Asser gefor æfter þam, se wæs æt Scireburnan biscop.

And by ilcan geare sende Eadweard cyning fyrde ægber ge of West Seaxum ge of Myrcum. and he gehergode swyde mycel on bam nord here. ægbær ge on mannum ge on hwylcum yrfe. and manege men ofslogon bæra Dæniscra. and bær wæron v wucan inne.

Her Ængle and Dene gefuhton æt Totan heale. And Æbelred Myrcna ealdor foro ferde, and Eadward cyning feng to Lunden byrig. and to Oxnaforda, and to eallum pam landum be pær to hyrdon. And mycel scip here hider com suðan of Lidwicum. and hergodon swyde

be Sæfern, ac hi þær mæst ealle syþþan for foran.

911. Her bræc sehere bone frið on Norðhymbrum. and forsawon ælc riht be Eadweard cyning and his witan him budon, and hergodon ofer Myrc land. And se cyning hæfde gegaderod sum hund scipa. and wæs þa on Cent. and þa scipu foron be suðan east andlang sæ togeanes him. Da wende se here his fultum wære se mæsta dæl on þam scipum. and þæt hi mihton un be fohtene faran þær þær hi woldon. Pa ge ahsode se cyning bæt bæt hi on hergead foron. ba sende he his fyrd æg er ge of West Seaxum ge of Myrcum. and hy of foron bone here hindan, ba he ham weard wæs, and him wid ba gefuhton. and bone here geflymdon. and his feola of slogen. and bær wæs Eowilisc cyng ofslægen, and Healden cyng, and Ohter eorl, and Scurfa eorl. and Apulf hold. and Agmund hold.

912. Her gefor Æbelred ealdorman on Myrcum. and Eadweard cyning feng to Lunden byrig and to Oxnaforda. and to eallum bam

landum be bær to hyrdon.

913. Her Æbelfled getimbrode Tameweorde. and eac Stafforda

Heorotforda. betweox Memeran and Beneficcan and Lygean*.

And þa æfter þam þæs on sumera. be tweox gang dagum and middum sumera. þa fór Eadweard cyning mid sumum his fultume on East Seaxe to Mældune. and wicode þær þa hwile þe man þa burg worhte and ge timbrede æt Witham. and him beag god dæl þæs folces tó þe ær under Deniscra manna anwalde wæron. and sum his fultum worhte þa burg þa hwile æt Heorot forda on suþ healfe Lygean.

917. Her on bys gere rad se here ût ofer Eastron of Hamtune and of Ligera ceastre. and bræcon bone frib. and slogon monige men æt Hoc nera tune. and bær onbutan. and ba swiðe rabe æfter bæm. swa ba obre ham comon. ba fundon hie obre floc rade. bæt rad út wið Lygtunes. and ba wurdon ba land leode his ware and him wib gefuhton. and gebrohton hie on fullum fleame. and a hreddon eall bæt hie ge numen hæfdon. and eac hira horsa and hira wæpna micelne dæl.

918. Her on þysum geare com micel sciphere hider ofer suþan of Lid wiccum. and twegen eorlas mid. Ohtor and Hroald. and foron west onbutan þæt hie gedydon innan Sæferne muþan. and hergodon on NorþWealas æghwær be þam sæ. þær hie þonne on hagode. and ge fengon Cameleac biscop on Ircinga felda. and læddon hine mid him to scipum. and þa aliesde Eadweard cyning hine eft mid xl pundum. þa æfter þam for se here eall up. and wolde faran þa giet on hergaþ wið Ircinga feldes. þa gemetton þa men hie of Here forda and of Gleaweceastrey. and of þam niehstum burgum. and him wið ge fuhton and hie ge fliemdon. and of slogon þone eorl Hroald and þæs oþres eorles broþor Ohteres. and micel þæs heres. and be drifon hie on anne pearruc. and be sæton hie

918. Her Æðelflæd forðferde Myrcena hlæfdige 5.

(D) burh. Her on þyssum geáre ymbe Martines mæssan het Eadward cyning atimbrian þa norŏan burh æt Heort forda. be tweoh Mæran and Beneficean and Ligean.

And þa æfter þam þæs on sumera. betwux gang dagum and middan sumera for Eadweard cyning mid sumum his fultume on East Seaxe to Mældune. and wicode þær þa hwile þe man þa burh worhte and ge trymode æt Witan ham. and him beah god dæl þæs folces to þe ær under Dæniscra manna anwealde wæron. and sum his fultum worhte þa burh æt Heortforda on suðhealfe Lygean.

914. Her on gere råd se here ut ofer Eastron of Ham tune and of Ligere ceastre. and bræcon þonne frið and slogon manegan mæn æt Hoccenere tune. and þær abuton. And þa hwile swyðe raðe æfter þam. swa oþre ham comon. þa fundon hi oðre floc rade þ råd út wið Ligtunes. and þa wurdon þa land leode his gewær and him wið ge fuhton. and ge brohton hi on fullan fleame. and a hræddon eall þ hi ge numen hæfdon. and eac heora horsa and heora wæpna mycelne dæl.

915. Her on þison geare wæs Wærinc wic getimbrod, and com mycel scip here hider ofer suðan, of Lioðwicum, and ii eorlas, mid Ohter and mid Hraold, and foron þa west abuton þ hi gedyde innon Sæfern muðan, and hergodon on NorðWealas æghwær be þam staðum þær hi þonne on hagode, and ge fengon Camelgeeac bisceop on Iercinga felda, and læddon hine mid him to scipe, and þa alysde Eadweard cyning hine eft mid xl pundum. Þa æfter þam þa for se here eall úp, and wolde faran þa git on hergeað wið Iercinga feldes. Þa gemytton hy of Here forda and of Gleawe ceastre and of þam nyxtan burgum, and him wið ge fuhton and hi ge flymdon, and of slogon þane eorl Hraold, and þæs oþres eorles broþor Ohteres, and mycel þæs heres, and be drifon hi on anne pearroc, and be sæton hi

x This and the notice of Hertford a few lines lower describe the site of that town as it is at this day. Part of it is north of the Lea, between the points of its junction with the Maran and the Beane. The south part of the town is

on the opposite bank of the Lea, and there stands Hertford Castle.

y "There came against them the men of Hereford and of Gloucester."

⁵ See below, pp. 108, 109.

bær utan. a obbe hie him sealdon gislas. bæt hie of Eadweardes cyninges andwalde afaran woldon. And se cyng hæfde fundenb þæt him mon sæt wið. on suþ healfe Sæfern muban. westan from Wealum. east ob Afene muban, bæt hie ne dorston bæt land nawer ge secan on þa healfe. Þa bestælon hie hie þeah nihtes upp æt sumum twam cirron. æt obrum cierre be eastan Wæced. and æt obrum cierre æt Port locan. þa slog hie mon æt ægþrum cirre. þæt hira feawa on weg comon. buton þa ane þe þær út ætswummon to bam scipum. and ba sæton hie ute on bam iglande æt Bradan Relice. ob bone first be hie wurdon swibe mete lease, and monige men hungre a cwælon, forbon hie ne meahton nanne mete ge ræcan. foran þa bonan to Deomodum. and ba út to Irlande. and bis wæs on hærfest.

And þa æfter þam on þam ilcan gere foran to Martines mæssan. Sa fór Eadweard cyning to Buccinga hamme mid his firde. and sæt þær feower wucan. and geworhte þa burga buta on ægþere healfe eas ær he þonon fore. and þurcytel eorl hine ge sohte him to hlaforde. and þa holdas ealle. and þa ieldestan men ealle mæste. Se to Bedanforda hierdon. and eac monige þara þe to Hamtune hierdon.

919. Her on þys gere Eadweard cyng fór mid fierde to Bedan forda, foran to Martines mæssan, and be get þa burg, and him cirdon to mæst ealle þa burg ware þe hie ær budon, and he sæt þær feower wucan, and het atimbran þa burg on suþ healfe þære eas, ær he þonan fore.

920. Her on bys gere foran to middum sumera. for Eadweard cyning to Mældune, and getimbrede baburg and gestavolode ær he bonon fore.

And by ilcan geare for pur cytel eorl ofer sæ on Froncland. mid pam mannum pe him gelæstan woldon. mid Eadweardes cynges fripe and fultume.

921. Her on bysum gere foran to Eastron. Ead

921. Her Sihtric cyng ofsloh Niel his brobor.

- (F) 921. Her Sihtric cing of sloh Niel his brober. Rex Sihtric' occidit frem suum Niellu.
- (D) þær utan oð hi him sealdon gislas. þæt hi of þæs cynges anwealde faran woldon. And se cyng hæfde funden þ him mon sæt wið. on suð healfe Sæfern muþan westan fram Wealum. east oþ Afene muþan. þæt hi ne dorstan þæt land nawær on þa healfe ge secean. Þa be stælan hi þeah nihtes úp æt sumum twam cyrrum. æt oþrum cyrre be eastan Weced. æt oþrum cyrre æt Por locan. Þa sloh hi mon æt ægþerum cyrre. Þ hyra feawa on weg comon buton þa ane

þær ut o's swymman mihton to þam scipum. And þa sæton hi ute on þam iglande æt Steapan Reolice o's þone fyrst þe hi wurdon swyþe metelease, and manege men hungre acwælon, forbon hi ne meahton nænne mete geræcan, foron þa þanon to Deomedum, and þanon to Yrlande, and þis wæs on hærfest,

And þa æfter þam on þam ilcan geare foran to Martines mæssan. þa for Eadweard cyning to Buccinga hámme mid his fyrde. and sæt þær feower wucan. and geworhte þa byrig buta on ægþær healfe eás ær he þanon fore. And Þurcytel eorl hine ge sohte him to hlaforde. and þa eorlas ealle. and þa yldestan mæn þe to Beda forda hyrdon. and eac mænige þæra þe to Hamtune hyrdon.

917. Her Æþelflæd Myrcna hlæfdige Gode fultumiendum foran to hlam mæssan begeat þa burh mid eallum þam þe þær to hyrde. Þe is gehaten Deoraby. Þær wæron eac ofslægene hyre þægna feower þe hire besorge wæron binnan þam gatan.

918. Her heo begeat on hyre geweald mid Godes fultume on foreweardne gear þa burh æt Ligran ceastre. and se mæsta dæl þæs herges þe þær to hyrde wearð hyre under þeod. and hæfdon eác Eofor wicyngas hyre gehaten. and sume on wedde geseald sume mid aþum gefæstnod þ hi on hire rædinge beon woldon.

opposing their landing on the south coast of the æstuary of the Severn; from Cornwall westward, to the mouth of the Avon eastward."

a part B. of C.D. B is fond of part = until, insomuch that, where of is more usual: cf. 937.

b "And the king had arranged for

(A.D.921) weard cyning het ge faran þa burg æt Tofe ceastre. and hie ge timbran. And þa eft æfter þam. on þam ilcan geare to gang dagum. he het atimbran þa burg æt Wiginga mere.

by ilcan sumera betwix hlafmæssan and middum sumera, se here bræc þone friþ of Ham tune and of Ligera ceastre and þonan norþan, and foron to Tofe ceastre, and fuhton on þa burg ealne dæg, and þohton þæt hie sceoldon abrecan. Ac hie þeah awerede þæt folc þe þær binnan wæs oþ him mara fultum tó com, and hie for leton þa þa burg and foron aweg. And þa eft swiðe raþe æfter þam, hie foron eft út mid stæl herge nihtes, and comon on ún ge arwe men, and genomon út lytel, ægþer ge on mannum ge on ierfe, betweox Byrne wuda and Ægles byrig.

by ilcan sibe for se here of Huntandune. and of East Englum. and worhton bæt geweore æt Tæmese forda. and hit budon. and bytledon. and for leton bæt ober æt Huntandune. and bohton bæt hie sceoldon banon of mid gewinne and mid un friðe eft bæs landes mare geræcan. And foran bæt hie gedydon æt Bedan forda. and þa foran þa men út ongean þe bær binnan wæron. and him wib ge fuhton and hie ge fliemdon and hira godne dæl of slogon.

pa eft æfter þam þagiet gegadorode micel here hine of EastEnglum and of Mercna lande, and foran to þære byrig æt Wiginga mere, and ymb sæton hie utan, and fuhton lange on dæg on, and namon þone ceap on butan. And þa men aweredon þeah þa burg þe þær binnan wæron, and þa forleton hie þa burg and foron aweg.

pa æfter þam þæs ilcan sumeres gegadorode micel folc hit on Eadweardes cynges anwalde. of þam niehstum burgum. þe hit ða gefaran mehte. and foron to Tæmese forda. and besæton ða burg. and fuhton þær on o'd hi hie abræcon. and of slogon bone cyning and (A.D.921) Toglos eorl and Mannan eorl his sunu and his brobor. and ealle ba be bær binnan wæron and hie
wergan woldon. and namon ba obre and eal bæt bær
binnan wæs.

pa æfter þam þæs for hraþe gegadorode micel folc hit on hærfest. ægþer ge of Cent ge of Suþrigum ge of East Seaxum ge æghwonan of þam nihstum burgum. and foron to Colne ceastre and ymb sæton þa burg. and þær on fuhton oþ hie þa ge eodon. and þæt folc eall of slogon. and ge namon eal þæt þær binnan wæs. buton þam mannum þe þær oþ flugon ofer þone weall.

pa æfter þam þa giet þæs ilcan hærfestes gegadorode micel here hine of EastEnglum. ægþer ge þæs
landheres ge þara wicinga þe hie him to fultume
aspanen hæfdon. and þohton þæt hie sceoldon ge
wrecan hira teonan. and foron to Mældune. and
ymb sæton þa burg. and fuhton þær on. oþ þam burg
warum com mara fultum tó utan to helpe. and forlet
se here þa burg and for fram. and þa foron þa men
æfter út of þære byrig. and eac þa þe him utan comon
to fultume. and gefliemdon þone here and of slogon
hira monig hund. ægþer ge æsc manna ge oþerra.

pa þæs for hraþe þæs ilcan hærfestes for Eadweard cyning mid WestSexna fierde to Passan hamme, and sæt þær þa hwile þe mon worhte þa burg æt Tofe ceastre mid stan wealle. and him cirde to þurferþ eorl and þa holdas and eal se here þe to Ham tune hierde. norþ oþ Weolud. and sohton hine him to hlaforde and to mund boran.

And ha se fird stemn for ham ha for oher ut and ge for ha burg æt Huntan dune, and hie ge bette and ge edneowade hær heo ær to brocen wæs, be Ead weardes cyninges hæse, and hæt folc eal hæt hær to

lafe wæs þara landleoda. beag to Eadwearde cyninge and sohton his frib and his mund byrde.

pa giet æfter þam þæs ilcan geres foran to Martines mæssan. fór Eadweard cyning mid West Sexna fierde to Colneceastre c. and ge bette þa burg and ge edneowade þær heo ær to brocen wæs. and him cirde micel folc tó. ægþer ge on East Englum ge on East Seaxum. þe ær under Dena an walde wæs. and eal se here on East Englum him swor annesse. þæt hie eal þæt woldon þæt he wolde. and eall þæt friþian woldon þæt se cyng friþian wolde. ægþer ge on sæ ge on lande. and se here þe to Grantan brycge hierde. hine ge ces synderlice him to hlaforde and to mund boran. and þæt fæstnodon mid aþum. swa swa he hit þa aréd.

922. Her on Sysum gere betweox gangdagum and middan sumera. for Eadweard cyng mid firde to Stean forda. and het gewyrcan Sa burg on su's healfe Sære eas. and Sæt folc eal Se to Sære norþerran byrig hierde. him beah tó. and sohtan him hine to hlaforde.

And þa on þæm setle & he þær sæt. þa ge for Æþelflæd his swystar æt Tame worþiged xii nihtum ær middum sumera. And þa gerad he þa burg æt Tame worþige. and him cierde to eall se þeod scype on Myrcna lande, þe Æþelflæde ær under þeoded wæs. and þa cyningas on NorþWealum. Howel and Cledauc and Ieoþwel. and eall NorþWeall cyn hine sohton him to hlaforde.

pa for he ponan to Snotingaham and ge for pa burg. and het hie ge betan and ge settan. ægper ge mid Engliscum mannum ge mid Deniscum.

And him cierde eall bæt folc to be on Merchalande geseten wæs. ægber ge Denisc ge Englisce.

923. Her on bysum geare for Eadweard cyning

923. Her Regnold cyng gewan Eoferwic.

- (F) 923. Her Regnold cing gewann Euorwic. Rex Regnold' deuicit Eboraca.
- (D) Ac swyse hrædlice þæs þe hi þus geworden hæfde heo gefor. xii nihtum (pridie 10' 1UN11) ær middan sumera. binnan Tamweorse þy eahtosan geare þæs þe heo Myrcna anweald mid rihte hlaford dome healdende wæs. and hire lic lið binnan Glewe ceastre innan þam east portice sce Petres cyrcean.
 - 919. Her eac weard Æbelredes dohter Myrcna hlafordes ælces anwealdes on Myrcum benumen, and on WestSeaxe alæded. þrym wucum ær middan wintre, se wæs haten Ælfwyn.
 - 921. Her Eadweard cyning getimbrode þa burh æt Cledemuþan.
 - 923. Her Regnold cyning gewan Eoforwic.

c At Colchester, Edward "repaired and restored the fortress wheresoever it had a breach." No mention of new constructions as elsewhere (gewyrcan ane burg), for the fortifications date from Roman times. It seems to be established now that Colchester is the R. Colony of Camulodunum (Tac. An. xiv. 31), which was surprised and stormed by the infuriated Boadicea, A. D. 61. See "The Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain" by Maj. Gen. Roy, p. 187, and "Colchester Castle" by Rev. H. Jenkins. Quarterly Review, No. 193.

The walls, of which particular mention is made on the previous page, form a parallelogram, longer on the north and south sides; measuring about 1²/₄ m. round. According to Maj. Gen. Roy, they are based on a Roman vallum, and the whole position is such as the Romans would choose—a commanding point of land, formed by the Colne on one side and a ravine on the other.

Such being the strength of the place, it was a spirited act of the men of Kent, Surrey, and Essex to dislodge the Danes, and recover a stronghold of so much importance. In this we

see the good effect of the king's vigorous conduct upon the temper and resolution of his people.

d Æthelflæd, the Lady of Mercia, died at Tamworth, which seems (from the language of some Charters) to have been the Residence of the kings of Mercia.

Æthelflæd had governed with more than feminine energy; she had humbled the Welsh, and fortified her territory against the Danes. The Latin Chroniclers make a point of giving her masculine titles, as Henry of Huntingdon says: Hæc igitur domina tantæ potentiæ fertur fuisse, ut a quibusdam non solum domina vel regina, sed etiam Rex vocaretur ad laudem et excellentiam mirificationis sui, &c. So D. has, mid rihte hlaford dome.

Holinshed styles her "the martial ladie and manlie Elfleda." Speed calls her "another Zenobia."

On the death of his sister, Eadweard occupied Mercia, and united it finally with Wessex. A line drawn from the mouth of the Mersey to that of the Welland, with a free outward curve, would now describe the Saxon frontier towards the Briton and the Dane.

mid fierde on ufan hærfest to belwæle. and het ge wyrcan ba burg and ge settan and ge mannian. and het obre fierd. eac of Miercna beode. ba hwile be he bær sæt. ge faran Mame ceaster on Norb hymbrum. and hie ge betan and ge mannian. Her forb ferde Plegemund arcebisceop.

- 924. Her on þysum gere foran to middum sumera. fór Eadweard cyning mid fierde to Snotinga ham, and het ge wyrcan þa burg on suþ healfe þære eas, ongean þa oþre, and þa brycge ofer Treontan be twix þam twam burgum, and fór þa þonan on Peaclond to Badecan wiellon, and het ge wyrcan ane burg þær on neaweste, and ge mannian, and hine ge ces þa to fæder and to hlaforde Scotta cyning and eall Scotta þeod, and Regnald and Eadulfes suna and ealle þa þe on Norþ hymbrum bugeaþ, ægþer ge Englisce ge Denisce ge Norþ men ge oþre, and eac Stræcled Weala cyning and ealle Stræcled Wealas.
- 925. Her Eadweard cing for pferde. and Æpelstan his sunu feng to rice. And See Dunstan weard akænned. and Wulfelm feng to pan arcebiscoprice on Cantuare byri.
- 931. Her mon hadode Byrnstan bisceop to Wintan ceastre iiii kl' Iunii. and he heold þridde healf gear bis'dom.
 - 932. Her forb ferde Frybe stan bisceop.
- 933. Her for Æþelstan cyning in on Scotland. ægþer ge mid land here ge mid scyp here. and his micel oferhergade. And Byrnstan bisp forþferde ón Wintan ceastre, to Omnium Scorum.
 - 934. Her feng Ælfheah bisp. to bisceopdome.

924. [Her Ædward cyning forðferde. and Æþelstan his sunu feng to rice.]

925. Her Wulfelm biscop wes ge halgod. and by ilcan geare Ædward cyning forðferde.

927. Her Æþelstan cyning fordraf Guðfrið cyng. and her Wulfelm arch' for to Rom.

928. Will'm suscepit regnum. et xv annis regnavit.

933. Her adranc Ædwine æðeling on sæ.

934. Her for Æpelstan cyning on Scotland. ge mid land here. ge mid sciphere. and his mycel ofer hergode.

(F) 924. Her wear Eadward cing gecoren to fædere and to hlauorde of Scotta cinge and of Scotton, and Regnolde cinge and of eallū Noröhūbrū, and eac Streaclede Wæla cinge, and of eallon Streclæd Wealan. Hic Eduuard' fili' Alfredi elect' e' a rege Scotie & ab ōmib' Scottis in patrē & dām, & a Regnoldo rege & a cunctis de Norö hūbra. & a Streclæde rege Uualor' & a pop'lo ei'.

925. Her Eadward cing forþferde. and Æðestan his sunu feng to rice. and Wulfelm wearþ gehadod to arb' to Cant' and S' Dunstanus was geboren. Hic ob' Eaduuard' rex fili' Alfredi reg' & Æðestan suscep' regnū & Wlfelm' ordinat'

e' ad ar'ep'atū Cantie

& beatus Dunstanus natus e'.

927. Her Æðestan cing fordraf Guþfrið cing and her Wulfelm arb' ferde to Rome. Rex Æðestan' pepulit Guthfridū regē. & Wlfelm' ar' ēps perrex' Rome p' pallio.

928. Willelmus feng to Normandi. and heald xv gear. Willelm'sucep' Nor-

manniā regendā et xv annis tenuit.

931. Her forðferde Friðestan b'Wentanus, and Byrnstanus wearð gebletsod on his loh. Friðestan' ēps Wyntoniensis ob', et Byrnstan' ordinat' loco ei'.

934. Her for Æðestan cing to Scotlande mid land here ge mid sciphere and his mycel ouer hergode. Rex Æðestan' vadit in Scotiā cum magno &c. 935. Her feng Ælfeah to b' stole on Winc. Ælfheg' suscep' pontificatū W...

(D) 924. Her Eadweard cyning gefor on Myrcum æt Farndune. and Ælfweard his sunu swyþe hraðe þæs gefor ymbe xvi dagas æt Oxanforda. and hyra lic lið æt Wintanceastre. and Æþelstan wæs gecoren to cynge of Myrcum. and æt Cyngestune gehalgod. and he geaf his sweostor Offæ EaldSeaxna cynges suna.

925. Her Æbelstan cyning and Sihtric Nore hymbra cyng heo gesamnodon æt Tame weorebige. iii k' Februarius. and Æbelstan his

sweostor him forgeaf.

926. Her o'eowdon fyrena leoman on nor'dæle þære lyfte. and Sihtric acwæl. and Æþelstan cyning feng to Nor'd hymbra rice. and ealle þa cyngas þe on þyssum iglande wæron he gewylde. ærest Huwal West Wala cyning. and Cosstantin Scotta cyning. and Uwen Wenta cyning. and Ealdred Ealdulfing from Bebban byrig. and mid wedde and mid aþum fryþ gefæstnodon. on þære stowe þe genemned is æt Ea motum. on iiii idus Iulii. and ælc deofol geld to cwædon. and syþþam mid sibbe to cyrdon.

934. Her for Æbelstan cyning on Scotland mid here ge mid

sciphere. and his mycel ofer hergode.

937. Her Æbelstan cyning eorla dryhten beorna beah gifa · and his brobor eac · Eadmund æbeling. ealdorlangne tír · geslogon æt sæccea · sweorda écgum · ymbe Brunan burh. Bord weal clufan. heowan heabolinde · hamora lafan b · cafaran Eadweardes. swa him geæbele wæs from cneo mægum · † hi æt campe oft · wib labra gehwæne · land ealgodon d · hord and hamas. Hettend crungun . Sceotta leodae · and scip flotan · fæge feollan. feld dænnedef. sécgas hwateg · siðþan sunne úp · on morgentid · mære tungol · glad ofer grundas · Godes condel beorht · eces Drihtnes · hoo sio æbele gesceaft · sah to setle. pær læg secg mænig. garum agetedi · guma norberna · ofer scild scoten. swilce Scittisc eac. werig wîgesk sæd. WesSeaxe for8. ondlongne dæg · eorod cistum1 · on last legdun · labum beodum. heowan here fleman " hindan bearle . Myrce ne wyrndon · mecum mylen scearpanⁿ. °he eardes hond plegan · hæleþa nanum · . pbæ mid Anlafe · ofer æra geblandq · on lides bosme · land gesohtun · fæge to gefeohte. Fife lægun · on bam campstede · cyninges giunges · sweordum aswefede. swilce seofene eac · eorlas Anlafes. unrim herigest. þær geflemed wearð flotan and Sceotta. Nor8 manna breguu · nede gebededx · to lides stefne · litle weorode ·

937. Her Æðelstan cyning lædde fyrde to Brunan byrig.

(F) 937. Her Ædestan cing and Eadmund his broder lædde fyrde to Brunan byri. and þar gefeht wið Anelaf. and Xpe fultumegende sige hæfde. Hic factū e' illud magnū & famosū bellū in Brunanbyri &c.

- a geslogan æt sake B. geslohgon æt secce A.
 - b heowan headolinda hamera lafum D.
 - c eaforan B. aforan C. eoforan D.
 - d gealgodon D.
 - e crungon Scotta leode B. C. D.
- f dennade B. C. dennode D. dyn-
- g secga swate B. C. D; and this seems the genuine text.
 - h p seo B; as above 918. a.
 - garum forgrunden B.
 - k wigges B. C.
- l andlangne dæg eored cystum B.C.D.

 m here flyman B. here flymon C.
 heoraflyman D. here fliman A.
 - n scearpum B.C. mycel scearpum D.
- o heardes B. C. D. heordes A.; the true reading.
 - p be A. bara de B. C. bæra be D.
 - q eargebland B.C. éar- D.
 - r lides C.
 - * geonge A. B. C. iunga D.
 - t and unrim herges C.
 - " brego B. C. D.
- * gebæded B. neade gebæded C. D. nyde A. See below 042. c.

This national song of victory is a fine sample of the genius and art of Saxon poetry, and a noble memorial of the life of our forefathers. Much of the Chronicle has the merit (too rare in Saxon prose) of being genuine and homespun, free from the intrusion of strange ideas, and the infection of foreign models. But these verses shew us the native spirit in its more excited mood; they speak the tumultuous joy of brave and simple patriots with the rage of battle still tingling in their veins. Such glowing words could not become extinct: they have scored themselves indelibly on the tablet of literature.

Gibson appreciated the poetry, though in his day the sense had not been perfectly made out. He notes: "Idioma hic et ad An. 942 et 975 perantiquum et horridum, inquit Whelocus. Perantiquum proculdubio, horridum interim haud dicendum; quippe quod stylum Cædmonianum, elegantissimum plane, et in quo Ducum res gestæ ob eius sublimitatem decantari antiquitus solebant, aliquatenus saltem referat."

The song is preserved in five out of the seven MSS.; viz., T. A. B. C. D. The later Chronicles E and F omit it: under Norman rule it had no longer any interest. Of the Latin historians Henry of Huntingdon alone has embodied this gem into his work. His version has many happy renderings, and likewise many curious mistakes, speciously paraphrased. For the sake of ready comparison it is appended here; the more glaring faults being printed in Italics.

'Rex Adelstan, decus ducum, nobilibus torquium dator, et frater ejus Edmundus, longa stirpis serie splendentes, percusserunt in bello, acie gla-dii apud Brunesburh. Scutorum muros fiderunt, nobiles ceciderunt, domesticæ reliquiæ defuncti Edwardi. Sic namque iis ingenitum fuerat a genibus cognationum, ut bellis frequentibus ab infestis nationibus defenderent patriæ thesauros et domos, pecunias et xenia. Gens vero Hibernensium, et puppium habitatores, fatales cor. ruerunt; colles resonuerunt. Sudaverunt armati, ex quo sol mane prodiit, micans hilariter, lætificans profunda, Dei luminare, fax Creatoris, usque quo idem nobilis ductor occasu se occuluit. Ibi viri jacuerunt multi a Dacia oriundi, telis perforati, sub scutis lanceati, simul et Scotti bello fatigati. . Gens vero Westsexe, tota simul die, prius electi, post indefessi, invisæ gentis globos straverunt; viri elegantes, hastas cædebant, viri Mercenses acuta jacula mittebant, duro manus ludo. Sanitas ibi nulla his qui cum Anlavo trans maris campos in ligni gremio terram petierunt, Marte morituri. Quinque occubuerunt in loco belli reges juvenes, gladiis percussi, ducesque septem regis Anlavi; absque numero ceciderunt Scotti, deperiitque Normannorum tu-Nec enim paucos ad litem belli, duxerant secum: cum paucis vero

acread cnearen flot cyning utgewat on fealene flod feorh generede.

Swilce þær eác se froda · mid fleame com · on his cyþþe norð · Costontinus · hár hilde ring. hreman ne þorfte · bmæcan gemanan. he wæs his mæga sceard · freonda gefylled · ón folcstede · ° beslagen æt sæcce · and his sunu forlet · ón wæl stowe · wundun fer grunden d · giungne æt guðe. gelpan ne þorfte · beorn blanden feax · bil geslehtes · eald inwidda e. ne Anlaf þy ma. mid heora here lafum · hlehhan ne þorftun · þæt fheo beadu weorca · beteran wurdun · vel cum bel on camp stede · g cul bod ge hnades · gar mittinge · gumena gemotes · wæpen gewrixles · þæs h hi ón wæl felda ·

in maris fluctus rex navi provectus, intrinsecus gemebat. Simul et Froda ductor Normannus, cumque suis notis dux Constantinus, de Martis congressu, jactare nequierunt, ubi cognationis suæ fragmen apparuit, ubi amici sui corruerant, in statione populi bello prostrati, et filium suum in loco prœlii vulneribus demolitum carum reliquit. Gude Dacus, declamare potuit, licet verbis blandus, et mente vetustus. Nec Anlaf ipse, cum reliquiis suis, mentiri potuit, quod ad hoc negotium sui præstiterint in campo belli, ictuum immanitate, telorum transforatione, in concilio proborum. Matres vero et nurus planxerunt suos belli alea cum Edwardi filiis lusisse; cum Normanni, navibus clavatis, et Anlaf tabefactus, ultra profundum flumen, terras suas, mœsto animo, repetissent. Postea frater uterque rediit Westsexe, belli reliquias post se deserentes, carnes virorum in

escam paratas. Ergo corvus niger, ore cornutus, et buffo livens, aquila cum milvo, canis lupusque mixtus colore, his sunt deliciis diu recreati. Non fuit bellum hac in tellure majus patratum, nec cædes tanta præcessit istam, postquam huc venerunt, trans mare latum, Saxones et Angli, Brittones pulsuri: clari Martis fabri, Walenses vicerunt, reges fugaverunt, regna susceperunt.'

His causa recreandi interpositis ad historiam redeamus.

- a Creat D. cnear on A.B.C.D. on D. flod A.D.
- b mecea B. meca C. mecga D. For He was B and C have Her was.
- c forslegen B. beslegen C. beslægen D.
 - d wundum forgrunden A.B.C.D.
 - e inwitta B.C. inwuda D.
 - f hi C.D. hie A.B.
 - g cumbel A. cumbol gehnastes B.C.D.
 - h be adds D.

wip Eadweardes · afaran plegodan.

Gewitan him þa Norþmen i nægled enearrum dreorig daraðalaf í ón kdinges mere ofer deop wæter lDifelin secan and eft hira land wwise mode.

Swilce þa gebroþer · begen æt samne · cyning and æþeling · cyþþe sohton · Wesseaxena land · wiges hramige.

Letan him behindan · "hræ bryttian · saluwig padan · þone sweartan hræfn · hyrned nebban · and þane hasewan o padan · earn æftan hwit · æses brucan · grædigne guð hafóc · and þæt græge deor · wulf ón wealde. Ne wearð wæl mare · ón þis eiglande · æfer p gieta · folces gefylled · beforan þissum · sweordes écgum. þæs þe us secgað béc · ealde uð witan. siþþan eastan hider · Engle and Seaxe · up becoman · ofer brad brimu q · Brytene sohtan · wlance wig smiðas · Wealles ofer coman · eorlas arhwate · eard begeatan.

i negled C. dæggled on garum D.

This Ode has been often done into English, and it has been the work of many hands to smooth its difficulties for the modern student. See Guest's History of English Rhythms, vol. ii; and the improved Ed. (1840) of Price's Warton's Hist. Engl. Poetry, vol. i; where is a rich collection of notes and illustrations.

In Ellis's Specimens of Early English Poets is a 'metrical version' in the style of the 14th century, which Conybeare (Illustrations of Anglo Saxon Poetry, p. lxxxi) praises as a successful imitation.

A faint echo of its sense comes back to us from the region of British Legend, as represented in the verses of La3amon. It is in the reign of Æbelstan that the story of British nationality is brought to its plaintive close, when their wandering prince is taught in a dream to cease his vain attempts against the power of the Saxon, and to wait the promised day foretold by their prophet Merlin.

k dynges B. dyniges D. dinnes A.

¹ Dyflen B. Dyflin C. Dyflig D.

m and heora land A. Yraland C. D.

n Hraw B. hra D.

o haso B. hasu C.D. hasean A.

p æfre B. C. D.

q brade B. C. D. brymum brad A.

r Wealas B. C. D.

- 941. Her Æþelstan cyning forð ferde son vi kl' Nov'. ymbe xli wintra. butan anre niht. þæs þe Ælfred cyning forþ ferde. And Eadmund æþeling feng to rice. and he wæs þa xviii wintre. and Æþelstan cyning rixade xiiii gear and tx wucan. Þa was Wulfelm arcebiscop on Cañt.
 - 942. "Her Ead mund cyning · Engla þeoden ·

 *maga mundbora · Myrce ge eode ·

 dyre dæd fruma · swa Dor scadeþ ·

 hwitan wylles geat · and › Humbra éa ·

 brada brim stream · burga fife ·

 Ligora ceaster · and Lindcylene z ·

 and Snotingaham · swylce Stanford éac ·

 a Deora by. bDæne wæran ær ·

 under Norðmannum · nyde gebegde ·

 on hæþenra · hæfte clommum ·

 lange þraga d · oþ hie alysde eft ·

 for his weorþ scipe · wiggendra hleo ·

 afera Eadweardes · Eadmund cyning ·

onfeng Anlase cyninge æt fulluhte. and þy ylecan geare ymbtelamicelsæc. he onseng Rægenolde cyning æt bisceopes handa. arcebisceop.

943. • [Her Eadmund cing S. Dunstane Glæs]tingeberig betæhte vær he syvvan ærest abbud wearv.

944. Her Eadmund cyning ge eode eal Norhhymbra land him to fge wealdan, and aflymde ut twegen cyningas. Anlaf Syhtrices sunu. and Rægenald Guð ferþes sunu.

945. Her Eadmund cyning ofer hergode eal Cumbraland. and hit let to eal Malculmes Scotta cyninge. on p geradh p he wære his mid wyrhta ægþer ge on sæ ge on lande.

946. Her Eadmund cyning forð ferde on Ses Agustinus mæsse dæge. and he hæfde rice seofoþe healf gear. And þa feng Eadred æþeling his broþor to rice. and gerad eal Norþhymbra land him to ge wealde.

940. Her Æðelstan cyning forðferde. and feng Ædmund to rice his brogor.

942. Her Anlaf cyning for oferde.

Et Ricardus vetus suscepit regnum. et regnavit an lii.

944. Her Ædmund cyning geeode ealle Nordhymbre, and ut aflymde twegen cyneborene mæn Anlaf and Regnald.

945. Her Ædmund cyning ofer hergode eall Cumbraland.

948. Her Ædmund cyning weard of stungen, and feng Ædred his brofor to rice, and he sona gerád eall Norð-

D. 941. Her Nord hymbra alugon hira getreowada. and Anlaf of Yrlande him to cinge gecuron.

942. "Her Eadmund cyning.. (A).. Eadmund cyning."

943. Her Anlaf abræc Tamewurbe, and micel wæl gefeol on ægbra hand, and ba Denan sige ahton and micele here hube mid him aweg læddon, bær wæs Wulfrun genumen on bære hergunge.

Her Eadmund cyning ymbsæt Anlaf cyning and Wulfstan arcebiscop on Legra ceastre. and he hy gewyldan meahte. nære \$ hi on niht utne æt burston of bære byrig. And æfter bæm begeat Anlaf Eadmundes cynges freondscipe, and se cyning Eadmund onfeng ba Anlafe cyninge æt fulwihte, and he him cynelice gyfode. And by ilcan geare, ymbe tæla mycelne fyrst, he onfeng Regnalde cyninge æt bisceopes handa.

944 (A). 945 (A).

946. . . (A) . . dæge. \$\psi\$ wæs wide cu\(\delta\). hu he his dagas geendode. 5 Liofa hine ofstang, at Puclan cyrcan. And Æbelflæd at Domerhame. Ælfgares dohter ealdormannes. wæs þa his cwen. and he hæfde &c.

⁸ on Gleawe ceastre D.

t teon D.

^u Eadmund had much ado to secure his inheritance. The Danes made a new effort to escape from the yoke of Wessex. They called over ANLAF of Ireland, the discomfited champion of Brunanburh, to be their deliverer and their king. Eadmund was defeated at Tamworth, but he besieged his enemy in Leicester. Through the two Abps (of whom each side had one) a peace was made, which confined Eadmund South of Watling Street, and made ANLAF king of all the North. the death of ANLAF soon enabled Eadmund to recover his lost dominion, and to take a firmer hold on those outlying dependencies. Then were the Five Burghs reduced to submission, and the two 'kinglets' of the North were awed into the profession of

Christianity. This done, they reigned awhile, Anlaf Sihtricson in the North division, and Regnald Gubferbson in the South district of which York was the capital.

x mæcgea B. mecga C. mægþa D.

y Humbran B. Hunbran C. Him-

^z Lindkylne B. Lindcylne C. Lin-

a and B.C.D.

b Denum B. Dene A. C. wæron æror B. C. D.

c gebæded B. gebæded C.D. Cf. 937. x. d brage A. B. C. D.

e The words within brackets are from F. to complete the sentence which in a is broken.

f gewealde A. B. C. D.

g Malculfe D.

h gearæd D.

and Scottas him apas sealdan. † hie woldan eal † he wolde.

- 951. Her forpferde Ælfheah Wintan ceastres bisc. on Sce Gregories mæssedæg.
- 955. Her for ferde Eadred cining. on See Clementes mæsse dæg. on Frome. and he rixsade teope healf gear. And ha feng Eadwig to rice. Eadmundes sunu cinges. And he aftæmde See Dunstan ut of lande.
- 958. Her fordferde Eadwig cyng on kl' Octobr'. and Eadgar his brodor feng to rice b. he sænte efter See Dunstane. and gæf him bæt b'rice on Wigracæstre. and dær æfter bæt b'rice on Lundene.
- (D) 947. Her com Eadred cyning to Taddenes scylfe. and þær Wulstan se arcebiscop. and ealle Nor's hymbra witan. wi's pone cyning hi getreowsoden. and binnan litlan fæce hit eall alugon. ge wed and eac apas.

948. Her Eadred cyning oferhergode eall Nordhymbra land. for pæm þe hi hæfdon genumen him Yryc to cyninge, and þa on pære hergunge wæs þ mære mynster forbærnd æt Rypon. Þ Sce Wilferd getimbrede. And þa se cyning hamweard wæs, þa offerde se here innan Heoforwic, wæs þæs cynges fyrde hindan æt Ceaster forda, and þær mycel wæl geslogon. Da weard se cyning swa gram þ he wolde eft infyrdian, and þone eard mid ealle fordon. Þa Nordhymbra witan þ ongeaton, þa forlæton hi Hyryc and wið Eadred cyning gebeton þa dæde.

952. Her on þyssum geare het Eadred cyning gebringan Wulstan arcebiscop in Iudan byrig on þæm fæstenne. forþæm he wæs oft to þam cyninge forwreged. and on þyssum geare eac het se cyning ofslean mycel wæll on þære byrig Deotforda. on þæs abbodes wrece Eadelmes. þe hi ær ofslogon.

wintre. B.c.

^a 956. Her wæs Dunstan abb' fram Edwie cinge adriuen ut of Engla lande. F.

b and Eadgar cing wearb æfter him ouer eal Brytene. F. agoer ge on West Seaxum ge on Myrcum ge on Noro hymbrum. and he wæs þa xvi

¹ This Anlaf is distinct from the two mentioned on pp. 116, 117. In the Annals of Ulster (Rerum Hiber. Scriptores Ed. O'Conor, vol. iv) he appears as Amlaibh Cuaran, under the years 944, 946.

hymbraland him to gewealde. and Scottas him agas sworon \$ hi eall wolden \$ he wolde.

949. Her com Anlaf Cwiran on Nordhymbra land 1.

952. Her Nordhymbre fordrifan Anlaf cyning, and under fengon Yric Haroldes sunu.

954. Her Nordhymbre fordrifon Yric, and Ædred feng to Nordhymbra rice.

955. Her Ædred cyning forðferde, and feng Eadwig to rice Eadmundes sunu.

956. Her forðferde Wulstan arch'.

959. Her Eadwig cyning for oferde, and feng Eadgar his brodor to rice.

"On his dagum hit godode georne, and God him geude b he wunode on sibbe ba hwile be he leofode, and he dyde swa him bearf wes, earnode bes georne. He arerde Godes lof wide, and Godes lage lufode. and folces frið bette swiðost bara cyninga be ær him gewurde be manna gemynde. and God him eac fylste b cyningas and eorlas georne him to bugon, and wurden under beodde to pam be he wolde, and butan gefeohte eal he bat, legem Dei inge wilde bet he sylf wolde. He weard wide geond beodland swide ge weordad. forbam be he weordode Godes naman georne, and Godes lage smeade oft and gelome. and Godes lof rærde wide and side. and wislice rædde oftost á simle for Gode and for worulde eall his beode. Ane misdæda

Tempore istina meliorata est terra Anglorum, & Deus pacificavit dies ejus, ita ut quamdiu viveret status pacis in nullo sit læsus. Sine bello omnia sui juris custodivit, circa cultum Dei diligenter se exhibebat, laudes Dei ubique erigetente meditabameditando implere studebat, et cunctis sibi subjectis secundum Deum et sæculum sapienter consulebat. (F)

^{954.} Her Nord hymbre fordrifon Yric. and Eadred feng to Nord hymbra rice. Her Wulfstan arcebiscop onfeng eft biscop rices on Dorceceastre.

^{955. . . (}A) . . Frome. and he rest on Ealdan mynstere. And Eadwig feng to West Seaxena rice, and Eadgar his brobor feng to Myrcena rice. and hi wæron Eadmundes suna cyninges and Sce Ælfgyfe.

^{957.} Her foreferde Wulfstan arcebiscop on xvii kl' Ianuar. and he wæs bebyrged on Undelan. And on þam ylcan geare wæs Dunstan abb' adræfed ofer sæ.

^{958.} Her on bissum geare Oda arcebiscop to twæmde Eadwi cyning and Ælgyfe. forþæm þe hi wæron to gesybbe.

961. Her gewat Odo arceb'. and Sce Dunstan feng to arceb'rice.

962. Her fordferde Ælfgar einges mæg on Defenum and his lie rest on Wiltune. And Sigferd cyning hine of feoll. and his lie ligd æt Wimburnan. And þa on geare wæs swide micel man ewealm. and se micela man bryne wæs on Lundene. and Paules mynster forbarn. and þy ilean geare weard eft gestaþelad.

On bys ilcan geare for Abelmod mæsse preost to Rome and bær forð ferde. xviii kl' Septemb'.

963. Her fordferde Wulfstan diacon. on Cilda mæssedæge. and æfter þon fordferde Gyric mæsse preost.

On bys ilcan geare feng Apelwold abbod to bæm bisceop rice to Wintan ceastre, and hine mon gehalgode in uigilia Sci Andree, was sunnan dæg on dæg.

1 This, No. 8. of the Peterborough Record, contains the Revival of that Abbey, after a long eclipse. No. 7. told of its ruin by the Danes, An. 870, the year in which they slew "Edmund King and Martyr," and in the period when their ravages were most extensive and desolating. All the Religious establishments North of the Thames perished; and before a time of renewal came about, their lands had found other proprietors. But Adelwold, Bishop of Winchester, succeeded in reviving the old foundation of Medeshamstede, and in recovering its ancient possessions, immunities, and privileges.

Important writings, we are told, were found in the old wall. This is enough to set criticism on the alert as to the soundness of the antecedent history.

But here a new chapter opens. The éclat of the present movement, and the ensuing prosperity of Burch, are well described by Gunton (Hist. of the Church of Peterb. 1686):

"The Monastery thus re-edified, King Edgar desirous to see it went thither, with Dunstane then Archbishop of

Canterbury, and Oswald Archbishop of York, attended also with most of the Nobility and Clergy of England, who all approved and applauded both the place and work. But when King Edgar heard that some Charters and Writings, which some Monks had secured from the fury of the Danes, were found, he desired to see them, and having read the priviledges of this place, that he had a second Rome within his own kingdom, he wept for joy: And in the presence of that Assembly he confirmed their former priviledges and possessions; the King, Nobles, and Clergy offering large oblations, some of lands, some of gold and silver. At this glorious assembly the name of the place was changed from Medeshamsted to Burgh; and by reason of the fair building, pleasant situation, large priviledges, rich possessions, plenty of gold and silver, which this Monastery was endowed withal, there was an addition to the name, as to be called Gildenburgh, though in reference to the dedication it hath ever since been known by the name of Peterburgh."

he dyde peah to swide b he ælpeodige un sida lufode, and hædene beawas innan bysan lande gebrohte to fæste. and ut lændisce hider in tihte. and deoriende leoda be speon to bysan earde. Ac God him ge unne p his gode dæda swydran weardan bonne misdæda. his sawle to gescyldnesse on langsuman syde."

963. Her fram Eadgar cyning to Se biscopdome on Wintanceastra wes gecoren Sce Abelwold. And pe arcbiscop of Cantwarbyrig Sce Dunstan him gehalgod to biscop on be fyrste sunnon dæg of Aduent. B wæs on iii kl' Decemb'.

On bes oder gear sybbon he was gehalgod, ba makode he feola minstra. and draf út þa clerca of þe biscop rice. forban b hi noldon nan regul healden, and sætta bær muneca. He macode pær twa abbotrice. an of muneca oder of nunna. b wæs eall wid innan Wintanceastra. Syddan þa com he to se cyng Eadgar, bed him bet he scolde him giuen ealle ba minstre þa hæðene men hæfden ær to brocon, forði þet he hit wolde ge eadnewion. and se kyng hit blibelice tyoode. And se biscop com þa fyrst to Elig. þær Sce Æðeldrið lið. and leot macen bone mynstre. geaf hit ba his án munac Brihtnod wæs gehaten. halgode him þa abbot. and sætte bær munecas Gode to bewian. bær hwilon wæron nun. bohte ba feola cotlif æt se king. and macode hit swyde rice.

1 Syddon com se biscop Adelwold to hære mynstre he wæs Burch gehaten Medeshamstede. Se hwilon wæs for don fra he Sene folce. ne fand bær nan bing buton ealde weallas and wilde wuda. fand þa hidde in þa ealde wealle writes þet Headda abb' heafde ær gewriton. hu Wulfhere kyng and Ædelred his brofor hit heafden wroht, and hu hi hit freedon wif king and wib 'and wib ealle weoruld beudom, and hu se papa Agatho hit feostnode mid his write. and se arcb' Deusdedit. Leot wircen ba b mynstre. and sætte bær abbot se wæs gehaten Aldulf. macede þær munecas þær ær ne wæs nan bing. Com ba to be cyng, and leot him locon ba ge write be ær wæron gefunden. and se kyng andswerode ba and cwed.

Ic Ædgar geate and gife to dæi to foren Gode and to foren bone ærceb' Dunstan freodom Sce Petres mynstre Medeshamstede of kyng and of b'. and ealle ba borpes be Særto

lin. b is Æstfeld, and Dodes thorp, and Ege. and Pastun. And swa ic hit freo bet nan biscop ne haue bær nane hæse. buton se abbot of bone minstre. And ic gife bone tun be man cleopad Vndela. mid eall bet bær to lid. B is bet man cleope's Eahte hundred, and market and toll, swa freolice b ne king ne b' ne eorl ne scyrreue ne haue bær nane hæse, ne nan man buton se abbot ane and bam be he bær to sæt. And ic gife Crist and Sce Peter, and burh bes b' bene Adelwold, has land, h is Barwe. Wermingtun. Æsctun. Ketering. Castra. Egleswurde. Waltun. Widringtun. Ege. Thorp. and an myneter in Stanford. Das land and ealla ba odre be lin into be mynstre ba cwede ic scyr. b[et is] saca and socne. toll and team and infangenbef. pas rihting and ealle orre da cwe've ic scyr Crist and S. Peter². And ic gife ba twa dæl of Witlesmere mid watres and mid wæres and feonnes, and swa burh Merelade on an to b wæter b man cleoped Nen. and swa east weard to Cynges dælf. And ic wille B markete beo in be selue tun. and b nan oper ne betwix

2 "These lands and all the others which belong to the minster do I declare to be a shire; viz., (with) Sac and Socn, Toll and Team, and Infangenthef. These rights and all others grant I to be the shire of Christ and St. Peter." The Latin charter is given in Dugdale (No. ix) and in Cod. Dipl. No. 575, where it is marked by Mr. Kemble as spurious. The passage which corresponds to the above stands thus: "Sint ergo tam istæ villæ quam ceteræ omnes quæ ad ipsum monasterium pertinet, cum universis rebus et rationibus suis, et totum quod appellatur Saca et Socne, ab omni regali jure et ab omni seculari jugo in æternum liberæ, et in magnis et in minimis, in silvis campis pascuis pratis paludibus venationibus, omnimodis mercationi-bus, theloneis, omnium rerum procu-rationibus Dei beneficio provenienti-bus." These terms convey to the Abbot and Monks a complete territorial jurisdiction within their extensive domains. Not only were they to enjoy that independence of episcopal authority which religious houses commonly had; but further, there was to be no Ealdorman or scirgerefa (scirreue in the text, sheriff) exercising jurisdiction within their bounds.

The business of the scyr was transacted in the scyrgemot, held twice a

year; and it was presided over jointly by the Bishop and the Ealdorman. According to the terms of this document, no Bishop or Ealdorman could sit within the Royalty of Burch; the Abbot and his Society would have the power all in their own hands. The Latin copy has the following near the close: "Hanc igitur totius Abbatiæ tam in longinquis quam proximis possessionibus regificam libertatem ab omnibus approbatam, excepta modo rata expeditione et pontis arcisve restauratione, satagimus per ipsum devotissimum hujus descriptionis auctorem Athelwoldum à sede apostolicâ Romanæ ecclesiæ, juxta primitivam ejusdem monasterii institutionem, per-petud corroborare." It is remarkable in connection with this claim, that in the Latin Chronicle of Peterborough (Ed. Sparke), one of the many descendants of this Chronicle, Saxulf the first Abbot is styled Comes at the opening of the work. This title comprehended (at the date of the writer) all the temporal rights here specified; and looks like an attempt to ground them upon hereditary proprietorship.

On the constitution of the scir there is a chapter in Kemble's "Saxons in England" (book i. c. 3) which contains much rare information. On the terms Sac and Socu, Toll and Team, and Infangenthef, cf. Intr. to Cod. Dipl. p. xlv.

Stanford and Huntandune. And ic wille pet pus be gifen se toll. fyrst fra Wytles mære eall to pe cinges toll of Norðmannes cros hundred. and eft ongeanward fra Witles mære purh Merelade on an to Nen. and swa swa p wæter reonneð to Crulande. and fra Crulande to Must. and fra Must to Cynges dælf and to Witles mære. And ic wille pealle pa freodom and ealle pa forgiuenesse pe mine forgengles geafen pet hit stande. and ic write and feostnige mid Cristes rode tacne. +.

Da andswerade se arcebiscop Dunstan of Cantwar byrig and sæide. Ic tyde be ealle be bing be her is gifen and sprecon, and ealle ba bing be bin forgengles and min geatton. pa wille ic p hit stande, and swa hwa swa hit to brecoo. pa gife ic him Godes curs and ealra halgan and ealre hadede heafde and min. buton he cume to dædbote. And ic gife to enawlece See Peter min messe hacel and min stol and min ræf Criste to beuwian. Ic Oswald arcebiscop of Eofer wic geate ealle has worde hurh ha halgorode het Crist wæs on browed. +. Ic Adelwold biscop blætsige ealle be bis healdon, and ic amansumie ealle be his to bræcon, buton he cume to dædbote. Her wæs Ælfstan biscop. Abulf b'. and Escwi abbot. and Osgar abb'. and Ædelgar abb'. and Ælfere ealdorman. Æðelwine ealdorman. Brihtnop. Oslac ealdorman. and feola ofer rice men, and ealle hit geatton, and ealle hit writen mid Cristes mæl. +. Dis wæs ge don svoon ure Drihtnes acennednesse dcccclxxii. bes kinges xvi gear. Da bohte se abbot Aldulf landes feola and manega. and De Aldulfo

godede þa þ mynstre swiðe mid ealle. and wæs þær þa swa lange þ se arcebiscop Oswald of Eoforwic wæs forðgewiton. and man cæs him þa to erceb'. And man cæs þa sona oðer abbot of þe sylfe mynstre. Kenulf wæs gehaten. se wæs syððon biscop in Wintan ceastre. And he macode fyrst þa Nomen domo wealle abutan þone mynstre. geaf hit þa to nama Burch. þe impositum ær het Medeshamstede. wæs þær swa lange þ man sette him to biscop on Wintan ceastre. Þa cæs man oðer abbot of þe silue minstre. þe wæs gehaten Ælfsi. se Ælfsi wæs þa abbot syððon fiftig wintre. He nam úp Sca Kyneburh and S. Trsl' Scar' Kynesuið þe lægen in Castra. and S. Tibba þe læi in Rihala. Kyneburg land brohte heom to Burch. and offrede heom eall S. Peter on an dæi. and heold þa hwile þe he þær wæs.

R 2

964. Her dræfde Eadgar cyng þa preostas on Ceastre of Ealdanmynstre. and of Niwan mynstre. and of Ceortes ige. and of Middel tune. and sette hy mid munecan. and he sette Æþelgar abbod to Niwan mynstre to abbode. and Ordbirht to Ceortes ige. and Cyneweard to Middel tune.

971. Her fordferde Eadmund ædeling, and his lic

lið æt Rumesige.

973. Her Eadgar wæs · Engla waldend · corore imicelre · to cyninge gehalgod · on Sære ealdan byrig · Acemannes ceastre. meac hi ig buend · o're worde beornas · Bagan nemnab. bær wæs blis micel. on bam eadgan dæge · eallum geworden · bonne nivabearn · nemnav and cigav. Pentecostenes dæg. þær wæs preosta heap. micel muneca great · mine gefrege · gleawra gegaderod. and agangen was tyn hund wintra · geteled rimes · fram gebyrdtide · bremes cyninges· leohta hyrdes · buton vær to lafe · "ba agan wæs wintergeteles bæs de gewritu secgad. seofon and twentig. swa neah wæs sigora frean. Susend a urnen · Saba Sis gelamp. And him Eadmundes eafora hæfde: nigon and xx · nið weorca heard · wintra onworulde · obis geworden wæs · and ba on Sam xxx · wæs Seoden gehalgod.

975. Her geendode · eorðan dreamas ·
Eadgar Engla cyning. ceas him oðer leoht ·
wlitig and wynsum · and þis wace forlet ·
líf þis læne. Nemnað leoda bearn ·
men on moldan · þæne monað gehwær ·
in ðisse eðel tyrf. þa þe ær wæran ·

 ¹ mycclum B. C.
 ⁿ da get wæs B. C.
 ^m eac hie egbuend B. C. hie buend A.
 ⁿ da þis B.
 * i. e. Ælföryðe: cf. Flor.

964. Hic expulsi sunt canonici de veteri monasterio.

966. Her pored Gunneres sunu forhergode West moringa land. and pi ilcan geare Oslac feng to ealdordome.

969. Her on þissum geare Eadgar cyng het ofer hergian eall Tenetland.

970. Her for oferde Eadmund æpeling.

972. Her wæs Eadgar epeling gehalgod to cyninge on Pentecoste mæsse dæi on v id' Mai. þe xiii geare þe he to rice feng. æt Hatabaðum. and he wæs þa ana wana xxx wintra. and sona æfter þam se cyng ge leadde ealle his scip here to Lægeceastre. and þær him comon ongean vi cyningas. and ealle wið trywsodon þ hi woldon efen wyrhton beon on sæ and on lande.

975.

Her Eadgar gefor
Angla reccent
West Seaxena wine
and Myrcene mundbora.
Cu'ò wæs þet wide
geond feola þeoda
þ aferan Eadmund

ofer ganetes bað Cyningas hine wide worðodon side bugon to cyninge swa wæs him gecynde.

Næs se flota swa ráng ne se here swa strang. † on Angel cynne æs him gefétede. þa hwile þe se æþela cyning cyne stol ge rehte.

D. 965. Her on bissum geare Eadgar cyning genam *Ælfye him to cwene. heo wæs Ordgares dohtor ealdormannes.

B. 971. Her foröferde Oskytel arcebisceop, se wæs ærest to Dorkeceastre to leod bisceope gehalgod, and eft to Eoferwic ceastre be Eadredes cinges unnan and ealra his witena. † he wæs to ærcebisceope gehalgod, and he wæs xxii wintra bisceop, and he foröferde on ealra halgena mæsseniht x nihton ær Martines mæssan. æt Tame. And purkytel abb' his mæg ferede þæs bisceopes lic to Bédanforda, forðan þe he wæs þær ða abbud on ðone tíman.

on rîm cræfte · rihte getogene.

Iulius monoð · þ se geonga gewát ·

Pon þone eahteðan dæg · Eadgar of lífe ·
beorna beah gyfa. And feng his bearn syððan ·
to cynerice · cild únweaxen ·
eorla ealdor · þam wæs Eadweard nama.

And him tirfæst hæleð · tyn nihtum ær · of Brytene gewát · bisceop se goda · burh gecyndne cræft · ðam wæs Cyneweard nama.

Da wæs on Myrceon · mine gefræge · wide and wel hwær · Waldendes löf · afylled on foldan. fela wearð tódræfed · gleawra Godes ðeowa. † wæs gnornung micel · þamþe on breostum wæg · byrnende lufan · Metodes ón mode. Þa wæs Mærðafruma · to swiðe forsewen · Sigora waldend · rodera Rædend. Þa man his riht tóbræc. and þa wearð eac ádræfed · deormod hæleð · Oslac of earde · ofer yða gewealc · ofer ganotes bæð. gamolfeax hæleð · wis and word snotor. ofer wætera geðring · ofer hwæles eðel · hama bereafod.

And þa wearð ætywed · uppe on roderum · steorra on staðole · þone stið ferhþe · hæleð hige gleawe · hatað wide · cométa be naman · cræft gleawe men · wise soð boran · Wæs geond werðeode · Waldendes wracu · wide gefrege · hungor ofer hrusan · þ eft heofona Weard · gebette Brego engla · geaf eft blisse · gehwæm egbuendra · þurh eorðan westm.

978. Her wear's Eadweard cyning of slegen. on his ylcan geare feng Ædelred ædeling his brodor to rice.

p eahtoðan B. C. eahtateoðan A. q forsawen B. C. r gewalc B. C. gomol B. C.

And her Eadward Eadgares sunu feng to rice. and pa sona on pam ilcan geare on herfeste æteowde cometa se steorra. and com pa on pam eaftran geare swide mycel hungor. and swyde mænig fealde styrunga geond Angel cyn. * and Ælfere ealdorman het towurpon swyde manig munuc lif pe Eadgar cyng het ær pone halgan biscop Adelwold ge stadelian.* and on pam timan wæs eac Oslac se mæra eorl ge utod of Angel cynne.

978. Her on þissum geare ealle þa yldestan Angel cynnes witan ge feollan æt Cálne of anre up floran. butan se halgan Dunstan arcebiscop ana æt stod uppon anum beame. and sume þær swiðe ge brocode wæron. and sume hit ne¹ ge dygdan mid þam life.

D. 975. . . * On his dagum · for his iugoðe . Godes wibærsacan · Godes lage bræcon. Ælfere ealdorman : and obre manega. and munuc regol myrdon. and mynstra to stæncton. and munecas to dræfdon. and Godes beowas fesedon. be Eadgar kyning het ær. bone halgan biscop. Aþælwold gestalian. and wydewan bestryptan. oft and gelome. and fela unrihta and yfelra unlaga. arysan up siððan. and aa æfter bam. hit yfelode swide.*

B. 976. Her wæs se micla hungor on Angelcynne.

977. Her wæs þ myccle gemot æt Kyrtlingtune. ofer Eastron. and þær forðferde Sideman bisceop. on hrædlican deaþe. on ii kl' Mai. se wæs Defna scire bisceop. and he wilnode þ his lic ræst sceolde beon æt Cridiantune. æt his bisceop stole. Þa hét Eadweard cing. and Dunstan arcebisceop. Þ hine man ferede to Sca Marian mynstre. Þ is æt Abbandune. and man eac swa dyde. and he is eac arwyrþlice bebyrged on þa norðhealfe on Scs Paulus portice. §

C.978...(A).. And he was on pam ylcan geare to cinge gehalgod. On pam geare for offerde Alfwold se was bisceop on Dorsætum. and his lic lið on pam mynstre æt Scire burnan.

¹ nyge dydon D. gebohtan F.

983. Her for ferde Ælfhere ealdorman.

(C) 979. On bys geare wæs Æbelred to cininge gehalgod. on bone sunnan dæig feowertyne niht ofer Eastron. æt Cinges tune, and bær wæron æt his halgunge twegen ercebisceopas, and tyn leod bisceopas. Dy ilcan geare wæs gesewen blodig wolcen on oft siðas, on fyres gelicnesse, and þ wæs swyðost on middeniht oþywed, and swa on mistlice beamas wæs gehiwod, þonne hit dagian wolde, þoñ to glad hit.

980. Her on bys geare, was Æbelgar abbod to bisceope gehalgod, on vi Nonas Mai, to bam bisceopstole at Seolesigge. And on bam ylcan geare was Suð hamtun forhergod fram scip herige, and seo burh waru mæst ofslegen and gehæft. And by ilcan geare wæs Tenet land gehergod. And by ilcan geare wæs Legeceaster scir gehergod fram Norð scipherige.

981. Her on þis geare wæs Sce Petroces stow forhergod. and þy ilcan geare wæs micel hearm gedon gehwær be þam særiman. ægþer ge on Defenum ge on Wealum. And on þam ylcan geare forðferde Ælfstan bisceop on Wiltunscire. and his lic lið on þam mynstre æt Abbandune. and Wulfgar feng þa to ðam bisceopdome. And on þam ylcan geare forðferde Womær. abbod on Gent.

982. Her on bys geare comon upp on Dorsætum iii scypu wicinga. and hergodon on Portlande. Dy ilcan geare forbarn Lunden byrig. and on þam ylcan geare for ferdon twegen ealdormenn. Æþelmær on Hamtun scire and Eadwine on Suo Seaxum, and Æbelmæres lic lið on Wintan ceastre on Niwan mynstre. and Eadwines on bam mynstre æt Abbandune. Þæs ylcan geares for8ferdon twa abbodessan on Dorsætum. Herelufu on Sceaftes byrig and Wulfwin on Werham. And by ilcan geare for Odda Romana casere to Grec lande, and ba gemette he bara Sarcena mycele fyrde cuman up of sæ. and woldon þa faran on hergo's on þæt Cristene folc. And þa gefeaht se casere wið hi. and þær wæs micel wæl geslægen on gehwæbere hand, and se casere ahte wæl stowe geweald, and hwædere he bær wæs miclum geswenced ær he banon hwurfe. and ba he hamweard for. ba for ferde his brobor sunu. se wæs haten Odda. and he was Leodulfes sunu apelinges. and se Leodulf was bæs ealdan Oddan sunu and Eadweardes cininges dohtor sunu.

983. Her for ferde Ælfhere ealdorman, and feng Ælfric to þam ilcan ealdordom scipe. And Benedictus pp' forþferde.

979. Her wæs Eadward cyng of slagen 2 on æfentide æt Corfes geate on xv k' Apr. and hine man be byrigde æt Wærham butan ælcum cynelicum wurdscipe.

Ne weard Angelcynne nan wærsa dæd gedon bonne beos wæs.

syððon hi ærest. Brytonland ge sohton.

Men hine of myr orodon.

ac God hine mærsode.

He was on life eorolic cing

he is nu æfter deade heofonlic sanct.

Hine nolden his eorolican

magas wrecan.

ac hine hafað his heofonlica fæder

swide ge wrecen.

pa eordlican banan woldon his gemynd. on erðan adilgian.

Ac se uplica Wrecend hafað his gemynd. on heofenum and on eor dan to bræd.

ba be nolden ær'

to his libbendum lichaman onbugan ba nu eadmodlice.

on cneowum abugaðo to his dædum banum.

Nu we magon on gytan.

B manna wisdom.

and smeagunga.

and heore rædas.

syndon nahtlice

ongean Godes ge beaht.

And her feng Æðelred to rice. and he wæs æfter þam swiðe hrædlice mid mycclum geféan Angel cynnes witon ge halgod to cyninge æt Cyningestun.

980. Her on bisum geare 3 Ælfere ealdorman gefette bes halgan cyninges 4 lichaman æt Wærham, and ge ferode hine mid mycclum wurdscipe to Scæftes byrig.

981. Her comon ærest þa vii scipu and ge hergoden Hamtun.

983. Her fordferde Ælfere ealdorman, and feng Ælfric to bam ilcan ealdordome.

4 F has S. Eadwardes lichama.

² at Corf geate F. 3 F has S. Dunstan and Ælfere.

984. Her forð ferde se wellwillenda bisceop Aðelwold. and seo halgung þæs æfter filgendan bisceopes Ælfheages. seðe oðran naman wæs geciged Godwine. wæs xiiii kl' Nō. and he gesæt þoñ bisceop stol an þara twegra apostola dæge Simonis and Iudæ. ón Wintan ceastre.

(C) 984. Her forð ferde Aþelwold b' on kl' Agustus.

985. Hér wæs Ælfric ealdorman ut adræfed of earde. And on þam ilcan geare wæs Eadwine to abbode gehalgod to þam mynstre æt Abbandune.

986. Hêr se cyning fordyde þ b'rice æt Hrofe ceastre. Her com ærest se micla yrfcwealm on Angel cyn.

988. Hér wæs Wecedport geheregod. and Goda se Defenisca þegen ofslagen. and mycel wæl mid him. Her gefor Dunstan arcb'. and Æðelgar b' feng æfter him to arcestole. and hé lytle hwile æfter þæm lyfode. butan i gear and iii monþas.

990. Hêr Sigeric wæs gehalgod to arceb'. And Eadwine abb'

foroferde. and Wulfgar abb' feng to bam rice.

991. Her wæs Gypeswic gehergod, and æfter þon, swiðe raðe. wæs Brihtnoð ealdorman ofslegen æt Mældune. And on þam geare man gerædde þ man geald ærest gafol Denescum mannum, for ðam miclan brogan þe hi worhton be ðam særiman. Þ wæs ærest

x dusend p. bæne ræd gerædde ærest Syric arceb'.

992. Hêr Oswald se haliga arceb' forlet þis lif. and geferde þ heofenlice. and Æþelwine ealdorman gefor on þam ilcan geare. Da gerædde se cyning and ealle his witan þ man gegadrede ealle & scipu þe ahtés wæron to Lunden byrig. And se cyning þa betæhte þá fyrde to lædenne Ælfrice ealdorman. and Đorede eorlle. and Ælfstane b'. and Æscwige b'. and sceoldon cunnian meahton hy þone here ahwær utan betrēpan. Da sende sé ealdorman Ælfric. and hét warnian bone here. and þá on bære nihte þe hy on bone dæig togædere fon sceoldan. Þa sceoc hé on niht fram þære fyrde. him sylfum to myclum bysmore. and se here &a ætbærst butan án scyp þær man ofsloh. And þa gemette se here &a scypu of East Englum and of Lundene. and hi bær ofgeslogan micel wæl. and þ scyp genaman eall gewæpnod and gewædod þ se ealdorman ón wæs. And ba æfter Oswaldes arceb' forðsiþe. feng Ealdulf abb' to Eoferwic stole. and to Wigerna ceastre. and Kenulf to &am abbud rice æt Buruh.

F. 992. Her Oswold se ediga arb' forðferde. and Eadulf abbud feng to Euerwic and to Wigorceastre. And her gerædde se cing and ealle his witan p man gegaderode ealle őa scipa þe ahtes wæran to Lundenbyri. to őan p man scolde fandian gif man mihte betræppan þane here ahvar wiþutan. Ac Ælfric ealderman. an of þam þa se cyng hæfde mæst truwe to. het gewarnian őone here. and on őare nihte őa hi scolde anmorgen togædere cuman. se sylfa Ælfric scoc fram őare fyrde, and se here őa ætbærst.

984. Her fordferde se halga biscop 5 Adelwold muneca O'& Adhel[fæder. and her wæs Eadwine to abb' ge halgod to Abbandune.

985. Her Ælfric ealdorman wæs ut adræfed.

986. Her se cyning fordyde þet biscoprice æt Hrofeceastre. And her com ærest se myccla yrfcwalm on Angelcyn.

987. Her Wecedport wes gehergod 6.

988. Her wæs Goda se Dæ[fe]nisca þægn of slagen and mycel wæl mid him. and her Dunstan se halga arčb' forlet þis lif. and ge ferde þ heofonlice. And Æðelgar b'7 feng æfter him to arčb' stol and he litle hwile æfter þam leofode. butan angear and iii monðas.

989. Her Ædwine abb' forðferde, and feng Wulfgar to. and her Siric wæs gehadod to arceb'.

991. Her wæs G[ypes]wic gehergod, and æfter þam swiðe raðe wæs Brihtnoð^s ealdorman of slægen æt Mældune, and on þam geare man ge rædde þ man geald ærest gafol Deniscan mannum, for þam mycclan brogan⁹ þe hi worhtan be þam sæ riman. Þ wæs ærest x þusend punda, þæne ræd gerædde Siric arceb'.

992. Her Oswald se eadiga arceb' forlet bis lif. and ge ferde b heofonlice. and Æbelwine ealdorman ge for on bam ilcan geare. Da gerædde se cyng and ealle his witan b man ge gaderode þa scipu þe ahtes wæron to Lunden byrig. and se cyng þa betæhte þa fyrde to lædene Ealfrice ealdor man. and porode eorl. and Ælfstane b'. and Æscwige b'. and sceoldan cunnian gif hi muhton bone here ahwær utene betræppen. Da sende se ealdorman Ælfric. and het warnian pone here. and pa on pere nihte de hi on done dæi togædere comon sceoldon. Sa sceoc he on niht fram bære fyrde him sylfum to mycclum bismore, and se here ha æt bærst, buton an scip þær man of sloh. and þa ge mætte se here ða scipu of East Englum and of Lunden, and hi vær of slogon mycel wæl. and p scip ge namon eall ge wæpnod and ge wædod be se ealdorman on wæs. And da æfter Oswaldes arcb' ford side. feng Ealdulf abb' of Burch & to Eoferwic stole and to Wigera ceastre. and Kenulf to pam abbotrice æt Burch.

⁵ of Wincestre F. 6 for bærnd F. 7 abbod on Niwe mynstre F.

993. Her on Sissum geare com Unlaf mid þrim and hund nigentigon scipum to Stane. and forhergedon þ ón ytan. and for Sa Sanon to Sandwic. and swa Sanon to Gipes wic. and þ eall ofer eode. and swa tó Mældune. And him þær com togeanes Byrhtnos ealdorman mid his fyrde. and him wið gefeaht. and hy þoñ ealdorman þær ofslogon. and wælstowe ge weald ahtan. And him man nam syðsan frið wið. and hine nam se cing syðsan to bisceopes handa. Surh Sirices lare Cantware biscpes. and Ælfeages Wincæstre b'.

(C) 993. Hêr on þis geare wæs Bebban buruh abrocen. and mycel here hyþe vær genumen. And æfter þam com tó Humbran muþan se here. and vær mycel yfel worhton. ægþer ge on Lindesige ge on Norð hymbran. Da gegaderede mán swive micle fyrde. and þá hi to gædere gán sceoldon. Þa onstealdan þa heretogan ærest þone fleam. Þ wæs Fræna. and Godwine. and Fryþegyst. On þyssum geare het se cyning ablendan Ælfgar. Ælfrices sunu ealdormannes.

994. Her on Sissum geare com Anlaf and Swegen to Lunden byrig. on Natiuitas Sca Mariæ. mid iiii and hund nigontigum scypum, and hi da on þá buruh fæstlice feohtende wæron, and eac hí mid fyre ontendon woldan. Ac hi bær geferdon maran hearm and yfel bonne hi æfre wendon. him ænig buruhwaru gedon sceolde. Ac seo halige Godes modor, on bam dæge, hire mildheortnesse bære buruh ware gécydde, and hi ahredde wid heora feondum. hi panone ferdon, and worhton b mæste yfel de æfre æni here gedon meahte on bærnette and heregunge and on man slyhtum. ægber ge be dam særiman and on East Seaxum and on Kentlande and on Su'Seaxum and on Hamtunscire. And æt neaxtan namon him hôrs. and rîdon him swâ wide swâ hi woldan. and unasecgendlice yfel wyrcgende wæron. Dá gerædde se cyning and his witan. \$ him man to sende. and him behet gafol and metsunge. wid bon Se hi bære heregunge geswicon. and hi Sa b underfengon. And com þa eall se here to Hamtune. and vær winter setl namon. and hi mon bær fedde geond eall WestSeaxena rice, and him mon geald feos xvi dusend p. Da sende se cyning æfter Anlafe cynge Ælfeah b' and Æðelweard ealdorman, and man gislude þa hwile into bam scipum. and hi da læddon Anlaf mid miclum wurdscipe to bam cyninge to Andeferan. And se cyning Æbelred his onfeng æt bisceopes handa. and him cynelice gifode. And him þá Anlaf behet. swa he hit eac gelæste. \$\forall he næfre eft to Angelcynne mid unfride cuman nolde.

993. Her on dissum geare wæs Bæbban burh to brocon. and mycel here hude pær genumen. and æfter pam com to Humbran mude se here. and pær mycel yfel gewrohtan ægder ge on Lindesige ge on Nordhymbran. Pa gegaderode man swide mycele fyrde. and pa hi to gædere gan sceoldan. pa on stealdon pa heretogan ærest pone fleam. Þ wæs Fræna. and Godwine. and Fridegist. On þysum ilcan geare het se cyng ablendan Ælfgar Ælfrices sunu ealdormannes.

994. Her on bisum geare com Anlaf and Swegen to Lunden byrig on Nativitas sce Marie mid iiii and hundnigontigum scipum, and hi da on da burh festlice feohtende wæron. and eac hi mid fyre ontendan woldon, ac hi bar ge feordon maran hearm and yfel bonne hi æfre wendon. B heom ænig burhwaru ge don sceolde. Ac se halige Godes modor on Sam hire mildheortnisse bære burhware ge cyode, and hi ahredde wið heora feondum, and hi þanon ferdon, and wrohton b mæste yfel be æfre ænig here don mihte on bærnette and hergunge and on man slihtum ægder be dam særiman on East Seaxum and on Cent lande and on Suð Seaxum and on Hamtunscire, and æt nyxtan naman heom hors, and ridon swa wide swa hi woldon, and un asecgendlice yfel wircende wæron. þa ge rædde se cyng and his witan þ him man to sende. and him gafol be hete and metsunge wið þon þe hi þære hergunge ge swicon. and hi þa þet under fengon. and com ba eall se here to Hamtune. and bær winter setle namon, and hi man bær fædde geond eall West Seaxna rice. and him man geald xvi busend punda. Pa sende se cyng æfter Anlafe cyninge. Ælfeach b' and Ædelward ealdorman. and man gislade ba hwile in to bam scipum. and hi þa læddan Anlaf mid mycclum wurðscipe to þam cynge to Andeferan. and se cyng Æðelred his anfeng æt biscopes handa. and him cynelice gifode. and him þa Anlaf behet swa he hit eac gelæste. † he næfre eft to Angel cynne mid unfride cumon nolde.

Hic Ricardus vetus obiit. et Ricardus filius ejus suscepit regnum. et regnavit xxxi añ.

994. Her fordferde Sigeric arcebiscop. and feng Ælfric Wiltunscire bisceop to dam arcebiscoprice.

(C) 995. Her on pissum geare æteowde cometa se steorra. and Sigeric arceb' for ferde.

996. Hêr on Sissum geare wæs Ælfric gehalgod to arceb' to Cristes cyrican.

997. Her on þissum geare ferde se here abutan Defenan scire into Sæfern muðan. and þær heregodon ægðer ge on Cornwealum and on Norð Wealum and on Defenum. and eodon him þa up æt Wecedport. and þær micel yfel worhton on bærnette and on manslihtum. And æfter þam wendon eft abutan Penwið steort on þa suð healfe. and wendon þa into Tamer muðan. and eodon þá up oð hi comon to Hlydan forda. and ælc þing bærndon and slogon þe hi gemitton. and Ordulfes mynster æt Tæfingstóc forbærndon. and unasecgendlic here hyðe mid him to scypon brohtón.

998. Hêr wende se here eft eastweard into From mušan. and þær æghwær up eodon swa wide swa hi woldon into Dorsæton. And man oft fyrde ongean hi gaderede. ac sona swa hi togædere gan sceoldan. Þoñ wearð þær æfre ðuruh sum þing fleam astiht. and æfre hí æt ende sige ahton. And þoñ oðre hwile lagon him on Wihtlande. and æton him þa hwile of Hamtunscire and of Suð Seaxum.

999. Hér com se here eft abutan intô Temese. and wendon þa up andlang Medwægan and to Hrofeceastre. And com þa seo Centisce fyrd þar ongean. and hi ða þær fæste togædere fengon. ac wala þ hi toraðe bugon and flugon. And þá Deniscan ahton wælstowe geweald. and namon þa hors. and ridan swa hwider swa hi sylf woldon. and forneah ealle West Kentingas fordydon and forheregodon. Da rædde se cyning wið his witan. Þ mán sceolde mid scyp fyrde. and eac mid land fyrde. hym ongean faran. Ac þa ða scipu gearwe wæron. þa ylcodan þa deman fram dæge to dæge. and swencte Þ earme folc Þ on ðam scipon læg. and á swa hit forðwerdre beon sceolde swa wæs hit lætre fram ánre tide tó oðre. and á hi leton heora feonda werod wexan. and á man rymde fram þære sæ. and hi foron æfre forð æfter. And þonne æt ðam ende. ne beheold hit nan þing seo scyp fyrding. ne seo land fyrding. buton folces geswinc and feos spylling and heora feonda forð bylding.

F. 996. Her was Wulstan gehadod to b' into Lundenb'i. 997. Her Ælfric arb' ferde to Rome æfter his arcepallium.

995. Her on pissum geare æteowde cometa se steorra. and Siric arcb' forðferde.

996. Her on þissum geare wæs Ælfric ge halgod to arčb'e to Xpes cyrcean.

997. Her on þissum geare ferde se here abutan Defnan scire in to Sæfern muðon. and þær ge hergodon ægðer on Cornwealum ge on Norðwalum. and on Defenan. and eodon him þa up æt Wecedport. and þær mycel yfel wrohtan on bærnette. and on manslihtum. and æfter þam wendon eft abutan ⁸ Penwiht steort on ða suðhealfe. and wendon þa in to Tamer muðan. and eodon þa úp oð þ hi comon to Hlidaforda. and ælcþing bærndon and slogon þ hi ge metton. and Ordulfes mynster æt Tefing stoce forbærndon. and un asecgendlice here huðe mid him to scipa brohtan.

998. Her gewende se here eft eastweard into Frommuðan. and þær æghwær úp eodon swa wide swa hi woldan into Dorsætan. and man oft fyrde ongean hi ge gaderode. ac sona swa hi to gædere gan sceoldan. Þonne wearð þær æfre þurh sum þing fleam ástiht. and æfre hi æt ende sige ahton. and þonne oðre hwile lagen heom on Wihtlande. and eoton heom þa hwile of Hamtun scire. and of Suðseaxum.

999. Her com se here eft abuton into Temese, and wendon ba up andlang Medewægan to Hrofe ceastre. and com ba seo Centisce fyrde bær ongean, and hi bær fæste to gedere fengon. ác wala1 h hi to hrade bugon, and flugon, for ham be hi næfdon fultum þe hi habban sceoldan, þa ahton þa Dæniscan wælstowe ge weald, and naman þa hors2, and ridan swa wide swa hi woldon sylf. and 3 for næh ealle weast Centingas fordydon, and forhergodan. Da rædde se cyng wið his witan B man sceolde mid scip fyrde. and eac mid land fyrde him ongean faran, ac da þa scipu gearwe wæron, þa elkede man 4 fram dæge to dæge, and swencte be earme folc be on dam scipon lagon, and á swa hit for wearde been scolde, swa hit lætre wæs fram anre tyde to o're, and a hi leton heora feonda wærod wexan. and á man rymde fram þære sæ. and hi ferdon æfre forð æfter. and þonne æt þam ende ne be heold hit nan bing seo scip fyrding. buton folces ge swinc. and feos spilling, and heora feonda for bylding.

⁸ Penwæd D. 2 horsan D.

⁹ lægon him . . . æton him D.
3 wel neah eall West Cent F.

D. 1 wala wa D. 4 ilkede man D.

1001. Her on bysum geare wæs micel ûnfrið on Angel cynnes londe burh scip here, and wel gehwær hergedon and bærndon, swa hy upp asetton on ænne sib. \$ hy coman to Æbelinga dene. and ba com bær to geanes Hamtun scir. and him wid gefuhton. and vær weard Æbelweard cinges heah gerefa ofslegen. and Leofric æt Hwitciricean. and Leofwine cinges heah gerefa. and Wulfhere bisceopes &egn. and Godwine æt Wordige. Ælfsiges bisceopes sunu. and ealra manna an and hund eahtatig. and bær weard bara Denescra micle ma ofslegenra. beah be hie wælstowe ge weald ahtan. And foran a panon west oppet hy coman to Defenan, and him ber to geanes com Pallig. mid ban scipan be he gegaderian mihte, forbam be he asceacen wæs fram Æ8elrede cyncge ofer ealle 8a ge trywda de he him geseald hæfde. and eac se cyng him wel gegifod hæfde on hamon, and on golde and seolfre. and for bærndon Tegntun. and eac fela ogra godra hama be we genemnan ne cunnan. and heom man syddan bær frid wid nam. And hy foran ba þanon tó Exan muðan. swa h hy asettan him upp ón ænne sið oð hy coman tổ Peon hổ. and þær wæs Kola 8æs cyninges heah gerefa. and Eadsige bæs cynincges gerefa. to geanes him mid være fyrde ve hy gegaderian mihtan, and hy vær aflymede wurdon. and vær wearv fela of slegenra. and va Deniscean ahtan wæl stowe geweald. and des on mergen forbærndon bone ham æt Peon hô. and æt Glistune. and eac fela godra hama þe we genemnan na cunnan. and foran &a eft east ongean od hy coman to Wiht. And þæs on mergen forbærndon one ham æt Wealtham. and odra cotlifa fela. & and heom man rake has wid hingode. and hy namon frið.

[§] MS. A. closes here, and has not the latter entries of X.

1000. Her on Sissum geare se cyng ferde in to ⁵Cumer lande, and hit swide neah eall for hergode, and his scipu wendon út abuton Legceastre, and sceoldan cumon ongean hine, ac hi ne mihton, þa gehergodon hi Mænige.

And seo unfrioflota wæs bæs sumeres ge wend to Ricardes6 rice. 1001. Her com se here to Exan mudan, and up da eodan to dere byrig. and bær fæstlice feohtende wæron. ac him man swide fæstlice wid stod, and heardlice. Da gewendon hi geond b land. and dydon eall swa hi be wuna wæron. slogon and beorndon. Þa ge somnode man þær ormæte fyrde of Defenisces folces, and Sumor sætisces, and hi da to somne comon æt Peonuho, and sona swa hi to gædere fengon, þa beah seo Englisce fyrd. and hi bær mycel wæl of slogon. and ridan þa ofer þ land. and wæs æfre heora æftra syð wyrse bonne se ærra, and mid him ba mycele here hude to scipon brohton, and banon wendon in Wihtland, and bær him ferdon on buton swa swa hi sylf woldon, and him nan bing ne wid stod. ne him to ne dorste scip here on sæ. ne land fyrd. ne eodon hi swa feor úp. Wæs hit þa on ælce wisan hefig tyma. forðam þe hi næfre heora yfeles geswicon.

1002. Her on bissum geare se cyng gerædde and his witan. B man sceolde gafol gyldon bam flotan, and frið wið hi ge niman wið þon þe hi heora yfeles ge swican sceoldan. Da sende se cyng to bam flotan Leofsig ealdorman, and he ba bæs cynges worde and his witena grið wið hi ge sætte. and bet hi to metsunge fengon and to gaffe. and hi ba b under fengon. and him man þa geald xxiiii þusend punda. Da on gemang bysum of sloh Leofsig ealdorman Æfic bæs cynges heah ge refan, and se cyng hine oa ge utode of earde. And ba on bam ilcan lengtene com seo hlæfdige Ricardes dohtor7 hider to lande. On Sam ilcan sumera Ealdulf arcb' foroferde, and on dam geare se cyng het of slean ealle da Deniscan men be on Angel cynne wæron on Bricius messe dæg. forbon þam cynge wæs ge cydd b hi woldon hine be syrewian9 æt his life. and sy&an ealle his witan. and habban syboan his rice1.

⁵ Cumber D.

⁶ Rikerdes D.

⁷ Ymma Ælfgiua adds F.—Emma Saxonice Ælfgiva vocata. (Flor.)

⁸ S. Britius F.

⁹ syrwan C. syrewan D. syrwian F.

¹ butan ælcre wiðcweðenesse adds F.

1005. Her Ælfricus arceb' for oferde.

1006. Her mann halgode Ælfehg to arce biscope.

1017

is the next year

in A.

F. 1003. Her was Execiester abrocen far anes Frencisces ceorles dingan Hugo hatte. Sone se hlæfdige hefde geset to gerefan, and se here þa burh mid ealle for dyde. Da gegaderade man swyþe mycele fyrde and þa scolde Ælfric ealderman lædan þa fyrde, ac he teh forþ his ealdan wrencas. Sona swa hi wæran swa gehende þægþer heora on oþer hawede. Sa gebræde he hine to spiwenne and cwæd dhe seoc wære, and swa þ folc beswac. Da Swegen geseah þ hi anræd næron. Sa lædde his here into Wiltune, and þone tun for bærndan, and eodan þa to Searbyrig and þanon æft to sæ.

Hic destructa ē Exoniā ppt' quendā Francigenā noē Hugonem, quē regina p'positū fee': et cong'gatus ē magn' exercit' cont' eos, quē videlicet Alfrie' dux ducere debebat. Sed dū ventū ē ubi uterque exercit' sese invicē aspiciunt, dux Alfrie' fingit se infirmū et sic decep' exercitū. Cum aut' Suan' videret exercitū Anglor' esse inconstantem, duxit usq' Wiltoniā exercitū suū et cōbusserunt eā et sic processer't usq' Selesb'i, indeq' ad naves suas.

1004. Her cō Swegen mid his flotan to Norþwic, and þa burh eall forheregodan and forbærnde. Ta gereadde Ulfcytel wið þa witan on East Englū þ man scolde friðian wið Tonne here, farþan hi unwæres coman, na he fyrst næfde þ he his fyrde gegaderian mihte. Ac under Tā griðe bestæl se here up of scipan, and foran to Heortfordan, and Ufcytel gegaderode his here and foræfter and hi þar togædere fæstlice fengan. Tar was East Engla folces yld mycel ofslagan.

Hic venit Swan' cū navih' suis ad Noròwic et totā civitatē dep'davit igneq' cremavit. Tunc Ulfcytel consiliū cep' cū p'ncipib' Orientalium Anglor' eo quod improvise sup' eos venirent, et exercit' subito cong'gari n' potuit; pacē facere cū Suano. Cū aut' inducie date accepteque essent, furtive hostes exier't de navib', et perrexer't usq' Heortford. Quos insecutus idē Ulfcytel cū exercitu p'venit usq' ad illos; et cōmisit cū eis fortiter. Ibi occisi s't optimi qq' senior' p'ncipū Orientaliū.

1005. Her on þyssti geare wæs se mycla hungar geond Saxonti Angelcynn swylce nan man ær negemunde swa grine, and se flota þæs geares gewende of öysti earde to Denmearcan, and sona angean cyrde.

Hic facta ē fames valida in Anglia q'anta nūq' antea facta est in t'ra illa. Eod' anno exercit' Danor' rev'sus est in Denmarcā ab Anglia, et post n' multū tēporis regressus ē.

² buruh C.

³ And on þam ilcan geare eode se here úp into Wiltunscire *insert* C. D.

⁴ werd C. D. 5 becyrde C. D.

⁶ C. D. insert beet hi bær to gædere

fon sceoldon.

⁷ C. p. add þæt hi næfre wyrsan handplegan on Angel cynne ne gemitton. Þonne Ulfcytel him to brohte.

⁸ gearde C.

1003. Her wæs Eaxeceaster abrocen burh bone Frenciscan ceorl Hugon be seo hlefdige heafde hire ge sett to ge refan. and se here ba burh 2 mid ealle fordyde. and mycele here hube bær ge namen. 3 Da gegaderode man swide mycele fyrde of Wiltun scire and of Hamtun scire, and swide anrædlice wid bæs heres weard4 wæron. Da sceolde se ealdorman Ælfric lædan þa fyrde, ac he teah forð þa his ealdan wrenceas. Sona swa hi wæron swa gehende bet ægder heora on oder hawede. ba ge bræd he hine seocne, and ongan hine brecan to spiwenne. and cweb bet he gesiclod wære. and swa b folc beswac⁵ † he lædan sceolde swa hit ge cweden is. Đonn se heretoga wacad bonn bid eall se here swide ge hindred. Da Swegen geseah b hi anræde næron and ealle to hwurfon. ba lædde he his here into Wiltune. and hi da burh2 ge hergodon and forbærndon, and eodon ha to Searbyrig, and hanon eft to sæ. ferde þær he wiste his yð hengestas.

1004. Her com Swegen mid his flotan to Norowic, and ba burh ealle ge hergade, and forbærndon. pa gerædde Ulfkytel wið þa witan on East Englum. Þ him bætere weron Þ man wið þone here friðes ceapode. ær hi to mycelne hearm on pam earde ge dydon. forpam be hi unwares comon. and he fyrst næfde b he his fyrde ge gadrian mihte. Da under bam gride pe heom be tweonan beon sceolde. pa be steal se here up fram scipon, and wendan heora fore to peodforda. Da Ulfcytel p under geat. pa seonde he p man sceolde pa scipu to heawan. ac hi abrudon ba de he to bohte, and he ba ge gaderode his fyrde diglice swa he swydost muhte. And sc here com þa to þeodforda binnon iii wuca þæs þe hi ær ge hergodon Norowic. and pær binnon ane niht wæron. and þa burh hergodon and forbærndon. þa on morgen þa hi to scipu woldon, þa com Ulfcytel mid his werode. 6 and hi þær to gædere feastlice fengon. and mycel wæl þær on ægðære hand gefeoll. Dær wærð East Engla folces seo yld ofslagen. ac gif bet full mægen bære wære. ne eodan hi næfre eft to scipon. swa hi sylfe sædon7.

1005. Her on þyssum geare wæs se mycla hungor geond Angel cynn swilce nan man ær ne gemunde swa grimne. and se flota þæs geares gewende of þissum earde⁸ to Dænemearcon. and litelne fyrst let þet he eft ne com.

1006. Her for oferde Ælfric arceb'. and Ælfeah biscop feng

(A.D. 1006) æfter him to dam ærce stole. and Brihtwold b' feng to þam rice3 on Wiltun scire. and Wulfgeate wæs eall his are of ge numen4. and Wulfeah and Ufegeat wæron ablende. and Ælfelm ealdorman weard of slagen. and Kenulf biscop fordferde. And þa ofer þone midne sumor com þa se Denisca flota to Sandwic. and dydon eall swa hi ær ge wuna wæron. hergodon and bærndon. and slogon swa swa hi ferdon. Þa hetse cyng abannan út ealne deodscipe of Westseaxum. and of Myrcean. and hi lagon ute þa ealne þone herfest on fyrdinge ongean þone here. ac hit naht ne beheold þema þe hit oftor ær dyde. ac for eallum þissum se here ferde swa he sylf wolde. and se fyrdinge dyde þære land leode ælcne hearm. þet him nador ne dohte ne ínn here5 ne ut here.

Da hit winter leohte⁶ þa ferde se fyrd ham. and se here com þa ofer Martinus messan to his fryð stole to Wihtlande. and tilode him þær æghwer þæs ðe hi behofdan. and þa to ðam middan wintran eodon heom to heora garwan feorme ut þurh Hamtun scire into Barruc scire to Rædingan. and hi dydon heora ge wuna. atendon heora ⁷ beacna swa swa hi ferdon. and ferdon þa to Wealinga forda. and þet eall forspeldon ⁸. and wændon him þa andlang Æscesdune Cwícchelmes hlæwe ge sohton. þet hi næfre to sæ gán ne sceoldan. wendon þa oðres wæges hamweard. Þa wæs þær fyrd ge somnod æt Cynetan. and hi þær to gædere fengon. and sona þet wærod on fleame ge brohtan. and syððan hyra here huðe to sæ færedon. þær mihton ge seon Winceastre leodan rancne here and un earhne. Þ hi be hyra gate to sæ eodon. and mæte and madmas ofer 1 mila him fram sæ fættan.

pa wæs se cyng ge wend ofer Temese into Scrobbesbyrig scire, and nam þær his feorme in þære midde wintres tide, þa wearð hit swa mycel æge fram þam here, þet man ne mihte ge þeoncean ne asmægian hu man of earde hi ge

C. D. runs thus: and wæron him þá áne niht æt Ceolesíge, and wendon him þa iandlang Æscesdune to Cwicelmes hlæwe. and þær onbidedon beotra gylpa, forþon oft man cwæð, gif hi Cwicelmes hlæw gesohton, þæt hi næfre to sæ gán ne scoldon, wendon him þa oðres weges hamwerd.

³ b'stole F. episcopatnm Serberiensem F. Lat.

⁴ And on þam ilcan geare wæs Wulfgeate eall his ár ongenumen C. p.

⁵ inghere C.

⁶ læhte C. D. leahte F.

⁷ herebeacen C. herebeacna D.

⁸ forswældon C. forswælldon D. forbernde F. The subsequent passage in

bringon sceolde. oððe þisne eard wið hi ge healdan. forþan þe hi hæfdon ælce scire on West Sexum stiðe ge marcod mid bryne and mid hergunge. Agan se cyng georne to smeagenne wið his witan hwet heom eallum rædlicost þuhte. Þ man þisum earde ge beorgan mihte ær he mid ealle fordon wurðe. Da ge rædde seo cyng and his witan eallum þeodscipe to þearfe. Þeah hit lað wære. Þ man nyde moste þam [here] gafol gyldan. Da sende se cyng to þam here. and him cyþan het þ he wolde þ heom grið be tweonan beon sceolde. and him man gafol and metsunge syllan sceolde. and hi ða ealle þ under fengon. and him man metsod geond Angel cyn.

1007. Her on dissum geare wæs þet gafol gelæst þam unfridehere. Þ wæs xxx þusend punda. And on dissum geare eac wæs Ædric gesett to ealdorman on Myrcena rice.

1008. Her be bead se cyng p man sceolde ofer eall Angel cynn scipu feastlice wircean. p is ponne [of] prym hund hidum. and of x hidon ænne sceg82. and of viii hidum helm and byrnan.

1009. Her on þissum geare ge wurdon þa scipu gearwe þe we ær ymbe spræcon. and heora wæs swa feala swa næfre ær þes ðe us bec secgað on Angel cynne ne ge wurdon on nanes cynges dæg. and hi man þa ealle to gædere ferode to Sandwic. and þær ³sceoldan licgan. and þisne eard healdan wið ælcne ut here. ⁴ac we gyt næfdon þa ge selða. ne þone wurðscipe þ seo scip fyrd nytt wære ðisum earde. þe ma þe heo oftor ær wæs.

Da ge weard hit on þisum ilcan timan oð de litle ær þet Brihtric Eadrices broð or ealdor mannes for wregde Wulfnod cild þone Suðseaxscian to þam cyning, and he þa ut ge wende, and him þa to aspeon þet he heafde xx scipa, and he þa hergode æghwer be dam suð riman, and ælc yfel wrohton, þa cydde man into þære scip fyrde, þet hi mann eade befaran mihte, gif man ymbe beon wolde?

⁹ gebeorghan C.

¹ D. adds Her for Ælfeah bisceop to Rome æfter pallium.

² scægo D. Cf. Flor. 1008.

³ scoldon bis land werian wið ælcne uthere F.

⁴ ac hit to nahte geweard ealswa hit ofter ær gelamp F.

⁵ F. inserts Godwines fæder eorles.

⁶ hy man æade D.

⁷ gif man embe wære C.

(A.D. 1009) ge nam se Brihtric him to hundeahtatig scipa. and pohte
† he him myceles wordes wircean sceolde. † he Wulfnoð cuconne oððe deadne begytan sceolde. † he Wulfnoð cuconne oððe deadne begytan sceolde. ac þa hi þyder weard wæron. þa com him swilc wind ongean swilce nan mann ær ne ge munde. and þa scipo ða ealle to beot. and to þræsc. and on land wearp. and com se Wulfnoð sona. and ða scipo forbærnde. Da þis cuð wæs to ðam oðrum scipon þær se cyng wæs hu ða oðre ge ferdon. wæs þa swilc hit eall rædleas wære. and ferde se cyng him ham. and þa ealdor menn. and þa heah witan. and forleton þa scipo þus leohtlice. and þet folc þa þe on ðam scipe wæron færcodon² ða scipo eft to Lundene. and leton ealles ðeodscipes ge swincg þus leohtlice for wurðan. and næs se ege na betera þe eall Angel cynn to hopode.

pa deos scipfyrd dus geendod wæs. pa com sona æfter hlammessan se un ge metlica unfridhere to Sandwic. and sona wendon heora fore to Cantwar byrig. and pa burh rade ge eodon. gif hi pe rador to him frides to ne girndon and ealle East Centingas wid pone here frid genamon. and him ge sealdon iii pusend punda.

⁷ And se here þa sona æfter þam gewende abuton oð þet hi comon to Wihtlande. and þær æghwer on Suðseaxum. and on Hamtunscire. and eac on Bearrucscire hergodon and bærndon swa heora gewuna wæs†. þa het se cyng abannan ut ealne þeodscipe þet mann on ælce healfe wið hi gehealden sceolde. ac þeah hweðere hi ferdon loc § hu hi woldon. Þa sum siðe heafde se cyng hi fore begán mid ealre fyrde. Þa hi to scipan woldon. and eall folc gearu wæs heom on to fonne.

⁸ Da wolde Brihtric geearnian him here word. and nam a LXXX scipa for mid him. and ohte a he wolde Wulnoo gelæccan cucene ood deddne F. Tunc cogitavit Brihtricus adquirere sibi laudem &c. F. Lat.

⁹ awearp C.

¹ Đá þis þus cuð wæs C. Đa ðis gehyrde se cing ðe mid þan oðran scipan beliuen was, þa ferde he ham, and ealle ða ealdermen F.

² fercodon C. D. F.

³ se sige C. D. and næs...hopode not in F.

⁴ lafmæssan C. D.

⁵ be we heton Durkilles here in C only.

⁶ and Sa buruh raSe geeodon, gif hi Se hraSor tố him friSes ne gyrndon C.

⁷ This and the next paragraph not

[†] swa hiora géwuna is C. swa hcora gewuna is D.

[§] loca C. D.

ac hit wæs da purh Eadric ealdorman gelet swa hit pa efre wæs.

Da æfter ses Martinus mæssan. þa ferdon hi eft ongean to Cent. and namon him wintersettl on Temesan. and lifedon² of East Seaxum. and of dam scirum þe þær nyxt wæron on twam healfe Temese. and oft hi on þa burh Lundene ge fuhton. Ac si Gode lof. þet heo gyt ge sund stent. and hi þær æfre yfel ge ferdon.

Da æfter middan wintra hi namon þa ænne úpgang út þurh Ciltern. and swa to Oxneforda. and þa burh forbærndon. and namon hit þa on twa healfe Temese to scipan weard³ þa ge warnode⁴ man hi þ þær wæs fyrd æt Lundene on gean. ⁵hi ge wendon þa ofer æt Stane. and þus ferdon ealne þone winter and ðone lencten wæron him on Cent. and bettan heora scipa.

1010. Her on dissum geare com se fore sprecenda here ofer Eastron to Englum, and wendon up at Gipeswic, and eodon 6an reces pær hi ge axodon Ulfcytel mid his fyrde. Dis wæs on þam dæg prima ascensio Dñi. and þa sona flugon East Engla. þa stod 7 Grantabrycg scir fæstlice on gean. þær wæs of slægen Æðelstan þes cynges aðum, and Oswi and his sunu. and Wulfric Leofwines sunu. and Eadwig Æfices brofor, and feala ofra godra begna, and folces ungerim, bone fleam ærest astealde burcytel Myranheafod, and ba Dæniscan ahton wæl stowe ge weald. and bær wurdon gehorsode, and syoon ahton East Engle geweald. and pone eard iii monpas hergodon and bærndon. ge furðon8 on þa wildan fennas hi ferdon, and menn and 9 yrfe hi slogon, and bærndon geond þa feonnas. and peodford forbærndon, and Grantabrycge, and syddon wendon eft sudweard into Temese. and ridon pa ge horsedan menn ongean þa scipo. and syðon hrædlice wendon westweard on Oxnaford scire, and banon to Bucingham scire, and swa andlang Usan, o'd hi comon to Bedanforda

¹ swa hit gyt æfre wæs C. D.

² lifdon him of East Seaxum C. D.

³ to scypeweard C. D. and naman ba to scipan weard F.

⁴ gehwarnede D.

⁵ wendon him ba ofer æt C. D. and

hi gewendan ouer at F.

⁶ anreces C. D. anan þar F.

⁷ Grante brige ana F.

⁸ fyroon C.

⁹ orf ofslogan eal p hi to comon F.

and swa forð oð Temesan ford. and a bærndon swa hi ge ferdon, wendon þa eft to scipon mid heora herehuðe.

And þone i hi to scipon streddon, þonne sceolde fyrd út eft ongean þ hi úp woldon, þonne ferde seo fyrd ham, and þonne hi wæron be easton, þonne heold man fyrde be westan, and þonne hi wæron be suðan, þonne wæs ure fyrd be norðan. Donne bead man ealle witan to cynge, and man þonne rædan scolde hu man þisne eard werian sceolde. Ac þeah man hwæt þonñ rædde, þ ne stod furðon ænne monað, æt nyxtan næs nan heafod man þ fyrde gaderian wolde, ac ælc fleah swa he mæst myhte. Ne furðon nan scir nolde oðre gelæstan æt nyxtan.

pa æt foran sõs Andreas mæssan. Sa com se here to Hamtune. and þone port sona forbærndon. and þær namon abuton swa mycel swa hi woldon sylfe. and þanon wendon ofer Temese in to West Seaxum. and swa wið Caningan mærsces. and p eall forbærndon. Pa hi swa feor ge gan hæfdon swa hi þa woldon. þa comon hi to Sam middan wintra to scipon.

1011. Her on pissum geare sende se cyng and his witan to oam here, and georndon frides, and him gafol and metsunga behetan, wid ham he hi heora hergunga geswicon.

Hi heafdon þa ofergan East Engla i. and East Seaxe ii. and Middel Seaxe iii. and Oxena ford scire iiii. and Grantabrycge scire v. and Heortford scire vi. and Bucingaham scire vii. and Bedanford scire viii. and healfe Huntadun scire x. and be suðan Temese ealle Centingas. and Suð Seaxe. and Hæstingas. and Suðrig. and Bearruc scire. and Hamtun scire. and micel on Wiltun scire.

C. 1011. Her on bissum geare sende se cyning and his witan to bam here, and gyrndon fribes, and him gafol and metsunge beheton, wib bam be hi hiora hergunge geswicon.

Hi hæfdon þa ofergán i East Engle, and ii East Sexe, and iii Middel Sexe, and iv Oxenafordscire, and v Grantabric scire, and vi Heort ford scire, and vii Buccingaham scire, and viii Bede ford scire, and ix healfe Huntadun scire, and x micel on Hamtun scire, and be suþan Temese, ealle Kentingas, and Suð Sexe, and Hæsting, and Suð rige, and Bearroc scire, and Hamtun scire, and micel on Wiltun scire.

Ealle þas ungesælða us gelumpon þurh unrædes. B mann (A.D. 1011) nolde him to timan gafol bedan. ac þonn hi mæst to yfele ge don hæfdon. bonn nam man grið and frið wið hi. and nade læs for eallum bisum gride and fride and gafole. hi ferdon æghwider folc mælum, and hergodon, and ure earme folc ræpton and slogon.

And on bissum geare betwix Natiuit' see Marie and see Michaeles mæssan hi ymbesætan Cantwaraburh, and hi bær into comon burh syrewrenceas. forbon Ælmær hi be cyrde Cantwara burh² be se arcb' Ælfeah ær generede his life. And hi bær þa ge naman þon arcb' Ælfeah. and Ælfword bæs cynges gerefan. and Leofwine abb', and Godwine b'. And Ælmær abb' hi lætan aweg. and hi þær genaman inne ealle þa gehadode menn. and weras. and wif. b was un asecgendlic anigum menn hu mycel bæs folces wæs. and on bære byrig siððon wæron swa lange swa hi woldon, and þa hi hæfdon þa burh ealle asmeade, wendon him ba to scipon, and læddon bon arcb' mid him.

"Wæs da ræpling. se be ær wæs Angel Tunc fuit præda Pagano-"cynnes heafod and Xpendomes. bær man caput totius Brytanniæ & " mihte þa ge seon earm o þær man ær ge maxima miseria videri,

rum, qui paulo ante fuit

(C) Ealle þas ungesælða ús gelumpon þuruh unrædas. † man nolde him átiman gafol beodon. obbe wið géfeohtan. ac. bon hi mæst to yfele gedon hæfdon. þon nam mon frið and grið wið hi. And na be læs for eallum bissum gride and gafole. hi ferdon æghweder floc mælum. and heregodon ure earme folc. and hi rypton and slogon.

And þa on ðissum geare betweox Natiuitas scæ Mariæ and sce Michaeles mæssan hi ymbsæton Cantware buruh, and hi intó coman buruh syruwrencas. fordan Ælmær hi becyrde. be se arceb' Ælfeah ær generede æt his life. And hi bær da genaman bone arceb' Ælfeah. and Ælfweard cynges gerefan. and Leofrune abb't. and Godwine b'. And Ælfmær abb' hi leton aweg. And hi öær genamon inne ealle þá gehadodan men. and weras. and wif. # wæs unasecgendlic ænigum men hu micel þæs folces wæs. And on þære byrig svþþan wæron swá lange swa hi woldon. And þá hí hæfdon þa buruh ealle asmeade. wendon him þá tó scypan. and læddon bone arceb' mid him.

"Wæs ðá ræpling, seðe ær wæs heafod Angelkynnes and Cristen-"domes. Dær man mihte bå geseon yrmbe bær man oft ær geseah "seah blisse on pære ærman byrig. þanon ubi prídie habebatur ma-"us com ærest Xpēndom. and blisse for kimum gaudium, & unde nobis pullulavit fides vera. F.

And hi heafdon þoñ arcb' mid him swalange o'ð þone timan þe hi hine gemartyredon.

1012. Her on þissum geare com Eadric ealdorman. and ealle þa yldestan witan gehadode and leawede Angelcynnes. to Lunden byrig to foran þam Eastron. wæs Æster dæg þa on þam datarum 10' Apr.'. and hi þæra ða swa lange wæron oð þ gafol wæs eall ge læst ofer Eastran. Þ wæs viii þusend punda.

pa on bone Sæternes dæg wearð swiðe ge stired se here on gean bone biscop, forban be he nolde heom nan feoh be haten, and forbead pann nan bing wið him syllan ne moste, wæron hi eac swyðe druncene, forbam bær wæs ge broht win sudan, ge namon ba bone b', leaddon hine to heora hustinga on bone Sunnan efen octabas Paschæ, and hine ba bær oftorfodon mid banum, and mid hryðera heafdum, and sloh hine ba an heora mid anre æxeyre on bet heafod, bet he mid bam dynte niðer asah, and his halige blod on ða eorðan

(C) "blisse, on pære earman byrig, panon com ærest Cristendom and "blis for Gode, and for worulde."

And hi hæfdon þone arceb' mid him swa lange o'ð þæne timan þè hi hine gemartiredon.

1012. Hér on þissum geare com Eadric ealdorman, and ealle þá yldestan witan géhadode and læwede Angelcynnes. tó Lunden byrig to foran þam Eastron. þá wæs Easter dæg on þam datarū Idus Aprilis, and hi vær þa swá lange wæron oþ þ gafol eal gélæst wæs ofer va Eastron. Þ wæs ehta and feowertig þusend punda.

Đá on þæne Sæternesdæg wearð þá se here swyðe astyred angean þone b'. forþam ðe he nolde him nan feoh behaten. ác he forbead þ man nan þing wið him syllan né moste. Wæron hí eac swyþe druncene. forðam þær wæs broht win suðan. Genamon þa ðone b'. læddon hine to hiora hustinge on ðone sunnan æfen. octab' Pasce. þa wæs xiii kl' Maii. and hine þær ða bysmorlice acwylmdon. oftorfedon mid banum. and mid hryþera heafdum. and sloh hine ðá án hiora mid anre æxe yre on þ heafod. Þ mid þam dynte hé nyþer asah. and his halige blod on þá eorðan feol. and his haligan sawle

¹ hustinge D. hustingæ F. in concilium suum. F. Lat.

² hryderes F. neata heafedum D. 3 eaxe ere D.

feoll. and his þa haligan sawle to Godes rice asende. and þa biscopas Eadnoð and Ælfhun. and seo burhwaru under fengon þone haligan lichaman on mergen and feredon hine to Lundene mid ealre⁴ arwurðnisse. and hine be byrigdon on ses Paulus mynstre. and þær nu God swutelað þæs halgan martires mihta.

Da þet gafol ge lest wæs. and þa frið aðas ge sworene. þa to ferde se here wide swa he ær gegaderod wæs. Da bugon to þam cyninge of þam here xlv scipa. and him be heton þet hi woldon þisne eard healdan. and he hi fedan scolde and scrydan.

1013. On þam æftran geare þe se arcb' wæs ge martyrod. se cyng ge sætte Lifing b' to Cantwara byrig to dam arce stole.

And on þam ilcan geare to foran þam monðe August' com Swegen cyning mid his flotan to Sandwic. and wende swyðe raðe abutan East Englum. into Humbran muðan. and swa úppweard andlang Trentan þet he com to Gegnes burh. and þa sona abeah Uhtred eorl. and eall Norðhymbra to him. and eall þ folc on Lindesige. and syððan þet folc of Fif burhingan. and raðe þæs eall here be norðan Wætlinga

And on þisum ilcan geare tó foran þam monðe August' com Swegen cyning mid his flotan tó Sandwic. and wende þá swiðe raðe abutan East Englum into Humbramuþan. and swa upweard andlang Trentan oð he com to Genes buruh. And þá sona beah Uhtred eorl and ealle Norðhymbre to him. and eal þ folc on Lindesige. and siððan þ folc intó Fif burhingum. and raðe þæs eall here be norðan

⁽C) tó Godes rice asende. And mon pone lichaman on mergen ferode tó Lundene, and pá bisceopas Eadnop and Ælfun, and seo buruhwaru hine underfengon mid ealre arwurðnysse, and hine bebyrigdon on sce Paules mynstre, and pær nu God sutelað þæs halgan martires mihta.

Đa p gafol gelæst wæs. and frið aþas asworene wæron. þá to ferde se here wide swa he ær gegaderod wæs. Đa bugon tó þam cynge of ðam here fif and feowertig scypa. and him beheton p hi woldon þysne eard healdan. and hé hi fedan sceolde and scrydon.

^{1013.} On Sam æftran geare þe se arceb' wæs gemartyrod. se cyning gesette Lyfinc b' to Cantwara byrig to Sam arcestole.

- (A.D. 1013) stræte. and him man sealde gislas of ælcere scire. Syððan he undergeat bet eall folc him to ge bogen wæs. ba bead he b man sceolde his here metian and horsian, and he ba ge wende svooan suoweard mid fulre fyrde, and betæhte his scipa and þa gislas CNUTE 6 his sunu. and syððan he com ofer Wæclinga stræte. hi wrohton b mæste yfel be ænig here don mihte, wende ba to Oxna forda, 7 and seo burhwaru sona abeah and gislode. and panon to Winceastre. and \$ ilce dydon, wendon ba banon eastward to Lundene, and mycel his folces adranc on Temese, forðam hi nanre brycge ne cepton8. Da he to bære byrig com. ba nolde seo burhwaru abugan ac heoldan mid fullan wige ongean, fordan bær wæs inne se cyning Æ8elred9, and burkil mid him. Da wende Swegen cyning panon to Wealinga forda, and swa ofer Temese westweard to Bayon, and sæt bær mid his fyrde, and com Æbelmer ealdor man bider, and ba weasternan bægnas mid him. and bugon ealle to Swegene. and gislodon. pa he eall1 bus ge faren heafde, wende ba nordweard to his scipon, and eall peodscipe hine heafde for fullne cyning, and seo burh-
 - (C) Wæclingastræte. and him man sealde gislas of ælcere scire. Syððan he undergeat & eall folc him to gebogen wæs. ba bead he & man sceolde his here mettian and horsian, and he da wende sybban sud weard mid fulre fyrde, and betæhte þá scipu and ðá gislas Cnute his suna. And syddan he com ofer Wætlinga stræte. worhton b mæste vfel † ænig here don mihte. Wende þá to Oxenaforda. and seo buruhwaru sona beah and gislude. and panon to Winceastre. and hi by ylce dydon. Wende ba banon eastwerd to Lundene, and mycel his folces adrang on Temese, for dam be hi nanre briege ne cepton. Đá he to være byrig com. bá nolde seo burhwaru bugan, ac heoldan mid fullan wige ongean, forðan þær wæs inge sê cyng Æþelred. and Đurcyl mid him. Dá wende Swegen cyng banon to Wealingaforda. and swa ofer Temese westweard to Baban. and sæt vær mid his fyrde. And com Æbelmær ealdorman byder. and þá westenan þegenas mid him. and bugon ealle to Swegene. and hi gisludon. Đâ he ous gefaren hæfde, wende þa norð weard tó his scipum, and eal peodscype hine hæfde þá for fulne cyng. And séo

⁶ Cnude F.

⁷ and swa to Winceastre. and ba 8a burh abugan and gislodan. And swa he ferde eastward &c. F.

⁸ quia non curabant quærere pontem F. Lat. cæpton D.

⁹ ac mid fullan wige agean heold. forðan se cing Æðelred was ðar inne F.

læl D. gislodon. and siððan sona eal ðeod hine fullice underfeng. and heold for fulne cing. and seo burhwaru on Lundene abeah to him and gislode.

waru æfter þam on Lundene beah and gislode. forþam hi(A.D. 1013) ondreddon þ he hi fordon wolde. bead þa Swegen full gild and metsunga to his here þone winter. and þurcyl bead þ ilce to þam here þe læg on Grena wic. and buton þam hi hergodan swa oft swa hi woldon. Da ne duhte naðor þisse þeoda ne suðan ne norðan. þa wæs se cyng sume hwile mid þam flotan þe on Temese wæron. and seo hlafdige wende þa ofer seo to hire broðor Ricarde. and Ælsige abbot of Burh mid hire. and se cyng sende Ælfun b' mid þam æþelinge Eadwarde and Ælfrede ofer sé. Þ he hi be witan sceolde. and se cyng ge wende þa fram þam flotan to ðam middan wintra to Wiht lande. and wæs þær þa tid. and æfter þære tide ge wende þa ofer sæ to Ricarde. and wæs þær mid him oðone byre þe Swegen dead wearð.

*And ha hwile he seo læfdige mid hire broher wæs begondon sæ. Ælfsige abb' of Burh he hær wæs mid hire, for to hone mynstre he is gehaten Boneual hær sõe Florentines lichama læg. fand hær ærm stede, ærm abbot and ærme muneces forhan he hi forhergode wæron, bohte ha hær æt hone abb' and æt he muneces sõe Florentines lichaman eall buton he heafod to v hundred punda, and ha he he ongean com ha offrede hit Crist and sõe Peter.

(C) buruhwaru æfter sam on Lundene beah and gislude. for son hi ondredon p hé hi fordon wolde. Da bead Swegen ful gyld and metsunge to his here sone winter, and Durkyl bead p ylce to sam here pé læg æt Grenawic, and for eallon pam hi heregodon swa oft swa hi woldon. Dá ne dohte naser pisse leode né susan né nóršan. Dá wæs se cyning Æpelred sume hwile mid pam flotan pé on Temese læg, and seo hlæfdige géwende pá ofer sæ to hire breser Ricarde, and Ælfsige abb' of Buruh mid hire. And se cyning sende Ælfun b' mid pam æpelingum Eadwerde and Ælfrede ofer sæ, p hé hi bewitan sceolde. And sé cyning géwende pá fram sam flotan tó pam middan wintra tó Wihtlande, and wæs sær pa tid, and æfter pære tide wende ofer sá sæ to Ricarde, and wæs sær mid him op pone byre p Swegen wears dead.

and se cing Ægelred sende his cwene Ælfgiue Ymma to hyre broðer ofer sæ Ricarde. and Ælsige abb' of Burh mid hyre and Ælfun b' mid ðam æðelingum Eadward and Ælfrede ouer sæ. Þ he hi bewitan scolde. and se cing sona him

sylf ferde æfter, and was þar begeondan eal 8 Swegen wear dead. F.

^{*} This paragraph is peculiar to E, and may reckon as the ninth piece of the domestic Annals of Peterborough Abbey.

1014. Her on þissum geare Swegen geendode his dagas to candel mæssan iii nō Febr'. and se flota eall ge curon Cnut to cyninge.

Da ge ræddan þa witan ealle ge hadode ge læwede þ man æfter þam cyninge Æðelrede sende. and cwædon þ him nan leofre hlaford nære þonñ heora ge cynde hlaford. gif he hi rihtlicor healdan wolde þonne he ær dyde. Da sende se cyng his sunu Eadward mid his ærendracan hider, and het gretan ealne his leodscipe, and cwæð þæt he heom hold hlaford beon wolde, and æle þæra þinga betan þe hi ealle ascunedon and æle þæra þinga forgifan beon sceolde þe him ge don oððe ge cweðen wære, wið þam þe hi ealle anrædlice buton swicdome to him ge cyrdon, and man þa fullne freondscipe ge fæstnode mid worde and mid wædde on ægðere healfe, and æfre ælene Denisce cyning utlagede of Engla lande ge cwædon. Da com Æðelred cyning innan þam lenetene ham to his agenre ðeode, and he glædlice fram heom eallum onfangen wæs.

And þa syððon Swegen dead wæs. sætt Cnut mid his

Đá syððan Swegen dead wæs. sæt Cnut mid his here on Genes

⁽C) 1014. Hér on þissum geare Swegen geendode his dagas to Candel mæssan iii ñ Feb'. And se flota þá eal gecuron Cnut tô cyninge.

Đấ geræddon þấ witan ealle þể on Englalande wæron ge hadode and læwede þ man æfter þam cyninge Æþelrede sende. and cwædon þ him nan hlaford leofra nære þonne hiora gecynda hlaford. gif he hi rihtlicor healdan wolde þoñ he ær dyde. Þá sende sé cyning his sunu Eadweard hider mid his ærenddracum. and hét gretan ealne his leodscype. and cwæð þ hé him hold hlaford beon wolde. and ælc þæra ðinga betan þé hí ealle áscunudon. and ælc þara ðinga forgyfen beon sceolde þe him gedon oþþe gecweden wære. wið þam ðe hí ealle ánrædlice butan swicdome to him gecyrdon. And mán þá fulne freondscipe gefæstnode mid wórde and mid wedde on ægþre healfe. and æfre ælcne Deniscne cyng útlah of Engla lande gecwædon. Þá com Æþelred cyning innon ðam Lengtene hám tó his agenre þeode. and hé glædlice fram him eallum onfangen wæs.

⁵ cyne hlauord F.

⁶ ascunodon D. ascunedan F.

here on Gegnes burh? oðða Eastron. and gewearð him and þam folce on Lindesige anes. Þ hi hine horsian sceoldan. and syððan ealle æt gædere faran and hergian. Da com se cyning Æðelred mid fulre fyrde þider ær hi gearwe wæron to Lindesige. and mann þa hergode. and bærnde and sloh eall þet man cynn Þ man aræcan mihte. Se Cnut ge wende him út mid his flotan. and wearð þet earme folc þus be swican þurh hine. and wænde þa suðweard oð Þ he com to Sandwíc. and let þær úp þa gislas þe his fæder ge sealde wæron. and cearf of heora handa and heora nosa. and buton eallum þisum yfelum se cyning het gyldan þam here þe on Grenewic læg xxi þusend punda.

And on þissum geare on sõe Michæles mæsseæfan. com pet mycele sæflod geond wide pisne eard. and ærn⁹ swa feor úp swa næfre ær ne dyde. and adrencte feala¹ tuna. and mann cynnes un arimædlice geteall².

1015. On þissum geare wæs þ mycele ge mot on Oxona forda. and þær Eadric ealdorman beswac Sigeferð and Morcær þa yldestan þægenas in to Seofon burgum. be pæhte hi

And on þissum geare on sce Michaeles mæsse æfen. com þ mycle sæ flod gynd wide þysne eard. and arn swá feor úp swa næfre ær ne dyde. and adrencte feala tuna. and man cynnes unarimedlic getel.

1015. Hér ón þissum geare wæs þ mycle gemot on Oxena forda. and ðær Eadric ealdorman beswac Siferð and Morcore þa yldestan þegenas into Seofon burgum. Bepæhte hi into his bure.

⁽C) buruh oþ þa Eastron. and gewear's him and þam folce on Lindesige anes. ħ hí hine horsian woldon. and sypþan ealle ætgædere faran and heregian. Đá com se cyning Æþelred mid fulre fyrde þýder ær hí gearwe wæron to Lindesige. and man þá hergode and bærnde and sloh eal ħ man cýnn ħ man ræcan mihte. And Cnut ge wende him aweig út mid his flotan. and wearð ħ earme folc þus beswicen ðuruh hine. and wende þá suðweard oþ he com to Sand wíc. and let dón úp þær ðá gislas þe his fæder gesealde wæron. and cearf of hiora handa and earan and nosa. And buton eallum þissum yfelum se cyng het gyldan þam here ðe on Grenawic læig xxi þusend p'd.

⁷ Gæignes- D.

⁸ læt man don up D.

⁹ earn D.

¹ fela D. F.

² getæll F.

(A.D. 1015) in to his bure. and hi man þær inne of sloh un gerisenlice 1. and se cyng þa genam eall heora æhta 2. and het nimon Sigeferðes 3 lafe and ge bringon binnon Mealdelmes byrig. þa 4 æfter litlum fece ferde Eadmund æðeling to. and genam þ wif ofer þes cynges willan 5. and heafde him to wife. Da to foran natiuitas sõe Mariæ ferde se æðeling wæston 6 norð in to Fif burgum. and gerad sona ealle Sigeferðes are and Morcares. and þ folc eall him to beah.

And þa on ðam ylcan timan com Cnut cyng to 7 Sandwíc. and wende 8 sona abutan Centland into West Seaxen oð he com to Fromuðan. and hergode þa on Dorsætum and on Wiltun scire 9. and on Sumær sæton. þa læg se cyng seóc æt Cosham. Da gaderode Eadric ealdorman fyrde and 10 se æðeling Eadmund be norðan. Da hi to gædere comon. þa wolde se ealdorman beswicon þone æþeling. and hi to hwurfon þa buton ge feohte forþam. and rimdon heora feondum. and Eadric ealdormann aspeon þa xl scipa fram þam cyning. and

(C) and hi man þær inne ófsloh ungerisenlice. And se cyng þá genam ealle hiora æhta. and het niman Siferðes lafe. and gebringan hi binnan Ealdelmes byrig. Dá æfter lytlum fæce ferde Eadmund æþelinc tó. and genam þ wif ofer ðæs cynges gewil. and hæfde him tó wife. Dá to foran natiuitas sõe Mariæ ferde se æþeling þanon westan norð intó Fif burgum. and gerad sona ealle Sigeferðes áre and Mocores. and þ folc eal him to beah.

And &á on þam ilcan timan com Cnut cyng tó Sandwic. and wende þá sona abutan Cent land into West Seaxum oð hé com to Frommuðan. and heregode þá on Dorsætum and on Wiltunscire. and on Sumer sætum. Đá læig sé cyng seóc æt Cosham. Đa gadarade Eadric ealdorman fyrde. and sé æþeling Eadmund be norðan. Đá hí togædere comon. ða wolde se ealdorman beswican þone æþeling. and hi to ferdon þa butan gefeohte forðan. and rymdon heora feondum. And Eadric ealdorman aspeon þá feowerti scipa fram þam cynge. and beah þá to Cnute. And West Sexe

¹ ungerysenlice D. ungerisedlice F.

² eahta F.

³ Siferdæs D.

⁴ And sona æfter lytlum face F.

⁵ wil D. bas cynges unbances F.

⁶ wæstan D.

⁷ up at F.

⁸ eal abutan F.

⁹ Wiltescire F.

¹⁰ and bothe beswican bone æðeling Eadmund. ac he ne mihte. ac he aspeon xl scipa of ðes cinges scipon and abeah to Cnut. F.

beah pa to Cnute. and West Seaxe bugon and gislodon. and horsodon pone here. and he wæs pær pa oð midne winter.

1016. Her on pissum geare com Cnut cyning mid his here clx scipa. and Eadric ealdormann mid him ofer Temese into Myrcan æt Cræcilade. and wendon þa to Wæring scire innon þære midde wintres tide. and hergodon and bærndon and slogon eall þ hi to comon.

Da ongan se æðeling Eadmund togadrienne fyrde. Þa se fyrd ge somnod wæs. Þa ne onhagode him buton se cyng þære wære, and hi hæfdon þære burh ware¹ fultum of Lundene. ge swicon þa þære fyrding, and færde ælc mann him ham.

Da æfter þære tide þa bead mann eft fyrde be fullum wite. þælc mann þe feor wære forð gewende. and mann sende to þam cyninge to Lundene. and bædon hine þ he come ongean þa fyrde mid þam fultume þe he gegaderian mihte. Da hi ealle to somne comon. þa ne beheold hit naht þe ma þe hit oftor ær dyde. Þa eydde mann þam cyninge þ hine mann beswicon wolde. þa þe him on fultume beon sceolden. Forlet ða þa fyrde. and cyrde him eft to Lundene.

(C) bugon and gislodon, and horsodon bone here, and he was bar &a ob midne winter.

1016. Hér on þissum geare com Cnut mid his here. and Eadric ealdorman mid him ofer Temese intó Myrcum æt Cregelade. And wendon þá to Wærinc wic scire innan öære middan wintres tide. and heregodon and bærndon. and slogon eal þ hí to comon.

Đá ongan se æþeling Eadmund to gaderigenne fyrde. Đá seo fyrd gesomnod wæs. Tá né onhagode heom Tarto buton T wære to se cyng Tær mid wære, and hi hæfdon þære burhware fultum of Lundene, geswicon Ta þære fyrdinge, and ferde him ælc man ham.

Đá æfter være tide þá bead man eft fyrde be fullan wite. Þæle man ve fere wære for gewende, and man sende to vam cynge to Lundene, and bæd hine Þ he come ongean þá fyrde mid þam fultume ve he gegaderian mihte. Þá hí ealle tó somne comon, þá ne beheold hit nán vinc þe ma ve hit oftor ær dyde. Þá cydde man þam cynge Þ hine man beswican wolde, þá þe him on fultume beon sceoldon. Forlet vá þa fyrde, and cyrde him eft to Lundene.

F. 1016. Her com Cnut mid clx scipa, and Eadric ealderman mid him ouer Temese into Myrcan æt Crecalade, and wendan þa to Wæringscire, inne ðare hi bærndan and slogan eal þ hi to coman. And Eadmund

- (A.D. 1016) Da rád se æbeling Eadmund to Nordhymbran to Vhtrede eorl. and wænde ælc mann b hi woldon fyrde somnian ongean Cnut cyng. pa ferdon4 hi in to Stæfford scire. and into Scrobbes byrig, and to Legeceastre⁵. And hergodon hi on heora healfe and Cnut on his. and wende him ba út burh Buccinga ham scire into Beadaford scire, and banon to Huntandun scire. andlang fennes to Stanforda. and Sa in to Lincolne scire, panon to Snotingaham scire, and swa to Nordhymbran to Eoforwic weard. Da Uhtred ge axode bis. ða forlet he his hergunga and efeste6 norðweard, and beah þa for nede. and ealle Norohymbran mid him. and he gislode. and hine man deah hwædere of sloh, and burcytel Nafanan sunu mid him, and ba æfter bam se cyng Cnut ge sætte Yric in to Norshymbran to eorle. eall swa Uhtred wæs. and sysdan wendon him sudweard odres weges. eall be westan. and com ba eall se here to foran bam Eastron to scipon. And se æbeling Ædmund wende to Lundene to his fæder. And þa æfter Eastron wende se cyng Cnut mid eallum his scipum to
 - (C) Đá rád se æbeling Eadmund to Norbhymbron tố Uhtrede eorle. and wende ælc mon \$ hi woldon fyrde somnian ongean Cnut cyng. Đá fyrdedon hi into Stæfford scire. and into Scrob sæton. and to Leg ceastre, and hi heregodon on heora healfe, and Cnut on his healfe. Wende him út buruh Buccinga ham scire intô Bedan ford scire. and Sanon to Huntadun scire. swa into Hamtun scire. andlang fennes tó Stanforda. and þá intó Lindcolne scire. þanon ðá to Snotingaham scire, and swa to Nor's hymbran to Eoferwic weard. Đá Uhtred geahsode þis. ðá forlet hé his hergunge and efste norð weard, and beah oa for nýde, and ealle Norohymbro mid him, and hé gislode, and hine mon beahhwæbere ofsloh, buruh Eadrices ræd ealdormannes. and Đurcytel Nafenan sunu mid him. And þá æfter Sam gesette se cyng Yric into NorShymbron him to eorle. eal swa Uhtred wæs. and syððan wende him suðwerd oþres weges. eal be westan, and come ba eal se here to foran bam Eastron to scypon. And se æbeling Eadmund gewende to Lundene to his fæder. And Sa æfter Eastron wende se cyng Cnut mid eallon his scipon to Lunden werd.
 - (F) æseling wende to Lundene to his fæder. and Cnut ferde mid eallon his scipon to Lundene weard.

Lundene weard.

⁴ fyrdodon D.

⁵ Læg ceastre D. Cheshire.

May 7.

Da gelamp hit þet se cyng Æðelred forðferde ær ða scipu (A.D. 1016) comon. he ge endode his dagas on sõs Georius mæsse dæge Ap. 23. æfter mycclum geswince and earfoðnissum his lifes. and þa æfter his ende. ealle þa witan þe on Lundene wæron and se burhwaru ge curon Eadmund to cynge. and his rice he heardlice werode þa hwile þe his tima wæs.

þa comon þa scipo to Grenawic to þam gandagum. and binnon lytlum fæce wendon to Lundene. and dulfon þa ane mycele díc on ða suðhealfe and drogon heora scipa on west healfe þære brycge. and be dicodon syððon þa burh uton þ nan mann ne mihte ne ínn ne út. and oft rædlice on ða burh fuhton. ac hi heom heardlice wið stodon.

pa wæs Eadmund cyng ær þam ge wend út. and ge rád þa West Seaxan. and him beah eall folc to. and raðe æfter þam

(C) Đá gelamp hit p sé cyning Æþelred forðferde ær þá scypo comon. Hé geendode his dagas on sce Georgius mæssedæig. and he geheold his rice mid myclum geswince and earfoðnessum þá hwile ðe hís lif wæs. And þá æfter his énde. ealle ða witan þa on Lundene wæron and seo burh waru gecuron Eadmund to cýninge. and he his rice heardlice werode þá hwile þe hís tima wæs.

Đá comon và scypo to Grenawic to þam gang dagum. And hi binnon lytlan fæce gewendon to Lundene, and hi va dulfon áne mycle dic on suv healfe, and drogon hiora scypo on west healfe þære bricge, and bedicodon þá syvvan þá buruh utan þ nán man né mihte né ing né ut, and hi oftrædlice on þa buruh fuhton, ác hi him heardlice wivstodon.

Đá wæs Eadmund cyng ær ðam gewend út. and gerad þa West Sexon. and him beah eal folc tó. And raðe æfter þam he gefeaht

⁽F) Ac se cing Ægelred ær foröferde ær þa scipan coman. he foröferde on Št. Georgies mæsse dæg æfter miclum geswince and earfoönissum his liues. and æfter his ende ealle Angelcynnes witan gecuron Eadmund to cinge. and he his rice heardlice werede on his timan.

Da comon va scipa to Grenwic to vam gangdagum, and sona wendan to Lundene, and dulfon ane dic on va suvhealfe, and drogon heora scipa on westhealfe pare brigge, and bedicodon sivvan va burh utan. p nan man ne mihte ne in ne ut. and oft on va burh fuhtan, and hi heom heardlice wivstodon.

(A.D. 1016) he gefeaht wið þone here æt Peonnan wið Gillinga. and oðer 7 ge feoht he ge feaht æfter middan sumera æt Sceorstane. and þær mycel wæl feoll on ægðre healfe. and þa heres him sylfe to eodon on ðam ge feohte. and Eadric ealdorman and Ælmær deorlingc wæron þam here on fultume ongean Eadmund cyng. And þa ge gaderode he iii siðe fyrde and ferde to Lundene. and þa burhware ahredde. and þone here aflymde to scipon. And þa wæs ymbe twa niht þ se cyning ge wende ofer æt Brentforda⁸. and þa wið þone here gefeaht and hine aflymde. and þær adranc mycel Ænglisces folces on heora agenre gymeleaste. þa ðe ferdon beforan þære fyrde. and fang woldon fon. And se cyning wende æfter þam to West Seaxan. and his fyrde ge somnode 9.

Da gewende se here sona to Lundene. and þa burh utone be sæton. and hire stranglice wið feaht ge be wætere ge be lande. ac se Ælmihtiga God hi ahredde.

Se here gewende þa æfter þam fram Lundene mid heora

(C) wið þone here æt Peonnan wið Gillingaham. And oþer gefeoht he gefeaht æfter middan sumera æt Sceorstane. and þær mycel wæl feoll on ægðre healfe. and ðá heras him sylfe tó eodan. On þam gefeohte wæs Eadric ealdorman and Ælmær dyrling þam here on fultume ongean Eadmund kyning. And þá gegaderede hé þryddan siðe fyrde and ferde to Lundene. eal be norðan Temese. and swá ut þuruh Clæighangran. and þá buruh waru ahredde. and þæne here geflymde to hiora scypon. And þá wæs ymbe twa niht gewende se cyning ofer æt Bregent forda. and þá wið þone here gefeaht. and hine geflymde. and þær ádranc mycel wæl Englisces folces. for hiora agenre gymeleaste. þá ðe ferdon beforan þære fyrde and woldan fon feng. And se cyning æfter þam gewende tó West Seaxum. and his fyrde samnode.

Đá gewende se here sona to Lundene and ờá buruh utan emb sæt. and hyre stearclice on feaht ægðer ge be wætere ge be lande. Ac se Ælmihtiga God hi áhredde.

Se here gewende þá æfter þam fram Lundene mid hyra scypum

(F) Se here gewende da æfter þam fram Lundene mid heora scipum into

scípum into Arwan. and þar úp foran. and feordon on (A.D. 1016) Myrcean. and slogon and bærndon swa hwæt swa hi ofer foron. swa heora ge wuna wæs. and heom metes tilodon. and hi drifon ægðer ge scipa ge heora drafa in to Medewæge. Da ge somnode Eadmund cyng iiii siþe ealle Engla þeode. and ferde ofer Temese to Brentforda. and ferde innan Cent¹. and se here him fleah beforan mid hira horsa in to Sceapige. and se cyng ofsloh heora swa feala swa he offaran mihte. and Eadric ealdormann ge wende þa ðæne cyng ongean æt Ægeles forda². næs nan mare unræd gered þonne se wæs.

Se here gewende eft úp on East Seaxan. and ferde into Myrcean. and fordydon eall p he ofer ferde. Da se cyng geaxode³ p se here uppe wæs. Sa gesomnode⁴ he v side ealle Engla peode.

(C) into Arewan. and ðær úp foron. and ferdon on Myrcan. and slogon and bærndon swa hwæt swa hi oforan. swá hira gewuna is. and him metes tilodon. and hi drifon ægþer ge scipu ge hyra drafa intó Medwæge. Đá gesamnode Eadmund cyng feorðan siðe ealle his fyrde. and ferde ofer Temese æt Brentforda. and ferde innon Kent. and se here him fleah beforan mid hiora horsum intó Sceapige. and se cýning ófsloh heora swa fela swá hé offaran mihte. And Eadric ealdorman gewende þa ðone cyning ongean æt Egeles forda. næs nán mara unræd geræd þonne se wæs.

Se here gewende eft úp on EastSexan. and ferde into Myrcum. and fordyde eall þ hé oforferde. Þá se cyning geahsode þ se here uppe wæs. þá gesomnode hé fiftan siðe ealle Engla þeode. and

Se here ferde eft into Myrcan. 8 gehyrde se cing. 8a gegaderode he fifta

⁽F) Arwan. and Sar up foran on Myrcan. and slogan and bærndon swa heora gewune pas. Da gegaderode Eadmund cing feorse sise eal Engla Seode. and ferde into Cent. and se here fleg mid horsan into Sceapege. and se cing ofsloh swa fela swa he of faran mihte. And Eadric ealderman gewende pene ongean at Ægelesforda. næs nan mare unræd geræd Sanne se wæs. Sed cum pervenisset rex ad Ægelesford, dux Eadricus per dolum fecit exercitum Anglorum redire. Non fuit pejus concilium factum in Anglia de tali re.

¹ Cænt D.

^{2} nisi perfidus dux Edricus Streona suis insidiis et insiliis apud Eaglesford, ne suos persequeretur

hostes retineret, eo die plena potiretur victoria. Flor.

³ geahsade D.

⁴ gesamnade D.

- (A.D. 1016) and ferde him æt hindan, and of ferde hi innan East Seaxan æt þere dune þe mann hæt Assandun, and þær togædere heardlice fengon. Da dyde Eadric ealdormann swa he oftor bær dyde, astealde þone fleam ærest mid Magesæton, and swa aswac his cynehlaforde and ealle þeode bær hæfde cnur
 - Oct. 18. sige. and ge feaht him eall Englaland. pær wearð of slagen Eadnoð. and Wulsige⁸ abb' and Ælfric ealdorman. and Godwine ealdorman. and Ulfcytel of East Englan. and Æðelward Æðelsiges⁹ sunu ealdormannes. and eall se dugoð on Angel cinne¹.

Da æfter þisum ge feohte wende Cnut cing upp mid his here to Gleawe ceastre scire. þær he ge herde secgan² þet se cyng wæs Eadmund. Da gerædde Eadric ealdormann and

(C) ferde him æt hindan, and offerde hi on East Sexum, at þære dune þe man hæt Assan dun, and þar tógædere heardlice fengon. Dá dyde Eadric ealdormann swa swa hê ær oftor dyde, astêalde þæne fleam ærest mid Magesæton, and aswác swa his cyne hlaforde and ealre Angel cynnes þeode. Dær ahte Cnut sige, and gefeht him ealle Engla þeode. Dær wearð Eadnoþ b' ofslagen, and Wulsige abb' and Ælfric ealdorman, and Godwine ealdorman on Lindesige, and Ulfcytel on East Englum, and Æþelweard Æþelwines sunu ealdormannes, and eal Angel cynnes duguð þar wearð fordon.

Đá æfter þissum gefeohte gewende Cnut kynincg úp mid his here to Gleau ceastre scire. నær hé ofahsade þ se cyning wæs Eadmund. Đá gerædde Eadric ealdormann and నá witan þe నar wæron þ þá

(F) sið an eal Engla deode, and ferde æfter dan here and of ferde hine at Assandune, and dar to gædere fæstlice fengon. Da dyde Eadric ealdorman, swa he oft ær dyde, astealde þone fleam ærest mid Magesæton, and swa aswac his cyne hlaforde and ealle þeode. Dær hæfde Cnut sige, and gefeaht him eall Ænglaland. Der weard ofslagen Eadnod and Wulsi abb', and Ælfric ealdorman, and Ulfcytel of East Englan, and Æþelward Æðelsiges sunu ealdormannes, and eall seo dugað on Angelcynne.

Da æfter þisum gefeohte gewende Cnut cyng upp mid his here to Gleawe ceastre scire. Þær he geherde secgan þ se cyng wæs Eadmund. Da gerædde Eadric ealdormann and þa witan 5e þær wæron. Þ þa cyningas seht namon

⁵ ofter D. 6 ærast D.

⁷ þeodæ D. 8 Wulfsie D.

⁹ Elfwines D. Æthelwardus dux, filius ducis EastAnglorum Æthelwini Dei amici. Flor. Cf. Wendover.

Æbelwine was the name: he often signs documents under Æbelred and his predecessors. Cod. Dipl.

¹ seo duguð of Angel cynnes beode D.

² ofaxade D.

þa witan þa ðær³ wæron þ þa cyningas seht namon heom (A.D. 1016) be tweonan. and hi gislas sealdon heom be tweonan. and ha cyningas comon⁵ togædere æt Olanige. and⁶ heora freondscipe bær ge fæstnodon. ge mid wedde ge mid ade. and b gyld setton wið bone here, and hi to hwurfon ba mid bisum sehte, and feng Eadmund cing to Weast Seaxan and Cnut to Myrcean 7.

Se here ge wende ba to scipon mid bam bingum be hi ge fangen hæfdon, and Lundene waru gridede wid bone here, and heom frið ge bohtan, and se here ge brohton heora scipa on Lundene, and heom winter setle bær inne namon.

Da to scs Andreas mæssan for oferde se cyng Eadmund, and Nov. 30. is byrged mid his ealdan fæder Eadgare on Glæstinga byrig. And on ham ilcan geare for offerde Wulfgar abb' on Abbandune. and feng Ædelsige to.

(C) cynegas seht naman him betwynan, and hi gislas him betwynan And bá cynegas comon togædere æt Olanêge, and hira freondscype bær gefæstnodon, ge mid wedde ge mid åbe, and b gyld setton wið þone here. And hi tóhwurfon ðá mid þissum sehte. and feng Eadmund to West Sexan and Cnut to Myrcan.

And se hêre gewende bá to scypon mid bam bingon bé hi gefangen hæfdon. And Lunden waru gridode wid bone here, and him frid gebohton, and se here gebrohton hyra scipu on Lundene, and him wintersetl &ær inne namon.

Đá to sốc Andreas mæssan forðferde se kyning Eadmund. and his lic lid on Glæstingabyrig mid his ealdan fæder Eadgare. And on bam ilcan geare forbferde Wulfgar abb' on Abbandune. and Æbelsige feng to bam abbod rice.

(F) heom betweenan. and hi gislas sealdon heom betweenan. And ha cyningas comon togædere æt Olanige. and heora freondscipe þær gefæstnodon ge mid wedde ge mid ade. and \$ gyld setton wid bone here. and hi to hwurfon ba mid bisum sehte. And feng Eadmund cyng to West Seaxan. and Cnut to Myrcean.

Da to St. Andreas mæssan for oferde se cing Eadmund. and ys bebyrged mid his ealde fæder Eadgare on Glæstingabyri.

³ gegaderade adds D.

⁴ geworhtan D.

⁵ coman begen D.

⁶ wurdon feolagan and wedbro ora-

and b gefæstnadan D.

⁷ þam norð dæle D.

1017. Her Cnut wear'd ge coran to kinge.

(C) 1017. Her on þissum geare feng Cnut kyning to eallon Angel cynnes ryce. and hit to dælde on feower. him sylfan WestSexan. and Đurkylle EastEnglan. and Eadrice Myrcan. and Irke Norö hymbran.

And on bissum geare was Eadric ealdorman ofslagen, and Noroman Leofwines sunu ealdormannes, and Æbelweard Æbelmæres sunu greatan, and Brihtric Ælfehes sunu on Defenascire. And Cnut cyning aflymde ut Eadwig æbeling, and eft hine het ôfslean. And bå to föran kl' Augusti het se cynige fetian him bæs cyniges lafe Æbelrædes him to wife. Ricardes dohtor.

1018. Hêr on þissum geare wæs þ gafol gelæst ofer eal Angel cýn. þ wæs ealles twa and hund seofontig þusend punda. buton bam þe seo burhwaru on Lunden geald. Þ wæs endlyfte healf pusend punda. And se here ba ferde sum to Denemearce. and xl scypa belaf mid þam cynige Cnute. And Dene and Engle wurdon sammæle æt Oxnaforda.

1019. Hêr gewende Cnut cyng to Denemearcon, and þær wunode ealne þone winter.

1020. Hêr on pissum geare fordferde Lyfing arceb'. And Cnut cyning com eft to Englalande. And þá on Eastron wæs mycel gemôt æt Cyring ceastre. þá geútlagode man Æþelweard ealdorman. and Eadwig ceorla cyngc.

And on Sisum geare se cyng fôr tô Assandune. and Wulfstan arceb' and Đurkyl eorl and manega bisceopas mid heom. and gehalgodan hymyster æt Assandune.

1021. Her on Sissum geare to Martines mæssan Cnut kyning geûtlagode Đurkyl eorl.

1022. Her Cnut kyninge for ut mid his scipon to Wiht. And Æþelnoð arceb' for to Rôme.

ægðer for Gode and for worulde.

⁸ Eiric D.

 ⁹ on Lundene swyde rihtlice inserts
 F. justissime occisus est. F. Lat.

¹ þat was Ælfgiue on Englisc. Ymma on Frencisc. adds F.

² to Eadgares lage adds F.

³ mid ix scipum inserts F.

⁴ D continues—And her for oferde Ælfstan arceb'. se wæs Lifing genemned. and he wæs swiðe rædfæst man.

⁵ F inserts—and let tymbrian þar an mynster of stane and lime for þare manna sawle þe þar ofslagene wæran. and gief hit his anum p'ste. þas nama was Stigand.

⁶ and æfter mæssan mid þan papan gereordade, and mid þas papan bletsunge gecyrde to his arb'stole. F.

1017. Her on pisum geare feng Cnut cyning to eall Angel cynnes rice. and hit to dæld on fower. him sylfum West Seaxan. and purcylle East Englan. and Eadrice Myrcean. and Yrice⁸ Norðhymbran.

And on þisum geare wæs Eadric ealdormann of slagen? and Norðman Leofwines sunu ealdormannes. and Æðelword Æðelmæres sunu þæs grætan. and Brihtric Ælfgetes sunu on Dæfenanscire. and Cnut cyng aflymde ut Ædwig æðeling. and Eadwig ceorla cyng. And þa to foran kl'Aug' het se cyng feccan him Æðelredes lafe þes oðres cynges him to cwene Ricardes dohtor.

1018. On þisum geare wæs þ gafol gelæst ofer eall Angel cynn. Þ wæs ealles lxxii þusend punda. buton þam þe seo burhwaru on Lundene guldon xi þusend punda. and se here ferde þa sum to Denmearcon. and xl scipo belaf mid þam cyninge Cnute. And Dene and Engle wurdon sam mæle æt Oxnaforda². And her Æðelsige abb' forðferde on Abb'ndune. and feng Æðelwine to.

1019. Her ge wende Cnut cyng³ to Denmearcon. and þær wunode ealne winter ⁴.

1020. Her com Cnut cyng to Englalande. and þa on Eastron wæs mycel ge mot on Cyrnceastre. þa ge út lagode mann Æðelwold ealdor man.

And on pissum geare se cyng for to Assandune⁵. and Liuing arcb' fordferde, and Ædelnod munuc and decanus æt Xpes cyrcan wæs pe ilcan geare parto gehadod to biscop.

Nov. 13.

1021. Her on þysum geare Cnut cyng to Martin'mæssan geútlagode þurkil eorl. *

1022. Her Cnut cyng for út mid his scipum to Wiht. And Æðelnoð biscop for to Rome. and wæs under fangen þær fram Benedicte þam papan myd mycclum wurðscipe. and mid his agenum handum him his pallium on sette. and to arēb' arwurðlice gehalgode. and he syððan mid þam pallium þær mæssode 6swa se papa him gewissode. and he hine ge reordode æfter þam mid þam papan. and syððon mid fulre bletsunge ham gewende. And Leofwine abb' se wæs unrihtlice of Elig adræfed wæs his ge fera. and hine þær ælces þinges ge clænsode þe him mann on sæde. swa se papa him tæhte on þes arēb'es ge witnesse. and on ealles þæs ge ferscipes þe him mid wæs.

1031. Her com Cnut agan to Engla lande. Sona swa he be com to Engla lande. he geaf in to Xpes cyrican on Cantware byri þa hæfenan on Sandwic. and ealla þa gerihta þe þær of arisaþ of æiðre healfe ðare hæfene. swa þ loc hwenne þ flod byþ ealra hehst and ealra fullost. beo an scip flotigende swa neh þan lande swa hit nyxt mæge. and þar beo an mann stande on þan scipe and habbe ane taper æx on his

F. 1028. Her for Cnut cing to Norŏwegū of Englalande mid l scipū Engliscra þegena. and adraf Olaf cing of þā lande and geagenede hī þ land. et hic Cnut ivit Noruuegā de Anglia cū l navib' de nobilib' Anglie, et expulit Olauū

regē de trâ illa et possedit eā.

1029. Her cō Cnut cing eft to Englalande. And sona swa he com to Englalande. he geaf in to Cristes cyrican an Cantware beri þa hafene an Sandwic. and ealle þ þar of arist of ægöre healf þare hefne. swa þat loc hwenne þ flot bið ealra heghst and fullost. þat an scip flotige swa neh ðan lande swa hit nyxt mæge. and an mann stande þar Hic rev'sus ē Cnut ad Angliā. Et dedit Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ portum de Sanduuic et omnes exitus ejusdem aquæ ab utraque parte fluminis, ita ut natante nave cum plenum fuerit, quam longius de navi potest securis parvula super terram projici, debet a ministris Ecclesiæ Christi rectitudo navis accipi; nullusque omnino hominum aliquam consuetudinem in eodem portu habet, exceptis monachis Ecclesiæ Christi. Eorum quoque est transfretatio portus et navicula et theoloneum naviculæ et omnium navium quæ ad Sanduuic venerint, a Pipernæsse usque Nortmuthe. Si quid autem in magno mari repertum fuerit delatum Sanduuiè, medietatem Ecclesia Christi habebit; reliqua vero pars inventoribus remanebit.

1031. Her ferde Cnut cing to Rome, and bes ylcan geares & he hā cō he for to Scotlande and Scotta cing hī to beah, and twegen o&re cingas. Mealbæa&e, and Iehmarc. And Rodb't eorl of Normandi ferde to Ierl'm and bar wear&dead, and Will'm &e was si&&an cing on Englalande feng to Normandi &eh he cild wære.

(C) 1023. Her Cnut cyning com eft to Englalande. and Durcil and he wæran anræde. and he betæhte Durcille Denemearcan and his sunu to healdenne. and se cyning nam Durciles sunu mid him to Englalande. And he let ferian syððan sce Ælfeges reliquias of Lundene to Cantwarabyrig.

1028. Her Cnut cing for to Norwegon. mid I scipum.

1030. Hér wæs Oláf cing ofslagen on Norwegon of his agenum folce, and wæs syððan hálig. And þæs geres ær ðam forférde Hacun, se dohtiga eorl. on sæ.

D.1023. Her Cnut kyning. binnan Lundene. on sce Paules mynstre. sealde fulle leafe Æ8elno8e arceb'e and Bryhtwine b'e. and eallon þam Godes þeowum þe heom mid wæron. ħ hi moston nyman up of þam byrgene þone arceb' sce Ælrheah. and hi þa swa dydon on vi Idus Iunii. and se brema cyng and se arceb' and leod biscopas and eorlas and swi8e manege hadode and eac læwede feredon on

1023. Her forðferde Wulfstan arcb' and feng Ælfric to. and þæs ilcan geares Æðelnoð arcbiscop ferede sce Ælfeges arcb' reliquias to Cantwarbyrig of Lundene.

1024. Hic Ricard' scd's ob'. Ricard' fili' ei' regnavit prope uno anno. & post eū regñ Rodb't' fr' ei' viii anñ.

1025. Her for Cnut cyng to Denmearcon mid scipon to på holme æt ea pære halgan. and pær comon ongean Vlf and Eglaf. and swiðe mycel here ægðer ge land here ge scip here of Swaðeode⁷. and pær wæs swiðe feala manna forfaren⁸ on Cnutes cynges healfe. ægðer ge Deniscra manna ge Engliscra. and þa Sweon heafdon weallstowe geweald.

1028. Her for Cnut cyng of Englalande mid fiftig scipum to Norwegum. and adraf Olaf cyning of pam lande. and ge ahnode him pet lande.

1029. Her com Cnut cyng eft ham to Englal'.

1030. Her com Olaf cyng eft into Norwegum, and þet folc gegaderode him to geanes, and him wið ge fuhton, and he wearð þær ofslagen.

1031. Her for Cnut cyng to Rome, and þy ilcan geare he for to Scotlande, and Scotta cyng him to beah Mælcolm, and twegen o'ore cyningas. Mælbæþe, and Iehmarc.

Rodb'tus comes ob' in peregrinatione. et successit rex Will'mus in puerili ætate.

1026. Her for Ælfric b' to Rome. and onfeng pallium æt Iohanne papan. on ii Id' Nouemb'.

⁽D) scype his þone halgan lichaman ofer Temese to Suðgeweorke, and þær þone halgan martyr þan arcebiscope and his geférum betæhton. and hi þa mid weorðlican weorode, and wynsaman dreame, hine to Hrofesceastre feredan. Da on þam þryddan dæge cóm Imma seo hlæfdie mid hire cynelican bearne Hearda Cnúte, and hi þa ealle mid mycclan þrymme and blisse and lofsange þone halgan arceb' into Cantware byri feredon, and swa wurðlice into Cristes cyrcan brohton, on iii Id' Iuñ. Eft syðan on þam eahteoðan dæge, on xvii kl' Iulii. Æðelnoð arceb' and Ælfsie b' and Bryhtwine b' and ealle þa þe mid heom wæron, gelogodon sce Ælfeages halgan lichaman on norð healfe Cristes weofodes. Gode to lofe, and þam halgan arceb'e to wurðmynte, and eallon þam to ecere hælðe þe his halgan lichoman þær mid estfulre heortan and mid ealre eadmodnysse dæghwamlice seceað. God ælmihtig gemiltsie eallum Cristenum mannum, þurh sce Ælfeges halgan gegearnunga.

1032. Her on pissum geare atywde p wildefyr de nan mann æror nan swyle ne gemunde, and gehwær hit derode eac on manegum stowum. And on pam ilcan geare fordferde Ælfsige biscop on Win ceastre, and Ælfwine pæs cynges preost feng pærto.

1033. Her on þisum geare forðferde Merehwit b' on Sumersæton, and he is bebyrged on Glæstinga byrig.

1034. Her fordferde Æderic b'.

1036. Her forðferde Cnut cyng æt Sceaftes byrig. and he is bebyrged on Winceastre on Ealdan mynstre. and he wæs cyng ofer eall Englaland swyðe neh xx wintra. And sona æfter his forsiðe wæs calra witena gemot on Oxna forda. and Leofric eorl. and mæst ealle þa þegenas benorðan Temese. and þa liðsmen on Lunden. gecuron Harold to healdes ealles Englalandes. him and his broðer Hardacnute þe wæs on

(C) 1034. Her gefor Æperic b'. and he lid on Ramesige. *

1035. Hér forðferde Cnut cing. on ii Id' Nouemb' æt Sceftes byrig. and hine man ferode þánon to Winceastre. and hine þær bebyrigde.

And Ælfgyfu. Imme. seo hlæfdie. sæt þá vær binnan. And Harold þe sæde þ he Cnutes sunu wære and þære ovre Ælfgyfe. þeh hit na soð nære. he sende to. and let niman of hyre ealle þá betstan gærsuma. ve heo of healdan ne mihte. þé Cnut cing ahte. and heo sæt þeh forð þær binnan va hwile þe heo moste.

1036. Hér com Ælfred se unsceðdiga æþeling. Æþelrædes sunu cinges. hider inn. and wolde to his meder þe on Wincestre sæt. ac ¹hit him ne geþafode Godwine eorl. ne éc oþre men þe mycel mihton wealdan. forðan hit hleoðrode þa swiðe ²toward Haraldes. þeh hit unriht wære.

³Ac Godwine hine þa geletter and hine on hæft setter and his geferan he to dråft and sume mislice ofsloht sume hi man wið feo sealder sume hi man bender sume hi man blender sume hameloder sume hættode.

hættode D.

⁹ Ælfgyfe þære Hamtunisca D.

¹ p ne gepafodon pa pe micel weoldon on pisan lande D.

² to Harolde beah hit D.

 ³ Da let he hine on hæft settan. and his geferan he eac fordraf. and sume D.
 4 and eac sume blende and heanlice

Denemearcon. And Godwine eorl and ealle pa yldestan menn on West Seaxon. lagon ongean swa hi lengost mihton. ac hi ne mihton nan ping ongean wealcan. And man gerædde pa pælfgifu Hardacnutes modor sæte on Win ceastre mid pæs cynges huscarlum hyra suna. and heoldan ealle West Seaxan him to handa. and Godwine eorl wæs heora healdest mann. Sume men sædon be Harolde p he wære Cnutes sunu cynges and Ælfgiue Ælfelmes dohtor ealdormannes. ac hit puhte swiðe ungeleaflic manegum mannum. and he wæs pæh full cyng ofer eall Englaland.

(C)

Ne wear's 5dreorlicre dædgedon on bison earder sybban Dene comonand her frið namon.

Nu is to gelyfenne to an leofan Gode h hi blission blide mid Xpe he wæron butan scylde swa earmlice acwealde.

Se æþeling lyfode þa gytælc yfel man him ⁶gehêt[.]
oð † man gerædde[.]
† man hine lædde[.]
to Elig byrig[.]
⁷swa gebundenne.

Sona swa he lende on scype man hine blende and hine swa blindne brohte to dam munecon. And he par wunode da hwile pe he lyfode.

Syösan hine man byrigde swa him wel gebyrede ful wur'dlice swa he wyr'de wæs æt þam west ende þam ⁸ styple ful gehende on þam suð portice. Seo ⁹ saul is mid Xpe.

D. 1033. Her forðferde Leofsie b'. and his lichama resteð on Wigra ceastre, and Brihteh wæs on his setl ahafen.

⁵ dreorilicre D. 6 behêt D. 7 ealswa D. 8 stypele D. 9 sawul D.

1040. Her Eadsige arceb' for to Rome. and Harold king for ferde.

1042. Her fordferde Hardacnut king.

(C) 1037. Hér man geceas Harald ofer eall to cinge. and forsoc Harða Cnut. forðan he wæs to lange on Denemarcon. and man draf ðá ut his modor. Ælfgyfe ða cwene. butan ælcere mildheortnesse. ongean þone l weallendan wint'. and heo cō ðá to 2 Bricge begeondon sæ. and Baldwine eorl hí ðær wel underfeng. and hig þær geheold þa hwile ðe hire neod wæs. And þæs geres ær. gefor Æfic. se æðela decanus on 3 Heofeshāme.

1038. Hér gefor Æþelnoð se góda arceb' and Æþelric b' on Suð Sexum. and Ælfric b' on EastEnglum. and Byrhteh b' on Wihra cestre scire xiii k' Ian.

1039. Hêr com se mycla wind, and Byrhtmær b' gefor on Licetfelda. And Wealas slogon Eadwine. Leofrices brogor eorles, and Durcil and Ælfget and swige fela godra manna mid heō. And her cō éc Hargachut to Bricge, þar his modor wæs.

1040. Her swealt Harald cing. Đấ sende man æft' Harðacnute to Bricge. wende þ man wel dyde. And he com ða hider mid lx scipum foran to middan sumera. and astealde þa swiðe strang gyld. þ man hit uneaðe 4acō. þ wæs viii marc æt hā. and him wæs þá unhold eall þ his ær gyrnde. and hê ne gefremede éc naht cynelices þa hwile ðe he ricxode. Hé let dragan up þæne deadan Harald and hine on fen sceotan.

1041. Hér let Harðacnut hergian eall Wihracest'scire. for his twegra hus carla þingon de þ strange gyld budon. þa sloh þ folc hi binnan port. innan dam mynstre.

And þæs geres sona cō Eadward his broðor on medren. frā begeondan sæ. Æþelrædes sunu cinges. ðe wæs ær for fela gearon of his earde adrifen. and ðeh wæs to cinge gesworen. and he wunode þa swa on his broðor hirede þa hwile ðe he leofode.

And on þison gere éc swác Harðacnut Eadulf eorl under his griðe. and he wæs þa wedloga.

1042. Hér gefor Harðacnut swa þ he æt his drince stód. and he færinga feoll to þære eorðan mid egeslicum anginne. and hine gelæhton ðe þar neh wæron. and he syððan nan word ne gecwæð. and he forðferde on vi Id' Iun'. And eall folc underfeng ða Eadward to cinge. swa him gecynde wæs.

¹ wallendan D. 2 Brygce D. 3 Eofesham D. 4 mihte acuman D.

1037. Her man dræfde út Ælfgife Cnutes cynges lafe. seo wæs Hardacnutes cynges modor, and heo gesohte ba Baldwines grið be suðan sæ. and he 5 geaf hire wununge on 6 Bricge. and he hi mundode. and heold be hwile be heo beer wees.

1038. Her fordferde 7 Ædelnod arceb' on kl' Nouemb'. and spæs ymbe lytel Æðelric b' on Suð Seaxum. and þa to foran Xpes mæssan Brihteh b' on Wigra ceaster scire. ⁹and rave bæs Ælfric b' on East Englum. And ba feng Eadsige 1 b' to pam arc'rice. and Grymcytel to Sam on Sus Sexum. and Liuing b' to Wigra ceaster scire and to Gleaw cestre scire.

1039. Her forðferde Harold cyng on Oxnaforda on xvi k' Apr'. and he wæs bebyrged æt West mynstre. And he weolde Englalandes iv gear and xvi wucan. and on his dagum man geald xvi scipan æt ælcere hamulan viii marc. eall swa man ær dyde on Cnutes cynges dagum. And on bis ilcan geare com Hardacnut cyng to Sandwic vii nihtum ær middan sumera. And he wæs sona underfangen ge fram Anglum ge fram Denum. þeah þe his rædes menn hit syððon strange forguldon. Da hi gerædden bet man geald lxii scipon æt ælcere hamelan viii marc. And on þis ilcan geare eode se sæster hwætes to ly penega and eac furðor.

1040. Her wæs þet heregeold gelæst. B wæron xxi busend punda and xcix punda. and man geald syððan xxxii scipon xi busend punda and xlviii punda.

And on dis ilcan geare com Eadward Ædelredes sunu cinges hider to lande of weallande. se wæs Hardacnutes brodor cynges. hi wæron begen Ælfgiues suna. seo wæs Ricardes dohtor eorles.

1041. Her forðferde Hardacnut cyng æt Lámbhyðe on vi

D. 1038. Hér forðferde Æðelnoð se góda arceb' and Æþælric b' on Su&Sexan. se gewilnode to Gode \$ he hine ne lete lybban nane hwile æfter his leofan fæder Æ8elno8e. and he eac binnan seofon nihton þæs gewát. and Brihteh b' on Wigracestre xiii kl' Ian.

D. 1041. And her man hadode Ægelric b' to Eoferwic on iii Id' Ianuarii.

⁵ gif hyre wununga F.

⁶ Brigge and wurdlice hi heold F.

⁷ Ægelnoð F.

Sud Sexan. F.

⁹ das sona F.

^{1 8}æs cinges p'st F. capellanus re-

⁸ embe litel fyrst Ægelric b' of gis. F. Lat.

1043. Her wæs Eduuard gehalgod to kinge.

(C) 1043. Hér wæs Eadward gehalgod to cinge on Wincestre. on forman Easter dæig. mid myccelum wyröscype. and öa wæron Eastron iii Non' Apl'. Eadsige arcebisceop hine halgade. and to foran eallum þam folce hine wel lærde. and to his agenre neode and ealles folces wel manude.

And Stigant preost wæs gebletsad to biscp' to East Englum. And raðe þæs se cing let geridan ealle þa land þe his modor ahte him to handa. and nam of hire eall þ heo ahte on golde. and on seolfre. and on unasecgendlicum þingum. forðam heo hit heold ær to fæste wið hine. And raðe þæs. man sette Stigant of his bisceoprice. and nam eal þ he ahte þam cinge to handa. forðam he wæs nehst his modor ræde. and heo for swá swá he hire rædde. þæs ðe men wendon.

1044. Hér Eadsige arceb' forlet þ bisceop r' for his untrumnysse. and bletsade þárto Siward abb' of Abb'dune to bisceope. be ðæs cinges leafe and ræde and Godwines eorles. hit wæs elles feawum mannum cuð ár hit gedón wæs. forðam se arceb' wende þ hit sum oðer man abiddan wolde oþþe gebicgan. þe he wyrs truwode and uðe. gyf hit ma manna wiste. And on ðisum gere wæs swyðe mycel hunger ofer eall Englaland. and corn swa dyre swá nán man ár ne gemunde. swa þ se sester hwætes eode to lx peñ. and eac furðor.

And þæs ylcan geres se cingc for út to Sandwic. mid xxxv scypon. And Æþelstan cyric wyrd feng to þam abbodrice æt Abbandune. And on þam ylcan gere Eadward cing nam Eadgyþe. Godwines eorles dohtor. him to wife x nihtum ær Candel mæssan.

D. 1043. Her wæs Eadward gehalgod to cynge æt Wincestre. on forman Easterdæg.

And þæs geres xiiii nihton ær Andreas mæssan. man gerædde þan cynge þ he rád of Gleawcestre. and Leofric eorl and Godwine eorl and Sigwar'd eorl mid heora genge to Wincestre. on únwær on þa hlæfdian. and bercafedan hi æt eallon þan gærsaman þe heo ahte. þa wæron unatellendlice. forþan þe heo wæs æror þam cynge hire suna swiðe heard. Þ heo him læsse dyde þoñ he wolde ær þā þe he cyng wære. and eac syððan. and leton hi þær siððan binnan sittan.

illum tenuit. F. Lat.

² wel lerde to his agenre neode, and to ealles folces freme F. Edsinus... docuit eum... ca quæ sibi facienda erant ad honorem suum, et ad utilita-

tem sibi subjecti populi. F. Lat.

3 quatinus nimis tenaciter ea contra

id'. Iun. and he wæs cyng ofer eall Englaland twa gear buton x nihtum. and he is bebyrged on Ealdan mynstre on Winceastre mid Cnute cynge his fæder. And ear han he he bebyrged wære. eall folc geceas Eadward to cynge on Lundene. healde þa hwile þe him God unne. And eall b gear wæs swide hefig time on manegum bingum and mislicum. ge on unwæderum ge on eorðwæstmum, and swa mycel orfes wæs þæs geares forfaren. swa nán man ær ne gemunde. ægðer ge þurh mistlice coða ge þurh ungewyderu. And on bis ilcan tyme for oferde Ælf.* abbot of Burh. and man ceas ba *Ælfsine Arnwi munec to abb'. forban be he wæs swide god man and swide bilehwit.

1042. Her wæs Æðward gehalgod to cyng on Winceastre on Æster dæg mid mycclum wurdscipe, and ba wæron Eastron on iii non' Apr'. Eadsige arcb' hine halgode, and foran eallum folce hine well lærde, and to his agenre neode and ealles folces well monude?.

And Stigand preost was gebletsod to biscope to East Englum. And rave pæs se cing let geridan ealle pa land be his modor ahte him to handa, and nam of hire eall b heo ahte on golde and on seolfre, and on unasecgendlicum bingum. forban heo hit heold to feste wið hine3.

1043. Her Eadsige arcb' forlet bet biscoprice for his untrumnisse, and bletsode bærto Siward abbot of Abbandune to biscope be bæs cynges læfe and ræda and Godwines eorles. hit wæs elles feawum mannum cuð ær hit gedon wæs. forban se arcbiscop wende b hit sū ober mann abiddan wolde obbe gebicgean. be he his wyrs truwude and ude. gif hit ma manna wiste. And on bisum wæs swyde mycel hungor ofer Engla land, and corn swa dyre swa nan mann ær ne gemunde. swa b se sester hwætes eode to lx penega. and eac furdor.

And bæs ylcan geares se cyng for út to Sandwic mid xxxv scipon. And Ædelstan cyrice weard feng to dam abbotrice æt Abb'ndune. And Stigand feng to his biscoprice.

1043. Her nam Ædward cyng Godwines dohtor eorles him to cwene. And on his ilcan geare for oferde Brihtwold b'. and he heold bes biscoprices xxxviii wintra. and Hereman bes cynges preost feng to ham biscop rice. And on hysum geare man halgode Wulfric to abb' æt Sce Augustine to Xi es

mæssan on Stephanes mæssedæg. be þes cynges gelæfan and Ælfstanes abbotes for his mycelre untrumnysse.

1044. Her forðferde Liuing b' on Defenascire. and Leofric feng þær to se wæs þæs cynges preost. And on þisum ilcan geare forðferde Ælfstan abbot æt Sce Augustine iii non' Iulii. And on þis ilcan geare wearð aflemed ut Osgot Clapa.

1045. Her forðferde Grymkytel b' on Suð Sexum. and feng Heca des cynges preost þær to. And on þysum geare forð ferde Ælfwine biscop on Winceastre. on iiii k' Septemb'. and feng Stigand b' benordan þær to. And on dam ilcan geare ferde Swegen eorl ut to Baldewines lande to Brycge. and wunode þær ealne winter. and wende þa to sumere út.

Bellum apud Vallium Dunas.

1046. Her forðferde Æþelstan abbot on Abbandune. and feng Spearhafoc munuc to of Sce Eadmundes byrig. And on þis ilcan geare forðferde Siward biscop. and feng Eadsige arcb' eft to eallum þā b'rice.

And on pis ilcan geare comon to Sandwic. Loden and

(C) 1045. Her on bysum geare for offerde Bryhtwold b' on x kl' Mai. and Eadward cyng geaf Heramanne his preoste b bisceoprice.

And on þan ylcan sumera for Eadward cyng út mid his scypan to Sandwic. and þar wæs swa mycel here gegæderod. swa nan man ne geseh scyphere nænne maran on þysan lande. And on þis ylcan geare forðferde Lyuync b'. on xiii kl' Apr'. and se cyng geaf Leofrice his preoste þ biscoprice.

1046. Her on þysum geare for Swegn eorl into Wealan. and Griffin se norþerna cyng forð mid him. and him man gislode. Da he hamwerdes wæs. þa het he feccan him to þa abbedessan on Leomynstre. and hæfde hi þa while þe him geliste. and let hi syþþan faran hám. And on þis ylcan geare man geútlagode Osgod Clapan. foran to middan wintre.

And on þis ylcan geare. æfter Candelmæssan. cóm se stranga winter. mid forste and mid snawe and mid eallon ungewederon. Þ næs nan man þa on liue Þ mihte gemunan swa strägne winter swa se wæs. ge þurh mancwealm ge þurh orfcwealm. ge fugelas and fixas þurh þone micelan cyle and hunger forwurdan.

1047. Her on þysum geare forðferde Grimcytel bisceop. he wæs on Suð Sexan b', and he lið on Cristes cyrican on Cantwara byrig. and Eadward cyncg geaf Hecan. his preoste. † b'rice. And on þis

Yrling mid xxv scipon. and namon pær unasecgendlice here huve. on mannum and on golde and on seolfre. pet nan man nyste hwæt pæs ealles wes. and wendon pa on buton Tenet. and woldon pær pet ilce don. ac pet land fole hardlice wiv stodon, and forwerndon heom ægver ge upganges ge wæteres. and aflymdon hi panon mid ealle, and hi wendon heom panon to East Seaxan, and hergodon pær and namon menn and swa hwæt swa hi findan mihtan, and gewendon him pa east to Baldewines land, and sealdon pær pet hi gehergod hæfdon, and ferdon heō syvon east panon pe hi ær comon.

1046. Her on pisum geare wæs se myccla synoð æt Sce [1050 D] Remei. Dær wæs on Leo se papa. and se arceb' of Burgundia. and se arceb' of Bysincun. and se arceb' of Treueris. and se arceb' of Remis. and manig mann pær to. ge hadode ge læwede. and Edward cyng sende pider Dudocc b'. and Wlfric abb' of

⁽D) 1045.§ Her gefor Ælfward b' on Lundene. on viii kl' Ag'. He wæs abb' on Eofeshamme ærest, and þ mynst' wel geforvode þa hwile þe he þær wæs, gewende þa to Ramesege, and þær his lif alæt. And Manni wæs to abbode gecoren and gehádod, on iiii id' Ag'. And þæs geres man draf Gunnilde út. þ æðele wíf. Cnutes cynges mágan, and heo syðan sæt æt Brygee lange hwile, and for to Denmarcon siðan.

^{1046.} Her gefor Brihtwold b'. on Wiltune scire. and man sette Hereman on his setle. On þā geare gegaderade Eadward cyng mycele scypferde on Sandwic. þurh Magnus þreatunge on Norwegon. ac his gewinn and Swegenes. on Denmarcon. geletton þ he her ne com.

^{1047.} Her for ferde Lyfing se wordsnotera b' x kl' Apr'. and he hæfde iii b'rice. and on Defenascire. and on Cornwalon. and on Wigracestre. Pa feng Leofric to Defenascire and to Cornwalon. and Aldred b' to Wygracestre. And her man utlagode Osgod stallere. And Magn' g'wann Denmarcon.

^{1048.} Her wæs se stiþa wint'. and þæs geres forðferde Ælfwine b' on Wincestre. and Stigand b' wæs on his setl ahafen. And ær þā. on þan ilcan gere. forðferde Grimcytel b' on Suð Sexum. and Heca preost feng to þam b'rice. And Swegen eac sende hider. bæd him fylstes ongean Magnus Norwega cyng. þ man sceolde sendan L

[§] This should be 1044 &c. (so Flor.), but D has omitted that figure. He rights it at length by putting 1052 twice. M. H. B.

(A.D. 1046) See Augustine. and Elfwine abb'. † hi sceolden þam cynge cyðan hwæt þær to Xpendome gecoren wære.

And on his ylcan geare ferde Eadward cyng út to Sandwic mid mycclan sciphere.

And com Swegn eorl in mid vii scipon to Bosenham, and griðode wið þone cyng, and behet man him p he

(C) ylcan geare for ferde Ælfwine b'. on iiii kl' Sept. and Eadward cyncg geaf Stigande b'. p bisceoprice. And Æþelstan abb' on Abbandune for ferde on þan ylcan geare on iiii kl' Aprl'. þa wæs Ester dæig iii non' Aprl'. And wæs ofer eall Engla land swyþe mycel man cwelm on þan ylcan geare.

1048. Her on þisum geare wæs mycel eorð styrung wide on Engla lande. And on þā ylcan geare man gehergode Sandwic. and Wiht. and ofslohan þa betsta men þe þar wæron. And Eadward cining and þa eorlas foran æfter þā út mid heora scypun. And on þā ylcan geare Siward b' forlet þ bisceoprice for his untrūnysse. and for to Abbandune. and Eadsige arceb' feng eft to þā bisceoprice. and he forðferde þæs binnan viii wucan. on x kl' Nouembris.

1049. Her on þisum geare se casere gaderode unarimedlice fyrde ongean Baldewine of Brycge. Þurh † † he bræc þæne palant æt Neomágan. and eac fela oðra unþanca þe he him dyde. seo fyrd wæs unatellendlic þe he gegaderod hæfde. Đær wæs Leo se papa of Róme. and fela mærra manna of manegan þeodscipan. He sende eac to Eadwerde cingce and bæd hine scip fultumes. † he ne geþafode † he him on wætere ne ætburste. And he fór ða to Sandwic. and þær læg mid myclan scyphere forð. † se casere hæfde of Baldwine eall † he wolde.

Dar com eft ongean Swegen eorl to Eadwerde cinge. and gyrnde to him landes. \$\beta\$ he mihte hine on afedan. Ac Harold his brodor widewed. and Beorn eorl. \$\beta\$ hig noldon hi agyfan nan hinge hes he se cing heom gegyfen hæfde. He com hider mid hiwunge. cwæd \$\beta\$ he wolde his man beon, and hæd Beorn eorl \$\beta\$ he him on fultume wære. ac se cinge him ælces hinges forwyrnde. Da gewende Swegen to his scypon to Bosanham, and for Godwine eorl frā Sandwic mid xlii scypon to Pefenasæ, and Beorn eorl ford mid him, and ha se cing lyfde eallon Myrceon ham, and hig swa dydon. Da cydde man ham cinge \$\beta\$ Osgod lage on Ulpe mid xxix seypon, ha sende se cing æfter ham scypon, he he ofsendan mihte, he innan Nord muhan lagon. Ac Osgod sette his wif on Brige, and wende eft ongean mid vi scypon, and ha odre foron on East Seaxon to Eadolfes næsse, and hær hearm dydon, and wendon eft to scypon.

moste wurde [beon] æle þæra þinga þe he ær ahte. Đa(A.D. 1046) wiðlæg Harold eorl his broðor and Beorn eorl. Þ he ne moste beon nan þæra þinga wurde þe se cyng him geunnen hæfde. ac sette man him iv nihta grið to his scipon. Đa wearð hit under þam þet þam cynge com word. Þ únnfrið

(D) scypa him to fultume. Ac hit buhte unræd eallum folce. and hit wears ba gelet burh be Magn' hæfde micelne scyp cræft. And he ba aytte ba Swegen út. and mid mycclan man slihte be land gewann. and Dena him mycel feoh guldon. and hine to cynge underfengon. And bi ylcan geare Magn' foröferde.

1049. Her com eft Swein to Denamarcon. and Harold for to Norwegum. Magn' fædera. syððan Magn' dead wæs. and Normen hine underfengon. and he sende ymb fryð hider to lande. And Swegen eac sende of Denmarcon. and bæd Eadward cyng scyp fultumes. Dæt sceolde beon æt læstan L scypa. ac eall folc wiðcwæð.

And her wæs eac eorsstyrung on kl' Mai on manegum stowum on Wygracestre, and on Wic. and on Deorby, and elles gehwær, and eac wæs swide mycel man cwealm and orf cwealm, and eac p wilde fyr on Deorby scire micel yfel dyde, and gehwær elles.

1050. On pisan geare se casere gegaderode un arimedlice fyrde ongean Baldwine of Brygce. purh † he bræc þa palentan æt Neomagon and eac fela oþra unþanca þe he him dyde. seo fyrd wæs un arimedlic þe he gegaderad hæfde. þær wæs se papa on and se patriarcha. and fela oðra mærra manna of gehwilcū leodscypum. he sende eac to Eadwarde cynge. and bæd hine scyp fultumes † he ne geþafode † he ne æt burste on wætere. and he for þa to Sandwic. and læg þær mid myclū scyphere forð † se casere hæfde of Baldawine eall † he wolde.

Dær com eac Swegen eorl. þe for ær of þisan lande to Denmarcon. and þær forworhte hine wið Denum. He com hider mid hiwunge. cwæð þ he wolde eft bugan to þam cynge. And Beorn eorl him gehet þ he him on fylste beon wolde. Da syððan þæs caseres seht wæs and Baldwines. fóron fela scypa hám. and se kyng belaf bæftan æt Sandwic mid feawū scypū. and Godwine eorl eac fór mid xlii scypum fram Sandwic to Peueneséá. and Beorn eorl him for mid. Da cyðde man þam cynge þ Osgod láge ón Ulpe mid xxxix scypon. and se cyng þa sende æfter þam scypum þe he ofsendan mihte. þe ær ham wendon. And Osgod sette his wif on Brygce. and wendon eft ongean mid vi scypum. And þa oðre fóron on Suð Sexe to Eadulfes næsse. and þær hearm dydon. and wendon eft to scypon.

- (A.D. 1046) scipa lægen be westan and hergodon. Da ge[wende] Godwine eorl west onbuton mid bes cynges ii scipum. bam anan steorde Harold eorl and pam o'ran Tostig his brodor. and landes manna scipa xlii. Da scyfte man Harold eorl úp bæs cynges scipe be Harold eorl ær steorde. ba gewendon hi west to Peuenesea. and lægen þær weder feste. Da þes binnon ii dagum. þa com Swegen eorl þider, and spec wið his feder and wid Beorn eorl, and bed Beorn b he sceolde faran mid him to dam cynge to Sandwic. and fylstan him to bæs cynges freondscipe, and he bæs tidode, gewendon heom ba swylce hi woldon to Sam cynge. Da amang ham he hi ridon. pa bæd Swegen hine bet he sceolde faran mid him to his scipon. tealde p his sciperes woldon wændon fram him. buton he be ravor come. Hi gewendon ba begen bær his scipu lægen. þa hi þyder comon. þa bæd Swegen eorl hine b he sceolde gewendon mid him to scipe. he forweornde swide. swa lange od his sciperes gefengon hine and wurpon hine on bone bat. and bundon hine and reowan to scipe and dydon hine bær ón. tugon þa up heora segel. and urnon west to Axa muðan, and hæfdon hine mid heom oð þet hi
 - (C 1049) Da læg Godwine eorl. and Beorn eorl. on Pefenasæ. mid heora scypon. Da cō Swegen eorl mid facne. and bæd Beorn eorl þ he his gefera wære to þā cinge to Sandwic. cwæð þ he hī aþas swerigan wolde. and him hold beon. Da wende Beorn. for þære sibbe þ he him swican nolde. nam ða iii geferan mid him. and ridon þa to Bosanham. eall swa hi sceoldon to Sandwic. þær Swegenes scypa lagon. And hine man sona geband. and to scype lædde. and ferdon þa to Dærenta muðan. and hine þar let ofslean. and deope bedelfan. Ac hine Harold his mæg þær fette. and to Wincestre lædde. and þær bebyride wið Cnut cing his eam. And se cing þa and eall here cwædon Swegen for niðing. viii scypa he hæfde ær he Beorn amyrðrode. syððan hine forleton ealle butan ii. And he gewende þa to Bricge. and þar wunode mid Baldwine.

And on þysum geare forðferde Eadnoð, se goda b' on Oxnafordscire, and Oswig abb' on Đornige, and Wulfnoð abb' on Westmynstre, and Eadwerd cing geaf Ulfe his preoste þ b'rice, and hit yfele beteah.

And on byson ylcan geare Eadwerd cing scylode ix scypa of male. and hi foron mid scypon. mid eallon. anweg. and belifon v scypa bæftan. and se cing heom behet xii mona gyld.

ofslogon hine. and namon bone lichaman and bebyrgedon⁹ innan anre cyrican. And comon be his freend and litsmen of Lundene. and namon hine up and feredon¹ hine to Win ceastre to Ealdan mynstre. and he is ber byrged wið Cnut cyng his eam. And Swegen gewende be east to Baldewines lande. and sæt bær ealne winter on Brycge mid his fullan griðe.

And on pam ylcan geare forðferde Eadnoð b' benorðan. and sette man Ulf to biscop.

1047. Her on þisum geare wæs mycel gemot on Lundene to midfestene. and man sette ut ix litsmanna scipa. and fif belifan wiðæftan.

and heom com þa strang wind tó. swa ħ hi wæron ealle forfarene (D 1050) buton feower. Þa man ofsloh begeondan sæ. On þam þe Godwine eorl and Beorn eorl lagon on Peuenesea. Þa cóm Swein eorl. and bæd Beorn eorl. mid facne. Þe wæs his éames sunu. ħ he his gefera wære to þam cynge to Sandwic. and his wisa wið hine gebette. He wende þa. for þære sibbe. mid þreom geferum. mid him. and he hine lædde þa toward Bosanham. Þær his scypu lagon. and hine man þa geband. and to scypa lædde. Wende þa þanon mid him to Dertamuðan. and hine þær het slean. and deope bedelfan. Hine man funde eft. and ferede hine to Wincestre. and byrigde wið Cnut cyng his eam. Lytle ær þan. Þa men of Hæstingaceastre and þærabutan. gewunnon his twa scypa mid heora scypan. and þa men ealle ofslogon. and þa scypa brohton to Sandwic to þan cynge. Ehta scypu he hæfde ær he Beorn beswice. syððan hine forleton ealle buton twam.

On þam ilcan geare comon upp on Wylisce Axa. of Yrlande. xxxvi scypa. and þær abutan hearmas dydon. mid Gryfines fultume. þæs Wæliscan cynges. Man gegaderade þa folc togénes. þær wæs eac Ealdred b' mid. ac hi hæfdon to lytelne fultum. and hi comon unwær on heom. on ealne ærne mergen. and fela godra manna þær ofslogon. and þa oþre ætburston forð mid þā b'e. þis wæs gedon on iiii kl' Aug'.

Dæs geres for ferde.. on Oxnafordscire. Oswi abb' on Dornege. and Wulfno's abb' on Westmynstre. And Ulf pr' wæs geset þam b'rice to hyrde þe Eadno's hæfde. ac he wæs sy'stan of adryfon. forþan þe he ne gefremede naht biscoplices þæron. swa þ us sceama's hit nu mare to tellanne. And Sigward b' gefór. se lige's on Abbandune.

1050. Her for oferde Eadsige arceb'. and Rodbert feng to arceb'rice.

next

(C) And on þam ylcan geare ferde Hereman b' and Ealdred b' to Rome. to ba papan, on þæs cinges ærende.

1050. Her on þysum gere comon þa bisceopas ham fram Rome. and man geinlagode Swegen eorl. And on þys ylcan geare forðferde Eadsige arceb' on iiii kl' Nouembris. and eac on þys ylcan geare Ælfric arceb' on Eoferwic cestre. on xi kl' Feb'. and his lic lið on Burh. Da hæfde Eadwerd cing witena gemot on Lunden to midlencten. and sette Hrodberd to arceb' to Cantware byrig. and Sperhafoc abb' to Lunden. and geaf Roðulfe b' his mæge þ abbudrice on Abb'dune. And þæs ylcan geares he sette ealle þa litsmen of male.

1051. Her on þysum geare com Rodbeard arceb' hider ofer sæ mid his palliu. And on þys ylcan geare man flymde Godwine eorl. and ealle his suna. of Englalande. And he gewende to Bricge. and his wif and his iii suna. Swegen. and Tostig. and Gyrð. and Harold and Leofwine wendon to Irlande. and þær wunedon þæne winter. And on þys ylcan geare forðferde seo ealde hlæfdige. Eadwerdes cinges moder and Harðacnutes. Imme hatte. ii id' Mart. and hyre lic lið on Ealdan mynstre wið Cnut cing.

(D) And her man halgode prince mynst' æt Remys. Dær wæs se [1046 E] papa Leo. and se casere. and mycelne sinoð þær hæfdon embe Godes peowdom. Done sinoð foresæt ses Leo papa. hit is earfoð to witane para biscopa pe þær to comon. and huru abbuda. and heonon of lande wæron twegen g'sende. of see Agustine and of Rammesege.

1051. On pisan geare gefor Eadsie arceb' on Cantware byri. and se cyng sealde Rotbearde. pan Freoncyscan pe ær wæs b' on Lundene. parcerice. And Spearhafoc abb' of Abbandune feng to pan b'rice on Lundene. and hit wæs eft of him genumen ær he gehadod wære. And Hereman b' and Ealdred b' foron to Rome.

² sed fere perdidit ibi baculum suum, quia nescivit ministerium suum. F. Lat.

³ stæf F.

⁴ gerihta F.

⁵ 1050 F. Hic Eaduardus rex dedit Rodberto, qui fuit abbas Gemeticensis, archiepiscopatum Cantuariæ. F. Lat.

⁶ Abbaddune F.

⁷ þa he hæfde gespæcen þat he wolde. Þa cyrde he agen F.

⁸ þa wolde his an man herebeorgian at anes mannes his un'óances, swa p he wundode pone hus bunda, and se hus bunda of sloh pone man. Da wæs Eustatius swyðe wrað, and wearð upon his horse, and his men, and ferdon to and of slogon pone ylcan hus bandan, and eac to eacan him ma ponne xx men, F.

And on pysum ilcan geare com Swegen eorl into Engla lande.

And on þysum ilcan geare wæs se mycele sinoð on Rome. and Eadward cyng sende þider Hereman b' and Ealdred b'. and hi comon þyder on Easteræfen. And eft se papa hæfde sinoð on Uercel. and Vlf b' com þærto. and² forneah man sceolde to brecan his stef³. gif he ne sealde þe mare gersuman. forðan he ne cuðe don his ge rihte⁴ swa wel swa he sceolde. And on þisum geare forðferde Eadsige arceb' iiii kl' Nouemb'.

1048. 5Her on bisum geare Eadward cyng gesette Rodbyrd on Lundene to arceb' to Cantwara byrig. on Lengtene. And bæs sylfan Lentenes he for to Rome æfter his pallium. and se cyng geaf bet biscoprice on Lundene Sparhafoc abbot of 6 Abbandune. and se cyng geaf [b] abbotrice Robulfe b' his mæge. Da com se arceb' fram Rome ane dæge ær ses Petr' June 28 mæsseæfene. and gesæt his arceb'stol æt Xpescyrcean on ses Petr' mæssedæg, and sona bæs to bam cyng ge wænde. Da com Sparhafoc abb' beweg[e] to him mid hæs cynges gewrite and insegle. to pan bet he hine hadian sceolde to b' into Lundene. pa wid cwed se arceb'. and cwæd bet se papa hit him forboden hæfde. þa ge wende se abb' ongean þone arceb' eft to Sam. and her hes biscophades gernde. and se arceb' him anrædlice forwernde, and cwæð þet se papa hit him forboden hæfde. Da gewende se abb' to Lundene, and sæt on bam biscoprice be se cyng him ær ge unnan hæfde be his fulre leafe. ealne pone sumor and pone hærfest.

And com þa Eustatius fram geondan sæ sona æfter þam biscop, and gewende to dam cynge, and spæc wid hine biscop, and gewende to dam cynge, and spæc wid hine biscop, and gewende has hamweard. Da he com to Cantwarbyrig east þa snædde he þær and his menn, and to Dofran gewende. Da he wæs sume mila odde mare beheonan Dofran, þa dyde he on his byrnan, and his geferan ealle, and foran to Dofran. Þa hi þider comon, þa woldon hi innian hi þær heom sylfan gelicode. Þa com an his manna, and wolde wician æt anes bundan huse his undances, and gewundode þone husbundon, and se husbunda ofsloh þone oderne. Da weard Eustati' uppon his horse, and his gefeoran uppon heora, and ferdon to þā husbundon, and ofslogon hine binnan his agenan heordæ, and wendon him þa

A a

(A.D. 1048) up to bære burge weard, and ofslogon ægðer ge wiðinnan ge wiðutan, ma þanne xx manna. And þa burh men ofslogon xix menn on oðre healfe, and ge wundoden þ hi nystan hú fela. And Eustatius æt bærst mid feawum mannum, and ge wende ongean to þam cynge, and 6cydde be dæle hu hi gefaren hæfdon, and wearð se cyng swiþe 7gram wið þa burhware, and 8of sænde se cyng Godwine eorl, and bæd hine faran in to Cent mid unfriða to Dofran, for þan Eustatius hæfde ge cydd þam cynge þet hit sceolde beon mare gylt þære burhwaru þonne his, ac hit næs na swa, and se eorl nolde na ge ðwærian þære infare, for þan him wæs lað to 9amyrrene his agenne folgað.

Da sende se cyng æfter eallon his witan, and bead heom cuman to Gleaweceastre neh bære æftre sca Maria mæssan. pa hæfdon þa welisce menn gewroht ænne castel on Herefordscire on Swegenes eorles folgoðe, and wrohten ælc þæra harme and bismere bæs cynges mannan bær abutan be hi mihton. Da com Godwine eorl and Swegen eorl and Harold eorl togædere æt Byferesstane. and manig mann mid heom. to Son \$\bar{p}\$ hi woldon faran to heora cynehlaforde. and to \$\bar{p}\$am witan eallon be mid him gegaderode wæron, \$\bar{p}\$ hi bæs cynges ræd hæfdon and his fultum and ealra witena. hu hi mihton bæs cynges bismer awrecan and ealles beodscipes. Da wæron ba wælisce men 1 tæt foran mid bam cynge, and for wregdon da corlas. bet hi ne moston cuman 2 on his eagon ge sih de. Fordan hi sædon b hi woldon cuman bider for bes cynges swicdome. Wæs bær cuman Siward eorl and Leofric eorl. and mycel folc mid heom norban to bam cynge, and wæs pam eorle Godwine and his sunan gecydd p se cyng and pa menn be mid him wæron, woldon rædon on hi. and hi trymedon hi fæstlice ongean. bæh him lað wære b hi ongean heora cynehlaford standan sceoldan. Da gerædden ba witan on ægder halfe p man da ælces yfeles geswác, and geaf se cyng Godes grið. and his fulne freondscipe on ægðre healfe.

⁶ sæde ðā cinge wyrs ðonne hit wære F.

⁷ wrad F.

⁸ præcepit . . . ut congregaret exercitum et intraret Cantiam, omnia devastando, et maxime Dofras. Sed Godwinus nolens destruere comitatum

suum, dissimulavit ire illuc. F. Lat.

⁹ amyrrende F.

¹ æror F.

² neh dan einge F.

³ se cing gif öā eorlan his fullan freondscipe F.

Da 'gerædde se cyning and his witan p man sceolde odre (A.D. 1048) sydan habban ealra gewitenas gemot on Lundene to hær-

1052. Her fordferde Ælfric arceb'. on Eoferwic, swide arwyrde (D) wer and wis. And on þan ylcan geare alêde Eadward cyng b heregyld \$ Æbelred cyng ær astealde. \$ wæs on bam nigon and brittigo an geare bæs be he hit ongunnon hæfde. Dæt gyld gedrehte ealle Engla peode on swa langum fyrste. swa hit bufan her awriten is. \$ wæs æfre ætforan o\u00e8rum gyldum be man myslice geald, and men mid monigfealdlice drehte.

On þam ylcan geare com Eustatius up æt Doferan. se hæfde Eadwardes cynges sweostor to wife. Da ferdon his men dyslice æft' inne. and sumne man ofslogon of bam porte. and oder man of ba porte heora geferan. swa b pær lagon vii his geferana. And micel hearm þær gedón wæs on ægðre healfe. mid horse and eac mid wæpnum. oð † folc gegaderede. and hi ba ætflugon † hi comon to bam cynge to Gleawcestre. and he heom gryo sealde. Da undernam Godwine eorl swyde ton his eorldome sceolde swilc geweordan, ongan ba gadrian folc ofer eall his eorldom, and Swein eorl his sunu ofer his, and Harold his oder sunu ofer his eorldom, and hi gegaderedan ealle on Gleawcesterscire. æt Langatreo. mycel fyrd and unarimedlic. ealle gearwe to wige ongean bone cyng. buton man ageafe Eustatsius and his men heō to hand sceofe. and eac þa Frencyscan þe on þan castelle Dis wæs gedon vii nihton ær þære lateran sca Maria Sep. 2 wæron. mæssan. Da wæs Eadward cyng on Gleawcestre sittende. Sende ba æfter Leofrice eorle, and nord æfter Siwarde eorle, and bæd heora gencges. And hi him ba to comon ærest mid medemum fultume. ac sissan hy wiston hu hit þær be suðan wæs. þa sendon hi noro ofer ealne heora eorldom. and leton beodan mycele fyrde. heora hlaforde to helpe, and Raulf eac ofer his eorldom, and comon To ealle to Gleaweceastre pam cynge to helpe, peah hit læt wære. Wurdan ba ealle swa anræde mid bam cynge. \$ hy woldon Godwines fyrde gesecan. gif se cyng b wolde. Da leton hy sume. bb mycel unræd wære. † hy togedere comon. forbam bær wæs mæst 节 rotoste 节 wæs on Englalande on þam twam gefylcu. and leton 节 hi urum feondum rymdon to lande. and betwyx us sylfum to mycclum forwyrde. Geræddon þa † man sealde gislas betweonan. and setton stefna ut to Lundene. and man bead pa folce pider ut ofer ealne bisne nordende on Siwardes eorldome. and on Leofrices. and eac elles gehwær, and sceolde Godwine eorl and his suna bær cuman

(A.D. 1048) festes emnihte. and het se cyning bannan út here. ægder ge be suðan Temese ge be norðan eall þæfre betst wæs. Da cwæð man Swegen eorl utlah. and stefnode6 man Godwine eorle and Harolde eorle to bon gemote swa rade swa hi hit ge faran mihton. þa hi þider ut comon. þa stefnede heom man to ge mote. þa gyrnde he griðes and gisla. þet he moste unswican into gemote cuman. and út of gemote. Da gyrnde se cyng ealra þæra þegna þe þa eorlas ær hæfdon. and hi letan hi ealle him to handa. pa sende se cyng eft to heom. and bead heom b hi comon mid xii mannum into bæs cynges ræde. Þa geornde se eorl eft griðes and gisla. Þ he moste hine betellan æt ælc þæra þinga þe him man8 on lede. ⁹ þa wyrnde him mann vera gisla. and sceawede him mann v nihta grið út of lande to farenne. And gewende þa Godwine eorl and Swegen eorl to Bosenham. and scufon út heora scipu. and ge wendon heom begeondan sæ. and ge sohton Baldewines grið. and wunodon þær ealne þone winter. And Harold eorl gewende west to Yrlande. and wæs þær ealne bone winter on bes cynges gride. And sona bæs be bis wæs. þa forlet se cyng þa hlæfdian. seo wæs ge halgod him to

And ²Sparhafoc abb' wearð ðá adrifen út of þā biscoprice on Lundene. and wes Will'm þæs cynges preost ge hadod þærto. And man sette þa Oddan to eorle ofer Defenascire. and ofer Sumersæton. and ofer Dorseton. and ofer Wealas. And mann sette Ælfgar Leofrices sunu eorles ðane eorldom on handa þe Harold ær ahte.

cwene. and let niman of hire eall p heo ahte. on lande and on golde and on seolfre and on eallon bingon, and betæhte

hy his swyster to ¹Hwerwillon.

§ E misses 1049, 1050, 1051, and agrees with C and D upon 1052, where harmony is restored between C and D by the repetition of 1052 in D. The death of Emma is put by C under 1051 (p. 176), his year ending at Easter. M. H. B.

⁶ bead F.

⁷ to 8ā cinge F.

⁸ me F.

⁹ þa wyrnde men him and bead him ut binnan v nihtan. and he ferde ofer sæ to Baldwin lande. F.

¹ Hwere wylle F.

² Spearhauoc F.

1052.§ Her on disum geare fordferde Ælfgiue Ymma Eadwardes cynges modor and Hardacnutes cynges.

(D) to wipermale. Da comon hy to Sup geweorce. and micel mænegeo mid heom of WestSæxum. ac his wered wanode æfre be leng be swifor. And man borhfæste þam kyninge ealle þa þægnas þe wæron Haroldes eorles his suna. and man utlagode ba Swægn eorl his oderne sunu. Da ne onhagode him to cumenne to widermale ongean bone cyng, and agean bone here be him mid was. For da on niht awæg, and se cyng hæfde þæs on morgen witenagemot, and cwæ8 hine utlage. and eall here, hine and ealle his suna. And he wende suð to Dornege, and his wif, and Swegen his suna, and Tostig and his wif. Baldwines mage at Brycge. and Ger's his suna. And Harold eorl and Leofwine foran to Brycgstowe. on \$ scip be Swegen eorl hæfde him silfum ær gegearcod and gemetsod. And se cining sende Ealdred b' of Lundene mid genge, and sceoldon hine of ridan ær he to scipe come, ac hi ne mihton, o88e hi noldon. And he wende ba ut of Afenemuðan, and feng swa stið weder b he uneade awæig côm. and him bær micel forferde. Wende ba ford to Irlande. Sa him weder com. and Godwine and ba be mid him wæron wendan of Dornege to Brycge. to Baldwines lande. on anum scipe. mid swa miclum gærsuman swa hi mihton þæron mæst gelogian to ælcum mannum. Dæt wolde öyncan wundorlic ælcum men þe on Englalande wæs. gif ænig man ær þam sæde þ hit swa gewurþan sceolde. fordam be he wæs ær to bam swyde upahafen. swylce he weolde bæs cynges and ealles Englalandes. and his sunan wæron eorlas, and bæs cynges dyrlingas, and his dohtor bæm cynge beweddod and beæwnod, ha man gebrohte to Hwærwellan, and hy bære abedissan betæhton.

Da sone com Willelm eorl fram geondan sæ mid mycclum werode Frencisra manna. and se cyning hine underfeng. and swa feola his geferan swa him to onhagode. and let hine eft ongean. Dæs ilcan geres man sealde Wyllelme preoste þ'rice on Lundene. þe wæs ær Spærhafoce geseald.

1052. Her forpferde Ælfgyfu seo hlefdige. Æðelredes láf cynges and Cnutes cynges on ii non' Mar.

On þam ilcan gere hergode Griffin. se Wylisca cing. on Hereford scire † he com swyþe neah to Leomynstre. and men gadorodon ongean. ægðer ge landes men ge Frencisce men of ðam castele. and man þær ofsloh swyþe feola Engliscra godra manna. and eac of þam Frenciscum. † wæs þæs ylcan dæges. on ðreottene geara. þe man ær Eadwine ofsloh mid his geferum.

(A.D. 1052) And on ham sylfan geare gerædde se cyng and his witan hann sceolde fordian ut to Sandwic scipu. and setton Raulf eorl and Oddan eorl to heafod mannum hærto. Da gewende Godwine eorl út fram Brycge mid his scypum to Yseran. and let ut ane dæge ær midsumeres mæsse æfene he com to Næsse. he is besudan Rumen ea. ha com hit to witenne ha eorlum ut to Sandwic. and hi ha gewendon ut æfter

F 1051 . . [E 1052] . . And Godwine eorl ferde ut of Brige mid his scipan to Yseran, and swa to Englalande, and com up at Næsse be suðan Rumenea. and ferde swa to Wiht. and na Sar ealle Sa scipan Sa to ahte mihtan and gislas. and cyrde hī swa east ward. And Harold was cumen mid ix scipon up at Portlocan, and of sloh dar mycel folc, and na orf, and menn, and eahta. and ge wende hi east ward to his fæder. and hi begen ferdan to Rumon ea. to Hibe. to Folcstane, to Doferan, to Sandwic, and afre naman ealle ba scipan de hi fundan da to ahte mihte, and gislas, eal swa ferdan and gewendon Sa to Lundene. Da hi to Lundene comon. Sa læg se cing and ealle his eorlas þar ongean mid L scipon. Da sendan da eorlas to da cinge. and georndan p hi moston beon heora pinga and are wurde de heom mid unrihte benumen was. Da wid leg se cing sume hwile. ac Stigand. be was bes cinges ræd gifa and his hand preost, and oa oore wise men geræddan. p man getrymde gislas on ægðræ healfe, and swa scolde se freondscipe beon gefæstnod. Da Rodbert arb' & geaxode. &a nam he his hors. and ferde him to Eadulfes næsse. and weard him on anum unwræcum scipe, and ferde him on an ofer sæ, and for let his pallium. Da cwæð man mycel gemot wið uton Lundene. and on þa gemote wæran da betstan men be wæran on dysen lande. Dar bær Godwine up his mal. and betealde hine wid Eadward cing be eallum da dingan de him was on geled. and his bearnum. And man cwæð Rodbert arb' utlaga. and ealla da Frencisce men. forban hi wæran intinga bare wræde de was betwyx him and dan cinge. And Stigand b' feng to dan arb' rice on Cantuare b'i.

(C) 1052. Her com Harold eorl of Irlande mid scipum on Sæfern muðan, neh Sumer sætan gemæran and Defene scire, and þær mycel gehergode, and þ land folc him ongean gaderodan, ægðer ge of Sumer sæton ge of Defene scire, and he hig aflymde, and þær ofsloh må þonne xxx godera þegena, butan oðrum folce, and sona æft' þan for abutan Penwið steort. And þa let Eadward cyng scypian xl snacca. Da lagan æt Sandwic manega wucan, þa sceoldon sætnian Godwines eorles þe on Brycge wæs þæne winter, and he þeh com hider to lande ærest, swa hig hit nysten. And on ðam fyrste þe he her on lande wæs, he gespeon him to ealle Kentingas, and ealle þa butse carlas of Hæstingan and þær æghwar be þære sæ riman, and eallne þæne East ende, and Suð Sexan, and Suðrigan, and mycel elles to eacan þan. Da cwædon ealle þ hi mid him woldon licgan and lybban. Da geaxedon þ lið þ on Sandwic læg embe Godwines

bam odrum scipum. and bead man land fyrde ut ongean ba (A.D. 1052) scipu. Þa amang þison þa wearð Godwine eorl gewarnod. and ge wende him ba into Pefenesea. and weard b wæder swide strang. \$ ba eorlas ne militon ge witan hwet Godwine eorl ge faren hæfde. And ge wende þa Godwine eorl ut agean b he com eft to Brycge. and da odra scipu gewenden heom eft ongean to Sandwic. And ge rædde man þa b þa scipu ge wendan eft ongean to Lundene. and sceolde man setton orre eorlas and orre hasæton to ba scipum. lengde hit man swa lange b seo scip fyrd eall belaf. and ge wendon ealle heom ham. Da ge axode Godwine eorl bet. and teah ha up his segl and his liv. and gewendon heom ha west on an to Wiht. and eodon bær úp. and hergodon swa lange bær b b folc geald heom swa mycel swa hi heom on legden. And gewendon heom ha west weard of het hi comon to Portlande, and eodon bær úp and dydon to hearme swa hwet swa hi dón mihton.

pa wes Harold gewend út of Yrlande mid nigon scipon. and com pa úp æt Port locan. and wes pær mycel folc gegaderod ongean. ac he ne wandode na him metes to tylienne. eode úp and ofsloh pær mycelne ende pes folces. and nam him on orfe. and on mannum. and on æhtum. swa him gewearð. and gewende him pa eastweard to his feder. And gewendon heom pa begen eastweard phi comon to Wiht. and namon pær phim ær wiðæftan wæs. and gewendon heom pa panon to Pefenesea. And begeat forð mid him swa fela scipu swa pær fera wæron. and swa forð phe com to

And sona com Harold eorl of Irlande mid his scipum to (D 1052) Sæfern muðan neh Sumer sæton gemære and Dafenascire and þær mycel gehergode. and þ landfolc him ongean gaderode. ægþær ge of Sumor sæton ge of Defnascire. and he hyg aflimgde. and þær ofsloh maþoñ xxx godra vegna buton ovre folce. and sona æft' vam for abuton Penwiv steort. And þa læt Eadward cyng scypian xl snacca þa lagon æt Sandwic. þa sceoldon cepan Godwines eorles ve on Brycge wæs þone wint'. and he veah cö hider tolande ærest swa hy hit nystan. and on þā þe he her on lande wæs. he gespeon ealle Centingas. and ealle þa butse karlas of Hæstingū and þær æghwar abuton be þære sæ riman. and ealne East Sexan. and Suþerege. and mycel elles to eacan þam. þa cwædon ealle þ hi woldon mid him libban and licgean. Þa ge axedon þ liv þ on Sandwic læg embe

- (A.D. 1052) Næsse, and begeat ealle þa scipu þe wæron on Rumen ea. and on Hyþe, and on Folces stane. And gewendon þa east to Dofran, and eodon þær úp, and namon him þær scipu, and gislas, swa fela swa hi woldon, and ferdon swa to Sandwíc, and dydon hand þ sylfa, and heom man geaf æghwer gislas and metsunga, þær þær hi gyrndon. And gewendon heom
 - (C 1052) fare, setton be æfter. And he heom ætbærst, and him sylfan gebearh þær þær he þa mihte. and p lið wende agen to Sandwic. and swa hamwerd to Lunden byrig. Da þa Godwine geaxode \$ \$ lid be on Sandwic læg wæs ham gewend, þa for he eft ongean to Wiht, and þær abutan be þā særiman swa lange læg þ hig comon togædere. Harold eorl his sunu and he. And hi na mycelne hearm ne dydon sye an hig togædere comon. buton b heo metsunge namon. ac speonnon heom eall \$ land folc to be \$\delta\$ s\delta\$ riman. and eac up on lande, and hig foron towerd Sandwic, and læson æfre for mid heom ealle ba butse carlas be heo gemetton, and comon ba to Sandwic mid geotendan here. Da Eadwerd cyng † geaxode. þa sende he up æft' maran fultume. ac hi comon swyee late. And Godwine sah him æfre towerd Lundenes mid his lide. h he com to Sud geweorce. and bær on bad sume hwile of h flod up eode. On ba fyrste he eac gefadode wið þa burhware. \$\forall hi woldon mæst ealle \$\forall \forall he wolde. Da he hæfde ealle his fare gerecenod. ba com se flod. and hig brudon up &a sona heora ancran, and heoldon burh ba brycge be ða syð lande, and seo land fyrd com ufenon and trymedon hig be þa strande, and hi hwemdon þa mid þa scypon wið þæs norð landes. swylce hig woldon þæs cynges scipa abutan betrymman. Sé cyng hæfde eac mycele land fyrde on his healfe to eacan his scyp mannum. ac hit was heom mæst eallon lað b hig sceoldon fohtan wid heora agenes cynnes mannum. forban bar wæs lyt elles be aht mycel myhton buton Englisce men. on ægder healfe. and eac hig noldon b utlendiscum beodum were bes eard burh be swidor gerymed be hi heom sylfe ælc oderne forfore. Geræddon ba 5 man sende wise men betweonan. and setton grid on ægdre healfe. And Godwine for upp. and Harold his sunu. and heora lix swa mycel swa heom þa geþuhte. And wæs þa witenagemót. and man sealde Godwine clæne his eorldom, swa full and swa forð swa he fyrmest ahte. and his sunum eall swa eall \$ hi ær ahten. and his wife and his dehter, swa ful and swa ford swa hi ær ahton. And hi gefæstnodon heom þa fulne freondscipe betweonan, and eallum folce gode lage beheton. And geutlageden þa calle Frencisce men þe ær

pa to Nordmudan. and swa to Lundene weard. and sume pa (A.D. 1052) scipu gewendon binnon Scepige. and dydon pær mycelne hearm. and gewendon heom to Middeltune pæs cynges. and forbearndon p eall. and wæron heom to Lundene weard æft' på eorlan. Da hi to Lundene comon. pa læg se cyng and pa eorlas ealle pær ongean mid L scipum. pa sendon pa eorlas to på cynge. and gerndon to him p hi moston beon wurde ælc pæra pinga pe heom mid unrihte ofgenumen wæs.

Godwines fare. setton ba eft'. and he heom æt bærst. and \$ li8 (D 1052) wende ongean to Sandwic and swa hamweard to Lunden byrig, Da þa Godwine geaxede \$ \$ lið þe on Sandwic læig wæs ham gewend. ba for he æft ongean to Wiht. and bær abutan be ba særiman swa lange \$\bar{p}\$ hi comon togædere Harold eorl his suna. and hi noldon no mycelne hearm don sy oon. buton by hyg metsunge namon. speonnan heom ba eall b landfolc to. be bam særiman. and eac uppon lande, and hy foran to weard Sandwic and læson æfre ford mid heom ealle ba butse carlas be hy gemetton and coman ba to Sandwic mid geotendan here. Pa Eadward b geaxode ba sende he upp æft' maran fulltume. ac hy coman swipe læte. and Godwine sæh him æfre toward Lundenne mid his libe h he com to Subweorce. and per abad sume hwile. of \$ \$ flod uppeode. on pam fyrste and æc ær he ge fadode wib da burh waru. B hi mæst ealle woldon dæt he wolde. Pa ba he hæfde ealle his fare gereconod. ba com \$ flod and hy brudon sona upp heora ancras and heoldan burh ba brycge áá bi bæm sublande, and seo landfyrde coman ofenan and trymedon hy be been strande, and hy hwemdan oa mid bam scipu swylce hy woldon des cynges scypu abuton betryman. Se cyning hæfde eac micle land fyrde on his halfe to eacan his scip mannu. Ac hit wes mæst eallan lag to feohtanne wig heora agenes cynnesmannu. for-Sam bær wæs lytel elles be aht mycel myhton butan Englisce on ægðre healfe. and eac hi noldon b utlendiscu mannu wære bes eard burh \$ de swidor gerymed be hi him sylfe ælc oberne forfore. Geræddan þa i man sende wyse men be tweonan and setton grið on ægðre halfe. and Godwine for upp and Harold and heora lið swa micel swa heom ba gebuhte, and wæs ba witene gemot and man sealde Godwine clæne his eorldom swa full and swa forð swa he fyrmest ahte, and his sunu eallu eall by hy ær ahton, and his wife and his dohtor swa full and swa for swa hi ahton and hi fæstnedon þa fulne freondscipe heom betweonan. and allu folce fulle lagu be heton, and ge utlagedon ealle ba Frenciscean be ær

(C) unlage rærdon and undom demdon and unræd ræddon into Sissum earde. buton swa feala swa hig geræddon \$ pam cynge gelicode mid him to hæbbenne. be him getreowe wæron and eallum his folce. And Rodbeard bisceop, and Willelm b'. and Ulf b'. uneade æt burstan, mid þā Frenciscum mannum þe heom mid wæron, and swa ofer sæ becomon. And Godwine eorl, and Harold, and seo cwen sæton on heora åre. Swegen for æror to Hierusalē of Bricge, and weard hamweard dead æt Constantinopolim to Michaheles mæsse. Dæt wæs on bone Monandæg æft' sca Marian mæsse \$ Godwine mid his scipum to Su\section geweorce becom. and bæs on merigen. on bone Tiwesdæg. hi gewurdon sehte. swa hit her beforan stent. Godwine þa gesiclode hraðe þæs þe he up com. and eft gewyrpte, ac he dyde ealles to lytle dædbote of bære Godes are be he hæfde of manegum halgum stowum. On þam ylcan geare com se stranga wind on Thomes mæsse niht. and gehwær mycelne hearm dyde. Eac man sloh Hris bæs Welscan cynges brober.

1053. On þysum geare wæs se cyning on Winceastre on Eastran. and Godwine eorl mid him. and Harold eorl his sunu. and Tostig. Da on oðran Easterdæge sæt he mid dam cyningge æt gereorde. Þa færinga sah he nider wið þæs fotsetles. spræce benumen. and ealre his mihte. and hine man da bræd into dæs kinges bure. and dohtan hit ofergån sceolde. ac hit næs na swa. ac þurh wunode swa unspecende and mihteleas ford od þone Dunresdæg. and da his lif alét. and he lið þær binnan Ealdanmynstre. And his sunu Harald feng to his eorldome. and let of dan þe he ær hæfde. and Ælfgar fenge dærto.

Dæs ylcan geares gefor Wulfsie b' on Licedfelda. and Leofwine

⁽D) unlagon rærdon and undom demdon and unræd ræddan into Sissū eardū. buton swa fela swa hi geræddon þ þam cynge gelicode mid hī to habbenne þe him getreowe wæron and eallū his folce. And Rodbeard arceb'. and Willelm b'. and Ulf b'. uneaðe æt burstan mid þā Frenciscean mannū þe hī mid wæron. and swa ofer sæ comon.

^{1053.} Her wæs se micla wind on Domes mæsse niht. and eac eall ba mide winter wæs mycel wind. And man rædde þ man sloh Hris. bæs Wyliscean cynges brober. for by he hearmas dyde. and man brohte his heafod to Gleacestre on twelftan æfen. And bæs ylcan geres. for an to alra halgena mæssan. for bferde Wulfsyg b'æt Licetfelda. and Godwine abb' on Wincelcumbe. and Ægelward abb' on

Da wid læg se cyng sume hwile beah. swa lange od bet folc be mid ba eorle wes, weard swide astyred ongean bone cyng. and ongean his folc. swa b se eorl sylf earfoblice gestylde b folc. ba ferde Stigand biscop to mid Godes fultume, and ba wise menn. ægðær ge binnan burh ge buton. and geræddon b man tremede gislas on ægder healfe. and man swa dyde. Da geaxode Rotberd arcb' and ba Frencisce menn \$. genamon heora hors, and gewendon sume west to Pentecostes castele. sume noro to Rodb'tes castele. Rodberd arcb' and Ulf b' gewendon út ét Æst geate. and heora geferan. and ofslogon and elles amyrdon manige iunge men. and gewendon heom on an to Ealdulfesnæse. and weard him bær on anon un wræste scipe, and ferde him ón án ofer sæ. and forlet his pallium and Xpendom ealne her on lande. swa swa hit God wolde. þa he ær begeat þone wurðscipe swa swa hit God nolde. Da cwæð mann mycel gemot wiðutan Lundene. and ealle ba eorlas and ba betstan menn be wæron on bison lande wæron on ba gemote. bær bær Godwine eorl up his mal. and betealde hine bær wið Eadward cyng his hlaford and wid ealle land leodan, bet he was unscyldig bæs be him geled wæs, and on Harold his sunu. and ealle his bearn. And se cyng forgeaf ba eorle and his bearnum his fulne freondscype and fulne eorldom and call bet he ær ahte, and eallon ham mannon he him mide wæron, and se cyng geaf þære hlæfdian eall b heo ær ahte. And cwed man útlaga Rotberd arcb' fullice. and ealle þa Frencisce menn. fordan be hi macodon mæst bet unseht betweonan Godwine eorle and bā cynge. And Stigand b' feng to bā arcb'rice on Cantwarabyrig. And on bis ilcan tyme forlet Arnwi abb' of Burh abbot rice. be his halre life. and geaf De Burgo hit Leofric munec be bes cynges leafe and be bære munece. and se abbot Arnwi lifode syodon viii wintre. And se abbot Leofri[c go]dede þa p mynstre swa p man hit cleopede þa Gildene burh. ba wæx hit swide on land and on gold and Gylden on seolfer.

1053. Her on pisum geare for of ferde Godwine eorl on avii k' Mai. and he is bebyrged on Winceastre. on Ealdamynstre. and feng Harold eorl his sunu to oam eorldome.

6 Her was Godwine eorl dead. F.

and to eallum pam pe his fæder ahte. and feng Ælfgar eorl to dam eorldom pe Harold ær ahte.

1054. Bellum apud mare mortuum. Her on þisum geare forðferde Leo se halga papa on Rome. And on þisum geare wæs swa mycel orfcwealm. swa man ne gemunde fela wintrum ær. And Uictor wæs gecoren tó papan.

(C) abb' on Cofantreo feng to ŏā bisceoprice. and Ægelward abbud on Glæstingabyrig gefór. and Godwine abb' on Wincelcumbe.

Eac Wylsce menn geslogan mycelne dæl Englisces folces &æra weardmanna. wið Wæstbyrig.

On Sisson geare næs nan arcebisceop on Sissan lande. butan Stigand b' heold b bisceoprice on Cantwarabyrig on Cristes cyrcean. and Kynsige on Eoforwic. and Leofwine and Wulfwi foran ofer sæ. and leton hig hadian bær to bisceopum. se Wulfwi feng to Sam biscoprice be Ulf hæfde. be him libbendum. and ofadræfdum.

1054. Her for Siward eorl mid mycclum here into Scotlande, and mycel wæl of Scottum gesloh, and hig aflymde, and se cing æt bærst. Eac feoll mycel on his healfe, ægðer ge Densce ge Englisce, and eac his agen sunu. Dæs ylcan geares man halgode þ mynster on Eofeshāme, on vi id' Octobris. On ðā ylcan geare ferde Ealdred biscp suð, ofer sæ, into Sexlande, and wearð þær mid mycelre arwurðnesse underfangen. Dy ylcan geare swealt Osgod Clapa, færinga swa swa he on his reste læg.

1055. On bysum geare foroferde Siward eorl, on Eoforwic, and his lic lid binnan þa mynstre æt Galmanhó. þe he sylf ær getimbrade. Gode to lofe. and eallum his halgum. Da öæræft' binnan lyttlan fyrste. wæs witenagemôt on Lundene. and man geutlagode ba Ælfgar eorl. Leofrices sunu eorles. butan ælcan gylte. and he gewende da to I'rlande. and begeat him der lid. h wes xviii scipa. butan his ægenan. and wendan da to Brytlande. to Griffine cinge. mid bam werede and he hine underfeng on his gride. And hig gegaderadan &a mycle fyrde mid &ā Yriscan mannan and mid Walkynne. and Rawulf eorl gaderade mycele fyrde agean to Hereford port. And hi sohtan hi vær. ac ær bær wære ænig spere gescoten. ær fleah &æt Englisce folc. for8an þe hig wæran on horsan, and man sloh & mycel wæl, abutan feower hund manna. oððe fife. and hig nænne agean. And hig gewendan ða to ðā porte. and det forbærndan. and h mære mynster de Æbelstan. se arwurða biscop. ær let getimbrian. \$ hig beryptan and bereafodan. æt haligdome. and æt hreaue. and æt eallon dingan. and b folc

1055. Her on þisum geare forðferde Siward eorl. and þa bead man ealre witena gémót vii nihton ær mid lenctene. and útlagode mann Ælfgar eorl. forðon him man wearp ón. Þ he wæs þes cynges swica. and ealra land leoda. and he þæs geanwyrde wes. ætforan eallum þā mannum þe þær gegaderode wæron. þeah him Þ word ofscute his unnþances.

(D) Glestingabyrig. ealle binnan anum monpe. and Leofwine feng to pam b'rice æt Licetfelde. and Aldret b' feng to pam abb'rice on Wincelcübe. and Ægelnað feng to pā abb'rice on Glestincgabyrig. And pæs ylcan geres forðferde Ælfric. Oddan broðer. on Deorhyrste. and his lichama resteð on Perscóre. And pæs ylcan geres forðferde Godwine eorl. and him geyfelode pær he mid pā cynge sæt on Wincestre. And Harold his sunu feng to pā eorldome pe his fæder ær hæfde. and Ælfgar eorl feng to pam eorldome pe Harold ær hæfde.

1054. Her ferde Siward eorl mid miclum here on Scotlande. ægðer ge mid scyp here and mid land fyrde. and feaht wið Scottas. and aflymde þone kyng Macbeoðen. and ofsloh eall þ þær betst wæs on þā lande. and lædde þonan micele herehuþe. swilce nan man ær ne begeat. Ac his sunu Osbarn. and his sweostor sunu Sihward. and of his hus carl'. and eac þæs cynges. wurdon þær ofslægene. on þone dæg Septem Dormientiū. Dæs ilcan geres for Aldred b' to Colne. ofer sæ. þæs kynges ærende. and wearð þær underfangen mid mycclan weorðscipe frā þam casere. and þær he wunode wel neh an gér. and him geaf ægðer þeneste ge se b' on Colone. and se casere. And he lofode Leofwine b'e. to halgianne þ mynst' æt Eofeshamme. on vi id' Octb'. And on þisan geare swalt Osgod. færinga on his bedde. And her forðferde ses Leo papa. and Uictor wæs to papa gecoren on his stede.

1055. On þisan gere forðferde Syhward eorl. on Eoferwic. and he ligeð æt Galmahó. on þā mynstre þe he sylf let timbrian. and halgian on Godes and Olafes naman. And Tosti feng to þan eorldome þe he hæfde. And Kynsie arceb' fette his pallium æt Uictore papan. And þæræft' sona man utlagode Ælfgar eorl. Leofrices sunu eorl'. forneh butan gylte. Ac he gewende to Hirlande. and Brytlande. and begeat him þær micel genge. and ferde swa to Hereforda. ac him com þær togenes Raulf eorl mid mycclan here. and mid lytlan gewinne hi on fleam gebrohte. and micel folc on þan fleame

⁷ and he was has gewyrde F. Et quod ipse ante cognovit ita esse, licet verbum illud improviso exprimerit. F. Lat.

And se cyng geaf pone eorldom Tostige Godwines sunu eorles. Se Siward eorl ær ahte.

And Ælfgar eorl gesohte Griffines g'heald on NorðWealan. And on þisum geare Griffin and Ælfgar forbærndon sce Æðelbryhtes mynster. and ealle þa burh Hereford.

1056. Hic Henricus Romanorum imperator obiit; cui successit filius ejus Henricus.

1057. Her on þisum geare com Ædward æðeling Eadmundes sunu cynges hider to lande. and sona þæs gefor. and

(C) slogan, and sume onweg læddan. Da gaderade man fyrde geond eall Engla land swyse neah, and hig coman to Gleawcceastre, and wendan swa únfeorr út on Wealas, and þær lagon sume hwile, and Harald eorl let dician sa dic abutan þ port þa hwile. Da on sā, þa spæc man to friðe, and Harald eorl and sa se mid him wæron coman to Bylgeslege, and sær frið and freondscipe heom betweonan gefæstnodan. And man geinlagode þa Ælfgar eorl, and man ageaf him eall þ him wæs ær ofgenumen, and þ sciplið gewende to Legeceastre, and sær abiden heora males þe Ælfgar heom behét. Se mannslyht wæs on ix kl' Noub'. On sam ylcan geare forðferde Tremerig se Wylsca biscop sona æfter sære hergunge, se wæs Æþelstanes biscopes gespelia syssan he unfere wæs.

1056. Her gefor Æbelstan se arwur'da b'. on iiii id' Fébrii. and his lic lid on Hereford port, and man sette Leofgar to biscupe, se wæs Haroldes eorles mæsse preost. Se werede his kenepas on his preosthade o\delta et he was biscop. Se forlet his crisman and his hrode. his gastlican wæpna, and feng to his spere and to his sweorde. æft' his biscuphade. and swa for to fyrde ongean Griffin bone Wyliscan cing. and hine man dar ofsloh and his preostas mid him. and Ælfnoð scir gerefa. and manega gode menn mid heom. and ða odre ætflugon. Dis wæs viii nihton ær middan sumera. Earfodlic is to atellanne seo gedrecednes, and seo fare eall, and seo fyrdung. and \$ geswinc and manna fyll, and eac horsa, be eall Engla here dreah. o&&at Leofric eorl com wix. and Harald eorl. and Ealdred b'. and macedan seht bær betweonan. swa b Griffin swor aðas b he wolde beon Eadwarde kinge hold under kinge. and unswicigende. And Ealdred b' feng to Sam biscuprice be Leofgar hæfde ær xi wucan and iiii dagas. On 8am ylcan geare gefor Cona se casere. Dæs geres gefór Odda eorl. and his lic lið on Perscoran. and he wæs to munece gehadod ær is ende. he gefor on ii kl' Septb'.

his lic is bebyrged innon scs Paulus mynstre on Lundene. (A. D. 1057) And Uictor papa for offerde. and was Stephan' gecoren to papan. se was abbot on Monte Cassino. And Leofric eorl

(D) ofsloh. and gewendon þa into Hereford porte, and forhergode þ. and forbærnde þ mære mynst' þe Æþelstan b' getimbrode, and ofsloh þa preostas innan þan mynstre, and manege þær to eacan, and namon þærinne ealle þa maðmas, and mid heom aweg læddon. And þa þa hi hæfdon mæst to yfele gedon, man gerædde þone ræd þ man Ælfgar eorl geinnlagode, and ageaf him his eorldom, and eall þ him ofgenumen wæs. Deos hergung wæs geworden on non' kl' Nouemb'. On þam ilcan geare forðferde Tremerin se Wylisca b', sona æfter þære hergunge, and he wæs Æþelstanes b' gespelia siððan he unfere wæs.

1056. Her forlet Ægelric bisceop his bisceoprice æt Dunholm. and ferde to Burh to sce Petres mynstre. and his broðor Ægelwine feng værto.

And eac her for ferde Æ elstan biscop. on iiii id Féb. and his lic li on Hereforda. and man sette Lefegar to b'. se wæs Haroldes eorles mæsse p'. and on his preosthade he hæfde his kenepas oð þ he b' wæs. Se forlet his crisman and his rode and his gastlican wæpnu. and feng to his spere and to his swurde. and swa for to ferde ongean Griffin þone Wyliscan cining. and he wearð þær ofslagen and his preostes mid him. and Ælfnoð scir gerefa. and manega oð re gode men. Dis wæs ehtan nihte ær middan sumere. And Ealdred bisceop feng to ða b'rice þe Leofegar hæfde xi wucan and iiii dagas. Dæs geares forð ferde Odda eorl. and he lið on Perscora. se wæs to muneca gehadod ær his ende. god man and clæne and swiðe æðele. And he gewat on ii kl' Sept'. And Cona se casere forð ferde.

1057. Her com Eadward æþeling to Engla lande' se wæs Eadwerdes broðor sunu kynges Eadmund eing' Irensid wæs geelypod for his snell scipe.

Disne æþeling Cnút cyng hæfde forsend on Ungerland to beswicane.

forðferde. and feng Ælfgar his sunu to þā eorldome þe se fæder ær hæfde.

1058. Her on pisum geare for oferde Stephanus papa. and was Benedict' gehalgod to papan. se ylca sænde Stigande

(D)

Ac he bær gebeh to godan men' swa him God uðe and him wel gebyrede' swa þ he begeat bæs caseres mága to wife' and bi bære fægerne bearn team gestrynde' seo wæs Agathes gehaten.

Ne wiston we for hwylcan intingan by gedón weard by he ne moste his mæges Eadwardes cynges geséon.

Wâla † wæs hreowlic sið and hearmlic eallre þissere þeode † he swa raðe his lif geendade þæs þe he to Englalande cóm for ungesælhðe þissere earman þeode.

On þan ilcan gere forðferde Leofric eorl. on ii kl' Otb'. se wæs swiðe wis for Gode and eac for worulde. † fremode eallre þisre ðeode. he lið æt Cofentreo. and his sunu Ælfgar feng to his rice. And on þam geare forðferde Raulf eorl. on xii kl' Ian'. and lið on Burh. Eac gefor Héca b' on Suð Sexum. and Ægelric wæs on his setl ahafen. And her Uictor papa forðferde. and Stephan' wæs to papa gecoren.

1058. Her man ytte ut Ælfgar eorl. ac he côm sona inn ongean mid strece. þurh Gryffines fultum. And her com scyphere of Nor-

F m... Her forð ferde Stephan' p'pa. and Benedict' was gebletsed þarto, se ylca sende Stigande ar'b'...... to lande. and Heca b' forð ferde and Stigand ar'b' hadode Agelric on Xpēscirican to b' to Suð Sexū. and Siward abb' to b' to Rof. §

[§] Here ends MS. F; much worn and effaced.

arčb' pallium hider to lande. And on þisum geare forðferde Heaca b' on Suð Seaxan. and Stigand arcebiscop hadode Ægelric mæt Xpes cyrcean to b' to Suð Seaxum. and Siward abbot to biscop to Hrofeceastre.

1059. Her on þisum geare wæs Nicolaus to papan gecoren. se wæs biscop æt Florentie þære burh. and wæs Benedict' utadrifen se wæs ær papa.

1060. Hic Henricus rex Francorum obiit; cui successit Phylippus filius ejus. On þissum geare forðferde Kynsige arcb' on Eoforwic on xi kl' Ianr. and feng Ealdred b' þær to. and Walter feng to þam b'rice on Hereforda.

1061. Her on þisum geare forðferde Duduc b' on Sumer sæton, and feng Gisa to. And on þam ilcan geare forðferde Godwine b' æt sce Martine on vii Id' Mr'. And on þam sylfan geare forðferde Wulfric abb' æt sce Augustine innon þære Easter wucan on xiiii k' Mai. Ða com þam cynge

(D) wegan. hit is langsum to atellanne eall hu hit gefaren wæs. On þā ilcan gere Ealdred b' halgode β mynst' on Gleawcestre þe he sylf geforðode. Gode to lofe and sõe Petre. and swa ferde to Hierusalē. mid swilcan weorðscipe swa nan oðer ne dyde ætforan him. and hine sylfne þær Gode betæhte. and wurðlic lac eac geoffrode to ures Drihtenes byrgene. β wæs an gylden calic on fif marcon. swiðe wundorlices geworces. On þam ilcan gere forðferde Stefan' papa. and Benedict' wæs to papan geset. se sende pallium Stigande b'e. and Ægelric wæs to b'e gehadod to Suð Sexum. and Sihward abb' to bŷe to Hrofecestre.

1059. Her on þisan gere wæs Nicolaus gecoren to papan. se wæs b'ær æt Florentia þære burh. and Benedict' wæs utadryfen þe þær wæs ær papa. And on þisan gere wæs se stypel gehalgad æt Burh on xvi kl' Noub'.

1060. On þisan gere wæs micel eorð dyne. on translatione scii Martini. and Heinric se cyng forðferde on Francrice. And Kynsie arceb' on Eoferwic gewat on xi kl' Ianr. and he ligeð on Burh. and Ealdred b' feng to þam rice. And Waltere feng to þam b'rice on Herefordscire. and Duduc b' eac forðferde. se wæs b' on Sumersætan. and man sette Gisa preost on his stede.

1061. Her for Ealdred b' to Rome æft' his pallium. and he hine underfeng æt þam papan Nicolæ. And se eorl Tostig. and his wif eac foron to Rome. and se bisceop and se eorl gebidan mycele earfo\u00e8nysse þa hi hamward foran. And her for\u00e8ferde Godwine b' æt s\u00e7e Martine. and Wulfric abb' æt s\u00e7e Agustine. on iiiix kl' April.

word p se abb' Wulfric for gefaren wæs. pa geceas he Ædelsige munuc pær to of Ealdon mynstre. folgode pa Stigande arcb'. and weard gehalgod to abb' æt Windles oran. on scs Augustin' mæssedæg.

1062. Hoc anno subjugata est Cynomannia comiti Normannie Will'mo.

1063. Her for Harold eorl and his brotor Tostig eorl. agger ge mid landfyrde ge mid sciphere into Brytlande. and pet land geeodon. and p folc heom gislodon and to bugon. and foron syttan to and ofslogon heora cyng Griffin. and brohton Harolde his heafod. and he sette operne cyng pær to.

1064. Her on pisum geare foron Nordhymbra togædere, and utlagodon heora eorl Tostig, and ofslogon his hired menn ealle pa hi mihton to cuman ægðer ge Englisce ge Dænisce and namon ealle his wepna on Eoferwíc, and gol and seolfor, and ealle his sceattas pe hi mihton ahwar pær geaxian, and senden æfter Morkere Ælfgares sune eorles, and gecuron hine heom to eorle, and he for suð mid eallre pære scire, and mid Snotinghamscire, and Deorbiscire, and Lincolnascire, oð he com to Hamtune, and his broðor Eadwine him com togeanes mid þam mannum þe on his eorldome wæron, and eac fela Bryttas comon mid him. Dær com Harold eorl heom togeanes, and hig lægdon ærende on hine to þam cynge Eadwarde, and eac ærendracan mid him sendon, and bædon þ hi moston habban Morkere heom [to] eorle. And se cyng þæs geuðe and sende eft Harolde heom

⁽C) 1065. Her on þissū geare foran to hlafmæssan het Harold eorl bytlian on Brytlande æt Portasciho þa þa he hyt gegan hæfde, and þar mycel god gegaderode and þohte þone kingc Eadward þar to habbenne fo huntnoþes þingon, and þa hyt eall mæst gegaderod wæs, þa for Cradoc, Griffines sunu to mid eallū þā þe he begytan mihte, and þ folc mæst eall ofsloh þe þar tinbrode, and þ god genā þe þar gegaderod wæs. And se mannsliht wæs on sce Barþolomeus mæsse dæig. And þa æft' Michaheles mæssan, fóran þa þegnas ealle on Eoferwicscire to Eoferwic, and Tostiges eorles hus karlas þar ofslogon ealle þa þe hig geaxian mihton, and hys gærsuman namon. And Tostig wæs þa æt Brytfordan mid þam kinge. And þa wel raðe þar æft' wæs mycel gemot æt Norðhamtune, and swa on Oxenaforda, on þon dæig Simonis and Iude. And wæs Harold

to to Hamtune. on see Simones and Iudan mæsse æfen. and (A.D. 1064)

(D) And Nicolaus papa for oferde. and Alexander was to papan georon. se was b' at Lucan.

1063. On bissum geare for Harold eorl. æft' middan wintre. of Gleaweceastre to Rudelan. be Griffines was. and bone ham forbærnde, and his scipa and alle þa gewæda þe þærto gebyrede, and hine on fleame gebrohte. And ba. to bam gong dagan. for Harold mid scipum of Brycgstowe abutan Brytland, and \$ folc gribede and gisledon. and Tostig for mid landferde ongean. and \$ land geeodon. Ac her. on Sissan ilcan geare. on herfeste, wearb Griffin kync ofslangen. on nonas Agūsti. fram his agenum mannum. burh & géwin be he won wib Harold eorl. Se wæs kyning ofer eall Weal cyn. and man brohte his eafod to Harolde eorle, and Harold hit bam kynge brohte, and his scipes heafod, and ba bone ber mid. And se kyng Eadward betæhte † land his twam gebrobran. Blebgente and Rigwatlan, and hig abas sworon and gislas saldan bæm cynge and pæm eorle. \$ heo him on allum pingum unswicende beon woldon. and eighwar him gearwe. on wætere and on lande. and swylc of bam lande gelæstan swylc man dyde to foran ær obrum kynge.

1065. Her on þissum geare, foran to hlafmæssan, hét Harold eorl bytlian on Brytlande æt Portasciho. þa þa he hit gegán hæfde, and bær mycel gód to gegaderode. and bohte bonne cyng Eadward bær to habbane for hunto ses bingon. Ac ba hit eall was gearo, ba for Cradoc to. Gryffines sunu. mid eallon bam genge be he begotan mihte. and \$ folc eall mæst ofsloh be bær timbrode. and \$ god be bær gegearcod wæs námon. Ne wisten we hwa bone unræd ærest gerædde. Dis wæs gedon on sce Bartholomeus mæsse dæg. And sona æft' bisan gegaderedon ba begenas hi ealle on Eoforwic scire and on Nor8 hymbra lande togædere. and geutlagedan heora eorl Tosti. and ofslogon his hired menn ealle be hig mihten to cumen ægber ge Englisce ge Denisce. and naman ealle his wæpna on Eaforwic. and gold and seolfer. and ealle his sceattas be hig mihton ahwær bær geacsian. and sendon æfter Morkere Ælfgares sunu eorles, and gecuron hine heom to eorle, and he for su's mid ealre bære scire. and mid Snotinghamscire. and Deorbyscire. and Lincolnascire. of he com to Hamtune. and his brobor Eadwine him com togeanes mid þam mannum þe on his eorldome weron. and eac fela Brettas comon mid him. Der com Harold eorl heom togeanes. and hig lægdon ærende on hine to bam cyninge Eadwarde. and eac ærendracan mid him sendon. and bædon \$\dagger\$ hi moston habban Morkere heom to eorle. And se cyning bæs geuðæ and sende æfter Harald heom. to Hamtune. on sce Symones and Iuda mæsse

- (A.D. 1064) kydde heom p ilce. and heom pet on hand sealdon, and he niwade pær Cnutes lage. And pa norðerne men dydan mycelne hearme abutan Hamtune, pa hwile pe he for on heora ærende. ægðer p hi ofslogon men, and bærndon hús and cornn, and namon eall pet orf pe hi mihton tocuman. p wæs fela pusend, and fela hund manna hi namon, and læddon norð mid heom, swa pet seo scyre and pa oðra scyre
 - (C 1065) eorl þar. and wolde heora seht wyrcan gif he mihte. ac he na mihte. ac eall hys eorldom hyne anrædlice forsóc. and geutlagode and ealle þa mid hym þe unlage rærdon. for þam þe rypte God ærost. and ealle þa bestrypte þe he ofer mihte æt life and æt lande. And hig namon heom þa Morkere to eorle. and Tostig for þa ofer sæ. and hys wif mid him. to Baldwines lande. and wint'setl namon æt sce Audomare. And Eadward kingc com to West mynstre to þam middan wintre. and þ mynster þar lét halgian þe he sylf getimbrode. Gode to lofe and sce Petre. and eallum Godes halgum. and seo circ halgung wæs on Cilda mæsse dæig. And he for oferde on twelftan æfen. and hyne man bebyrigde on twelftan dæig on þam ylcan mynstre. swa hyt heræfter seigð.

Her Eadward kinge: Engla hlafordsende sopfæste sawle to Criste on Godes wæra gast haligne.

He on worulda her wunode þrage on kyne þrymme cræftig ræda.

xxiiii freolic wealdend wintra gerimes weolm brytnodon.

And healfe tid hæleða wealdend weold wel gepungen Walum and Scottum and Bryttum eac byre Æ8elredes.

Englum and Sexum oret mægcum.

Swa ymbolyppaö ceald brymmas þ eall Eadwarde æðelum kinge hyrdon holdlice hagestealde menn.

Wæs å bliðe mod bealuleas kyng þeah he lang ær lande bereafod wunode wræclastum wide geond eorðan syððan Cnut ofercóm kynn Æðelredes and Dena weoldon deore rice Engla landes xxviii wintra gerimes welan brynodan.

pe pær neh sindon. wurdon fela wintra pe wyrsan. And (A.D. 1065) Tostig eorl. and his wif and ealle pa pe woldon p he wolde. foron suð ofer sæ mid him to Baldwine eorle. and he hig ealle underfeng. and hi wæron ealne pone winter pær.

æfen. and kyöde heom p ilce. and heom p ahand sealde. and he (D 1065) nywade pær Cnutes lage. And pa Ryörenan dydan mycelne hearm abutan Hamtune. pa hwile pe he fôr heora ærende. ægpær p hi ofslogon menn. and bærndon hús and corn. and namon eall pæt orf pe hig mihton to cuman. Þæt wæs feola þusend. and fela hund manna hi naman. and læddan norð mid heom. swa p seo scir. and þa oðra scira þæ ðær neah sindon. wurdan fela wintra ðe wyrsan. And Tostig eorl. and his wif and ealle þa ðe woldon þæt he wolde. faran súð ofer sæ. mid him. to Baldwine eorle. and he hi ealle underfengc. and hig wæron ealne þone winter þær. And Eadward cyng com to West mynstre to þam middan wintre. and þet mynster þær lét halgian þe he silf getimbrode. Gode to lofe and sce Petre. and eallum Godes halgum. and seo cyric halgung wæs on Cilda mæssæ deig. And he forðferde on twelftan æfen. and hine man bebyrigde on twelftan dæg on þam illcan minstre. swa hit heræfter sægð.

Her Eadward cing. Englene hlafordsende so\(\)feste: saule to Kriste on Godes wera gast haligne.

He on weorolda her wunodæ þragæ on kine þrymme creftig ræda.
xxiiii freolic wealdand wintra rimes weolan britnode.

And he hælotid hæle a wealdend weold wel ge ungæn Walum and Scottum and Bryttum eac byre Æ elredes.

Englum and Sæxum oret mægcum.

Swa ymbolyppab cealda brymmas öæt eall Eadwardæ æþelum kinge hyrdan holdelice hagestalde menn.

Wæs å bliðe mod beale leas king vah he langa ær landes bereafod wunodæ wreclastum wide geond eor van seo pan Knut ofercóm eynn Æðelredes and deona weoldon deore rice.

Engla landes xxviii wintra gerimes weolan brytnodon.

(C)

1066. Her for oferde Eaduuard king. and Harold eorl feng to oam rice. and heold hit xl wucena and

Syðan forð becóm freolice in geatwum kyningc kystum gód clæne and milde Eadward se æðela eðel bewerode land and leode. oð þ lunger bécom deað se bitera and swa deore genam. Æþelne of eorðan englas feredon soþfæste sawle innan swegles leoht.

And se froda swa þeah befæste þ rice heah ongenu menn Harolde sylfum æþelum eorle se in ealle tíd hyrde holdlice hærran sinum wordum and dædum wihte ne agælde þæs þe þearf wæs þæs þeodkyninges.

And her wearð Harold eac to kynge gehalgod, and he lytle stillnesse þar on gebád, þa hwile þe he rices weold.

1066. On þisū geare co Harold kyng of Eoforwic to Westmynstre. to þā Eastran þe wæron æft' þā middan wintran þe se kyng foroferde, and þa Eastran on þone dæig xvi kl' Mai. Da wearo geond eall Englaland swylc tacen on heofenu gesewen swylce nan mann ær ne geseh. Sume menn cwædon † hyt cométa se steorra wære. bone sume menn hata's bone fexedon steorran, and he æteowde ærest on bone æfen Letania Maior. \$ vs viii kl' Mai. and Swa scean ealle þa vii niht. And Sona þaræft' cō Tostig eorl fra begeondan sæ into Wiht. mid swa miclū liðe swa he begytan mihte. and hi man geald þar æigðer ge feoh ge metsunge. And fór þa pano. and hearmas dyde ægwar be pā sæ riman par he to mihte. o's † he beco to Sandwic. Da cydde man Harolde kynge pe on Lundene wæs. † Tostig his brotor wæs cumen to Sandwic. þa gegadorade he swa mycele scip fyrde and eac land fyrde swa nan cingc ær her on lande ne gegaderade. for ða þe hi wæs to soðan gesæd þ Willelm eorll fra Normandige. Eadwardes cingces mæg. wolde hider cuman and þis land gegan. eall swa hit syððan á eode. Da Tostig p geaxode p Harold cing was toward Sandwic. pa for he of Sandwic. and nā of þā butse karlon sume mid hī. sume þances sume unbances, and gewende ba noro into [Humbran], and bær hergode on Lindesege. and þær manega gode men ofsloh. Da Eadwine eorl and Morkere eorl \$ undergeaton. ba coman hi byder, and hine of þæ lande adrifon. and he for ∀a to Scotlande. and Scotta cynning

1066. On pissum geare man halgode pet mynster æt West mynstre on Cilda mæsse dæg. And se cyng Eadward forðferde on twelfta mæsse æfen. and hine mann bebyrgede on twelftan mæsse dæg. innan pære niwa halgodre circean on

Siððan forð becóm freolic in geatwum kinigc cystum gód clæne and milde Eadward se æðele eðel bewarede land and leodan. oððæt lunger bécom deað se bytera and swa deore genam. Æðelne of eorðan englas feredon soðfeste sawle inne swegles leoht.

(D)

And se froda swa čeah· befæste þæt rice· heahðungena menn· Harolde sylfum· æčelum eorle· se in ealne tíd· herdæ holdelice· herran synum· wordum and dædum· wihte ne agælde· þæs þe čearfe wæs· čæs þeodkyngces.

And her wear's Harold eorl eac to cynge gehalgod. and he lytle stilnesse bær on gebåd. ba hwile be he rices weold.

1066. On bissum geare com Harold cyng of Eoferwic to Westmynstre. to þam Eastran þe wæron æfter þam middan wintre þe se cyng foroferde. and wæron þa Eastran on þone dæg xvi kl' Mai. wear's geond eall Englaland swylc tacen on heofenum gesewen swylce nan man ær ne geseah. Sume men cwedon \$ hit cométa se steorra wære. bone sume men hata's bone fæxedon steorran. and he æteowde ærest on bone æfen LETANIA MAIOR. viii kl' Mai. and Swa scan ealle ba seofon niht. And Sona beræfter com Tostig eorl în fram begeonde sæ into Wiht. mid swa miclum liðe swa he begitan mihte. and him man geald bær ægbær ge feoh ge metsunge. And Harold cyng. his brobor. gegædrade swa micelne sciphere. and eac landhere. swa nan cyng her on lande ær ne dyde. for þam þe him wæs gecy8d bæt Wyllelm bastard wolde hider and 8is land gewinnen. eall swa hit syokan a eode. And ha wile com Tostig eorl into Humbran mid sixtigum scipum. and Eadwine eorl com mid lan ferde and adraf hine út. And þa butsa carlas hine forsocan. and he for to Scotlande mid xii snaccum. And hine gemette bær Harold cyng of Norwegon mid þreð hund scypu. and Tostig him tobeah. and his man wear's. And hi foron ba begen into Humbran. oð \$ hi comon to Eoforwic. and heō bær wið fuhton Eadwine eorl. and Morkere eorl. his brodor, ac ba Normen ahton sige. Man (A.D. 1066) ænne dæg. and her com Willelm and gewann Ængla

(C 1066) hine gridede. and hi to metsunge fylste. and bær ealne sumor wunode. Da co Harold cininge to Sandwic. and pær his lides abad. for þa þe hit wæs lang ær hit man gegaderian mihte. and þa his lið gegaderad wæs. ba for he into Wiht. and bær læg ealne bone sumor and bone hærfest, and man hæfde land fyrde æghwar be sæ. beh hit æt þa ende naht ne forstode. Da hit wæs to Natiuitas scæ Mariæ. þa wæs manna metsung agán. and hig nan man þar na leng gehealdan ne mihte. Da lyfde man mannu ham, and se cyngc rad up, and man draf þa scypu to Lunde[ne]. and manega forwurdon ær hi byder comon. Da da scypu ha coman. ba com Harold cyning of Norwegan nor's into Tinan on unwaran. mid swy'e miclū scip here. and na lytlan. \$\bar{\pi}\$ mihte beon [mid \deltare\overline{o} hund scypum] odde ma. And Tostig eorl hī cō to mid eallū bā be he begiten hæfde. eall swa hy ær gesprecen hæfdon, and foran þa begen mid eallu ða lide, andlang Usan up to Eoferwic ward. Da cydde man Harolde cynge be suðan þa he of scipe cumen wæs. B Harold cyng on Norwegan and Tostig eorl wæron up cumene neh Eoferwic. Da for he noroweard. dæges and nihtes. swa hrave swa he his fyrde gegaderian mihte. Da ær þa þe se cynning Harold þyder cuman mihte. ba gegaderode Eadwine eorl and Morkere eorll of heora eorldome swa mycel werod swa hi begitan mihton, and wið bone here gefuhton. and mycel wæl geslogon. and þær wæs þæs Engliscan folces mycel ofslagen, and adrenct, and on fleam bedrifen, and Normen ahton wælstowe gewald. And bis gefeoht wæs on VIGILIA MATHEI APLI'. and wæs Wodnesdæg. And þa æft' þa gefeohte for Harold cynings of Norwegan and Tostig eorl into Eoferwic. mid swa miclū folce swa heō þa geþuhte. And hi mon gislade of þære burh, and eac to metsunge fylste, and swa panon to scipe foran, and to fullan fride gespræcon. \$\dagger\$ hig ealle mid hī su\dagger faran woldon. and þis land gegan. Dá ámang þissan cō Harald Engla cyningc. mid ealre his fyrde. on oone Sunnan dæg. to Tada. and þær his lið fylcade. and for ba on Monandæg burh ut Eoferwic. and Harold cyninge of Norwegan. and Tostig eorl. and heora gefylce wæron afaren of scipe begeondan Eoferwic to Stanford brycge. for þa þe hī wæron behaten to gewissan. \$ hī man þær of ealre þære scire ongean hy gislas bringan wolde. Da co Harold Engla cyning heom ongean. on unwaran. begeondan bære brycge. and hi bær togædere fengon. and swyde heardlice lange on dæg feohtende wæron. and bær wæs Harold cyning of Norwegan and Tostig eorl ofslagen.

Westmynstre. And Harold eorl feng to Engla landes cyne (A.D. 1066) rice. swa swa se cyng hit him ge uðe. and eac men hine þær tó gecuron. and wæs gebletsod to cynge on twelftan mæsse dæg. And þy ilcan geare þe he cyng wæs. he for út mid scip here to geanes Will'me. and þá hwile com Tostig eorl into Humbran mid lx scipum. Eadwine eorl com land fyrde. and draf hine út. and þa butse carlas hine for socan. And he for to Scotlande mid xii snaccum. and hine gemette Harold se Norrena cyng mid ccc scipum. and Tostig him to beah. and hi bægen foran into Humbran. oð þet hi coman to Eoferwíc. And heom wið feaht Morkere eorl. and Eadwine eorl. and se Norrena cyng ahte siges geweald. And man cydde Harolde cyng hu hit wæs þær gedón and geworden. and he com mid mycclum here Engliscra manna. and ge-

and ungerim folces mid heō. æg\er ge Normana ge Englisca. and (C 1066) ba Normen flugon ba Englisca.

Da wes per an of Norwegan pe wistod pet Englisce folc. pet hi ne micte pa brigge oferstigan. ne sige gerechen. Da seite an Englisce mid anre flar. ac hit nactes ne wistod. and pa cō an oper under pere brigge. end hine purustang en under pere brunie. pa com Harold Engla chinge ofer pere brigge and hys furde for mid hine. and pere michel wel geslogon. ge Norweis ge Flæming. and pes cyninges sui Hetmundus let Harold faran ham to Norweie mid alle på scípe. §

cyöde þa Harolde Engla cynge þ þis wæs þus gefaren. and þis (D 1066) gefeoht wæs on uigilia sối Mathæi. Da com Harold ure cyng on unwær on þa Normenn. and hytte hi begeondan Eoforwic. æt Stemford brygge. mid micclan here Englisces folces. and þær wearð on dæg swiðe stranglic gefeoht on bá halfe. Dar wearð ofslægen Harold Harfagera and Tosti eorl. and þa Normen þe þær to lafe wæron wurdon on fleame. and þa Engliscan hi hindan hetelice slógon. oð þ hig sume to scype coman. sume adruncen. and sume eac forbærnde. and swa mislice forfarene. Þ þær wæs lyt to lafe. and Engle ahton wælstowe geweald. Se kyng þa geaf gryð Olafe. þæs Norna cynges suna. and heora b'pe. and þan eorle of Orcanêge. and eallon þan þe on þā scypū to lafe wæron. and hi foron þa upp to uran kyninge. and swóron áðas. Þ hi æfre woldon fryð and freondscype in to þisan lande haldan. and se cyng hi lét hám faran mid xxiiii scypū. Das twa folcgefeoht wæron gefremmede binnan fif nihtan.

p d

[§] End of MS. C. The last paragraph is in later English, and it is printed in Italics to shew distinct.

(A.D. 1066) land. and her on Sison geare barn Xpes cyrc. and her atiwede cométa xiiii kl' Mai.

1070 next

(D 1066) Da com Wyllelm eorl of Normandige into Pefneséa. on sce Michaeles mæsse æfen. and sona þæs hi fere wæron. worhton castel æt Hæstinga port. Dis wear's þa Harolde cynge gecydd, and he gaderade þa mycelne here. and com him tógenes æt þære háran apuldran. and Wyllelm hi com ongean on unwær ær his folc gefylced Ac se kyng beah him swide heardlice wid feaht mid ba mannū þe him gelæstan woldon. and þær wearð micel wæl geslægen on ægöre healfe. Dær wearð ofslægen Harold kyng. and Leofwine eorl his brodor, and Gyrd eorl his brodor, and fela godra manna. and þa Frencyscan ahton wæl stowe geweald. eall swa heom God ude for folces synnon. Aldred arceb' and seo burhwaru on Lundene woldon habban þa Eadgar cild to kynge. eall swa him wel gecynde wæs. and Eadwine and Morkere hi beheton \$ hi mid him feohtan woldon. Ac swa hit æfre forðlicor beon sceolde. swa wearð hit fra dæge to dæge lætre and wyrre. eallswa hit æt þa ende eall geferde. Dis gefeoht wæs gedon on bone dæg Calesti pape. And Wyllelm eorl for eft ongean to Hæstingan, and geanbidode bær hwæder man him to bugan wolde. Ac ba he ongeat & man him to cuman nolde. he for upp mid eallon his here be him to lafe wæs. and hī syððan frā ofer sæ cóm. and hergade ealne bone ende be he oferferde. of he com to Beorhhamstede. And her hi com ongean Ealdred arceb'. and Eadgar cild. and Eadwine eorl. and Morkere eorl. and ealle ba betstan men of Lundene. and bugon ba for neode. þa mæst wæs to hearme gedón. and b wæs micel unræd b man æror swa ne dyde. ba hit God betan nolde for urum synnū. and gysledan. and sworon him agas. and he heom behet the wolde heom hold hlaford beon, and beah onmang bisan hi hergedan eall b hi ofer Da on midwintres dæg hine halgode to kynge Ealdred arceb' on Westmynstre, and he sealde hi on hand mid Xpes bec. and eac swor. ær þan þe he wolde þa corona him on heafode settan. b he wolde bisne beodscype swa wel haldan swa ænig kyngc ætforan hī betst dyde, gif hi him holde beon woldon. Swa þeah leide gyld on mannu swide stid. and for ha on ham lengtene ofer sæ to Normandige, and nam mid hi Stigand arceb', and Ægelna's abb' on Gl'br [Glæstingabiri]. and Eadgar cild. and Eadwine eorl. and Morkere eorl. and Wælbeof eorl. and manege orre gode men of Englalande. And Oda b' and Wyllelm eorl belifen her æfter, and worhton castelas. wide geond has beode and earm folc swencte and a syssan hit yflade swide. Wurde god se ende bonne God wylle.

mette hine æt Stængfordesbryege. and hine ofsloh and bone (A.D. 1066) eorl Tostig. and eallne bone here abtlice ofercom.

And þa hwile com Will'm eorl úpp æt Hestingan on sce Michaeles mæsse dæg, and Harold com norðan and him wið feaht éar pan pe his here come eall. and pær he feoll. and his twægen gebroðra Gyrð and Leofwine. and Willelm þis land ge eode.

And com to Westmynstre. and Ealdred arceb' hine to cynge ge halgode, and menn guldon him gyld, and gislas sealdon. and syððan heora land bohtan.

And ha was Leofric abbot of Burh at \$ ilca feord. and Leofric Abbas sæclode bær and com ham. and wæs dæd sone bær æfter on ælre halgan mæsseniht. God are his saule. On his dæg wæs ealle blisse and ealle gode on Burh, and he wæs leaf eall folc. swa p se cyng geaf sce Peter and him p abbotrice on Byrtune. and se of Couentre \$\dagger\$ se eorl Leofric \$\dagger\$ was his eam ær heafde macod, and se of Crulande, and se of porneie. And he dyde swa mycel to gode into † mynstre of Burh on golde and on seolfre and on scrud and on lande. swa nefre nan oðre ne dyde toforen him ne nan æfter him. Þa wearð gildene burh to wrecce burh. Da cusen ba munecas to abbot Brand puost. fordan b he was swide god man and swide wis. and senden him ha to Ædgar æðeling. forðan het he landfolc wendon B he sceolde cyng wurden, and se ædeling hit him geatte ha blibolice. ha he cyng Willelm ge herde h secgen. ba weard he swide wrad, and sæde b se abbot him heafde forsegon. ba eodon gode men heom betwenen and sahtloden heom forðan þ se abbot wæs goddera manne. ba bone cyng xl marc goldes to sahtnysse. and ba lifede he litle hwile bær æfter buton bry gear. Syðdon comen ealle dræuednysse and ealle ifele to bone mynstre. God hit gemyltse.

1067. Her for se cyng ofer sæ. and hæfde mid hī gislas and sceattas, and co bæs oores geares on see Nicolaes mæsse dæg. and þæs dæges forbearn Xpes cyrce on Cantwara byrig. co'bustio And bæs eccl'ie and he geaf ælces mannes land þa he ongean co.

⁽D) 1067. Her com se kyng eft ongean to Englalande. on sce Nicolaes mæsse dæge. and bæs dæges forbarn Cristes cyrce on Cantware byri, and Wulfwi b' for oferde and is bebyrged æt his b'stole on Dorka cestre. And Eadric cild and ba Bryttas wurden unsehte and

- (A.D. 1067) sumeres for Eadgar cild út. and Mærleswegen. and fela mauna mid heom. and foran to Scotlande. and se cyng Melcolm hi calle under feng. and genā þes cildes swuster to wife Margaretan.
 - (D 1067) wunnon heō wið þa castelmenn on Hereforda. and fela hearmas heō dydon. And her se kyng sette micel gyld on earm folc. and þeah hwæðre let æfre hergian eall þ hi ofer foron. And þa he ferde to Defena scire. and besæt þa burh Exancester xviii dagas. and þær wearð micel his heres forfaren. ac he heom wel behet. and yfele gelæste. and hig him þa burh ageafon for þan þa þegenas heom geswicon hæfdon.

And þæs sumeres Eadgar cild for út. mid his modor Agatha and his twam sweostran. Margareta and Xpīna. and Mærlaswegen. and fela godra manna mid heō. and comon to Scotlande on Malcholomes cyninges gryð. and he hi ealle underfeng. Da begann se cyngc Ml' gyrnan his sweostor him to wife Margaretan. ac he and his menn ealle lange wiðcwædon. and eac heo sylf wiðsóc.

And cwæð þ heo hine ne nanne habban wolder gyf hire seo uplice arfæstnys geunnan wolder þ heo on mægð hade mihtigan drihtner mid lichoman heortan on þisan life sceortan on clænre forhæfednysse cwéman mihte.

Se kyng befealh georne hire breder od b he cwæd ja wid. and eac he elles ne dorste. forban be hi on his anwald becumene wæron. Hit wear'd ba swa geworden swa God fore sceawode on ar. and elles hit beon ne mihte. eall swa He sylf on His godspelle sæið. † furðon an spearwa on gryn ne mæg befeallan forutan his foresceawunge. forewitola scyppend wiste on ær hwæt he of hyre gedon habban wolde, forban be heo sceolde on ban lande Godeslof geeacnian and bone kyng gerihtan of bam dweliandan pæðe. and gebégean hine to beteran wege and his leode samod. and alegcean ba unbeawas be seo beod ær be eode eallswa heo sy San dyde. Se kyng hi ba under feng beah hit hire unbances wære. and hi gelicade hire beawas and bancode God be hi swylce ge mæccean mihtiglice forgeaf. and wislice hine be ohte swa he full witter was. and awende hine sylfne to Gode. and ælce unsidernysse oferhogode. Be pam pe apostol Paulus ealra peoda lareow cwæ8. Salvabit' vir infidelis \$\mathbb{H}\$ mulier\bar{e}\$ fidel\bar{e}\$. Sic et mulier infidel' P virū fidelē. et rl'. h is on uran gebeode. ful oft se ungeleaffulla wer bid ge halgad and gehæled burh b riht wise2

¹ Over eachian is written ycean. 2 Over riht wise is written leaffulle.

1068. Her on þissü geare Will'm cyng geaf Rodberde eorle þone eorl dom on Norð hymbra land. Da comon þa landes menn togeanes hī. and hine of slogon. and ix hund manna

And her ferde Gyða út Haroldes modor, and manegra godra manna wif mid hyre into Bradan Reolice, and þær wunode sume hwile, and swa fór þanon ofer sæ to sce Audomare.

On þisan Eastron com se kyng to Wincestre. and þa wæron Eastra on x kl' Apr'l. and sona æft' þam cóm Mathild seo hlæfdie hider to lande. and Ealdred arceb' hig gehalgode to cwene on Westmynstre on Hwitan Sunnan dæg. þa kyðde man þan kyninge þ þ folc be norðan hæfdon heō gegaderad togædere and woldon him ongean standan gif he come. he for þa to Snotingaham and worhte þær castel. and for swa to Eoferwic and þær worhte twegen castelas. and on Lincolna. and ge hwar on þan ende. and Gospatric eorl and þa betstan menn foron into Scotlande.

And amang þisan com an Haroldes suna of Yrlande mid scyphere into Afenan muðan un wær. and hergode sona ofer eall þone ende. foron þa to Bryge stowe and þa burh abrecan woldon. ac seo burhwaru heō heardlice wið feaht. and þa hi ne mihton of þære burh naht gewinnan. hi foron þa to scypan mid þan þe hi gehergod hæfdon. and swa hi fóron on Sumersæton. and þær upp eodon. and Eadnoð stallere heom wið gefeaht. and wearð þær ofslægen. and manege góde menn on ægðre healfe. and þanon aweig foron þe þær to láfe wæron.

1068. Her on þissū geare Willelm cyngc geaf Rodbearde eorle. þone ealdor dóm ofer Norð hymbra land. ac þa landes menn hine be fóron innan þære burh æt Dúnholme. and hine ofslógon and ix.c manna mid him. and sona þæræft' Eadgar æðeling cóm mid eallum Norðhymbrū to Eoforwic. and þa burh menn wið hine gryðedon. And Wyllelm kyng cóm suðan on unwær on heō mid geotendan here. and hi aflymde. and þa ofsloh þa þe ætfleon ne mihton. Þ wæron fela hund manna. and þa burh forhergode. and sõe Petres mynst' to bysmere macede. and ealle þa oðre eac for hergode. and for hynde. and se æðeling fór eft ongean to Scotlande.

1070. Her Landfranc se þe wæs abb' on Kadum com to Ængla lande. se efter feawum dagum wearð arceb' on Kantwareberig. He wæs gehaded iv kl' Septembris. on his agenum biscpsetle fram eahte biscopum his under ðioddum. ða oþre ðe þær næron. þurh ærend rakean and þurh ge write atiwdon hwi hi ðær beon ne mihton. On þam geare Thomas se

(D 1068) Æft' pisū coman Haroldes sunas of Yrlande to pā middan sumera mid lxiiii scypū into Tāw muðan. and pær un wærlice up eodon. and Breon eorl com on ún wær heō to geines mid un lytlan weorode. and wið gefeaht, and ofsloh pær ealle pa betstan menn pe on pā lyðe wæron. and pa oðre lytlan werode to scypū æt flugon. and Haroldes sunas foron eft to Yrlande ongean.

Her for oferde Aldred arceb' on Eoferwic. and is beer bebyrged at his b'stole, and he ge wat on bone dæg. Proti and Jacinthi, and he heold bone arcestol mid mycclan weord mynte x gear buton xv wucan wanan. Sona bær æft' coman of Denmarcon breo Swegenes suna kyninges mid cc scypū and xl and Esbeorn eorl. and Purkyl eorl. into Humbran. and heom com bær togenes Eadgar cild. and Waldbeof eorl. and Mærleswegen. and Gospatric eorl mid Nord hymbrū and ealle þa land leoden. ridende and gangende mid un mætan here swide fægengende, and swa ealle anrædlice to Eoferwic foron, and bone castel to bræcon and towurpan, and unarimendlice gærsuman þærinne gewunnan. and fela hund manna Frenciscra þær ofslogon and fela mid heo to scypan læddan, and ær ban be ba scypmenn bider comon hæfdon ba Frenciscan ba burh forbærned. and eac & halie mynst' scs Petrus eall for hergod and forbærned. Da se kyng bis ge axode. ba for he nor ward mid ealre his fyrde be he gegaderian mihte. and ba scipe mid ealle for hergode and aweste. and h lið læig ealne wint' innan Humbre. þær se kyng heō to cuman ne mihte. And se kyng wæs bone mid wintres dæig on Eoferwic. and swa ealne bone wint' on ba lande, and com to Wincestre on ba ilcan Eastron. and Ægelric b' wæs forwreged be wæs on Burh. and hine man lædde to Westmynstre. and utlagode his brogor Ægelwine b'.

1070, 1071. Her se eorl Wælþeof gryðode wið þone cynge. and þæs on lengten se kyngc let hergian ealle þa mynstra þe on Engla lande wæron. And þæs geres wæs micel hunger. and man hergade þ mynst' æt Burh. Þ wæron þa menn þe se b' Ægelric ær amansum-

mid hī. And Eadgar æðeling co þa mid eallu Norð hymbram to Eofer wic. and ha portmen wid hine gridedon. And se cyng Will'm co sudan mid eallan his fyrde. and ha burh for hergode, and fela hund manna of sloh, and se ædeling for eft to Scotlande.

1069. Her man wrægde bone biscop Ægelric on Burh. and De Burgo sende hine to Westmynstre. and útlagode his broder Ægelwine b'. þa betwyx þā twam sca Marian mæssan. comon easton of Dæn marcun mid ccc scipū. B wæron Swægnes sunan cynges. and his broder Osbearn eorl. And þa ferde se eorl Waldeaf út. and co he and Eadgar ædeling. and fela hund manna mid heō. and gemetton bet lið innan Humbran. and ferdon to Eofer wic. and uppeodan and ba castelas gewunnan. and of slogon fela hund manna, and to scipe læddon sceattas fela. and ba heafod men hæfdon on beandon, and lagon betwyx Vsan and Trentan ealne bone winter. And se cyng Will'm for into pære scire, and hi eall for[dy]de. And on pisū Brando ilcan geare. for offerde Brand abb' of Burh. on v kl' Decembr'. Abbas

1070. Her se eorl Walpeof gridede wid hone cyng. And bæs on lengten se cyng let hergian ealle ba mynstra be on Engla lande wæron. Þa on þā ilcan geare com Swegn cyng of Den marcan into Humbran. and B land folc comen him ongean and gridedon wid hine. wændon b he sceolde bet land ofer gan. þa comen into Elíg Xpistien þa Densce b' and Osbearn eorl and pa Densca hus carles mid heo. and pet Englisce folc of eall ba feon landes comen to heo. wendon b hi sceoldon winnon eall b land. ba herdon ba munecas of Burh sægen p heora agene menn wolden hergon bone mynstre. B wæs Hereward and his genge. B wæs fordan bet hi Hereward herdon sæcgen bet se cyng heafde gifen p abbot rice an Frencisce abbot Turolde was gehaten. and \$ he was swide De Abb'e styrne man. and wæs cumen ha into Stanforde mid ealle hise Turo Frencisce menn. þa wæs þære an cyrce weard Yware wæs gehaten. nā þa be nihte eall þet he mihte. þet wæron Xpes bec and mæsse hakeles and cantelcapas and reafes and swilce litles hwat. swa hwat swa he mihte. and ferde sona ær dæg to þoñ abbot Turolde and sægde hī † he sohte his griðe. and cydde hi hu þa út lages sceolden cumen to Burh. Þ he dyde eall be pære munece ræde. pa sona on morgen comen ealle ba ut laga mid fela scipe. and woldon into bam mynstre, and

(A.D. 1070) wæs ge coran biscp to Eferwic. com to Cantwareberig B man hine vær gehadede efter þan ealdan gewunan. Đa Sa Landfranc crafede fæstnunge his gehersumnesse mid a swerunge. þa for soc he. and sæde p he hit nahte to donne. þa ge wraðede hine se arceb' Landfranc. and bebead pam biscopan &e par cumene wæran be Sas arceb' L. hæse þa serfise to donde. and eallan þan munecan. B hi scoldan hi un scrydan, and hi be his hæse swa didan. Swa Thomas to þam timan agean ferde buton bletsunga. þa sona æfter þysan be lamp \$\dagger\$ se arceb' Landfranc ferde to Rome and Thomas for mid. pa pa hi pyder comon and umbe oper bing gesprecon hæfdon umbe b hi sprecan woldon. þa angan Thomas his spæce hu he com to Cantuuarebyri. and hu se arceb' axode hyrsumnesse mid abswerunge at him. and he hit for soc. ba agann se arceb' L. atywian mid openum gesceade. * he mid rihte crafede has ha he crafede, and mid strangan cwydan pylce gefæstnode to foran pam papan Alexandre. and to foran eallan pam concilium be bar ge gadered was, and swa ham foran. Æfter bysan com Thomas to Cantwarebyri and eal \$ se arceb' æt him crafede eadmedlice gefylde, and syppan þa bletsungan under feng. §

⁽D 1070, 1071) ade. for þon þe hi namon þær eall þ he ahte. And þæs ilcan sumeres com þ lið into Temese. and lagon þær twa niht. and heoldon syððan to Dénmarcon. and Baldawine eorl forðferde. and Arnulf his sunu feng to þan rice. and Francena kyning and Wyllelm eorl sceoldon beon his geheald. ac þær com Rodbeart. and ofsloh Arnulf his mæig and þone eorl Wyllelm. and þone kyngc aflymde. and ofsloh his manna fela þusenda.

[§] Here ends the Englisc text of MS. A. A later hand has continued the history of Lanfranc in Latin, and

closes with the consecration of his successor Anselm. This piece will be given in the Appendix.

þa munecas wið stoden þ hi na mihton in cumen. þa lægdon (A.D. 1070)

hi fyr on. and for bærndon ealle þa munece huses and eall þa tun buton ane huse. pa comen hi burh fyre in æt Bolhide Bolh! geate. and ba munecas comen heō to geanes. beaden heō grið ac hí ná rohten na þing. geodon into þe mynstre. clumben upp to be halge rode. namen ba be kynehelm of ure Drihtnes heafod eall of smeate golde. namen ba bet fot spure be wæs undernæden his fote. B wæs eall of read golde. Clumben upp to be stepel. brohton dune b hacce be bar wæs behid. hit wæs eall of gold and of scolfre, hi namen bære twa gildene scrines and ix seolferne, and hi namen fiftene mycele roden, ge of golde ge of seolfre, hi namen bære swa mycele gold and seolfre and swa manega gersumas on sceat and on scrud and on bokes swa nan man ne mæi oder tællen. sægdon p hi hit dyden for des mynstres holdscipe. Syddon geden heō to scipe, ferden heom to Elig, betæhtan bær þa ealla þa gærsume. Þa Denescæ menn wændon þ hi sceoldon ofer cumen pa Frencisca men. pa to drefodon ealle ba munekes. beleaf bær nan butan án munec he wæs gehaten Leofwine lange. he læi seoc in þa secræ man in. Da cō Turold abbot and æhte sibe twenti Frencisce men mid hī and ealle full wepnode. pa he pider co pa fand he for bærnd widinnan and widutan. eall butan ha cyrece ane. ha wæron pa ut lagas ealle on flote. wistan b he scolde bider cumen. pis wæs don þæs dæges iv non' Juníi. Þa twegen kyngas Will'm and Swægn wurden sæhtled, þa ferden þa Dænesca menn út of Elig mid ealle þa foren spræcena gærsume and læddon mid heō. þa hi comen on middewarde þe sæ. þa cō an mycel storm and to dræfede ealle ha scipe hær ha gersumes wæron inne. sume ferdon to Norwæge. sume to Yrlande. sume to Dæn marce. and eall \$ pider co \$ wæs bone hæcce and sume scrine and sume roden and fela of ba oore gærsume. and brohten hit to an cynges tún hatte. and dyden hit eall pa in pone cyrce. Da syddon purh heora gemelest and burh heora druncen hed on an niht for bærnde pa cyrce. and eall bet bær innæ wæs. Dus wæs se mynstre of Burch for bærnd and for hærgod. æl mihtig God hit gemiltse burh his mycele mild hertnesse. And bus se abbot Turold co to Burh. and ba munecas comen ba ongean. and dydan Xpes beudom in bære cyrce. Þ ér hæfde standen fulle

seofeniht for utan ælces cynnes riht. Da herde Ægelric biscop þet gesecgon. þa amansumede he ealle þa men þa þ yfel dæde hæfden don. Da wæs mycel hunger þæs geares. and þa þæs sumeres cō þet lið norðan of Humbran into Tæmese. and lagon þær twa niht. and heoldan syððon to Dæn mercan. And Baldewine eorl forð ferde. and his sunu Arnulf feng to rice. and Will'm eorl sceolde ben his geheald. and Franca cyng eac. and cō þa Rodbriht eorl and of sloh his mæg Arnulf. and þone eorl. and þone cyng aflymda. and his menn of sloh fela þusenda.

1071. Her Ædwine eorl and Morkere eorl ut hlupon and mislic ferdon on wudu and on felda. Da gewende Morkere eorl to Elig on scipe. and Eadwine eorl wear's of slagen arhlice frā his agenū mannū. and cō se b' Egelwine. and Siward Bearn. and fela hund manna mid heō into Elig. And þa þe se cyng Will'm þ geaxode. þa bead he út scip fyrde and land fyrde. and þet land abutan sæt. and brycge gewrohte. and inn fór. and seo scip fyrde on þa sæ healfe. And þa ut lagan þa ealle on hand eodan. Þ wæs Egelwine b'. and Morkere eorl. and ealle þa þe mid heō wæron buton Herewarde ane and ealle þa þe mid hī woldon. and he hi ahtlice út lædde. And se cyng genā scipa and wæpna and sceattas manega. and þa men he ateah swa swa he wolde. and þone b' Egelwine he sende to Abban dune. and he þær forð ferde sona þæs wintres.

⁽D) 1072. Her Eadwine eorl and Morkere eorl hlupon út. and mislice ferdon on wuda. and on feldon. oð þ Eadwine wearð ofslægen fram his agenum mannum. and Morkere mid scype gewende to Hélig. and þær com Ægelwine b'. and Sigwarð Barn. and fela hund manna mid heom. Ac þa se kyngc Wyllelm þis geahsade. þa bead he ut scyp fyrde. and land fyrde. and þ land eall utan embsette. and brygce worhte and scypfyrde on þa sæhealfe. and hi ealle þa eodon þan kyninge on hand. þ wæs Ægelwine b'. and Morkere eorl. and ealle þa þe mid heom wæron. buton Here werde anum. and ealle þa þe mid him æt fleon mihton. and he hi ahtlice utalædde. and se kyng nam heora scypa and wæpna. and manega sceattas. and þa

1072. Her Willelm cyng lædde scip fyrde and land fyrde to Scot lande. and p land on pa sæ healfe mid scipū ymbe læg. and his land fyrde æt pā Gewæde inlædde. and he pær naht ne funde pæs pe him pe bet wære. And se cyng Melcolm cō and griðede wið pone cyng Willelm and gislas sealde. and his man wæs. and se cyng hā gewende mid ealre his fyrde. And se b' Egelric forð ferde. he wæs to biscop hadod to Eofer wíc. ac hit wæs mid un riht him of genumon. and man geaf him p'rice on Dunholme. and he heafde hit pa hwile pe he wolde. and for let hit syððan. and ferde to Burch to sẽe Petres mynstre. and þær drohtnode xii gear. Da æft' pā pe Willelm cyng gewan Engla lande. pa nā he hine of Burch and sende hine to West mynstre. and he forð ferde on id' Octob'. and he is bebyrged þær innan pā mynstre. innon sẽs Nicolaus portice.

1073. On þisum geare Willelm cyng lædde Engliscne here and Frencisce ofer sæ. and gewan þ land Mans. and hit Englisce men swyðe amyrdon. wín gearðas hi for dydon and burga for bærndon. and swiðe þet land amyrdon. and hit eall

⁽D) menn ealle he toc. and dyde of heom p he wolde. and Ægelwine b' he sende to Abbandune. and he pær for ferde.

^{1073.} Her Wyllelm kyng lædde scypferde and landfyrde to Scotlande, and þ land on þa sæhealfe mid scypum ymblæig, and him sylf
mid his landfyrde ferde inn ofer þ Wæð, and he þær naht ne funde
þæs þe heom þe betere wære, and Malcolm cyngc cóm and gryðode
wið Wyll'm cyngc and wæs his mann, and hī gyslas salde, and he
syððan ham gewende mid ealre his fyrde, and se b'Ægelric forð
ferde, he wæs to b'pe gehadod to Eoforwic, ac hit wæs mid unrihte
hī of genumen, and geaf him þ b'rice æt Dúnholme, and he hit
hæfde þa hwile þe he wolde, and forlet hit syððan and ferde to
Burh, to sce Petres mynstre, and þær drohtnode xii gear, þa æft'
þam þe Wyllelm gewann Engla land, he lét hine nyman of Burh,
and sende hine to Westmynstre, and he þær forðferde, on id' Oct'b,
and is þær bebyrged innan sce Nicolaes portice.

^{1074.} On þisan gere Willelm cyngc lædde Englisce fyrde and Frencisce ofer sæ. and gewann þ land Mans. and hit Englisce menn swiðe amærdon. win geardas hi for dydon, and burga for bærndan.

abegdon. Willelme to handa, and hi syððon hā gewendon. to Engla lande.

1074. On þisū geare for Willelm cyng ofer sæ to Normandig. and Eadgar cild com of Scotland to Normandige. and se cyng hine geinlagode and ealle his men. and he wæs on þes cynges hyrede. and nā swilce gerihta swa se cyng him geuðe.

(D) and \$\dagger\$ land swi\text{\general}e amyrdon. and eall \$\dagger\$ land ge begdan \$\dagger\$ han kyninge to handan. and hig seo\text{\general}\text{\general}an ham gewendan.

1075. On þissü gere Wyllelm cyngc fór ofer sæ to Normandige. And Eadgar cild com of Flemingalande into Scotlande. on sce Grim baldes mæsse dæg, and se kyngc Malcholom and his sweostor Margareta hine underfengon mid mycclan weordscype. On bære ilcan tide sende se kyng of Francrice Filipp' gewrit to him. and bead hi † he to hī come. and he wolde geofan him bone castel æt Mustræl. b he mihte syddan dæghwamlice his únwinan únbancas dón. Hwæt þa se cyngc Malcolm. and his sweoster Margareta. geafon hi myccla geofa. and manega gærsama. and eallon his mannan. on scynnan mid pælle betogen and on mer erne pyleceon, and graschynnene. and hearma scynnene. and on pællon, and on gyldenan faton and on seolfrenan, and hine and ealle his scyperan mid mycclan weordscipe of his gryde alædde. Ac on bære fare heom yfele gelamp. þa hi ut on sæ wæron. b heom on becom swide hreoh weder, and seo wode sæ. and se stranga wind hi on \$ land awearp \$ ealle heora scypa to burston. and hi sylfe earfo'dlice to lande coman. and heora gærsama for neh eall losade. and his men eac wurdon sume gelæhtæ of Frencyscan mannan, ac he sylf and his ferestan menn ferdon eft ongean to Scotlande sume hreowlice on fotan gangende, and sume earmlice ridende. Da gerædde se kyngc Malcholom him \$ he sende to Wyllelme cynge ofer sæ. and bæde his gryðes. and he eac swa dyde. and se cyngc him bæs ge tidade. and æft' him sende. and se kyngc eft Malcolm and his sweostor. him and eallon his mannan unarimede gærsama geafon. and swide weordlice hine eft of heora gryde sendon. and se scirgerefa of Eoferwic com him to geanes æt Dunholme, and ferde ealne weig mid him, and let hi findan mete and foddor. æt ælcan castelle þær hi to comon. oð þ hig ofer sæ to bam kynige coman, and se kyngc Wyllelm mid micclan weor scype ba hine underfenge, and he was bar ba on his hirede and toc swilce gerihta swa he him gelagade.

1075. On þisu geare Will'm cyng geaf Raulfe eorle Will'mes dohtor Osbearnes sunu. and se ylca Raulf wæs Bryttisc on his moder healfe. and his fæder wæs Englisc Raulf hatte. and wæs geboren on Norð folce. þa geaf se cyng his sunu þoñ eorl dom on Norð folc and Suð folc. þa lædde he þ wif to Norð wic.

þær wes þ bryd eala mannū to beala.

Dær wæs Roger eorl. and Walþeof eorl. and biscopas and abbotes. and ræddon þær swa þ hi woldon þone cyng gesettan út of Englalandes cynedome. And hit wearð sona gecydd þā cynge to Normandige hu hit wæs geræd. Þ wæs Roger eorl. and Raulf eorl. þe wæron yldast to ðam unreode. and hi speonan þa Bryttas heō to. and sendon east to Den mearcan æft' scip here heō to fultume. And Roger ferde west to his eorldome. and gegaderode his folc. to þæs cynges unþearfe. ac he wearð gelet. And Raulf eac on his eorldome wolde forð gan mid his folce. ac þa castel men þe wæron on Englalande and eac þ land folc hī to geanes comen. and gemacodon þ he naht ne dyde. ac for to scipe

(D) 1076. On þissan geare Wyllelm cyngc geaf Raulfe eorl Wyllelmes dohtor Osbarnes sunu. and se ylca Raulf wæs Bryttisc on his modor healfe. and Rawulf his fæder wæs Englisc. and wæs geboren on Norð folce. and se kyngc geaf forþi his suna þær þone eorldóm. and Suðfolc eac. He þa lædde þ wif to Norð wic.

Pær wæs p bryd ealo. p wæs manegra manna bealo.

Dær wæs Rogcer eorl and Walpeof eorl. and biscopas. and abbodas. and ræddon þær þ hi woldon heora kyne hlaford of his cyne rice adrifan. and þis wæs þam kyninge sona to Normandie gecyðed. Rawulf eorl and Rogcer eorl wæron hofdingas æt þisan unræde. and hi speonon heom to þa Bryttas. and sendon eac to Denemarcon æft' scyphere and Rogcer ferde west to his eorldome. and gaderad his folc þan cyngce to un þearfe he þohte. ac hit wearð heom seolfan to mycclan hearme. Rawulf eac wolde mid his eorldome forð gan. Ac þa castel menn þe wæron on Engla lande. and eac þ land folc heom togenes comon. and hi ealle geletton. Þ hi naht ne dydon. ac wæs fægen þ he to scypum æt fleah.

(A.D. 1075) æt Norð wic. And his wif wæs innan þā castele. and hine heold swa lange þ man hire grið sealde. and heo ut ferde þa of Engla lande. and eall hire men þe hire mid woldon. And se cyng siððan cō to Engla lande. and genā Roger eorl his mæg. and gefestnode hine. and Walþeof eorl he genā eac.

And sona æfter þam comon eastan of Denmearcan cc scipa. and þær on wæron twægen heafodmenn. Cnut Swægnes sunu and Hacun eorl. and hí né dorstan nan gefeoht healdan wið Will'm cynge. ac heoldon ofer sæ to Flandran.

And Eadgið seo hlæfdig forð ferde on Win ceastre vii nihton ær Xpes mæssan. and se cyng hi let bryngan to Westmynstre mid mycclan wurðscipe. and lægde hi wið Eadward kyng hire hlaforde.

And se wæs on Westmynstre pone midewinter. and man fordyde pær ealle pa Bryttas pe wæron æt pam brydealoð æt Norð wic. sume hy wurdon ablænde and sume of land adrifene. swa wurdon Will'mes swican geniðrade.

(D 1076) and his wif belâf æft' in þā castele. and hine swa lange heold oð 为 man hire gryð salde. and heo þa ut ferde of Engla lande. and ealle hire menn þe hire mid woldon. and se kyngc syððan com to Engla lande. and gefeng Rogcer eorl his mæg. and sette on prisun. And Walþeof eorl ferde ofer sæ. and wreide hine sylfne and bæd forgyfenysse and bead gærsuman. Ac se kyngc let lihtlice of oð 为 he com to Englalande. and hine let syððan tacan.

And sona æft' þisan coman of Denemarcon twa hund scypa. þæron wæron heafdes menn Cnut Swegnes sunu cynges. and Hacon eorl. and ne dorston nan ge feoht healdan wið Willelme cynge. ac ferdon to Eoforwic. and bræcon sce Petres mynst'. and tócon þær inne mycele æhta and foron swa aweg. ac ealle þa forferdon þe æt þa ræde wæron. Þ wæs Hacones sunu eorles and manege oðre mid him.

And Eadgy's seo blæfdie for's ferde, seo wæs Eadwardes cynges geresta, seofon niht ær Xpēs mæssan on Wincestre, and se cyngc hig let bryngan to Westmynstre mid mycclan weor's scype, and leide heo wi's Eadwarde cynge hire hlaforde.

Se kyngc wæs þa þone midwint' on Westmynstre. þær mon for demde ealle þa Bryttas þe wæron æt þā brydlópe æt Norðwic.

Sume hi wurdon geblende and sume wrecen of lande and sume getawod to scande bus wurdon bæs kyninges swican geny erade.

1076. On þisu geare forð ferde Swægn cyng on Dæn mercan. and Harold his sunu feng to þe cyneríce.

And se cyng geaf West mynster Vithele abbode se wæs ær abb' on Bærnege. And Walpeof eorl wes beheafdod on Win ceastre, and his lic wearð gelead to Crulande.

And se cyng for ofer sæ. and lædde his fyrde to Brytlande. and beset pone castel Dól. and pa Bryttas hine heoldon p se cyng co of Francland. and Willelm panon fór. and pær for leas ægðer ge men ge hors. and feola his gersuma.

1077. Her on þisū geare wurdon sæhte Franca cyng and Willelm Englalandes cyng. ac hit heold litle hwile.

And pes geares for barn Lunden burh anre nihte ær Assumptio sõe Marie swa swyðe swa heo næfre ær næs syð þan heo gestabeled wæs.

And on þisū geare forð fyrde Ægelwig abb' on Eueshā on þā dæge xiv k' Mr'. And Hereman b' eac forð ferde on þā dæge x k' Mr'.

(D) 1077. On þisan geare forð ferde Swegen kynge on Denemarcon. and Harold his sunu feng to his cynerice. Her Wyllelm cynge geaf þ abb'rice æt Westmynstre Fiþele abbode. se wæs ær munuc æt Bernege. And her wæs Walþeof eorl be heafdod. on Wincestre on sce Petronella mæsse dæg. and his lic wearð gelæd to Crúlande. and he þær is bebyrged. And Wyllelm cynge for ofer sæ. and lædde fyrde to Brytlande. and be sæt þone castel æt Dól. ac þa Bryttas hine heoldon oð þ se cynge com of Francrice. and Wyllelm cynge þa þanon fór. and þær for leas ægðer menn and hors and unarimede gærsaman.

* *

and her wæs se dria sumor. and wilde fyr com on manega scira and forbærnde fela tuna. and eac manega burga forbu[r]non.

omb

1079. On þisū geare cō Melcolm cyng of Scotlande into Engle lande betwyx þā twā Mariam mæssan mid mycclū fyrde, and gehergode Norðhymbra land oð hit com to Tine, and of sloh feala hund manna, and ham lædde manige sceattas and gersuma, and menn on heftninge.

And pi ilcan geare se cyng Willelm gefeaht to geanes his sunu Rotbearde wið utan Normandige be anu castele Gerborneð hatte. and se cyng Will'm wearð pær gewundod. and his hors of slagen þe he on sæt. and eac his sunu Willelm wearð þær gewundod. and fela manna of slagene.

1080. On pisum geare was se b' Walchere of slagen on Dunholme at anu gemote. and an hund manna mid him Frencisce and Flemisce. and he sylf was on Hloberinga geboren. Pis dydon Norbhymbran on Maies monbe.

1081. On þisū geare se cyng lædde fyrde into Wealan. and þær gefreode fela hund manna.

1082. Her nam se cyng Odan b'. and her wæs mycel hungor.

(D) 1079. Her Rodbert þæs cynges sunu Will'm. hleop fram his fæder, to his eame Rotbryhte on Flandron, for þan þe his fæder ne wolde him lætan waldan his eorl domes on Normandige þe he sylf and eac se kyng Filipp' mid his geþafunge him gegyfen hæfdon, and þa þe betst wæron on þā lande hæfdon aðas hī gesworon, and hine to hlaforde genumen. Her Rotbert feht wið his fæder and hine on þa hand gewundade, and his hors wearð under of scoten, and se þe hī oðer to brohte wearð þærrihte mid ánan arblaste of scoten. Þ wæs Tokig Wig godes sunu, and fela þær wurdon of slægen and eac gefangene, and Rotb't eft ge wende to Fleminga lande, ne wylle we þeh her na måre scaðe awritan þe he his fæder ge * * * *

1080. Hér werþ Anagus ofsleien frám Scotta eére, and þer werþ micel weell ofsleigen mid him, þer wes codes riþt ge sochen on him for þæ' he wes all for swóórn.§

the time of the rebellion of Angus earl of Murray against David I. Buchanan touches on it: "... Ænea Moraviæ Comite cum suorum magna multitudine cæso..." Rer. Scot. Hist. vii. 29.

[§] MS. D closes with this curious piece of English, which was added to the book after a considerable interval. The date is faulty, and instead of MLXXX, should probably be, as Ingram has shewn, MCXXX, which was about

1083. On þisū geare aras seo un gehwærnes on Glæstinga byrig betwyx bā abbode burstane. and his munecan. hit co of bæs abbotes un wisdome. B he mis bead his munecan on fela bingan, and ba munecas hit mændon lufelice to hi. and beadon hine b he sceolde healdan hi rihtlice. and lufian hi. and hi woldon hi beon holde and gehyrsume. abbot nolde bæs naht, ac dyde heō yfele, and beheot heom wyrs. Anes dæges be abbot eode into capitulan. and spræc uppon ba munecas, and wolde hi mis tukian, and sende æft' læwede mannū. and hi comon into capitulan on uppon þa munecas full gewepnede. And ha wæron ha munecas swide áferede of heō. nyston hwet heō to donne wære. ac to scuton. sume urnon into cyrcean. and belucan ba duran into heō. and hi ferdon æft' heō into þā mynstre. and woldon hig út dragan. þaða hig ne dorsten ná ut gan. Ac reowlic þing þær gelamp on dæg. Þ þa Frencisce men bræcen þone chór and torfedon to wærd þā weofode þær ða munecas wæron, and sume of dam cnihtan ferdon uppon bone úpp flore, and scotedon á dunweard mid árewan to weard þā halig dome. swa b on bære rode be stod bufon ba weofode sticodon on mænige arewan, and þa wreccan munecas lagon on buton bā weofode, and sume crupon under, and gyrne cleopedon to Gode his miltse biddende. ba ba hi ne mihton nane miltse æt mannu begytan. Hwæt magon we secgean. buton b hi scotedon swide. and ba odre da dura bræcon bær adune and eodon inn. and of slogon sume ha munecas to deade, and mænige gewundedon bær inne, swa b det blod cō of ðā weofode uppon þā gradan, and of ðam gradan on þa flore. preo pær wæron of slagene to deade, and eahteteone g'wundade.

And on hæs ilcan geares for of ferde Mahtild Will'mes cynges cwen. on hone dæg æft' ealra halgena mæsse dæg.

And on pes ylcan geares æft' mide wint' se cyng let beodan mycel gyld and hefelic ofer eall Engla land. p wæs æt ælcere hyde twa and hund seofenti peanega.

1084. Her on 'Sisum geare for Sferde Wulfuuold abb' on Ceortesege. on þā dæg xiii k' Mai.

1085. On þisú geare menn cwydodon and to soðan sædan. † Cnut cyng of Den mearcan Swægnes sune cynges fundade hiderward, and wolde gewinnan þis land mid Rod-

(A.D. 1085) beardes eorles fultume of Flandran. for Jan be Cnut heafde Rodbeardes dohter. Da Will'm Englalandes cyng be ba wæs sittende on Normandige. fordig he ahte ægder ge Engla land ge Normandige. pis geaxode. he ferde into Engla lande mid swa mycclan here ridendra manna and gangendra of Francrice and of Brytlande. swa næfre ær bis land ne gesohte. swa b menn wundredon hu bis land mihte eall bone here afedan. Ac se cyng let to scyfton bone here geond eall bis land to his mannon, and hi fæddon bone here ælc be his land efne. And men heafdon mycel geswinc bæs geares, and se cyng lett awestan b land abutan ba sæ. bet gif his feond comen úpp. b hi næfdon na on hwam hi fengon swa rædlice. Ac ha se cyng geaxode to sodan h his feond gelætte wæron, and ne mihten na geforðian heora fare. ba lett he sum bone here faren to heora agene lande. and sum he heold on þisū lande ofer winter.

> Da to bā mide wintre wæs se cyng on Gleawe ceastre mid his witan, and heold beer his hired v dagas, and syddan be arce b' and gehadode men hæfden sinoð þreo dagas. Dær wæs Maurici' gecoren to b' on Lundene. and Will'm to Noro folce. and Rodbeard to Ceaster scire. hi wæron ealle bæs cynges clerecas. Æfter bisū hæfde se cyng mycel gebeaht, and swide deope spæce wid his witan ymbe bis land hu hit wære gesett. odde mid hwylcon mannon. Sende þa ofer eall Engla land into ælcere scire his men, and lett agan ut hu fela hundred hyda wæron innon bære scire, oððe hwet se cyng him sylf hæfde landes and orfes innan þā lande. oððe hwilce gerihtæ he ahte to habbanne to xii monbum of Sære scire. Eac he lett gewritan hu mycel landes his arceb's hæfdon, and his leod b's, and his abb's, and his eorlas, and beah ic hit lengre telle. hwæt odde hu mycel ælc mann hæfde be land sittende wæs innan Engla lande, on lande oððe on orfe. and hu mycel feos hit wære wurð. Swa swyðe nearwelice he hit lett ut aspyrian. † næs an ælpig hide. ne an gyrde landes. ne furdon. hit is sceame to tellanne. ac hit ne buhte hi nan sceame to donne. an oxe. ne án cú. ne án swin. næs belyfon. p næs gesæt on his gewrite. and ealle pa gewrita wæron gebroht to him syððan.

> 1085. Her se cyng bær his corona and heold his hired on Win ceastre to þā Eastran. and swa he ferde þ he wæs to

þā Pentecosten æt Wæst minstre. and dubbade his sunu (A.D. 1085) Henric to ridere pær. Syððan he ferde abutan swa p he com to Lam mæssan to Seare byrig. and bær hi comon to his witan. and ealle ba land sittende men. be ahtes wæron ofer eall Englaland. wæron bæs mannes men be hi wæron. And ealle hi bugon to hi. and weron his menn. and hi hold adas sworon b hi woldon ongean ealle odre men hi holde beon. Danon he ferde into Wiht. forbig he wolde faran into Normandige. and swa dyde syððan. And þeah he dyde ærest æfter his gewunan, begeat swide mycelne sceatt of his mannan bær he mihte ænige teale to habban oð de mid rihte oððe elles. Ferde þa syððan into Normandige. and Eadgar æþeling Ædwardes mæg cynges beah þa frā hī. forbig he næfde na mycelne wurdscipe of hi. ac se ælmihtiga God hi gife wurdscipe on ham toweardan. And Cristina bæs æðelinges swuster beah into mynstre to Rumesege. and underfeng halig rest.

And þæs ilcan geares wæs swiðe hefelic gear, and swiðe swincfull and sorhfull gear innan Englelande on orfcwealme, and córn and wæstmas wæron æt standene, and swa mycel un gelimp on wæderunge swa man naht æðelice geþencean ne mæg, swa stór þunring, and lægt wes, swa þ hit acwealde manige men, and áá hit wyrsode mid mannan swiðor and swiðor. Gebete hit God elmihtiga, þonne his willa sv.

1086. Æfter ure Drihtnes Hælendes Cristes gebyrtide. an pusend wintra and seofan and hund eahtatig wintra. on pā an and twentigan geare pæs pe Will'm weolde and stihte Engle land swa hī God uðe. gewearð swiðe hefelic and swiðe woldberendlic gear on pissū lande. Swylc coðe cō on mannum. Þ full neah æfre pe oðer man wearð on pā wyrrestan yfele. Þet is on ðam drife. and þet swa stranglice. Þ mænige menn swulton on ðam yfele. Syððan cō þurh þa mycclan ungewiderunge þe comon swa we beforan tealdon. swyðe mycel hungor ofer eall Engle land. Þ manig hundred manna earmlice deaðe swulton þurh þone hungor. Eala hu earmlice and hu reowlic tid wæs ða. Þa ða wreccæ men lægen fordrifene full neah to deaðe. and syððan cō se scearpa hungor and adyde hi mid ealle.

Hwā ne mæg earmian swylcere tide? oððe hwa is swa heard heort þ ne mæg wepan swylces ungelimpes? Ac swylce (A.D. 1086) bing gewurðab for folces synna b hi nellað lufian God and rihtwisnesse. Swa swa hit wæs þa on dam dagu. B litel rihtwisnesse wæs on þisū lande mid ænige menn, buton mid munecan ane bær bær hi wæll ferdon. Se cyng and ba heafod men lufedon swide and ofer swide gitsunge. on golde. and on seolfre. and ne rohtan hu synlice hit wære begytan buton hit come to heō. Se cyng sealde his lande swa deore to male swa heo deorost mihte. Donne co sū over and bead mare bonn be over ær sealde, and se cyng hit lett þa menn þe him mare bead. Donne co se þridde, and bead geat mare, and se cyng hit let ba men to handa be hī eallra meast bead. and ne rohte na hu swide synlice þa gerefan hit begeatan of earme mannon, ne hu manige unlaga hi dydon. Ac swa man swydor spæc embe rihte lage. swa mann dyde mare unlaga. hy arerdon un rihte tollas. and manige orre un rihte hi dydan, he sindon earfehe to areccenne.

Eac on dam ilcan geare æt foran hærfeste for barn þ halige mynster sce Paule þe b'stol on Lundene. and mænige odre mynstres. and þ mæste dæl and þ rotteste ealle þære burh. Swylc eac on dam ilcan timan for barn full neah ælc heafod port on eallon Engle lande. Eala reowlic and wependlic tid wæs þæs geares. Þe swa manig ungelimp wæs forð bringende.

Eac on þam ilcan geare to foran Assumptio sõe Marie for Will'm cyng of Normandige into France mid fyrde. and hergode uppan his agenne hlaford Philippe þā cynge. and sloh of his mannon mycelne dæl. and for bearnde þa burh Maðante. and ealle þa halige mynstres þe wæron innon þære burh. and twegen halige menn þe hyrsumedon Gode on ancer settle wuniende. þær wæron for bearnde.

Dissū þus gedone. se cyng Willelm cearde on gean to Normandige. Reowlic þing he dyde. and reowlicor hī gelap. Hu reowlicor? him geyfelade. and p him stranglice églade. Hwæt mæg ic teollan? Se scearpa deað þe ne for let ne rice menn ne heane. seo hine genā.

He swealt on Normandige on bone nextan dæg æft' natiuitas sõe Marie, and man bebyrgede hine on Cabum æt sõe Stephanes mynstre, ærer he hit arærde, and syöðan mæni fealdlice gegodade.

Eala hu leas and hu un wrest is pysses middan cardes wela.

Se þe wæs ærur rice cyng. and maniges landes hlaford. he (A.D. 1086) næfde þa ealles landes buton seofon fot mæl. and se þe wæs hwilon gescrid míd golde. and mid gimmū. he læg þa ofer wrogen mid moldan.

He læfde æfter hi preo sunan. Rodbeard hét se yldesta. se wæs eorl on Normandige æft' him. se o'er hét Willelm. pe bær æft' him on Engle land pone kine helm. Se pridda hét Heanric. þā se fæder becwæð gersuman un ateallendlice.

Gif hwa gewilniged to gewitane hu gedon mann he wæs. oððe hwilcne wurðscipe he hæfde. oððe hu fela lande he wære hlaford. Donne wille we be hi awritan swa swa we hine ageaton. To hi onlocodan, and o're hwile on his hirede wunedon. Se cyng Willelm be we embe speca'd wæs swide wis man, and swide rice, and wurdfulre and strengere bonne ænig his foregengra wære. He wæs milde þā godū mannu be God lufedon. and ofer eall gemett stearc ba mannū be widcwædon his willan. On da ilcan steode be God him geude b he moste Engleland gegán, he arerde mære mynster. and munecas bær gesætte. and hit wæll gegodade. On his dagan wæs b mære mynster on Cant warbyrig getymbrad. and eac swide manig oder ofer eall Engla land. Eac bis land wæs swide afylled mid munecan, and ba leofodan heora lif æft' scs Benedict' regule, and se Xpendom wæs swilc on his dæge bælc man hwæt his hade to belumpe. folgade se be wolde. Eac he wæs swyde wurdful. briwa he bær his cyne helm ælce geare. swa oft swa he wæs on Engle lande. on Eastron he hine bær on Win ceastre. on Pentecosten on West mynstre. on mide wintre on Gleawe ceastre. And bænne wæron mid hi ealle ba rice men ofer eall Englaland, arcebiscopas, and lead b's, abbodas and eorlas. begnas and cnihtas. Swilce he wæs eac swyde stearc man and ræde. swa b man ne dorste nan bing ongean his willan dón. He hæfde eorlas on his bendū. be dydan ongean his willan. Biscopas he sætte of heora biscop rice. and abbodas of heora abb'rice. and bægnas on cweartern, and æt nextan he ne sparode his agenne brodor Odo hét. he wæs swide rice b' on Normandig'. on Baius wæs his b' stol. and wæs manna fyrmest to eacan ba cynge. And he hæfde eorl do on Englelande. and bonne se cyng on Normandige. (A.D. 1086) ponne wæs he mægest' on pisum lande. and hine he sætte on cweartern. Betwyx oðrū pingū nis na to for gytane pgode frið pe he macode on pisan lande. swa pán man pe him sylf aht wære. mihte faran ofer his rice mid his bosum full goldes un gederad. and nan man ne dorste slean oðerne man. næfde he næfre swa mycel yfel gedón wið pone oðerne. And gif hwilc carl man hæmde wið wimman hire unðances. sona he for leas pa limu pe he mid pleagode.

He rixade ofer Englæland, and hit mid his geapscipe swa burh smeade. B næs án hid landes innan Englælande. B he nyste hwa heo hæfde. oððe hwæs heo wurð wæs. and syððan on his gewrit gesætt. Bryt land him wæs on gewealde. and he bær inne casteles gewrohte. and bet Mann cynn mid ealle gewealde. swilce eac Scotland he hi under bædde. for his mycele strenghe. Normandige h land wæs his gecynde. and ofer bone eorl do be Mans is gehaten he rixade, and gif he moste þa gyt twa gear libban. he hæfde Yrlande mid his werscipe gewunnon, and wid utan ælcon wæpnon. Witodlice on his timan hæfdon men mycel geswinc, and swide manige teonan, castelas he lét wyrcean, and earme men swide swencean. Se cyng wæs swa swide stearc, and benā of his under beoddan man. manig marc goldes, and má hundred punda seolfres. Det he na be rihte, and mid mycelan ún rihte of his leode for littelre neode, he was on gitsunge be feallan. and grædinæsse he lufode mid ealle. he sætte mycel deor frið and he lægde laga þær wið. Þ swa hwa swa sloge heort odde hinde hine man sceolde blendian. he for bead þa heortas swylce eac þa baras, swa swiðe he lufode pa hea deór swilce he wære heora fæder. eac he sætte be þā haran þ hi mosten freo faran. his rice men hit mændon. and ba earme men hit beceórodan, ac he swa stið b he ne rohte heora eallra niò, ac hi moston mid ealle

gif hi woldon libban: oððe land habban: land oððe eahta: oððe wel his sehta: Wala wá: † ænig man sceolde modigan swa: hine sylf úpp ahebban: and ofer ealle men tellan. Se æl mihtiga God cyþæ his saule mild heortnisse: and do hī his synna for gifenesse.

Das þing we habbað be hi gewritene. ægðer ge góde ge

yfele. p ha godan men niman æft' heora godnesse. and for (A.D. 1086) leon mid ealle yfelnesse. and gan on done wég. he us lett to heofonan rice.

Fela þinga we magon writan þe on ðam ilcan geare gewordene wæron. Swa hit wæs on Den mearcan. Þ þa Dænescan þe wæs ærur geteald eallra folca getreowast. wurdon awende to þære meste un triwðe. and to þā mæsten swicdóme þe æfre mihte gewurðan. Hi gecuron and ábugan to Cnute cynge. and hī aðas sworon. and syððan hine earhlice of slogon innan anre cyrcean. Eac wearð on Ispanie Þ þa hæðenan men foran and hergodan uppon þā Xpenan mannan. and mycel abegdan to heora anwealde. Ac se Xpena cyng Anphos wæs gehaten he sende ofer eall into ælcan lande. and gyrnde fultumes. and hī cō to fultū of ælcen lande þe Xpen wæs. and ferdon and of slogon and aweg adrifan eall þet hæðena folc. and gewunnon heora land ongean. þurh Godes fultum.

Eac on bisan ilcan lande on bā ilcan geare. for ferdon. manega rice men. Stigand b' of Ciceastre. and se abb' of sce Augustine. and se abb' of Badon. and be of Perscoran. and þa heora eallra hlaford Willelm Englælandes cyng. þe we ær beforan embe spæcon. Æfter his deade his sune. Will'm hæt eallswa þe fæder. feng to þā rice and wearð gebletsod to cynge frā Landfrance arceb' on West mynstre. þreō dagum ær Michaeles mæssedæg, and ealle þa men on Englalande hi to abugon, and him agas sworon. Disū pus gedone, se cyng ferde to Winceastre, and sceawode b madme hus, and þa gersuman þe his fæder ér gegaderode, þa wæron un asecgendlice ænie men hu mycel þær wæs gegaderod. on golde and on seolfre, and on faton, and on wællan, and on gimman, and on manige o're deorwurde pingon, be earfo'de sindon to ateallene. Se cyng dyde þa swa his fæder him bebead ær he dead wære. dælde þa gersuman for his fæder saule, to ælcen mynstre be wes innan Engle lande to suman mynstre x marc goldes, to suman vi and to ælcen cyrcean uppe land lx pæñ. and into ælcere scire man seonde hundred punda feos, to dælanne earme mannan for his saule. And ær he fordferde he bead b man sceolde un lesan ealle ba menn be on hæftnunge wæron under his anwealde. and se cyng wæs on Sam mide wintre on Lundene.

1087. On bisū geare wæs bis land swide astirad. and mid mycele swicdome afylled. swa b pa riceste Frencisce men pe weron innan bisan lande, wolden swican heora hlaforde ba cynge, and woldon habban his broder to cynge Rodbeard be wæs eorl on Normandige. On þisū ræde wæs ærest Oda b', and Gosfrið b', and Will'm b' on Dunholme. Swa wæll dyde se cyng be þā b'. p eall Englaland færde æft' his ræde. and swa swa he wolde. and he pohte to donne be him eall swa Iudas Scarioth dyde be ure Drihtene. And Rogere eorl wæs eac æt þā un ræde. and swide mycel folc mid heō ealle Frencisce men. and bæs unræd wærð geræd innan bā lengtene. Sona swa hit cō to bā Eastron. ba ferdon hí and hergodon and bærndon and aweston bæs cynges feorme hames, and eallra pæra manna land hi for dydon be wæron innan bæs cynges hold scipe. and heora ælc ferde to his castele. and bone mannoden and metsoden swa hig betst mihton. Gosfrið b' and Rodbeard amundbræg ferdon to Bricg stowe and hergodon and brohton to ba castele ba hergunge, and syððon foron út of ðam castele and hergodon Bayon, and eall band ber abutan, and eall Beorclea hyrnesse hi awæston. And ha men he yldest wæron of Here forde, and eall beo scir ford mid, and ba men of Scrob scyre mid mycele folce of Brytlande comon and hergodon and bærndon on Widre ceastre scire ford p hi comon to pā porte sylfan. And woldon þa öæne port bærnen. and p mynster reafian, and has cynges castel gewinnan heō to handa. Das bing gesconde se arwurða b' Wlstan. wearð swiðe gedrefed on his mode fordig him was betaht be castel to healdene. beah hweder his hired men ferdon út mid feawe mannan of bā castele. and burh Godes mildheortnisse and burk bæs b's ge earnunga of slogon and gelæhton fif hundred manna. and ba oore ealle aflymdon. Se b' of Dunholme dyde to hearme b he mihte ofer eall be nordan. Roger hét an of heo: se hleop into þā castele æt Norðwic. and dyde git eallra wærst ofer eall b land. Hugo eac an be hit ne gebette nan bing. ne innan Lægre ceastre scire. ne innan Nord hā tune. De b' Odo be has cyng of awócan ferde into Cent to his eorldome, and for dyde hit swyde, and bæs cynges land, and bæs arceb's mid ealle aweston, and brohte eall b god into his castele on Hrofe ceastre.

Da pe cyng undergeat ealle pas ping. and hwilcne swicdō (A.D. 1087) hi dydon to weard his. ha weard he on his mode swide gedrefed. sende þa æfter Englisce mannan. and heō fore sæde his neode, and gyrnde heora fultumes, and behet heom þa betsta laga þa æfre ær wæs on þisan lande. and ælc un riht geold he for bead. and geatte mannan heora wudas. and slætinge. ac hit ne stod nane hwile. Ac Englisce men swa beah fengon to ba cynge heora hlaforde on fultume. ferdon ba to weard Hrofe ceastre. and woldon bone b' Odan begytan. bohtan gif hi hæfdon hine be wæs ærur heafod to dam un ræde. B hi mihton be bet begytan ealla ba o'ore. hi comon pa to pā castele to Tonebricge. pa wæron innan pā castele Oda b's cnihtas. and o'ore manige be hine healdon woldan ongean bon cyng. ac ba Englisce men ferdon and to bræcon bone castel, and ba men be bær inne wæron, griðodon wið þone cyng. Se cyng mid his here ferde to weard Hrofe ceastre. and wendon b se b' wære bær inne. ac hit weard ham cynge cub het se b' wæs afaren to dam castele Apefenesea, and se cyng mid his here ferde æft', and besætt þoñ castel abutan. mid swiðe mycele here fulle six wucan.

Betwyx þissū se eorl of Normandige Rodbeard þes cynges broðer gaderode swiðe mycel folc. and þohte to gewinnane Engle land mid þæra manna fultume þe wæron innan þisan lande ongean þoñ cyng. and he sende of his mannan to þisū lande. and wolde cuman himsylf æft'. Ac þa Englisce men þe wærdedon þære sæ. gelæhton of þā mannon. and slogon. and adrengton ma þonñ ænig man wiste to tellanne.

Syððan heō ateorede mete wiðinnan þā castele. ða gyrndon hi griðas, and agefan hine þā cynge, and se b' swór þ he wolde út of Engle lande faran, and ná mare cuman on ðisan lande butan se cyng hī æft' sende, and þ he wolde agifan þoñ castel on Hrofe ceastre. Ealswa se b' ferde and sceolde agifan þoñ castel, and se cyng sende his men mid hī. ða arisan þa men þe wæron innan þā castele, and namon þone b' and þes cynges men, and dydon hi on hæftnunge. Innan þā castele wæron swiðe gode cnihtas. Eustati' þe iunga, and Rogeres eorles þreo sunan, and ealle þa betst boren men, þe wæron innan þisan lande, oððe on Normandige.

Da se cyng under geat has hing. ha ferde he æft'

(A.D. 1087) mid þā here þe he ðær hæfde. and sende ofer eall Engla lande. and bead þælc man þe wære unniðing sceolde cuman to hī. Frencisce and Englisce. of porte and of uppe lande. Hī cō þa mycel folc tó. and he for Hrofe ceastre. and besætt þone castel. oððet hi griðedon þe þær inne wæron. and þone castel ageafon. Se b' Odo mid þā mannū þe innan þā castele wæron ofer sæ ferdon. and se b' swa for let þone wurð scipe þe he on þis land hæfde. Se cyng syððan sende here to Dun holme. and let besittan þone castel. and se b' griðode and ageaf þone castel. and for let his biscop ríce. and ferde to Normandig'. Eac manige Frencisce men for leton heora land. and ferdon ofer sæ. and se cyng geaf heora land þā mannū þe him holde wæron.

1089. On þisum geare se arwurða muneca feder and frouer Landfranc arc̃b' gewat of þissū life. ac we hopiað þ he ferde to þ heofanlice rice. Swilce eac gewarð ofer eall Engleland mycel eorð styrunge. on þone dæg iii idus Aug'. and wæs swiðe lætsum gear on corne. and on ælces cynnes wæstmum. swa þ manig men ræpon heora corn on butan Martines mæssan. and gyt lator.

abufan sædan be þā cynge. and be his broðer. and be his mannon. se cyng wæs smægende hu he mihte wrecon his broðer Rodbeard swiðost swencean. and Normandige of him gewinnan. Deah þurh his geapscipe. oððe þurh gærsuma he begeat þone castel æt sõe Waleri. and þa hæfenan. and swa he begeat þone æt Albemare. and þar inne he sette his cnihtas. and hi dydon hearmes uppon þā lande on hergunge and on bærnete. Æft' þisū he begeat ma castelas innan þā lande. and þær inne his rideras gelogode.

Se eorl of Normandige R' syððan he under geat þ his gesworene men him trucedon. and agefon hera castelas him to hearme. þa sende he to his hlaforde Philippe Francena cynge. and he cō to Normandig' mid mycelan here. and se cyng and se eorl mid or mætre fyrde besæton þoñ castel abuton. þær þæs cynges men of Engle land inne wæron. Se cyng Willelm of Engla lande sende to Philippe Francena cynge. and he for his lufan oððe for his mycele gersuma for let swa his man þoñ corl Rodbeard and his land. and ferde ongean to France and let heō swa weorðan. And betwyx

pisum pingū pis land wæs swide fordón. on un laga gelde. and on odre manige un gelimpe.

1091. On bisū geare se cyng Will'm heold his hired to Xpes messan on Wæst mynstre. and bær æft' to Candel mæssan he ferde for his broðær un þearfe ut of Englalande into Normandige. On mang ba be he bær wæs, heora sehte to gædere eode. on p gerad p se eorl hi to handan let Uescam, and bone eorldo æt Ou, and Kiæres burh, and bærto eacan bes cynges men sacleas beon moston on bā castelan. be hi ær bes eorles un bances begiten hæfdon. And se cyng hī ongean þa Manige behet. þe ær heora fæder gewann and þa fra þa eorle gebogen wæs. gebygle to donne, and eall p his fæder pær begeondan hæfde, butan þā þe he þā cynge þa geunnen hæfde. And þ ealle þa þe on Engle lande for ba eorle æror heora land for luron. hit on bisum sehte habban sceoldan, and se eorl on Englelande eall swa mycel swa on heora forewarde wæs. And gif se eorl forð ferde butan sunu be rihtre æwe. wære se cyng yrfe numa of eallon Normandig. be bisre sylfan forewarde gif se cyng swulte, wære se eorl yrfe numa ealles Englalandes. forewarde gesworan xii ba betste of bes cynges healfe, and xii of bes eorles. beah hit syddan litle hwile stode.

On mang þisu sæhte wearð Eadgar æþeling belandod. of þā þe se eorl him æror þær to handa gelæten hæfde. and ut of Normandig for to þā cynge his aðume to Scotlande. and to his swustor.

On mang þā þe se cyng W. ut of Engle lande wæs. ferde se cyng Melcolm of Scotlande hider into Englū. and his mycelne dæl ofer hergode. oð þ þa gode mæn þe þis land bewiston. hī fyrde ongean sændon. and hine gecyrdon. Đa þa se cyng W. into Normandige þis gehyrde. þa gearcode he his fare. and to Engle lande cō. and his broðer se eorl Rodbeard mid hī. and sona fyrde hét ut abeodan. ægðer scip fyrde and land fyrde. ac seo scip fyrde ær he to Scotlande cuman mihte. ælmæst earmlice forfór. feowan dagon toforan sõc Michæles mæssan. And se cyng and his broðer mid þære land fyrde ferdon. ac þa ða se cyng Melcolm gehyrde þ hine man mid fyrde secean wolde. he for mid his fyrde ut of Scotlande into Loðene on Engla land and þær abad. Đa þa se cyng W. mid his fyrde gencalehte. þa ferdon betwux

(A.D. 1091) Rodbeard eorl and Eadgar æðeling and þæra cinga sehte swa gemacedon. Þ se cyng Melcolm to uran cynge cō. and his man wearð to eallswilcre gehyrsūnisse swa he ér his fæder dyde. and Þ mid aðe gefestnode. and se cyng W. him behét on lande and on ealle þinge þæs þe he under his fæder ér hæfde.

On þisū sehte wearð eac Eadgar eþeling wið þone cyng gesæhtlad. and þa cyngas þa mid mycelū sehte to hwurfon. ac þ litle hwile stod. And se eorl Rodbeard her oð Xpes mæsse forneah mid þā cynge wunode. and litel soðes þær on mang of heora forewarde onfand. and twā dagon ær þære tide on Wiht scipode. and into Normandig fór. and Eadgar æðeling mid him.

1092. On þisū geare se cyng W. mid mycelre fyrde ferde norð to ¹Cardeol. and þa burh geæðstaþelede. and þone castel arerde. and Dolfin út adraf þe æror þær þes landes weold. and þoñ castel mid his mannan gesette. and syððan hider suð gewænde. and mycele mænige ²Eyrlisces folces mid wifan and mid orfe þyder sænde. þær to wunigenne þ land to tilianne.

1093. On þisū geare to þā længtene warð se cyng W. on Gleawe ceastre to þā swiðe geseclod. Þ he wæs ofer eall dead gekyd. And on his broke he Gode fela behæsa behét. his agen lif on riht to lædene. and Godes cyrcean griðian and friðian. and næfre má eft wið feo gesyllan. and ealle rihte lage on his þeode to habbene. and Þ arce b'rice on Cant war byrig þe ær on his agenre hand stód. Anselme betæhte. se wæs ær abb' on Bæc. and Rodbeard his cancelere Þ biscop rice on Lincolne. and to manegan mynstren land geuðe. ac Þ he syððan æt bræd. þa hī gebotad wæs. and ealle þa gode laga forlæt. þe he us ær behét.

Da æft' pisson sende cyng of Scotlande. and pære fore-warde gyrnde þe hī behaten wæs. and sé cing W. him steof-node to Glowe ceastre. and hī to Scotlande gislas sende. and Eadgar æþeling æft'. and þa men syððan ongeán. þe hine mid mycclon wurðscipe to þā cynge brohtan. Ac þa ða he to þā cynge cō. ne mihte he beon weorðe naðer ne ure cynges spæce. ne þæra forewarde þe hī ær behatene wæron. and forþi hi þa mid mycelon un sehte to hwurfon. and se

¹ Carleol: Gibson's correction.

² Englisces: Gibson's correction.

cyng Melcolm hā to Scotlande gewænde. Ac hrade þæs þe (A. D. 1093) he hā com. he his fyrde gegaderode. and into Engle lande hergende mid maran unræde ferde bone hi abehofode, and hine þa Rodbeard se eorl of Norð hymbran mid his mannan unwæres besyrede and of sloh. Hine sloh Moræl of Bæbbaburh, se wæs bæs eorles stiward, and Melcolmes cynges god sib. Mid hī wæs eac Eadward his sune of slagen, se æft' hī cyng beon sceolde, gif he hit gelifode. Da ba seo gode cwen Margarita bis gehyrde, hyre ba leofstan hlaford and sunu bus beswikene. heo weard od dead on mode geancsumed, and mid hire prestan to cyrcean eode, and hire gerihtan under feng. and æt Gode abæd. \$\bar{p}\$ heo hire gast ageaf. And ba Scottas ba Dufenal to cynge gecuron Melcolmes broder, and ealle þa Englisce út adræfdon. þe ær mid þā cynge Melcolme Da þa Dunecan Melcolmes cynges sunu þis eall gehyrde þus gefaren. se on þæs cynges hyrede W. wæs. swa swa his fæder hine ures cynges fæder ær to gisle geseald hæfde. and her swa syððan belaf. he to þā cynge cō. and swilce getrywda dyde, swa se cyng æt him habban wolde. and swa mid his unne to Scotlande for. mid þa fultume þe he begytan mihte Englisera and Frenciscra. and his mæge Dufenal bes rices benā. and to cynge wear's under fangen. Ac ba Scottas hi eft sume gegaderoden, and for neah ealle his mænu ofslogan. and he sylf mid feawū æt bærst. Syððan hi wurdon sehte. on ha gerad h he næfre eft Englisce ne Frencisce into pam lande ne gelogige.

1094. Her hæfde se cyng W. to Cristes mæssan his hired æt Gleawe ceastre. and him þider fram his broðer Rodbearde of Normandig bodan coman. þa cyddon þ his broðer grið and forewarde eall æft' cwæð. butan se cyng gelæstan wolde eall þet hi on forewarde hæfdon ær gewroht. and uppon þ hine forsworenne and trywleasne clypode. buton he þa forewarda geheolde. oððe þider ferde and hine þær betealde þær seo forewarde ær wæs gewroht and eac gesworen.

Đa ferde se cyng to Hæstingan to þā Candel mæssan. and on mang þā þe he þær wederes abád. he let halgian þ mynster æt þære Bataille. And Herbearde Losange þā b' of þeot fordan his stæf benā. and þær æft' to mid lengtene ofer sæ fór into Normandige. Syððan he þider cō. he and his broðer Rodbeard se eorl gecwæðan. þ hi mid griðe togædere cuman

(A.D. 1094) sceoldan. and swa dydon. and gesemede beon ne mihtan. Syððan eft hi togædere coman mid þā ilcan mannan þe ær þ loc makedon. and eac þa aðas sworen. and ealne þoñ bryce uppon þone cyng tealdon. ac he nolde þæs geþafa beon. ne eac þa forewarde healdan. and forþā hi þa mid mycelon unsehte to cyrdon.

And se cyng syððan þoñ castel æt Bures gewann. and þes eorles men þær inne genā. Þa sume hyder to lande sende. Dær togeanes se eorl mid þes cynges fultume of France gewánn þone castel æt Argentses. and þear inne Rogger Peiteuin genā. and seofen hundred þes cynges cnihta mid hī. and syððan þoñ æt Hulme. and oftrædlice heora ægðer uppon oðerne tunas bærnde and eac menne læhte.

Da sende cyng hider to lande. and hét abeodan út xx pusenda Engliscra manna him to fultume to Normandig. ac pa hi to sæ coman. pa het hi man cyrran. and þ feoh syllan to þæs cynges behófe þe hi genumen hæfdon. þet wæs ælc man healf punda. and hi swa dydon.

And se eorl innon Normandig æft' pison mid på cynge of France and mid eallon pan pe hi gegaderian mihton ferdon towardes Ou pær se cyng W. inne wæs. and pohtan hine inne to besittanne. and swa foran o'ð hi coman to Lungeuile. Đær wear'ð se cyng of France purh gesmeah gecyrred. and swa syð'ðan eal seo fyrding tó hwearf. Her on mang pison se cyng W. sende æfter his broðer Heanrige. se wæs on på castele æt Damfront. ac forpi pe he mid friðe purh Normandig faran ne mihte. he hī sende scipon æfter. and Hugo eorl of Ceastre. Ac þa ða hi towardes Óú faran sceoldan þær se cyng wæs. hi foran to Engle lande. and úp coman æt Hamtune on ealra halgena mæsseæfne. and her syð'ðon wunedon. and to Xpes mæssan wæron on Lunden.

Eac on þisū ylcan geare þa Wylisce menn hi gegaderodon. and wið þa Frencisce þe on Walon. oððe on þære neawiste wæron and hi ær belandedon. gewinn úp ahofon. and manige festena and castelas abræcon. and men ofslogon. and syððan heora gefylce weox. hí hí on ma to dældon. Wið sum þæra dæle gefeaht Hugo eorl of Scrob scire and hi aflymde. Ac þeah hweðer þa oðre ealles þæs geares nanes yfeles ne geswicon þe hi dón mihton.

Dises geares cac þa Scottas heora cyng Dunecan besyredon

and of slogan. and heō syððan eft oðre syðe his fæderan Dufenal to cynge genamon. Þurh þes lare and to tihtinge he wearð to deaðe beswicen.

1095. On þisū geare wæs se cyng Will'm to Xpes mæssan þa feower fore warde dagas on Hwitsand. and æfter þā feorðan dæge hider to lande fór. and úpp com æt Doferan. And Heanrig þes cynges broðer her on lande oð lengten wunode. and þa ofer sæ for to Normandig mid mycclon gersuman. on þæs cynges heldan uppon heora broðer Rodbeard eorl. and gelomlice uppon þone eorl wann. and him mycelne hearm ægðer on lande and on mannan dyde.

And þa to Eastran heold se cyng his hired on Win ceastre. and se corl Rodbeard of Norð hymbran nolde to hirede cuman. and se cyng forðan wearð wið hine swiðe astyrod. and hī to sænde and heardlice bead gif he griðes weorðe beon wolde. Þ he to Pentecosten to hired come. On þisū geare wæron Eastron on viii k' Apr'. and þa uppon Eastron on sẽe Ambrosius mæsseniht. Þ is ii nō Apr' wæs gesewen forneah ofer eall þis land swilce for neah ealle þa niht swiðe mæni fealdlice steorran of heofenan feollan. naht be anan oððe twam. ac swa þiclice Þ hit nan mann ateallan ne mihte. Her æft' to Pentecosten wæs se cyng on Windlesoran. and eall his witan mid hī. butan þā corle of Norð hymbran. forþā se cyng him naþer nolde ne gislas syllan. ne uppon trywðan geunnon Þ he mid griðe cumon moste and faran.

And se cyng forþi his fyrde bead. and uppon þoñ eorl to Norð hymbran fór. and sona þes þe he þider cō. he manege and for neah ealle þa betste of þes eorles hirede innan anan fæstene gewann. and on hæftene gedyde. And þoñ castel æt Tine muðan besæt oððet he hine gewann. and þæs eorles broðer þær inne and ealle þa þe hi mid wæron. and syððan ferde to Bebbaburh. and þoñ eorl þær inne besæt. Ac þa ða se cyng geseah þ he hine gewinnan ne mihte. þa het he makian ænne castel to foran Bebbaburh. and hine on his spæce Malueisin het. Þ is on Englisc yfel nehhebur. and hine swiðe mid his mannan gesætte. and syððan suð weard fór. Da sona æft' þam þe se cyng wæs suð afaren. feorde se eorl anre nihte ut of Bebbaburh towardes Tine muðan. ac þa þe innan þam niwan castele wæron. his gewær wurdon. and him æft' foran and on fuhton, and hine gewundedon, and syððan

(A.D. 1095) gelæhton. and þa þe mid hi wæron sume of slogan. sume lifes gefengon.

On mang þison wearð þā cynge cuð. Þ þa Wylisce men on Wealon sumne castel heafdon to broken Muntgumni hatte. and Hugon eorles menn of slagene þe hine healdon sceoldan. and he forþi oðre fyrde hét fearlice abannan. and æft' sce Michaeles mæsse into Wealan ferde. and his fyrde to scyfte. and Þ land eall þurh for. swa Þ seo fyrde eall togædere cō to ealra halgena to Snawdune. Ac þa Wylisce a toforan into muntan and moran ferdan Þ heō man to cuman ne mihte. and se cyng þa hāweard gewende forþā he geseah Þ he þær þes wintres mare don ne mihte.

Da þa se cyng ongean cō. þa het he niman þoñ eorl Rotbeard of Norð hymbran and to Bæbbaburh lædan. and ægðer eage ut adon. buton þa þe þær inne wæron þoñ castel agyfan woldan. Hine heoldan his wif. and Moreal se wæs stiward and eac his mæg. Durh þis wearð se castel þa agyfen. and Moreal wearð þa on þes cynges hirede. and þurh hine wurdon manege ægðer ge gehadode and eac læwede geypte. þe mid heora ræde on þes cynges un heldan wæron. þa se cyng sume ær þære tíde hét on hæftneðe gebringan. and syððan swiðe gemahlice ofer eall þis land beodan. Þ ealle þa þe of þā cynge land heoldan. eall swa hi friðes weorðe beon woldan. Þ hi on hirede to tide wæron. and þone eorl Rotbert hét se cyng to Windlesoran lædan. and þær innan þā castele healdan.

Eac on þis ylcan geare togeanes Eastron cō þæs Papan sande hider to lande. Þ wæs Waltear bisceop swiðe god lifes man of Albin þære ceastre. and þā arce b' Ansealme uppon Pentecosten of þæs Papan healfe Urban' his palliū geaf. and he hine underfeng æt his arcestole on Cantwara byrig. And se biscop Waltear her on lande þæs geares syððan lange wunode. and man syððan Þ Rom gesceot be hī sende. swa man manegan gearan æror ne dyde.

Dises ylcan eac geares wæron swiðe un tid gewidera. and forþi geond eall þis land wurdon eorð wæstmas eall to medemlice gewende.

1096. On þison gearc heold se cyng Will'm his hired to Xpes mæssan on Windlesoran. and Will'm bisc of Dunholme bær forð ferde to gearcs dæge, and on Octab' Epiphan' wæs se cyng and ealle his witan on Sear byrig. Þær beteah (A.D. 1096) Gosfrei Bainard Will'm of Ou þes cynges mæg þ he heafde gebeon on þes cynges swicdome. and hit hī ongefeaht. and hine on orreste ofer cō. and syððan he ofer cumen wæs. hī het se cyng þa eagan ut adón. and syþðan belisnian. and his stiward Will'm hatte. se wæs his modrian sunu. het se cyng on rode ahón. Þær wearð eac Eoda eorl of Cāpaine þæs cynges aðum and manege oðre belende. and sumne man to Lundene lædde. and þær spilde.

Dises geares eac to pā Eastran wearð swiðe mycel styrung geond ealle pas peode and fela oðra peodan purh Urban' se wæs Papa gehaten peah pe he pæs setles naping næfde ón Rome. and ferde un arimedlice folc mid wifan and cildan tó pi p hi uppon hæðene peodan winnan woldan. Durh pas fare wearð se cyng and his broðor Rodbeard eorl sehte. swa p se cyng ofer sæ fór. and eall Normandig æt hī mid feo alisde. swa swa hi pa sehte wæron. And se eorl syððan ferde. and mid hī se eorl of Flandran. and se of Bunan. and eac manige oðre heafodmen. and se eorl Rodbeard and pa pe mid him ferdon poñ winter on Puille wunedon. Ac pes folces pe be Hungrie fór. fela pusenda pær and be wæge earmlice for foran. and fela hreowlice and hunger bitene ongean winter hā tugon.

Dis wæs swide hefig tyme gear geond eall Angel cyn. ægder ge hurh mænig fealde gylda. and eac hurh swide hefig tymne hunger, he hisne eard hæs geares swide gedrehte.

Eac on pison geare pa heafod men pe pis land heoldan oft rædlice fyrde into Wealon sendon, and mænig man mid på swiðe gedrehtan, ac man þær ne gespædde, butan man myrringe, and feohspillinge.

1097. Her on þison geare weas se cyng Willelm to Xpes mæssan on Normandig. and þa togeanes Eastron hider to lande for. forþā he þohte his hired on Win ceastre to healdenne. ac he wearð þurh weder gelét. oððet Eastre æfen þ he up cō ærost æt Arundel. and forþi his hired æt Windlesoran heold.

And pær æft' mid mycclū here into Wealon ferde. and paland swide mid his fyrde purh fór. purh sume pa Wyliscean pe hī to wæron cumen and his læd teowas wæron. and pær inne wunode fra midde sumeran for neah oð August. and mycel

(A.D. 1097) þær inne for leas on mannan and on horsan, and eac on manegan oðran þingan. Da Wylisce men syððon hi frā þā cynge gebugon, heō manege ealdras of heō sylfan gecuron, sum þæra wæs Caduugaun gehaten þe heora weorðast wæs, se wæs Griffines broðer sunu cynges. Ac þa ða se cyng geseah þ he nan þingc his willes þær geforðian ne mihte, he ongean into þison lande fór, and hraðe æfter þā, he be þā gemæron castelas let gemakian.

Da uppon sõe Michael' mæssan iv non' Octobr'. ætywde án selcu'ð steorra on æfen scynende and sona to setle gangende. He wæs gesewen suðweast. and se leoma þe hī of stód. wæs swiðe lang geþuht suð east scinende. and for neah ealle þa wucan on þas wisan ætywde. manige men leton þ hit cometa wære.

Sona æft' þyson. se arce b' Ansealm of Cantwar byrig leafe æt þā cynge nā. þeah hit þā cynge ungewill wære þæs þe men leton. and ofer sæ fór. for þā him þuhte þ man on þisne þeodan lytel æfter rihte and æft' his dyhte dyde.

And se cyng þær æft' uppon sõe Martines mæssan ofer sæ íntó Normandig fór. ac þa hwile þe he wederes abád. his hired innon þā sciran þær hi lagón. þoñ mæston hearm dydon þe æfre hired oððe here innon frið lande don sceolde. Dis wæs on eallon þingan swiðe hefig tyme geár. and ofer geswincfull. on ungewederan þa man oððe tilian sceolde oððe eft tilða gegaderian. and on ungyldan þa næfre ne ablunnon. Eac manege sciran þe mid weorce to Lundenne belüpon. wurdon þærle gedrehte. þurh þoñ weall þe hi worhton on butan þoñ túr. and þurh þa brycge þe for neah eall to flotan wæs. and þurh þæs cynges healle geweorc þe man on West mynstre worhte. and mænige man þær mid gedrehte.

Eac on þysū ylcan geare sona uppon sõe Michaeles mæssan ferde Eadgar æþeling mid fyrde þurh þæs cynges fultū into Scot lande. and þet land mid stranglicū feohte gewann. and þoñ cyng Dufenal út adræfde. and his mæg Eadgar se wæs Melcolmes sunu cynges and Margarite þære cwenan he þær on þæs cynges Willelmes heldan to cynge gesette. and syððan ongean into Engleland fór.

1098. On þysum geare to Xpes mæssan wæs se cyng W. on Normandig. And Walcelin b' on Win ceastre and Baldewine

abb' on see Ædmund innan pære tide bægen forð ferdan. (A.D. 1098) And on þisū geare eac Turold abb' of Burh forð ferde.

Dises geares eac to pan sumeran innan Barruc scire æt Finchāstæde án mere blod weoll. swa swa manige trywe men sædan he hit geseon sceoldan.

And Hugo eorl wearð of slagen innan Angles ege frā út wikingan. and his broðer Rodbert wearð his yrfe numa. swa swa he hit æt þā cynge of eode.

Toforan see Michael' mæssan ætywde seo heofon swilce heo for neah ealle þa niht byrnende wære. Dis wæs swiðe geswincfull gear þurh manig feald un gyld. and þurh mycele renas þe ealles geares ne ablunnon. for neah ælc tilð on mersc lande for ferde.

1099. Her wæs se cyng Will'm to midewintra on Normandig. and to Eastron hider to lande cō. and to Pentecosten forman siðe his hired innan his niwan g'byttlan æt West mynstre heold. and þær Rannulfe his capellane þ biscop rice on Dunholme geaf. þe æror ealle his gemot ofer eall Engle land draf and bewiste. and sona þæræft' ofer sæ fór. and þoñ eorl Elias of þære Manige adraf. and hy syððan on his geweald gesætte. and swa to sõe Michael' mæssan eft hider to lande cō.

Dises geares eac on see Martin mæsse dæg. asprang up to pan swide sæ flod. and swa mycel to hearme gedyde. swa nan man ne g'munet p hit æfre æror dyde. and wæs dæs ylcan dæges luna p'ma.

And Osmund biscop of Searbyrig innon Aduent for ferde. 1100. On pison geare se cyng W. heold his hired to Xpes mæssa on Gleawe ceastre. and to Eastron on Winceastre. and to Pentecost' on West mynstre.

And to þā Pentecost' wæs gesewen innan Barruc scire æt anan tune blod weallan of eorþan. swa swa mænige sædan þe hit g'seon sceoldan. And þær æft' on morgen æft' hlā mæsse dæge wearð se cyng Willelm on huntnoðe frā his anan men mid anre fla of sceoten. and syððan to Win ceastre gebroht. and on þā biscoprice bebyrged. Þ wæs þæs þreotteðan geares þe he rice onfeng.

He wæs swiðe strang and reðe ofer his land and his mænn. and wið ealle his neahheburas. and swiðe ondrædendlic. and burh yfelra manna rædas þe hi æfre gecweme wæran. and

(A.D. 1100) burh his agene gitsunga. he æfre has leode mid here and mid un gylde tyrwigende wæs. forban be on his dagan æle riht afeoll. and ælc un riht for Gode and for worulde úp aras. Godes cyrcean he ny verade. and ha b'coprices and abb'rices be ba ealdras on his dagan feollan. Ealle he hi odde wid feo gesealde. o'dde on his agenre hand heold, and to gafle gesette. forban be he ælces mannes gehadodes and læwedes yrfenuma beon wolde, and swa p bæs dæges be he gefeoll, he heafde on his agenre hand \$\bar{p}\$ arce b'rice on Cantwarbyrig. and \$\bar{p}\$ bisceoprice on Win ceast'. and \$\bar{p}\$ on Sear byrig. and xi abb' rices. ealle to gafle gesette. And beah be ic hit læng ylde. eall bet be Gode wæs lað and rihtfull' mannan. eall b wæs gewunelic on pisan lande on his tyman, and forpi he wæs for ncah ealre his leode lað. and Gode andsæte. swa swa his ænde ætywde. forþan þe he on midde wardan his un rihte buten behreowsunge and ælcere dædbote gewat.

On þæne þunresdæg he wæs ofslagen, and þæs on morgen bebyrged, and syðþan he bebyrged wæs, þa witan þe þa neh handa wæron, his broðer Heanrig to cynge gecuran, and he þær rihte þ bisc'rice on Win ceast' Will'me Giffarde geaf, and siþþan to Lundene fór, and on þan Sunnandæge þær æft' to foran þā weofode on West mynstre Gode and eallan folce behét calle þa un riht to aleggenne þe on his broðer timan wæran, and þa betstan lage to healdene þe on æniges cynges dæge to foran him stodan. And hine syððan æft' þā se biscop of Lundene Maurici' to cynge gehalgode, and hī ealle on þeosan lande to abugan, and aðas sworan, and his men wurdon.

And se cyng sona æft' þā be þære ræde þe hī abutan wæran. Þoñ biscop Rannulf of Dunholme let niman. and into þā ture on Lundene lét gebringon. and þær healdan. Da to foran sõe Michael' mæssan cō se arce biscop Ansealm of Cant warbyr' hider to lande. swa swa se cyng Heanrig be his witena ræde hī æft' sende. forþan þe he wæs út of þis lande gefaren. for þan mycelan un rihte þe se cyng Will'm him dyde.

And siðþan sona heræft' se cyng genā Mahalde hī to wife Malcolmes cynges dohter of Scotlande. and Margareta þære goda cwæne Eadwardes cynges magan. and of þan rihtan Ænglalandes kyne kynne. and on see Martines mæsse dæg heo wearð him mid mycelan weorðscipe for gifen on West

mynstre. and se arce bisc' Ansealm hi hī bewæddade. and (A.D. 1100) siððan to cwene gehalgode. And se arce b' Thomas of Eoferwic heræft' sona forð ferde.

Deoses ylces geares eac innan hærfest cō se eorl Rotbert ham into Normandi. and se eorl Rotb't of Flandr'. and Eustati' eorl of Bunan frā Ierusalē. And sona swa se eorl R. into Normandig com. he wear'ð frā eallan þā folce bliþelice under fangen. butan þā castelan ðe wæron g'sætte mid þæs cynges Heanriges manna. togeanes þan he manega gewealc and gewinn hæfde.

1101. Her on þisū geare to Xpes mæssan heold se cyng Heanrig his hired on West mynstre. and to Eastran on Win ceastre.

And ba sona bær æfter wurdon ba heafod men her on lande wider ræden togeanes þa cynge. ægder ge for heoran agenan mycelan un getrywdan, and eac burh bon eorl Rodbert of Normandig. be mid un fride hider to lande fundode. And se cyng syððan scipa ut on sæ sende his broðer to dære and to lættinge, ac hi sume æft æt þære neode abruðon, and frā þā cynge gecyrdon, and to ba eorle Rotb'te gebugan. Da to midde sumeran ferde se cyng út to Pefenesæ mid eall his fyrde togeanes his broder and his bær abád. Ac on mang bison co se eorl Roth't up æt Portes muðan xii nihtan toforan Hlaf mæssan. and se cyng mid ealre his fyrde hi togeanes cō. Ac þa heafod men heō betwenan foran. and þa broðra gesehtodan on þa gerád. þet se cyng for let eall b he mid streang de innan Normandig togeanes ba eorle heold. and b ealle þa on Englelande heora land ongean heafdon. þe hit ær burh bone eorl forluron, and Eustaties eorl eac eall his fæder land her on lande, and bet se corl Rotb't ælce geare sceolde of Englalande breo busend marc seolfres habban, and loc hweder bæra gebrodra oderne ofer bide. wære yrfe weard ealles Englalandes and eac Normandiges. buton se forð farena yrfe numan heafde be rihtre æwe. and þis þa mid aðe gefestnodan xii ba hihste of ægðre healfe. And se eorl syðdan od det ofer see Michael' mæsse her on lande wunode. and his men mycel to hearme æfre gedydon swa hi geferdon. þa hwile be se eorl her on lande wunode.

Dises geares eac se b' Rannulf to þā Candel mæssan út of þā ture on Lunden nihtes o'ðbærst þær he on hæftneðe wæs. (A.D. 1101) and to Normandige for. purh pes macunge mæst and tospryttinge se eorl Rotb't pises geares pis land mid un friðe g'sohte.

1102. On þisu geare to Natiuiteð wæs se cyng Heanrig on West mynstre. and to Eastron on Win ceastre.

And sona þæræft' wurdon un sehte se cyng and se eorl Rotb't of Bælæsme se hæfde þoñ eorldō her on lande on Scrobbes byrig þe his fæder Roger eorl ær ahte. and micel rice þær to. æg'ðer g' beheonon sæ ge begeondon. And se cyng ferde and besæt þoñ castel æt Arundel. ac þa he hine swa hraðe gewinnan ne mihte, he let þær toforan castelas gemakian. and hi mid his mannan gesette, and syððan mid ealre his fyrde ferde to Brigge, and þær wunode oððet he pone castel hæfde, and þone eorl Rotbert belænde, and ealles benæmde, þes he on Engla lande hæfde, and se eorl swa ofer sæ gewát, and se fyrde syððan hā cyrde.

Da þær æft' to sõe Michael' mæssan wæs se cyng æt Wæst mynstre. and ealle þa hæfod men on þis lande g'hadode and læwede. and se arceb' Ansealm heold g'hadodra manna sinoð. and hi þær manega beboda setton þe to Xpendome belimpað. and ægðer manige Frencisce and Englisce þær heora stafas and rice for luron. þe hi mid un rihte begeaton. oððe mid woge þær on lifedon.

And on Sisū ylcan geare on Pentecosten mæssan wuce. þa coman þeofas sum of Aluearnie. sū of France. and sū of Flandres, and breokan þa mynstre of Burh and þær inne naman mycel to gode on golde and on seolfre. þet wæron roden and calicen and candel sticcan.

1103. Her on þisü geare to mide wintra wæs se cyng Heanrig æt West mynstre. And þær æft' sona ferde se b' Willelm Giffard ut of þis land, forþan þe he ongean riht nolde his hades on fon æt þā arce b' Girarde of Eoferwic. And þa to þan Eastran heold se cyng his hired on Win c'. And þær æft' ferde se arce b' Ansealm of Cantwarbyrig to Rome, swa swa hī and þā cynge gewearð.

Dises geares eac cō se eorl Rotbert of Normandig to sprecene wið þone cyng her on lande. And ær he heonne ferde he for geaf þa þreo þusend marc þe hī seo cyng Heanrig be fore weard ælce geare gifan sceolde.

On bisum geare eac æt Heamstede innan Barrucscire. wæs

gesewen blod of eorðan. Dis wæs swiðe gedeorfsum gear (A.D. 1103) her on lande. þurh mænifealde gyld. and þurh orf cwealm. and wæstma for weorþenesse ægðer ge on corne and eac on eallon treow wæstman. Eac on morgen uppon sõe Laurent' mæsse dæg gedyde se wind swa mycel to hearme her on lande on eallon wæstman. swa nan man ne gemunde þæfre ænig ær gedyde.

On disum ylcan geare Mathias abb' of Burh fordferde. se ne lyfode na leng þā an geare. syddan he abb' wæs. Æft' see Michael' mæssan on xii k' Nov' he wæs mid procession under fangan to abb'. and on da ylcan dæge þes odres geares he weard dead on Gleaw ceastre. and þær bebyrged.

1104. Her on þisū geare to Xpes mæssan heold se cyng Heanrig his hired æt Wæst minstre. and to Eastron on Win ceastre. and to Pentecosten eft on West mynstre.

Dises geares wæs se forma Pentecostes dæg on nō Jun'. and on þam Tiwæs dæge þæræft' ætywdan feower circulas to þā mid dæge onbutan þære sunnan hwites hiwes. ælc under oðran gebroiden. swylce hi gemette wæron. Ealle þe hit g'sawon wundredon. forþan hi næfre ær swilce ne gemundon.

Heræft' wurdon sehte se eorl Rotb't of Normandig. and Rotb't de Bælesme þe se cyng Heanri æror belænd hæfde and of Engla lande adrifen. and þurh heora sehte wurdon wiðer ræde se cyng of Engla lande and se eorl of Normandig. and se cyng his folc ofer sæ into Normandig sende. and þa heafod men þær on lande hi under fengon. and on heora hlafordes þæs eorles swicdome into heora castelan gelogodan. þanon hi manige gedrecednissa on hergunga and on bærninge þam eorle gedydon. Eac þises geares Willelm eorl of Moretoin heonon of lande into Normandig fór. ac syððan he afaren wes. he wið þone cyng g'worhte. for hwan hine se cyng ealles benæmde. and belænde þæs þe he her on lande hæfde.

Nis ease to asecgenne pises landes earmsa pe hit to pysan timan dreogende wæs purh mistlice and mænig fealdlice un riht and gyld pæ næfre ne geswican ne ne ateorodon, and æfre ealswa se cyng for ful hergung purh his hired uppon his wreccea folc wæs, and pær on mang for oft bærneta and man slihtas.

Eall pis wæs God mid to gremienne. and pas arme leode mid to tregienne.

1105. On þisú geare to Natiuiteð heold se cyng Heanrig his hired æt Windlesoran.

And þæræft' to þā lengtene he for ofer sæ into Normandig uppon his broðer Rotbert eorl. And onmang þā þe he þær wunode he gewann of his broðer Caþum and Baius. and mæst ealle þa castelas and þa heafod men þær on lande hi wurdon under þeodde. and se syððan to herfest eft ongean hider to lande cō. And þ he on Normandig g'wunnen hæfde. syððan ón sibbe and hi gebygle wunode. butan þa þe þā eorle Will'me of Mortoin ahwær neah wunedon. þa he gelomlice geswæncte swa he swiðost mihte. for his landlyre her on lande. And þa toforan Xpes mæssan cō Rotb't de Bælesme hider to lande to þā cynge.

Dis wæs swide gedyrfsum gear her on lande þurh wæstma forwordenessa, and þurh þa mænig fealde gyld þe næfre ne geswican ær se cyng oferfore, and þa hwile þe he þær wæs, and eft syddan he ongean com.

1106. Her on þison geare wæs se cyng Henrig to Natiuiteð on West mynstre. and þær his hired heold. and uppon þære tide Rotbert de Bælesme mid un sehte frå þå cynge út of þison lande into Normandige fór.

Da her æft' on foran længtene wæs se cyng æt Norð hā tune. and se eorl Rotbert his broðer of Normandig þyder to hī cō. and forþā se cyng hī nolde agifan þ þe he on Normandig' uppon hī genumen hæfde. hi mid un sehte to hwurfon, and se eorl ferde ofer sé sona eft ongean.

On pære forman længten wucan on poñ Frige dæg i. e. xiiii k' Mr' on æfen ætywde án un gewunelic steorra. and lange stunde pær æft' wæs ælce æfen gesewen hwile scinende. Se steorra ætywde innon p suð west. he wæs litel gepuht. and deorc. ac se leoma pe hī frā stod wæs swiðe beorht. and swilce ormæte beam gepuht norð east scinende. and Sūne æfen wæs gesæwen swilce se beam ongean weardes wið pes steorran ward fyrcliende wære. Gehwylce sædon p hig ma on pison timon un cuðra steorra gesawon. ac we hit openlicor ne awriton. forpā pe we hit sylfe ne sawon. On pa niht pe on morgen wæs cena Dñi. p is se punres dæg toforan Eastran. wæron gesewen twegen monan on pære heofonan toforan pam dæge oðer be eastan. and se oðer be westan begen fulle. and pæs ylcan dæges wæs se mona xiiiia.

To Eastran was se cyng at Badan. and to Pentecosten at (A.D. 1106) Searbyrig, forba be he nolde on his fundunge ofer sæ hired healdan. Dæræfter toforan August ferde se cyng ofer sæ into Normandig. and ealle mæst be bær on lande wæron hi on his willan to gebugon. widuton Rotb't de Bælesme. and bā eorle of Moretoin. and feawa o'ore of bā heafod mannan be mid þa eorle of Normandige þe gyt heoldan, and forþan se cyng syddan mid fyrde for. and besæt bæs eorles ænne castel of Moretoin Tenercebrai hatte. On mang þā þe se cyng þoñ castel besæt. cō se eorl Rotb't of Normandig on sõe Michael' mæsse æfen uppon bone cyng mid his fyrde. and mid hi Rotb't de Bælesme, and Willelm eorl of Moretoin, and ealle ba be mid heō woldan. ac seo streong'de and se sige wear'd bæs cynges. Dær weard se eorl of Normandig gefangen. and se eorl of Moretoin. and Rotb't de Stutteuile. and to Englalande syððan gesende. and on hæftneðe gebrohte. Rotb't de Bælesme þær wearð aflymed. and Will'm Crispin g'læht, and manige forð mid. Eadgar æþeling þe litle ær fra þā cynge to þā eorl wæs gefaren þær wæs eac gefangen. bone lét se cyng syððan sac leas faran. Syððan geeode se cyng eall \$ on Normandige was, and hit on his willan and geweald gesette.

Dises geares eac wæron swide hefige and sinlice gewinn betwux þā Casere of Sexlande and his sunu. and on mang þā g'winnan se fæder forð ferde. and se sunu feng to þam rice.

1107. On þisū geare to Xpes mæssan wæs se eyng Henri on Normandig. and p land on his g'weald dihte and sette. and þær æft' to længtene hider to lande cō. and to Eastran his hired on Windlesoran heold. and to Pentecosten on West mynstre. And syððan eft to Augustes anginne on West mynstre wæs. and þær þa biscop ricen and abbod ric geaf and sette. þe on Engle lande oððe on Normandige buton ealdre and hyrde. Dera wæron swa fela swa nan man næs þe gemvnde p æfre ær swa fela togædere gyfene wæron.

And æt þes ylcan syðe. on mang þa oððre þe abb'rices under fengon. Ernulf þe ær wæs prior on Cantwar byrig feng to þā abb'rice on Burh. Dis wæs rihtlice ymbe vii gear þæs þe se cyng Henri cynedomes on feng. and wæs þ an and fowertigeðe gear þæs þe Francan þyses landes weoldan.

(A.D. 1107) manege sædon þet hi on þā monan þises geares mistlice tacna gesawon, and ongean cynde his leoman wexende and waniende.

Dises geares forð ferdon. Maurici' biscop on Lunden. and Rotb't abb' on see Eadmundes byrig. and Ricard abb' on Elig. Dises geares eac forð ferde se cyng Eadgar on Scotlande id' Jañr'. and feng Alexander his broðer to þa rice swa se cyng Henri hi geuðe.

1108. Her on þisū geare wes se cyng Henri to Natiuiteð on West mynstre. and to Eastron on Win ceastre. and to Penteë eft on West mynstre. and þæræft' toforan Aug' he ferde into Normandig.

And se cyng of France Philipp' forð ferde non' Aug'. and feng his sunu Loðewis to þā rice. and wurdon syððon manege gewinn betwux þā cynge of France and þā of Englelande. þa hwile þe he on Normandig wunode.

On þisū geare eac forð ferde se arceb' Girard of Eoferwíc toforan Pentecost'. and wearð syððan Thomas þær to gesett.

1109. Her on þison geare wæs se cyng Henri to Xpes mæssan and to Eastron on Normandig. and toforan Penteë hider to lande cō. and his hired on Westmynstre heold. Dær wurdon þa forewearda full worhte. and þa aðas gesworene his dohter þā Casere to gifene.

Dises geares g'wurdon swide fela punra. and pa swide ægeslice. And se arceb' Ansealm of Cantwara byrig ford ferde on pa dæge xi k' Apr'. and wæs se forma Easter dæg on Letania maior.

1110. On þisū geare heold se cyng Henri his hired to Xpes mæssan æt West mynstre, and to Eastron he wæs æt Mærle beorge, and to Pentec forman siþe his hired on þa niwan Windlesoran heold.

Dises geares sende se cyng toforan længtene his dohter mid mænig fealdan madman ofer sæ. and hi þam Casere for geaf. On þære fiftan nihte on Maies monðe. ætywde se mona on æfen beorhte scinende. and syððan litlan and litlan his leoht wanode. swa þ he sona nihtes to þā swiðe mid ealle acwanc. Þ naþer ne leoht ne trændel ne nan þing mid ealle of hi wæs gesæwen. and swa þurh wunode fullneah oð dæg. and syðþan full and beorhte scinende ætywde. he wæs þæs ylcan dæges fcowertyne nihta eald. Ealle þa niht

wæs seo lyft swide clene. and ha steorran ofer eall ha heofon (A.D. 1110) swide beorhte scinende. and treow wæstmas wurdon hære nihte hurh forste swide for numene. Dær æft' on Junies monde ætywde an steorra nordan eastan, and his leoma stod toforan hi on het sud west, and hus manega niht wæs gesæwen, and furdor nihtes syddan he ufor astah, he wæs g'sewen on bæc on hordwest gangende.

Dises geares wurdon belænde Philipp' de Brause. and

Will'm Mallet, and Will'm Bainart.

Eac pises geares forð ferde Elias eorl. þe þa Mannie of þā cynge Heanri geheold. and on cweow. and æft' his forsiðe feng to se eorl of Angeow. and hi togeanes þā cynge heold.

Dis wæs swide gedeorfsû gear her on lande purh gyld pe se cyng nam for his dohtergyfte. and purh ungewædera. for hwan eord westmas wurden swide amyrde. and treew westmas ofer eall pis land forneah eall for wurden.

Dises geares me began ærost to weorcenne on þā niwan mynstre on Ceortesæge.

1111. On þison geare ne bær se kyng Henri his coronan to Xpes mæssan. ne to Eastron. ne to Pentec. And innan August he ferde ofer sæ into Normandig. for un sehte þe wið hi hæfdon sume be þā gemæran of France. and swiðost for þā eorle of Angeow þe þa Mannie togeanes him heold. and syððan he þyder ofer cō. manega un ráda and bærnetta and hergunga hi heō betweonan gedydan.

On pison geare for ferde se eorl Rotbert of Flandran. and feng his sunu Baldewine pærto.

Dises geares wæs swide lang wint' and hefig tyme and strang, and purh p eord wæstmas wurden swide amyrde, and g'weard se mæsta orf cwealm pe ænig mann mihte gemunan.

1112. Eall þis gear wunode se cyng Henri on Normandig for þære un sehte þe he hæfde wið France. and wið þoñ eorl of Angeow þe þa Mannie togeanes hi heold. And on mang þā þe he þær wæs. he belænde þoñ eorl of Eureus and Will'm Crispin. and ut of Normandi adraf. and Philippe de Braus his land ageaf þe ær wæs belænd. and Rotb't de Bælesme he let niman and on prisune dón.

Dis wæs swide god gear and swide wistfull on wudan and on feldan, ac hit wæs swide hefig tyme and sorhfull purh or mætne man cwealm.

1113. Her on pison geare wæs se cyng Henri to Natiuiteð and to Eastron and to Penteë on Normandig. And þæræft' to sumeran he sænde hider to lande Rotb't de Bælesme into þam castele to Wærhā, and hīsylf sona þæræft' hider to lande com.

1114. On pison geare heold se cyng Henri his hyred to Natiuited on Windlesoran. and pæs geares syddan hé né heold hired nan oftar.

And to middan sumeran he ferde mid fyrde into Wealon. and ha Wyliscean coman and wið þoñ eyng griðedon. and he lét þær inne castelas weorcean. And þær æft' innan Septemb' he for ofer sæ into Normandig.

Dises geares on æfteward Mai wæs gesewen an selcuð steorra mid langan leoman manege niht seinende. Eac on þis ylcan geare wæs swa mycel ebba æghwær anes dæges swa nan man æror ne g'munde. and swa þ man ferde ridende and gangende ofer Tæmese be eastan þære brigge on Lunden. Þises geares wæron swiðe mycele windas on Octob'r monðe. ac he wæs or mæte mycel on þa niht Octab' sẽi Martini. and þ gehwær on wudan and on tunan gecydde.

Eac on þisū geare se cyng geaf þet arceb'rice on Cant wara byrig Raulfe. se wæs æror biscop on Hrofe ceastre. And se arceb' on Eoferwic Thomas forð ferde, and feng Turstein þærto, se wæs æror þæs cynges capelein.

On bæs ylcan tyme feorde se cyng toweard bon sæ and ofer wolde, ac wæder hi lætte, þa hwile þa sende he his writ æft' þoñ abb' Ernulf of Burh. and bebead hi b he efeostlice scolde to hi cuman. forbi p he wolde sprecon mid hi dærne sprece. Da he to hī cō. þa neodde he hī to þā biscop rice of Hrofeceastre, and ha arc biscopes and biscopes are biscopes and biscopes are biscopes and biscopes are biscopes and biscopes are biscopes are biscopes and biscopes are biscopes are biscopes are biscopes are biscopes are biscopes are biscopes and biscopes are bis duged b was on Englalande ford mid se cyng. and he lange wið stód. ac hit ne for heol naht. and se cyng þa bebead pon arc b' p he sceolde hi læden to Cantwara byrig and blætson hi to b' wolde he nolde he. bis wæs don on bære tuna þa man cleopa'ð Burne. Þ wæs þes dæges xvii k' Octobr'. Da be munecas of Burch hit herdon sægen, ba wæron hi swa sari swa hi næfre ær ne wæron. forbi p he wæs swide god and softe man. and dyde mycel to gode wiðinnan and widutan. þa hwile þe he þær wunode. God ælmihtig wunie æfre mid hi.

Da sona þæræft' þa geaf se cyng þoñ abb'rice an munec (A.D. 1114) of Sæis Johan wæs g'haten. þurh þæs arce b' gearnunge of Cantwarbyrig. And sona þæræft' sende se cyng hī and se arceb' of Cantwarb' to Rome æft' þes ærceb' palliū. and an munec mid hī Warner is gehaten. and þoñ ærce diæcne Johan þes arceb' neafe. and hi þær well spæddon. Dis wæs don þes dæges xi k' Octobr'. on þone tuna þe man cleopa'ð Rugenore. and þes ylces dæges eode se cyng on scipa on Portesmu'ðe.

1115. Her wæs se cyng Henri to Natiuiteð on Normandig. and on mang þā þe he þær wæs. he dyde þ ealle þa heafod mæn on Normandig dydon man ræden and hold aðas his sunu Will'me þe he be his cwene hæfde. and æft' þan syððan innon Julies monðe hider into lande cō.

Dises geares wæs swa strang wint' mid snawe and mid forste. swa nan man he ha lifode ær han nan strengre ne g'munde. and weard hurh hungemæte orf cwealm.

On þison geare sænde se papa Paschal' Raulfe ærceb' on Cantwarabyrig palliū hider to lande. and he his onfeng mid mycelan wurðscipe æt his arce stole on Cant'byrig. Hine brohte Ansealm abb' of Rome se wæs nefa Ansealmes ærceb'. and se abb' Johan of Burh.

1116. On þison geare wæs se cyng Henri to Natiuiteð æt sõe Albane, and þær lét þ mynster halgian, and to Eastron on Wudiham. And wes eac þyses geares swiðe hefig tyme winter and strang and lang, wið orf and wið ealle þing. And se cyng æft' Eastron sona ferde ofer sæ into Normandig, and wurdon manega unráda and ræfunga and castelas g'numene betwux France and Normandig. Mæst þis unsehte wæs forþan þe se cyng Henri fylste his nefan þā eorle Tædbalde de Blais, þe þa wyrre hæfde togeanes his hlaforde þā cynge of France Loðewis.

Dis wæs swide g'swincfull gear and byrstfull on eord wæstman. Jurh þa ormæte reinas þe coman sona onforan August. and swide gedrehton and geswencton þe gyt þe cō Candel mæssan. Eac þis gear wæs swa gæsne on mæstene. swa þ on eallon þison lande ne eac on Wealon ne g'hyrde me of nanan segcean. Dis land and þas leodon wurdon eac þyses geares oftrædlice sare geswencte. Þurh þa gyld þe se cyng nā. ægðer ge binnan burgan and butan.

eccl'ie

combustio On bisū ylcan geare bærnde eall b mynstre of Burh. and callæ þa husas butan se Captelhus and se Slæpperne. and þær to eac bærnde eall þa mæste dæl of þa tuna. Eall þis belap on an Frigdæg. \$\bar{p}\$ wæs ii no Aug't.

> 1117. Eall bis gear wunode se cyng Henri on Normandig. for bes cynges un sehte of France and his o'ora nehhebura. And ba to San sumeran co se cyng of France and se eorl of Flandra mid hi mid fyrde into Normandig, and ane niht bær inne wunedon, and on morgen butan gefeohte ongean ferden. And Normandig weard swide gedreht. ægder g' burh gyld ge burh fyrde be se cing Henri bær ongean gaderode. Eac beos beode burh bis ylce burh manigfealde gyld. weard strange geswenct.

Dises geares eac on pære nihte kl' Decemb' wurdon ormætlica wædera mid þunre. and lihtinge, and reine, and hagole. And on hære nihte iii id' Dec wear's se mona lange nihtes swylce he eall blodig wære, and syððan aðistrode. Eac on bære nihte xvii kl' Janr' wæs seo heofon swyde read gesewen. swylce hit bryne wære. And on Octab' sci Johis Eugl'æ wæs seo mycele eord byfung on Lumbardige. for hwan manega mynstras and turas. and huses gefeollon. and mycelne hearm on mannan gedydon. Dis wæs swyde byrstful gear on corne. burh ba renas be forneh ealles geares ne geswicon.

And se abb' Gilebert of West mynstre forð ferde viii id' Dec. and Farits abb' of Abbandune vii k' Martii. And on bisum ylcan geare

1118. Her eall bis gear wunode se cyng Henri on Normandig. for hes cynges wyrre of France. and hæs eorles of Angeow, and bæs eorles of Flandran. And se eorl of Flandra ward innan Normandig gewundod, and swa gewundod into Flandran for. Durh bisra un sehte weard se cyng swyde gedreht, and mycel for leas, ægder ge on feoh and eac on lande, and mæst hine dryfdon his agene mæn þe hi gelome fra bugon. and swicon. and to his feondan cyrdon, and heo to bæs cynges hearme and swicdome heora castelas ageafon. Eall bis strange gebohte Englaland. burh ba mænig fealdlice gyld be ealles bises geares ne geswicon.

On bison geare on bære wucon Theophanie wæs anes æfenes swyde mycel lihtinge. and un gemetlice slæge bær æft'.

And see cwén Mahald forð ferde on West mynstre þæs (A.D. 1118) dæges kl' Mai. and þær wæs bebyrged. And se eorl Rotbert of Mellent þises geares eac forð ferde.

Eac on pison geare to see Thomas mæsse. wæs swa swide un gemetlice mycel wind. p nan man pe pa lifode nænne maran ne gemunde. and p wæs æghwer geseone. ægder ge on husan and eac on treowan.

Dises geares eac forð ferde se papa Paschal'. and feng Johan of Gaitan to þā papdóme. Þā wæs o'ðer nama Gelasius.

1119. Dis gear eall wunode se cyng Henri on Normandig. and wæs þurh þæs cynges wyrre of France. and cac his agenra manna þe hī mid swicdome frā wæron mid abugon. oft rædlice swyþe gedreht. oððet þa twegen cyngas innan Normandige. mid heoran folcan coman togædere. þær wearð seo cyng of France aflymed. and ealle his betste mæn genumene. and syððan þæs cynges mæn Heanriges manega hī to ge bugen. and wið hine acordedan þe æror mid heora castelan hī togeanes wæron. and sume þa castelas he mid strengðe genā.

Dises geares ferde Willelm bæs cynges sunu Heanriges and bære cwene Mahalde into Normandige to his fæder. and bær wearð hī for gifen and to wife beweddod bæs eorles dohter of Angeow.

On see Michael' mæsse æfen wæs mycel eord bifung on suman steodan her on lande, þeah swydost on Glowe ceastre scire, and on Wigre ceastre scire.

On þis ylcan geare forð ferde se papa Gelasius on þas halfe þære muntan. and wæs on Clunig bebyrged, and æft' hī se arce b' of Uiana wearð to papan gecoren. þam wearð nama Calixtus. Se syððan to sce Lucas mæssan eug'lista cointo France to Ræins, and þær heold conciliū, and se arce b' Turstein of Eoferwic þyder ferde, and forþi þe he togeanes rihte and togeanes þā arce stole on Cant wara byrig, and togeanes þæs cynges willan his had æt þam papan under feng, him wiðcwæð se cyng ælces gean fares to Engla lande, and he þus his arceb'rices þærnode, and mid ðam papan to wardes Rome fór.

Eac on pison geare for offerde se eorl Baldewine of Flandran of pā wundan pe he innan Normandige gefeng. and æfter hī feng Carl his faða sunu to pam rice. sc wæs Cnutes sunu þæs haligan cynges of Denmarcan.

1120. Dises geares wurden sehte see cyng of Engle lande and se of France, and æfter heera sehte acordedan ealles þæs cynges Heanriges agene mæn wið hine innan Normandige, and se eorl of Flandran, and se of Puntiw. Syððan her æfter sætte se cyng Henrig his castelas and his land en Normandiæfter his willan, and swa toforan Aduent hider to lande for.

And on þam fare wurdon adrincene þæs cynges twegen sunan Willelm and Ricard. and Ricard eorl of Ceastre. and Ottuel his broðor. and swyðe manega of þæs cynges hired stiwardas and burþenas and byrlas and of mystlicean wican. and ungerim swyðe ænlices folces forð mid. Ðysra deað wæs heora freondan twy fealdlic sár. an þet hi swa fearlice þiscs lifes losedan. oðer þ feawa heora lichaman ahwær syððan fundena wæron.

Dises geares com þet leoht to Sepulchrū Dñi innan Ierusalē twiges. ænes to Eastron. and oðre siðe to Assūptio sẽe Marie swa swa geleaffulle sædon þe þanon coman.

An se arce b' Turstein of Eoferwic weard purh pone papan wid pone cyng acordad, and hider to lande com. and his biscoprices onfeng, peah hit pā arceb' of Cantwarabyrig swyde ungewille wære.

1121. Her wæs se cyng Henri to Xpes mæssan on Bramtune. and þæræfter to foran Candel mæssan on Windlesoran him to wife forgyfen Aðelis and syððan to cwene gehalgod. seo wæs þæs heretogan dohtor of Luuaine.

And se mona apystrode on pære nihte none Apr'. and wæs xiv luna.

And se cyng wæs to Eastran on Beorclea. and þær æfter to Pentecosten he heold mycelne hyred on West mynstre. and syððan þæs sumeres mid ferde into Wealan fór, and þa Wyliscean him ongean coman, and æfter þes cynges willan hi wið hine acordedan.

Dises geares com se eorl of Angeow frā Ierusalē into his lande, and syððan hider to lande sende, and his dohter let feccean, seo wæs Will'me þes cynges sune æror to wife for gyfan.

And on þære nihte uigilia Natal' Dñi wæs swyðe mycel wind ofer eall þis land, and þet wearð on manegan þingan swyðe gesene. §

[§] Here ends the first hand in MS. E.

1122. On his geare wæs se king Heanri on Cristes mæssan on Norhtwic. and on Pasches he weas on Norhthamtune.

And on hone lententyde hær toforen for bearn se burch on combus Gleawe ceastre. ha hwile he ha munecas sungen hære messe. Gloucest and se dæene hafde ongunnan bone godspel P'TERIENS Ific. ba co se fir on ufen weard bone stepel, and for bearnde ealle be minstre, and ealle ba gersumes be ber binnen weron foruton feawe bec. and iii messe hakeles. bet wes bes dæies viii id' Mr'.

And bæræfter be Tywesdæi æfter Palmes Sunendæi wæs swide micel wind on b dæi xi k' Apr'. þæræfter comen feale tacne wide hwear on Englaland and feole dwild wearen geseogen and geheord. And bes niht viii k' Aug' wæs swide micel eord dyne ofer eal Sumer sete scire and on Gleawe cestre scire. Siððon on þæs dæi vi id' Sept' bet wæs on sce Marie messedæi. ba weard swide mycel wind frā þa underndæies to þa swarte nihte.

beos ilce geares for ferde Raulf seo ærce biscop of Cant warbyrig. \$\psi\$ was on \$\pas\$ daies xiiio k' Nouemb'. \$\par\$ after wæron feole scip men on sæ. and on wæter. and sædon b hi sægon on norð east fir mycel and brad wið bone eorðe, and weax on lenghe up on an to ham wolcne, and se wolcne un dide on fower healfe and faht per togeanes. swile hit scolde á cwencen. and se fir weax na ba ma up to be heouene. Þæt fir hi seagon in de dæi rime and læste swa lange b hit wæs liht ofer eall. bet wæs bæs dæies vii idus Decembr'.

1123. On byssum geare was se king Henri on Cristes tyde æt Dunestaple, and bær comen bes eorles sander men of Angeow to him. and beonen he ferde to Wudestoke. and his biscopes and his hird eal mid him. pa tidde hit on an Wodnesdei, þet wæs on iv id' Jañríí, þet se king rad in his der fald and se biscop Roger of Seres byrig on an half him. and se biscop Rotbert Bloet of Lincolne on o'der half him. and riden bær sprecende. Þa aseh dune se biscop of Lincolne and seide to pam kyng. Laferd kyng ie swelte, and se kyng alihte dune of his hors and alehte hine betwux his earmes, and let hine beran ham to his inne. and weard ba sone dead. and man ferode hine to Lincolne mid micel wurdscipe, and bebyrigde hine toforen see Marie wefod. and hine bebyrigde se b' of Ceastre Rotbert Pecce's was gehaten.

(A.D. 1123) Da sone pær æfter sende se kyng hise write ofer call Engla lande, and bed hise biscopes and hise abbates and hise beignes ealle pet hi scolden cumen to his gewitene mot on Candel messe deig to Gleaw ceastre him togeanes. and hi swa diden. Da hi wæran þær gegaderod, þa bed se cyng heom þæt hi scoldon cesen hem ærce biscop to Cant wara byrig swa hwam swa swa hi woldon, and he hem hit wolde tybian. Da spræcon da biscopas hem betwenan, and sæden bæt hi næfre mare ne wolden hafen munec hades man to erce biscop ofer hem. ac iedon ealle samodlice to bone kyng and ieornden b hi mosten cesen of clerc hades man swa hwam swa swa hi wolden to ercebiscop. and se kyng hit hem tidde. Dis wæs eall ear gedon Surh se biscop of Seres byrig, and purh se biscop of Lincolne ær he wære dead. forði þet næfre ne luueden hi munece regol. ac wæron æfre to gænes muneces and here regol. And se prior and se munecas of Cantwarabyrig. and ealle þa oðre þe ðær wæron munechades men hit wið cwæðen fulle twa dagas, ac hit naht ne beheld, for se biscop of Særes byrig wæs strang and wealde eall Engleland. and wæs þær togeanes eall b he mihte and cube. Da cusen hi an clerc Willelm of Curboil wæs gehaten. he was canonie of an mynstre Cicc hatte, and brohten him toforen se kyng, and se kyng him geaf done ærce biscoprice. and ealle ba biscopas him under fengen. him wid cwæden muneces and eorles and peignes ealle mest be bær wæron.

> On ha ilca tyma ferden hes eorles sander men mid un sæhte frā kyng. na of his gyfe naht ne rohton.

> On þa ilca tyma com an Legat of Rome Henri wæs gehaten. he wæs abbot of sce Johs mynstre of Anieli. and he co æfter be Rome scot. and he sæde bone cyng b hit wæs togeanes riht B man scolde setten clerc ofer muneces. and swa swa hi hæfden cosen ærce biscop æror in here capitele æfter rihte. ac se cyng hit nolde ún dón. for bes b' luuen of Særes byrig. Da ferde se ærce biscop sone bæræfter to Cantwarabyrig and wæs þær underfangan þæh hit wære here un þancas, and was bære sone gebletsod to biscop fram se biscop of Lundene. and se b' Ernulf of Roue ceastre. and se b' Will'm Gifard of Winceastre. and se b' Bernard of Wales. and se b' Roger of Seares byrig. Da sone in be lenten ferde se ærce biscop to Rome æfter his palliū. and mid him ferde se b' Bernard of

Wales. and Sefred abbot of Gleasting byrig. and Ansealm (A.D. 1123) abbot of s' Ædmund. and Johan ærce dæcne of Cantwara byrig. and Gifard wæs þes kinges hird elerc.

On þa ilca tima ferde se ærce biscop Đurstan of Eoferwic to Rome þurh þes papes hese, and com þider ðre dagas ær se ærce b' of Cantwarabyrig come, and wæs þære under fangan mid micel wurðscipe. Da cō se ærce b' of Cantwarabyrig and wæs ðære fulle seoueniht ær hi mihte cumen to þes papes spræce. Þ wæs forþan Þ hit wæs don ðone pape to understanden Þ he hæfde under fangen ðone ærce biscoprice togeanes þa muneces of þe mynstre and togeanes rihte. Ac Þ ofer cō Rome þet ofer cumeð eall weoruld Þ is gold and seolure, and se pape sweðolode and gaf hī his pallium, and se ærce b' swor him underþeodnysse of ealle ða þing Þ se papa hī on leide on s' Petres heuod and s' Paules, and sende him hā ða mid his bletsunge.

Da hwile p se ærce b' wæs út of lande geaf se kyng one biscop rice of Bade pes cwenes canceler Godefreid wæs gehaten, he wæs boren of Luuein. p wæs pes dæiges Annuntiatio s' Marie at Wudestoke. Da sone pær æfter ferde se king to Winceastre and wæs ealle Eastren tyde pære, and pa hwile p he pær wæs pa geaf he pone biscop rice of Lincolne an clerc Alexander wæs gehaten, he wæs pes biscopes nefe of Seares byrig, pis he dyde eall for pes biscopes luuen.

Da ferde se kyng þenen to Portes muðe. and læi þære eall ofer Pentecoste wuce. þa sone swa he hæfde wind swa ferde he ofer into Normandie. and betæhte þa eall Engle land to geamene and to wealden þone b' Roger of Seares byrig. Da wæs se kyng eall þes geares in Normandie. and weax þa micel un frið betwux him and hise þeignas. swa þ se eorl Walaram of Mellant. and Hamalri. and Hugo of Mundford. and Will'm of Romare. and fela oðre wendan frā him and helden here castles him togeanes. And se kyng held stranglice hē togeanes. and þes ylces geares he wan of Walaram his castel Punt Aldemer. and of Hugo Mundford. and siððen he spedde æfre leong þe bet.

Des ylce geares ær se biscop of Lincolne cō to his b'rice for bearn eall meast se burh of Lincolne. and micel un gerime folces wæpmen and wimmen for burnen. and swa mycel hearm þær wæs gedon swa nan man hit cuðe oþer secgen. þet wæs þes dæges xiv kl' Juníí.

1124. Eall þis gear wes se king Heanri on Normandi. Þ wes for se miccle un frið Þ he heafde wið se king Lodewis of France. and wið se eorl of Angeow. and wið his agene men alre mest.

pa gelamp hit on bes dæges Annuntiatio see Marie b se eorl Waleram of Mellant ferde fra his an castel Belmunt het to his an oder castel Watteuile. mid hi ferde bes kinges stiward of France Amalri. and Hugo Gerueises sunu. and Hugo of Munford, and fela o're godre cnihte. pa comen hem togeanes bes kinges cnihtes of calla ba casteles da bær abuton wæron and fuhton wið hem and aflemden he and namen bone eorl Waleram and Hugo Gerueises sunu. and Hugo of Wundford, and fif and twenti ofer enihtes and brohton he to bone kinge, and se king let don bone eorl Waleram and Hugo Gerueises sunu on heftninge on Sone castel on Robem, and Hugo of Mundford he sende to Engle land, and let hine don on ifele bendas on bone castel on Gleucestre, and of ha o're swa fela swa hi huhte he sende norð and suð to hise castelas on heftnunge. Da siððon ferde se king and wan ealle bes eorles castelas Walerā ba wæron on Normandi. and ealle þa o'ðre þa his wiðre wines healden hī togeanes.

Eall, bes un frið for bes eorles sunu Rotbert of Normandi Willelm het. Se ilce Will'm hefde numen Fulkes eorles gingre dohter to wife of Angeow. and forði se king of France and ealle has eorles heolden mid hī. and ealle ha rice men. and sæidon het se king heold his broðer Rotbert mid wrange on heftnunge. and his sunu Will'm mid un rihte aflemde ut of Normandi.

Des ilces geares wæron fæla un time on Engle lande. on corne and on ealle westme. swa p betweonen Cristes messe and Candelmesse man sælde p acer sæd hwæte p is twegen sed læpas to six scillingas. and p bærlic p is pre sed læpas to six scillingas. and p acer sæd aten p feower sed læpas to feower scillingas. Pet wæs forpi p corn wæs litel. and se penig wæs swa ifel p se man pa hæfde at an market an pund he ne mihte cysten pær of for nan ping twelfe penegas.

On pes ilces geares for ferde se eadig biscop Ernulf of (A.D. 1124) Roueceastre se æror wæs abbot on Burch. þet wæs þes dæies id' Martii. And bær æft' forð ferde se king Alexander of Scotlande on bes dæies ix kl' Mai. and Dauid his brober ba wæs eorl of Nordhamtune scire feng to rice and hæfde da bade togedere bone kinerice of Scotlande, and bone eorldom on Engle lande. And on bæs dæies xix kl' Janr' forð ferde se pape on Rome Calistus was gehaten, and Honorius feng to papedom.

Des ilces geares æft' s' Andreas messe toforen Cristes messe held Raulf Basset and bes kinges væines gewitenemot on Lebecæstre scire at Hundehoge, and ahengen bær swa fela befas swa næfre ær ne wæron. bet wæron on ba litle hwile ealles feower and feowerti manne, and six men spilde of here ægon and of here stanes. Fela soð feste men sæidon ber weron manege mid micel un rihte gespilde, oc ure Laford God ælmihtig þa eall digelnesse seð and wat, he seoð p man læt p ærme folc mid ealle un rihte. ærost man hem beræfoð her eahte and siþðon man hē of slæð. Ful heui gær wæs hit se man be æni god heafde. him me hit beræfode mid strange geoldes and mid strange motes. be nan ne heafde stærf of hungor.

1125. On þis gær sende se king Henri toforen Cristes messe of Normandi to Englalande and bebead bet man Nota bel scolde beniman ealle pa minitere pe wæron on Engle lande heora liman. b was here elces riht hand and heora stanen benegan. B wæs for se man be hafde an pund he ne mihte cysten ænne peni at anne market. And se biscop Roger of Særes byrig sende ofer eall Englalande and bebead hi ealle b hi scolden cumen to Winceastre to Cristes messe. Da hi vider coman va nam man an and an and benam ælc vone riht hand and ha stanes benedan. Eall his wæs gedon wid innon ba twelf niht. and b was eall mid micel rihte for di b hi hafden for don eall b land mid here micele fals. bhi ealle abohton.

On bes ilces gæres sende se papa of Rome to dise lande an cardinal Johan of Creme was gehaten. He com first to bone king on Normandi. and se king hine under feng mid micel wurdscipe, beteahte hine siddon bone ærceb' W. of Cantwarabyrig. and he hine ledde to Cantwarabyrig. and

(A.D. 1125) he was par under fangen mid micel wurdscipe and mid micel processione. and he sang done heh messe on Eastren dæi æt Cristes wefod. And sið on he ferde ofer eall Engla lande to ealle ba biscoprices and abbotrices ba wæron on bis lande, and ofer eall he was under fangen mid wurdscipe and ealle hine iæfen micele gife and mære. And sið on he heold his concilie on Lundene fulle preo dagas on natiuitas sce Mariæ on Septemb' mid ærce biscopes and mid leod bisc and abbotes and læred and lawed, and bead bær ba ilce lagas ba Anselm ærce b' hæfde æror beboden and feala ma beah hit litel for stode. And peonon he for ofer sæ sone æft' sce Michaeles messe and swa to Rome and se ærceb' W. of Cant warabyrig. and se ærceb' T. of Eferwic. and se bisc A. of Lincolne. and se b' of Lopene J. and se abbot of see Alban G. and wæran bær under fangen of bone pape Honori' mid micel wurdscipe. and weron here eall hone wintre.

On Ses ilces geares wear's swa micel flod on sce Laurent's messe dæig p feola tunes and men weor's on adrencte. and brigges to brokene, and corn and mædwe spilt mid ealle, and hunger and cwealm on men and on erue, and on ealle westme swa micel untime wear's swa hit ne wæs feola gear ær.

And pes ilces geares for offerde se abbot Jo. of Burch on ii id' Octobris.

1126. Eall þis gear wæs se kyng Heanri on Normandi eall to æft' heruest. þa cō he to þis lande betwyx natiuit' sõe Marie and Michaeles messe. mid hī cō se cwen and his dohter þ he æror hafde giuen þone kasere Heanri of Loherenge to wife. And he brohte mid him þone eorl Waleram and Hugo Gerueises sunu. and þone eorl he sende to Brigge on heftnunge. and þeonon he sende hī to Walingeforde siððon. and Hugo to Windles ofra. and let hine don on harde bande.

And þa æft' Michaeles messe com se Scotte kyng Dauid of Scotlande hider to lande. and se kyng Heanri under feng hine mid micel wurðscipe. and he wunode þa eall þet gear on þis lande.

On bes ilces geares let se kyning nimen his brober Rotbert frā bone biscop Roger of Særes byri. and betahte hine his sune Rotbert eorl of Gleucæstre. and let hine læden to Bricstowe and bær diden on bone castel. Dæt wæs eall don burh his dohtres ræd. and burh se Scottekyng Dauid hire eam.

mæsse on Windlesoure. Þær wæs se Scotte kyng Dauid. and eall ða heaued læred and læuued þ wæs on Engle land. And þær he let sweren erce biscopes and biscopes and abbotes and corles and ealle þa ðeines ða þær wæron his dohter Æðelic Engle land and Normandi to hande æfter his dæi. Þe ær wæs þes Caseres wif of Sexlande. And sende hire siððen to Normandi. and mid hire ferde hire broðer Rotbert eorl of Gleu cestre. and Brian þes eorles sunu Alein Fergan. and leot hire beweddan þes eorles sunu of Angeow Gosfreið Martæl wæs gehaten. Hit of þuhte naþema ealle Frencisc and Englisc. oc se kyng hit dide for to hauene sibbe of se eorl of Angeow. and for helpe to hauene togænes his neue Will'm.

Des ilces gæres on pone lenten tide wæs se eorl Karle of Flandres of slagen on ane circe pær he læi and bæd hine to Gode to for pone weofede amang pane messe frā his agene manne. And se kyng of France brohte pone eorles sunu Will'm of Normandi and iæf hine pone eorldom, and pet land folc him wið tóc. Þes ilce Will'm hæfde æror numen ðes eorles dohter of Angeow to wife oc hi wæron siððen to tweamde for sib reden, pet wes eall ðurh pone kyng Heanri of Engleland. Siððen þa nā he þes kynges wifes swuster of France to wife, and forþi iæf se kyng him þone eorldom of Flandres.

Des ilce gæres he gæf bone abbot rice of Burch an abbot abb' Henr' Heanri wæs gehaten of Peitowe, se hæfde his abbot rice s' Johs of Angeli on hande, and ealle ba ærce biscopes and biscopes seidon \$\bar{b}\$ hit was togeanes riht, and \$\bar{b}\$ he ne mihte hafen twa abbotrices on hande. Oc se ilce Heanri dide bone king to understandene \$\bar{p}\$ he hæfde læten his abbot rice for \$\bar{p}\$ micele un sibbe \$ wæs on \$ land. and \$ he dide durh bes papes ræd and leue of Rome. and durh bes abbotes of Clunni. and burh bæt he wæs legat of Sone Romescott. Oc hit ne wæs nadema eallswa, oc he wolde hauen bade on hand, and swa hafde swa lange swa Godes wille wæs. He wæs on his clærc hade biscop on Scesscuns. siððan warð he munec on Clunni, and siððon prior on bone seolue minstre, and siððon he wærð prior on Sauenni. þar æftor þurh þ he wæs des kynges mæi of Engle land and bes eorles of Peitowe ba geaf se corl him bone abbot rice of s' Johs minstre of Angeli.

(A.D. 1127) Siddon burh his micele wrences da beiæt he bone ærce biscop rice of Besencun and hæfde hit ba on hande bre dagas. ba forlæs he p mid rihte forbi p he hit hæfde æror beieten mid unrihte. siddon ha beiet he hone biscoprice of Seintes h wæs fif mile fra his abbot rice b he hæfde ful neah scoueniht on hande. penon brohte se abbot him of Clunni swa swa he æror dide of Besencun. Da bebohte he him p gif he mihte ben rotfest on Engle land b he mihte habben eal his wille. besohte ba done kyng and sæide hi b he was eald man and for broken man and b he ne mihte volen ba micele un rihte and ha micele un sibbe da wæron on here land, and iærnde pa purh hi and durh ealle his freond nacudlice pone abbot rice of Burhc. and se kyng hit hi iætte forði b he wæs his mæj, and for bib he wæs an hæfod da ad to swerene and witnesse to berene bær da eorles sunu of Normandi and bes eorles dohter of Angeow weron to twemde for sibreden. bus earmlice was bone abbot rice gifen betwix Cristes messe and Candel messe at Lundene, and swa he ferde mid be cyng to Win cestre and panon he co to Burch, and per he wunede eall riht swa drane doo on hiue. Eall be ba beon dragen toward swa frett þa drane and dragað fraward, swa dide he eall b he mihte tacen widinnen and widuten of læred and of læwed swa he sende ouer sæ and na god þær ne dide. ne na god vær ne læuede. Ne þince man na sellice þ we soð seggen for hit wæs ful cu'd ofer call land \$ swa radlice swa he þær co b wæs bes Sunnendæies b man singað Exurge QUARE o. D. þa son þær æft' þa sægon and herdon fela men feole huntes hunten. Da huntes wæron swarte and micele and ladlice, and here hundes ealle swarte and bradegede and ladlice, and hi ridone on swarte hors and on swarte bucces. bis wæs segon on be selue der fald in ba tune on Burch and on ealle þa wudes ða wæron frā þa selua tune to Stanforde. and þa muneces herdon da horn blawen p hi blewen on nihtes. Soofeste men heō kepten on nihtes. sæidon þes þe heo þuhte p þær mihte wel ben abuton twenti oder þritti horn blaweres. Þis wæs sægon and herd fra þ he þider co call \$ lented tid on an to Eastron. pis was his ingang. of his ut gang ne cunne we iett noht seggon. God scawe fore.

1128. Eall pis geare weas se kyng Heanri on Normandi for pone un frið p wæs betwenen him and his nefe done eorl

of Flandres. Oc se eorl weard gewunded at an gefiht fram (A.D. 1128) anne swein, and swa gewundod he for to s' Berhtines minstre, and sone pear weard munec and liuode siddon fif dagas, and he weard pa dæd and pær bebyriged. God geare his sawle. P wæs des daies vi kl' Aug'.

Des ilces geares forð ferde se biscop Randulf Passeslabard of Dunholme. and þære bebyriged on no' Sept'.

And pes ilces geares ferde se foren sprecene abbot Henri hā to his agen minstre to Peitou be pes kynges leue. He dide done king to under standen p he wolde mid alle forlæten pone minstre and p land and pær wunien mid hī on Engla lande and on done mynstre of Burh. Oc hit ne was nadema swa. he hit dide fordi p he wolde purh his micele wiles dear beon wær it tweolf mond odde mare. and siddon ongeon cumen. God ælmihtig haue his milce ofer p wrecce stede.

Des ilces geares cō frā Jerl'm Hugo of þe tēple to Sone kyng on Normandig. and se kyng hī under feng mid micel wurðscipe. and micele gersumes hī geaf on gold and on silure. And siðson he sende hī to Englalande, and þær he wæs under fangen of ealle gode men. and ealle hī geauen gersume and on Scotlande ealswa, and be hī senden to Jerl'm micel eahte mid ealle on gold and on silure. And he bebead folc ut to Jerl'm, and þa for mid hī and æfter hī swa micel folc swa næfre ær ne dide siðson þ se firste fare was on Unbanes dæi pape þeah hit litel behelde. He seide þ fulle feoht was sett betwenen ða Cristene and þa heðene, þa hi þider comen ða ne was hit noht buton læsunge, þus earmlice wearð eall þ folc swengt.

1129. On þis gear sende se kyng to Englaland æfter þone eorl Walerā. and æft' Hugo Gerueises sunu. and þær hi gisleden hem. and Hugo ferde hā to his agen land to France. and Waleram belaf mid þone kyng. and se kyng hī geaf eall his land buton his castel ane. Siððon þa cō se kyng to Englaland innon heruest, and se eorl cō mid hī, and wurðon þa alswa gode freond swa hi wæron æror feond.

Da sone be pes kynges ræd and be his leue sende se ærce b' Will'm of Cantwarbyrig ofer eall Englaland. and bead biscopes and abbotes and ærce dæcnes and ealle pa priores muneces and canonias pa wæron on ealle pa cellas on Engla (A.D. 1129) land. and æft' ealle þa þet Cristendome hæfdon to begemen and to locen. and ħ hi scolden ealle cumen to Lundene at Michaeles messe. and þær scolden sprecon of ealle Godes rihtes. Þa hi ðider comen þa began ħ mot on Monen dæig and heold on an to ðe Fridæig. Þa hit eall cō forð þa weorð hit eall of earce dæcnes wifes and of preostes wifes ħ hi scolden hi forlæten be scs Andreas messe. and se þe ħ ne wolden done. forgede his circe and his hus and his ham and nefra ma nan clepunge þær to na hafde mare. Þis bebæd se ærce b' Will'm of Cantwarabyrig and ealle þa leod biscopes ða þa wæron on Engla lande. and se kyng hem geaf ealle leue hā to farene. and swa hi ferdon hā. and ne forstod noht ealle þa bodlaces. ealle heoldon here wifes be þes kynges leue swa swa hi ear didon.

Dis ilces geares forðferde se biscop Will'm Giffard of Win ceastre and þear bebyriged on viii kl' Febr'. and se kyng Henri geaf þone biscop rice æft' Micheles messe þone abbot Henri his nefe of Glasting byri. and he wæs gehalgod to biscop fra þone ærce b' Will'm of Cantwarabyri þes dæies xy k' Decēb'.

pes ilces geares forðferde Honori' papa. Ær he wære wel ded. þa wære þær coren twa papes. Se an wæs gehaten Petr'. he wæs munec of Clunni. and weas boren of þa ricceste men of Rome. mid hī helden ða of Rome. and se duc of Sicilie. Se oðer het Gregori'. he wæs clerc and wærð flemd ut of Rome frā þon oðer pape and frā his cinnes men. mid hī held se Kasere of Sexlande and se kyng of France and se kyng Heanri of Engleland. and ealle þa be þis half þa muntes. Nu wærð swa mycel dwyld on Cristendom swa it næfre ær ne wæs. Crist sette red for his wrecce folc.

Dis ilces geares on s' Nicholaes messe niht litel ær dæi wæs micel eorodine.

1130. Dis geares wæs se mynstre of Cantwarabyri halgod frā þone ærce b' Will'm þes dæies iv no' Mai. Dær wæron þas biscopes. Johan of Roue ceastre. Gilbert Uniu'sal of Lundene. Heanri of Win ceastre. Alexander of Lincolne. Roger of Særes byri. Simon of Wigorceastre. Roger of Couentre. Godefreith of Bathe. Eourard of Noruuic. Sigefrid of Cicaestre. Bernard of s' Dauid. Audoen' of Euereus of Normand'. Johan of Sæis.

Des feorde dæges bæræft' wæs se king Heanri on Roue (A.D. 1130) ceastre, and se burch for bernde æl mæst, and se ærce b' Will'm halgede s' Andreas mynstre and Sa for sprecon bisc mid hī. And se kyng Heanri ferde ouer sæ into Normandi on heruest.

Des ilces geares co se abbot Heanri of Angeli æft' Æsterne Burg' to Burch, and seide b he hæfde for læten bone mynstre mid ealle. Æft' him co se abbot Clunni Petr' gehaten to Engle lande bi bes kynges leue and wæs underfangen ouer eall swa hwar swa he co mid mycel wurdscipe. To Burch he co. and bær behet se abbot Heanri hi b he scolde bejeton hi bone mynstre of Burch b hit scolde beon underded into Clunni. oc man seið to biworde. hæge sitte ba aceres dæleth. God ælmihtig adylege iuele ræde. And sone bær æft' ferde se abbot of Clunni ham to his ærde.

1131. Dis gear æfter Cristesmesse on an Moneniht æt þe forme slæp wæs se heouene o'de nord half eall swilc hit wære bærnende fir. swa b ealle be hit sægon wæron swa of færed swa hi næfre ær ne wæron. B wæs on iii id' Janr'. Des ilces geares wæs swa micel orf cwalm swa hit næfre ær ne wæs on manne gemynd ofer eall Engleland. B wæs on næt and on swin. swa b on ba tun ba wæs tenn ploges oder twelfe gangende ne belæf þær noht an. and se man þa heafde twa hundred odbe dre hundred swin ne beleaf him noht an. Dær æft' swulten þa henne fugeles. þa scyrte oa flescmete and se ceose and se butere. God hit bete pa his wille bed.

And se kyng Heanri cō hā to Engleland toforen heruest æft' s' Petres messe be firrer.

Des ilces geares for se abbot Heanri toforen Eastren fram Burg' Burch ofer sæ to Normandi and þær spreac mid þone kyng. and sæide hi bet se abbot of Clunni heafde hi beboden b he scolde cumen to hi and betæcen hi bone abbotrice of Angeli. and sibben he wolde cumen ha be his læfe. and swa he ferde hā to his agen mynstre and bær wunode eall to mid sumer dæi. And des oder dæies æfter s' Johes messe dæj. cusen ba muneces abbot of he self and brohten hi into cyrce mid processione. sungen TE D'M LAUD'. ringden þa belle. setten hī on bes abbotes settle, diden hī ealle hersūnesse swa swa hi scolden don here abbot. and se eorl and ealle ha heafed menn and ha muneces of ha mynstre flemden se over abbot Heanri

(A.D. 1131) ut of pa mynstre. hi scolden nedes. on fif and twenti wintre ne biden hi næfre an god dæj. Her hi trucode ealle his mycele cræftes, nu hi behofed b he crape in his mycele codde in ælc hyrne gif þær wære hure an un wreste wrenc p he mihte get be swicen anes Crist and eall Cristene folc. pa ferde he into Clunni and bær man hi held b he ne mihte na east na west. sæide se abbot of Clunni b hi heafdon forloron s' Johes mynstre burh hi and burh his mycele sotscipe. Pa ne cube he hi na betre bote bute behet hem and ades swor on halidom b gif he moste Engle land secen bet he scolde begeton he done mynstre of Burch. swa b he scolde setten bær prior of Clunni and circe weard and hordere and reilbein and ealle ha ding ha wæron widinne mynstre and widuten eall he scolde he between. pus he ferde into France and bær wunode eall b gear. Crist ræde for ba wrecce muneces of Burch and for b wrecce stede. nu he behofe's Cristes helpe and eall Cristenes folces.

§ 1132. Dis gear co Henri king to bis land, ba co Henri abbot 7 uureide be muneces of Burch to be king forbi & he uuolde under beden & mynstr' to Clunie. sua & te king was welneh be paht. I sende eft' be muneces. I burh Godes milce 7 pur pe b' of Seresb'i 7 te b' of Linc J te ohre rice men he her wæron ha wiste he king 8 he feorde mid suicdo. pa he na mor ne mihte. pa uuolde he 8 his nefe sculde ben abb' in Burch. oc Xpist it ne uuolde. Was it noht suithe lang per eft' pat te king sende eft' hi. j dide hi gyuen up & abb'rice of Burch 7 faren ut of lande. Abb' Mrtn 7 te king jaf & abb'rice an prior of s' Neod Martin was gehaten. he co on s' Per' messe dei mid micel wurscipe into

Burg'

1135. On þis gære for se king H'ouer sæ æt te Lāmasse. 7 8 ober dei þa he lai an slep in scip. þa þestrede þe dæi ouer al landes and unard be sunne suilc als it unare thre nihtald mone. an st'res abuten hī at middæi.

§ Here begins the final Continuator, who wrote, probably, before 1160. His work has not much chronological arrangement, but it is full of vigour, earnestness, and pathos. The language is very rude. Saxon seems now to have reached the lowest stage of decline at

the minstre.

which written literature is possible. But it is just this combination of the feeble with the strong, decrepit language with indignant patriotism, that, while it cripples the narrative, enforces the lamentation, and makes us regard it with tenderness and reverence.

Wurhen men suide of uundred \jmath of dred \jmath sæden δ (A.D. 1135) micel þing sculde cum her eft'. sua dide. for þat ilc gær warth þe king ded. δ oþer dæi eft' s' Andreas masse dæi on Norm. Þa westre sona þas landes. for æuric man sone ræuede oþer þe mihte. Þa namen his sune \jmath his frend \jmath brohten his lic to Englel' \jmath bebiriend in Reding'. God man he wes \jmath micel æie wes of hī. Durste nan man mis don wið oðer on his time. Pais he makede men \jmath dær. Wua sua bare his byrthen gold \jmath sylure. durste nā man sei to hī naht bute god.

En mang þis was his nefe cumen to Englel' Stephne de Blais. J cō to Lundene. J te Lundenisce folc hī under feng. J senden æft' þe ærce b' Will'm Curbuil J halechede hī to kinge on mide wintre dæi. On þis kinges time wes al unfrið J yfel J ræflac. for agenes hī risen sona þa rice men þe wæron swikes. Alre fyrst Balduin de Reduers J held Execestre agenes hī. J te king it besæt. J siððan Bald' acordede. Þa tocan þa oðre J helden her castles agenes hī. J Dauid king of Scotland toc to uerrien hī. þa þohuuethere þat here sandes feorden betwyx heō. J hi to gædere comen J wurðe sæhte. Þoþ it litel for stode.

Scot

1137. Dis gære for þe k' Steph' ofer sæ to Normandi je ther wes under fangen for þi ð hi uenden ð he sculde ben alsuic alse the eō wes. j for he hadde get his tresor. ac he to deld it j scatered sotlice. Micel hadde Henri k' gadered gold j syluer. j na god ne dide me for his saule thar of.

pa be king S' to Englel' co pa macod he his gadering Dissensio æt Oxeneford. I par he nā pe b' Roger of Sereb'i I Alex' int' Reg' b' of Lincol I te Canceler Rog' hise neues. I dide ælle et Barr' in psun. til hi iafen up here castles. Pa the suikes under gæton & he milde man was I softe I god. I na justise ne dide. Pa dide hi alle wunder. Hi hadden hī manred maked I athes suoren. ac hi nan treuthe ne heolden. alle he wæron for sworen and here treothes for loren. for æuric rice man his castles makede I agænes hī heolden. I fylden pe land ful of castles. Hi suencten suy e pe uurecce men of pe land mid castel weorces. Pa pe castles uuaren maked pa fylden hi mid deoules I yuele men. Pa namen hi pa men pe hi wenden & ani god hefden. bathe be nihtes I be dæies. carl men and wīmen. I diden heō in psun

(A. D. 1137) eft' gold 7 syluer. 7 pined heō. untellendlice pining. for ne uuæren næure nan martyrs swa pined alse hi wæron. Me henged up bi the fet 7 smoked heō mid ful smoke. Me henged bi the bubes, other bi the hefed. I hengen bryniges on fet. Me dide cnotted strenges abuton here hæued. 7 uurythen to 8 it gæde to be hærnes. Hi dyden heō in quarterne par nadres 7 snakes 7 pades wæron inne. 7 drapen heō swa. Sume hi diden in crucethus 8 is in an cæste bat was scort 7 nareu. 7 un dep. 7 dide scærpe stanes per inne. 7 prengde pe man pær inne. 8 hi bræcon alle be limes. In mani of be castles weron lof 7 gri. 8 wæron rachenteges & twa ober thre men hadden onoh to bæron onne. bat was sua maced. 8 is fæstned to an beom. 7 diden an scærp iren abuton þa mannes throte and his hals. & he ne myhte nowiderwardes. ne sitten ne lien ne slepen. oc bæron al 8 iren. Mani busen hi drapen mid hungær.

J ne can ne í ne mai tellen alle þe wunder ne alle þe pines ở hi diden wrecce men on þis land. J ð lastede þa xix wintre wile Stephne was king J æure it was uuerse J uuerse. Hi læiden gæildes o[n] the tunes æureūwile J elepeden it tenserie. Þa þe uurecce men ne hadden nā more to gyuen. Þa ræueden hi J brendon alle the tunes. Ở wel þu myhtes faren all adæis fare sculdest thu neure finden man in tune sittende. ne land tiled. Þa was corn dære. J flec J cæse J butere. for nan ne wæs o þe land. Wrecce men sturuen of hungær. sume ieden on ælmes þe waren sū wile rice men. sume flugen ut of lande.

Wes næure gæt mare wrecce hed on land, ne næure hethen men werse ne diden þan hi diden, for ouer sithon ne for baren, nouther circe ne cyrce iærd, oc nam al þe god ð þar inne was. J brenden sythen þe cyrce j al te gædere. Ne hi ne for baren b'land ne abb' ne preostes, ac ræueden munekes j clerekes. Jæuric man other þe ouer myhte. Gif twa men oþer iii coman ridend to an tun, al þe tunscipe flugæn for heō, wenden ð hi wæron ræueres. Þe biscopes and lered men heō cursede æure, oc was heō naht þar of, for hi uueron al for cursæd j for suoren j for loren.

War sæ me tilede. þe erthe ne bar nan corn. for þe land was al for don. mid suilce dædes. 7 hi sæden openlice 8 xpist slep. 7 his halechen. Suilc 7 mare panne we cunnen (A.D. 1137) sæin. we bolenden xix wintre for ure sinnes.

On al pis yuele time heold Martin abbot his abbot rice Burg' xx wint' 7 half gær 7 viii dæis. mid micel suinc. 7 fand be munekes 7 te gestes al bat heo be houed 7 heold mycel carited in the hus. 7 pop wethere wrohte on be circe 7 sette parto landes 7 rentes. 7 goded it suythe 7 læt it refen 7 brohte heō into be neuuæ mynst' on S' Petres mæsse dæi mid micel wurtscipe. 8 was anno ab incarn D' Mexl. a cobustioe loci xxiii. And he for to Rome. 7 per wæs wæl underfangen fra þe pape Eugenie. and begæt thare puilegies. an of alle be landes of babbot rice. 7 an oper of pe landes pe lien to pe circe wican. I gif he leng moste liuen alse he mint to don of be horder wycan. And he begæt in landes bat ricemen hefden mid strengthe. of Will'm Malduit pe heold Roginghā þæ castel. he wan Cotinghā 7 Estun. and de Kedd' of Hugo of Walt'uile he uuan Hyrtlingb'. and Stanewig. 7 lx sol' of Aldewingle. And he makede manie munek' J plantede winiærd. 7 makede mani weorkes. 7 wende be tun betere þan it ær wæs. 7 wæs god munec 7 god man. 7 forþi hi luueden God 7 gode men.

Na de Aude= uugnele

Nu we willen sægen sû del wat belamp on Steph' kinges De St'o time. On his time be Judeus of Noruuic bohton an xpisten Will'mo cild beforen Estren 7 pineden hi alle be ilce pining 8 ure Drihten was pined. 7 on lang fridæi hi on rode hengen for ure Drihtines luue. 7 sythen byrieden hi. Wenden 8 it sculde ben for holen. oc ure Dryhtin atywede 8 he was hali mr. 7 to munekes hi namen. and bebyried hi heglice in be minst'. and he maket bur ure Drihtin wunderlice 7 manifældlice miracles. 7 hatte he S' Willelm.

1138. On his gær co Dauid king of Scotl' mid ormete Scot' færd to þis land. wolde winnan þis land. and hī cō to gænes Will'm eorl of Albamar be be king adde beteht Euorwic 7 to other æuez men mid fæu men and fuhten wid heo. 7 fleden be king æt te Standard. 7 sloghen suithe micel of his

1140. On þis gær wolde þe king Steph' tæcen Rodb't eorl of Gloucestre be kinges sune Henries. ac he ne myhte for he wart it war.

per eft' in be lengten bestrede be sunne 7 te dæi. abuton

(A.D. 1140) nontid dæies. þa men eten. 8 me lihtede candles to æten bi. and þat was xiii k' Ap'l. wæron men suythe ofwundred.

per eft' fordfeorde Will' ærceb' of Cantwarb'. 7 te king makede Teodbald ærceb' pe was abbot in the Bec.

per eft' wæx suythe micel uuerre betuyx þe king ¬ Randolf eorl of Cæstre noht for þi ð he ne iaf hī al ð he cuthe axen hī. alse he dide alle othre. oc æfre þe mare he iaf heō. þe wærse hi wæron hī. Þe eorl heold Lincol agænes þe king. ¬ benā hī al ð he ahte to hauen. ¬ te king for þider ¬ besætte hī ¬ his brother Will'm de R[om]are in þe castel. ¬ te æorl stæl ut ¬ ferde eft' Rodb't eorl of Gloucestre. ¬ brohte hī þider mid micel ferd. ¬ fuhten suythe on Candelmasse dæi agenes heore lauerd. ¬ namen hī for his men him suyken ¬ flugæn. ¬ læd hī to Bristowe ¬ diden þar in psun. ¬ . . . teres. Þa was al Englel' styred mar þan ær wæs. ¬ al yuel wæs in lande.

per eft' cō þe king' doht' Henries þe hefde ben Emperice in Alamanie. nu wæs cuntesse in Angou. cō to Lundene nte Lundenissce folc hire wolde tæcen. sæ fleh forles par micel.

per eft' pe biscop of Wincestre Henri pe king' brother Steph' spac wid Rodb't eorl J wyd pēperice J suor heō athas & he neure ma mid te king his brother wolde halden. J cursede alle pe men pe mid hī heoldon. J sæde heō & he uuolde ñuen heō up Wincestre. J dide heō cumen pider. Pa hi pær inne wæren. Pa cō pe king' cuen [mid al] hire strengthe. J besæt heō. & per wæs inne micel hungær. Pa hi ne leng ne muhten polen pa stali hi ut J flugen. J hi wurthen war widuten J folecheden heō. J namen Rodb't eorl of Glouc. J ledden hī to Roue cestre. J diden hī pare in psun. J te emperice fleh into an minstre. Pa feorden pe wise men be twyx pe kinges freond J te eorles freond. J sahtlede sua & me sculde leten ut pe king of psun for pe eorl. J te eorl for pe king. J sua diden.

Sithen per eft' sahtleden pe king ¬ Randolf eorl at Stan ford. ¬ athes suoren ¬ treuthes fæston ð her nouper sculde be suiken other. ¬ it ne for stod naht. for þe king hī sithen nā in Hātun. þurhc wicci ræd. ¬ dide hī in p̃sun. ¬ ef sones he let hī ut þurhc wærse red. to ð forewarde ð he suor on halidō ¬ gysles fand. þat he alle his castles sculde ííuen up.

Sume he iaf up j sume ne iaf he noht. j dide þanne wærse (A.D. 1140) þanne he hær sculde.

pa was Engle land suythe to deled. sume helden mid te king. I sume mid pēperice. for þa þe king was in psun þa wenden þe eorles I te rice men þat he neure mare sculde cum ut. I sæhtleden wyd þēperice. I brohten hire into Oxen ford. I iauen hire þe burch. Þa þe king was ute þa herde I sægen. I toc his feord I be sæt hire in þe tur. I me læt hire dun on niht of þe tur mid rapes. I stal ut. I scæ fleh I iæde on fote to Walingford.

pær eft' sæ ferde ouer sæ. J hi of Normandi wenden alle fra þe king. to þe eorl of Angæu. sume here þankes J sume here un þankes. for he be sæt heō til hi a iauen up here castles. J hi nan helpe ne hæfden of þe k'.

pa ferde Eustace pe king' sune to France na pe king' suster of France to wife, wende to bigæton Normandi pær purh, oc he spedde litel. be gode rihte for he was an yuel man, for ware se he [com he] dide mare yuel panne god, he reuede pe landes læide mic[ele gilde]s on, he brohte his wif to Engleland. dide hire in pe caste..... teb', god wiman scæ wæs, oc scæ hedde litel blisse mid hī, xpist ne wolde de he sculde lange rixan. wærd ded his moder beien.

7 te eorl of Angæu wærd ded. 7 his sune Henri toc to be rice. 7 te cuen of France todælde fra be king. 7 scæ cō to be iunge eorl Henri. 7 he toc hire to wiue. 7 al Peitou mid hire. Þa ferde he mid micel færd into Engleland. 7 wan castles. 7 te king ferde agenes hi mid micel mare ferd. 7 bobwæthere fuhtten hi noht. oc ferden be ærceb' j te wise me" betwux heo. 7 makede & sahte & te king sculde ben lauerd 7 king wile he liuede. 7 æft' his dæi ware Henri king. 7 he helde hi for fader 7 he hi for sune. 7 sib 7 sæhte sculde ben betwyx heo. 7 on al Engleland. Dis 7 te othre foruuardes bet hi makeden. suoren to halden be king 7 te eorl 7 te b' & te eorles 7 rice men alle. Pa was be eorl under fangen æt Wincestre 7 æt Lundene mid micel wurtscipe. 7 alle diden hi man red. 7 suoren be pais to halden. 7 hit ward sone suythe god pais. sua 8 neure was here. Pa was be k' strengere banne he æuert her was. 7 te eorl ferde ouer sæ. 7 al folc hi luuede for he dide god iustise 7 makede pais.

1154. On þis gær wærd þe king Steph' ded 3 bebyried þer his wif 3 his sune wæron bebyried æt Fauresfeld. þæt minstre hi makeden. Þa þe king was ded. þa was þe eorl beionde sæ. 3 ne durste nan man don oþer bute god for þe micel eie of hī. Þa he to Engle land cō. þa was he under fangen mid micel wurtscipe. and to king bletcæd in Lundene on þe Sunnen dæi be foren midwint'dæi. and held þær micel curt.

pat ilce dæi þat Mart' abb' of Burch sculde þider faren. Þa sæclede he ¬ ward ded iv No. Jañ. ¬ te munek' innen dæis cusen oþer of heō sælf. Will'm de Walt'uile is gehaten. god clerc ¬ god man. ¬ wæl luued of þe k' ¬ of alle gode men. and o[n cyric]en byrie' þabb' hehlice ¬ sone þe cosan ab' ferde ¬ te muneces [mid him to] Oxenford to þe king [and he] iaf hī þat abb'rice. ¬ he ferde hī sone [to Linc]ol ¬ was þær bletcæd to abbot ær he ham come. ¬ sithen was under fangen mid micel wurtscipe at Burch. mid micel pcessiun. ¬ sua he was alsua at Ramesæie. ¬ at Torn'. ¬ at . . . ¬ Spall' ¬ at S.l. bares. ¬ ¬ nu is abbot. ¬ fair haued begunnon. Xpus hī unne . . . :

END OF MS. E.

To give the whole of the historical material preserved in the series of Saxon Chronicles, a few more supplementary pieces, for which no place was found in the body of the work, are added in the Appendix.

APPENDIX.

1.—F 796. continued from the asterisk on page 58.

796. ... And let him pycan ut his eagan. and ceorfan of his handa. Ond A'elard arceb' of Cantwareb' sette syno%. and getrymde and gefæstnode. ourh das papan hæse Leones. ealle da ding be Godes mynstran. Sa wæron gesett be Wihtgares dæge, and be ora cinga dæge. and ous cwæd. Ic Abelard. eadmod arceb' of Cantwareb'i. mid anmodan ræde ealles sinoves, and mid ealra vare gegaderungæ ealra gara mynstra ga be ealdan dagan frignesse was geauen fram geleaffullan mannum. on Godes naman. and durh his bifigendan dom. ic bebeode swa swa ic hæse habbe of 8an papan Leone. 8 heononfor8 nan ne dyrstlæce ceosan him hlauordas of læwedan mannan ouer Godes erfwyrdnysse. Ac eal swa swa hit ys on dan gewrite de se papa hæfd giuen. odde da haligan weras gesetton. Se beod ure fæderas and ure lareowas be haligum mynstrum. swa hi beliuon unawēmed butan ælcre ansæce. Gif æni mann ys 8 pis Godes and uræs papan and ure bebod healdan nelle. ac farseoo and far naht healdad, witan hi o hi sculon gifan gescead to foran Godes domsetle. And ic A'elhard arceb'. mid twelf biscopan. and mid prim and twentigan abbodan. bis ylce mid rodetacne Cristes getrīma's and gefæstnia.

II.—A curious note (peculiar to F) of the traditions of Christ Church, Canterbury. In Saxon and Latin: from the margin of F.

^{870....} Da ferde Æðered cing to and Ælfred his broðer. and naman Æðelred Wiltunscire b'. and settan hine to arceb' to Cantuare b'i. forðan he was ær munec of ðan ylcan mynstre of Cantwareb'i. Ealswa hraðe swa he com to Cantuareb'i and he warð getremmed on his arce stole. Þa he ðohte hu he mihte ut adræfan ða clericas þe

par binnan . a þa se arceb' Ceolnoð þar biforan sette far swylcre neode ge . 8 .. swa we seggan wylla8. Das forman geares be he to arceb' geset was. ba wear's swa mycel man cwealm \$ of eallan ba muneca be he bar binnan funde. na belifan na ma bone fif munecas. Da far bare and ge he his hand preostas. and eac sume of his tun prestan. Bhi scoldan helpan ba feawan munecan be bar bylifen wæran to donne Xpes deowdom. for dan he na mihte swa ferlice munecas findan. þa mihtan be heō sylfum þone deowdom don. and far vssen he het \$ 8a prestas ba hwile eal \$ God giefe sibbe on bis lande ba munecan helpan scoldan. To ban vlcan timan was his land swybe geswent mid gelomlican feohten, and farbi se arceb' na bar embe beon. far dan ealne his timan was gewinn and sorhge ofer England, and forbi belifan ba clericas mid San munecan. Nas næfre nan tima b þar næran munecas binnan. and æfre hefdan bone hlafordscipe ofor %a prestas. Eft se arceb' Ceoln' bohte and eac to ban be mid him wæran sæde. eal swa hrabe swa God gifb sibbe on bisan lande. o&e bas prestas scolan munecas beon. offe ca. ellos hwar munecas eal swa fela don binnan þā minstre wylle b magan bone Seowad be heom sylfan don. far

Cum autem venisset Cantuariam, statim cogitare cœpit quomodo possit eicere clericos de ecclesia Christi, quos Ceolnothus pro tali necessitate compulsus ibi posuit. Primo igitur anno ordinationis suæ tanta mortalitas facta est in ecclesia Christi, ut de tota congregatione monachorum non remanerent nisi quinque. Qua de causa quia ita subito non potuit invenire tot monachos qui ibi servitium Dei facere possent, ex simplicitate cordis præcepit capellanis clericis suis, ut essent cum eis usque quo Deus pacificaret terram, quæ tunc nimis erat turbata propter nimias tempestates bellorum. Accepit etiam de villis suis presbiteros, ut essent cum monachis, ita tamen ut monachi semper haberent dominatum super clericos. Cogitavit idem archiepiscopus et sæpe suis dixit, quia statim cum Deus pacem nobis dederit, aut isti clerici monachi fient, aut ego ubicumque monachos inveniam quos reponam. Scit enim Deus inquid, quod aliter facere non possum. Sed nunquam temporibus suis pax fuit in Anglia, et ideo remanserunt clerici cum monachis, nec ullo tempore fuit ecclesia sine monachis. Sed nec iste Æ8eredus archiepiscopus potuit facere.

III.—This is a little Mercian Register of a period of twenty years, and may be styled "The Annals of Epelfæd." It was unskilfully jointed into B and C after date, and so stands out conspicuous and isolated from the midst of the surrounding compilation. But the compiler of MS. D made selections from this piece, and mingled them with materials from other sources, digesting the compound into chronological order. So that we have here the opportunity of contemplating a portion of our history both in its earlier isolated and in its later compiled aspect.

The MSS. B and C, after closing the year 915 (918 A), fetch back to 902, and introduce the present episode, which may be considered to close at 921. Barren from 921 to 924, they here fall in again with the usual current of history, and relate the death of Eadweard (A 925), but in a manner of their own. Both are then vacant for ten years, and to exhibit their poverty at this point, the extract has been continued two annals beyond the termination of the Mercian Register or Annals of Epelfled.

The text is from C, and at the foot are given the variations of B.

902. Her Ealhswið forðferde, and þý 2 ilcan gere wæs þ gefeoht æt þam Holme Cantwara and þara Deniscra.

904. Her mona abystrode 3.

905. Her ætywde4 cometa.

907. Her wæs Ligcester 5 ge edniwod.

909. Her wæs sce Oswaldes lic gelæded⁶ of Beardanigge on Myrce.

910. On þysum gere? Engle and Dene gefuhton⁸ æt Teotanheale and Engle sige namon? and þý ilcan geare Æðelflæd¹⁰ getimbrede þa burh æt Bremesbyrig.

911. Da &æs oþres geares gefor Æþered Myrcna hlaford.

912. Her com Æþelflæd Myrcna hlæfdige on þone halgan æfen Inventione sce crucis to Scergeate. and þær ða burh getimbrede. and þæs ilcan geares þá 11 æt Bricge.

913. Her Gode forgyfendum¹² for Æpelflæd Myrcna hlæfdige mid eallum Myrcum to Tamaweor*Sige. and þá¹³ burh þǽr¹⁴ getim-

¹ Ealhswy's. 2 þy ilcan geare. 3 a\u00e3eostrode. 4 oþywde.
5 Lig ceaster geedneowad. 6 gelædd. 7 geare. 8 gefuhtan.
9 naman. 10 Æþelflæd. 11 þa. 12 forgifendum. 13 þa.
14 \u00b8ær.

brede, on foreweardne sumor, and þæs foran to hlaf ¹5 mæssan, þá æt Stæf forda.

- 914. Þá ðæs 16 oþre geare þá 17 æt Eades byrig on fore weardne sumor, and þæs ilcan geres 18 eft on ufeweardne hærfest þá 19 æt Wæring wicum 20.
- 915. Pá ðæs²¹ oþre geare on ufan midne winter þá²² æt Cyric byrig. and þá²³ æt Weard byrig. and ðy ilcan gere²⁴ foran to middan wintra þá æt Rum cofan²⁵.
- 916. Her wæs ²⁶ Ecgbriht abbud unscyldig ofslegen foran to middan sumera. on xvi kl' IVL'. þŷ ilcan dæge wæs sce Ciricius tid ²⁷ þæs Troweres. mid his geferum. and Tæs embe þreo ²⁸ niht sende Æþelflæd fyrde ²⁹ on Wealas. and abræc Brecenan mere and þær genam Tæs ³⁰ cinges wif ³¹ feower and Tritiga sume.
- 917. Her Æþelflæd Myrcna hlæfdige Gode fultumgendum 32 foran to hlæfmæssan begeat þa burh mid eallum þam 8e þær tó 33 hyrde. þé ýs haten 34 Deorabý. Þær wæron eac ofslegene hyre þegna feower 8e hire besorge wæron binnan þam 35 gatum.
- 918. Her heo begeat on hire geweald mid Godes fultume 36 on fore weardne gear gesybsumlice 37 þa burh æt Ligra 38 ceastre. and se mæsta dæl þæs herges þe öær 39 to hirde 40 wearð underþeoded 41 and hæfdon eác 42 Eforwicingas hire gehaten 43 and sume on wedde geseald. sume mid aþum gefæstnod þ hi 44 on hyre 45 rædenne beon woldon 46. Ac swiðe 47 hrædlice þæs ðe hi 48 þæs geworden hæfde heo gefór. xii nihtun 49 ær middan sumera. binnan Tamaweorþige ðy 50 eahtoþan geare þæs ðe 51 heo Myrcna anweald 52 mid riht hlaford dome healdende wæs. and hyre lic lið 53 binnan Gleaw cestre 54 on þam east portice sõe Petres cyrcean 55.
- 919. Her eac wearð Æþeredes dohtor 56 Myrcna hlafordes ælces anwealdes 57 on Myrcum benumen. and on West Sexe aleded 58. þrim wucum ær middan 59 wintra. seo wæs haten Ælfwyn.
- 17 þa. 18 geares. 19 þa. 20 wîcon. 16 da bæs. 15 hlaf. 23 þa. 24 þý ilcan geare. 25 Rúm cofan. 21 da þæs. 22 þa. 30 þæs. 31 wif. 26 weard. 27 tíd. 28 þæs ymb iii. 29 fyrd. 32 fultmigendum. 33 þær tó. 34 þe is hatan Deorabý. and þær wæron 35 ðam. 36 fultome. 37 geár gesimbsumlice. eac ofslegene hire. 35 8am. 39 þær. 40 hyrde. 41 þyded. 38 Legra. 42 éac. 43 Eoforwic (no more) gehâten. 44 hie. 45 hire. 46 beon woldan. 47 swibe. 51 be. 52 anwald. 48 þe hie. 49 nihtū. 50 Taman weorðe þy. 54 ceastre. 55 ciricean. 56 dohtar. 57 onwealdes. 53 lie lib. 58 alæded. 59 ær middum.

921. † Her Eadweard cing getimbrede þa burh æt Clede muban.

924. Her Eadweard cing gefor 60 on Myrcum æt Fearndune. and Ælfwerd 61 his sunu swide hrade 62 þæs gefor 63. æt Oxna forda. and hira lic lid 64 æt Wintan ceastre. and Æþelstan 65 wæs of Myrcum gecoren to cinge. and æt Cinges tune 66 gehalgod. and he geaf his sweostor 67

934. Her for Æþelstan⁶⁸ cing on Scot land ægþer ge mid land here ge mid scyphere and his micel ofer hergode.

+ 921. This Annal not in B.

60 gefőr.	61 Ælfweard.	62 swipe hrape.	63 þæs gefór.
64 heora licgar.	65 Æþestan.	66 túne. 67 swystor	cf. D. p. 111.
68 Æþestán.			

IV.—A fragment supplied from D (F).

1021...(E)...* And Ælfgar b'. se ælmes fulla, for ferde on Cristes mæsse uhtan.

V.—The piece promised in the foot-note, page 208.

1066. Secundo anno ordinationis suæ [Lanfrancus] Romam ivit, quem papa Alexander in tantum honoravit, ut ei contra morem assurgeret; et duo Pallia, ob signum præcipui amoris, tribueret. Quorum unum Romano more ab altare accepit; alterum vero ipse Papa, unde missas celebrare consueverat, sua manu porrexit. In cujus præsentia Thomas de primatu Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ, et de subjectione quorundam Episcoporum calumniam movit; quæ qualem finem postea in Anglia accepit, Lanfrancus breviter et absolute scribit in Epistola, quam præfato Alexandro Papæ direxit. Hoc quoque anno generale consilium Wentoniæ celebratum, in quo et Vuluricum, novi Monasterii Abbatem deposuit; multaque de Christianæ religionis cultu servanda instituit. Post dies paucos, in Lundonia Osbernum Essecistrensem Episcopum, et Cantuariæ Scotlandum Ecclesiæ sancti Augustini Abbatem sacravit.

Tertio anno, in Cloecistria sacravit Petrum, Licifeldensem sive Cestrensem Episcopum. Hoc quoque anno habitum est magnum placitum in loco qui dicitur Pinenden; in quo Lanfrancus diratiocinatur, se suamque Ecclesiam omnes terras, et consuetudines suas ita liberas, terra marique habere; sicut Rex habet suas, exceptis tribus; videlicet, si regalis via fuerit effosa; si arbor incisa juxta super eam ceciderit; si homicidium factum, et sanguis in ea fusus fuerit: in iis qui deprehensus est, et ab eo pignus acceptum fuerit; Regi enim dabit; alioquin liber à Regis exactoribus erit.

Quarto anno, Patricium Dubliniæ civitati in Hibernia sacratum Episcopum Lundoniæ, à quo et professionem accepit; et literas ei deferendas regibus Hiberniæ, dignas valde memoriæ contradidit.

Quinto anno, generale Concilium Lundoniæ celebratum: cujus gestionem, rogatu multorum, literis commendavit.

Sexto anno, dedit Hernosto Monacho in Capitulo Ecclesiæ Christi Ecclesiam Rofensem regendam, quem et Lundoniæ sacravit. Wentoniæ Concilium celebratum: et Hernostus hoc ipso anno ab hac vita migravit.

Septimo anno, Gundulfo Ecclesiam Rofensem tradidit; quem etiam Cantuariæ sacravit. Hoc quoque anno misit ei literas Thomas Archiepiscopus Eboracensis; in quibus rogavit ut sibi mitterentur duo Episcopi ad consecrandum Clericum quendam, qui ei literas de Horgadis insulis detulit; ut ipsarum insularum Episcopus consecretur. Cujus petitioni Lanfrancus annuens, mandavit Wulstano Wigorniensi, et Petro Cestrensi Episcopis, ut Eboracum irent, et cum Thoma tantam rem complere satagerent.

Octavo anno, Concilium Lundoniæ celebratum, in quo Ailnodum Glastingensis cœnobii Abbatem deposuit.

Anno undecimo, celebratum Concilium apud Claudiam civitatem, ubi et Thomas Archiepiscopus Eboracensis, jubente Rege, et Lanfranco consentiente, sacravit Wilielmum Dunelmensem Episcopum, eo quod à Scotorum Episcopis qui sibi subjecti sunt, habere adjutorium non potuit. Hujus ministerii cooperatores fuerunt, Lanfranco præcipiente, Wolstanus, Osbernus, Giso, Rotbertus, Episcopi. Eo quoque tempore, misit in Hiberniam Donnaldo Episcopo literas, sacræ doctrinæ pinguedine refertas.

Sexto decimo anno, sacravit Donatum monachum suum Cantuariæ, ad regnum Dubliniæ, petente Rege, clero, et populo Hiberniæ, quibus etiam literas exhortatorias misit. Hoc quoque anno, apud Cleucestriam Concilium celebravit, in quo Wulfecetelum Crulandensis cœnobii Abbatem deposuit. Rotbertum Cestrensem, et Willielmum Helmeanensem simul uno die Episcopos Cantuariæ sacravit. Mauritium Lundoniensi Ecclesiæ apud Wentoniam consecravit; qui sacratus, post paucos dies matri suæ Ecclesiæ Cantuariensi, eum honestis muneribus, se præsentavit.

Octavo decimo anno, mortuo Rege Wilielmo trans mare, filium ejus Wilielmum sicut pater constituit Lanfrancus, in Regem elegit, et in Ecclesia beati Petri, in occidentali parte Lundoniæ sita, sacravit, et coronavit. Eodem anno Godefridum Cicestrensis Ecclesiæ Antistitem; et Widonem Ecclesiæ S. Augustini Abbatem: et Johannem Wellensi Ecclesiæ Episcopum Cantuariæ in sede Metropoli examinavit, atque sacravit. In crastino hujus consecrationis Widonem Abbatem per semetipsum Lanfrancus, associato sibi Odone Baiocensi Episcopo fratre Regis qui tunc Cantuariam venerat, ad S. Augustinum duxit: mandatis fratribus ejusdem Ecclesiæ, quatenus eum susciperent, ut proprium Abbatem, atque pastorem: qui unanimiter animati responderunt, se illi nec velle subesse, nec illum suscipere. Venit itaque Lanfrancus adducens Abbatem: et cum Monachos pertinaciter videret resistere, nec ei velle parere; præcepit ut omnes, qui sibi nollent obedire, continuo exirent. Exierunt ergo pariter fere omnes, et Lanfrancus cum suis, Abbatem honorifice introductum, in sede locavit; et Ecclesiam commendavit. Priorem autem ejusdem Ecclesiæ nomine Ælfwinum, et alios, quos voluit, cepit: et Cantuariam claustrali custodia servandos protenus transmisit: eos vero qui fortiores, et caput scandali extiterant, in castellum duci, ibique in carcere custodiri præcepit. Cumque omnibus rite peractis domum rediret, nunciatum est ei Monachos, qui exierant, sub castro, secus Ecclesiam S. Miltrudæ consedisse. Quibus mandavit ut, si vellent, ante horam nonam, ad Ecclesiam impune redirent: sed si illam præterirent, non jam libere, sed ut fugitivi revenirent. Hoc audito, in ambiguo habebant redire, vel remanere. Hora autem refectionis, cum esurirent, plures ex iis

pœnitentes suæ pertinaciæ, ad Lanfrancum miserunt, et ei omnem obedientiam promiserunt. Quibus continuo pepercit, mandans ut redirent, et professionem suam præfato Abbati se servaturos sacramento confirmarent. Itaque redierunt, et se deinceps fore fideles, et obedientes Widoni Abbati super corpus beati Augustini juraverunt. Qui vero remanserant cepit Lanfrancus, et per Ecclesias Angliæ divisit; constrinxit, donec eos obedientiam profiteri coëgit. Circa idem tempus Æluredum unum ex illis vagantem fugiendo cepit, et Cantuariæ in sede metropoli, cum quibusdam sociis illius, qui Abbati malum moliti sunt, ferro compeditos, multis diebus rigorem ordinis in claustro discere fecit: sed postquam sufficienter humiliati sunt, ut æstimatum est, et emendationem promiserunt, misertus eorum Lanfrancus de singulis locis, quo eos disperserat, præcepit reduci; et suo Abbati reconciliari.

Eodem anno, dissentione reiterata, perniciem Abbati clam machinati sunt; et dum unus ex eis, nomine Columbanus, deprehensus fuisset, jussit eum Lanfrancus sibi adduci. Cumque coram eo astaret, interrogavit si Abbatem uoluisset perimere. Qui confestim, Si, inquit, potuissem, pro certo eum interfecissem. Præcepit itaque Lanfrancus, ut ante portas beati Augustini, spectante populo, ligaretur nudus, flagellis afficeretur: deinde præciso capitio, ab urbe pelleretur. Factum est ut imperavit, et ex hoc, inquietudinem cæterorum, donec vixit, sua formidine quassavit.

Nono decimo anno, defunctus est Lanfrancus venerabilis Archiepiscopus, et sepultus est in sede Metropoli Cantuariæ; qui in sede Pontificali sedit annis decem et octo mensibus ix duobus diebus. De cujus actibus, ædificiis, elcemosynis, laboribus, scriptura quæ in ejus anniversario legitur ex parte commemorat. Multa enim erant valde. Post ejus obitum, Monachi S. Augustini, præfato Abbati suo Widoni palam resistentes, cives Cantuariæ contra eum concitaverunt; qui illum armata manu in sua domo interimere tentaverunt. Cujus familia cum resisteret, pluribus utrinque vulneratis, et quibusdam interfectis, vix Abbas inter manus illorum illæsus evasit; et ad matrem Ecclesiam, quærendo auxilium, Cantuariam fugit. Hujus facti fama citati suffraganei ejusdem Ecclesiæ, Walkelmus Wentanus et Gundulfus Rofensis Epi-

scopi, Cantuariam, cum quibusdam nobilibus, quos miserat Rex, veniunt: ut tantæ offensæ vindictam adhibeant. Auditis ergo rationibus seditionis, Monachi à culpa excusari non poterant: quos coram populo subire disciplinam, quia palam peccaverant, ii qui advenerant, decreverunt: sed Prior, et Monachi Ecclesiæ Christi, pietate moti restiterunt; ne si palam punirentur infames deinceps fierent; sicque eorum vita ac servitus contemneretur. Igitur concessum est, ut in Ecclesia fieret, ubi non populus, sed soli ad hoc electi admitterentur. Vocati sunt ad hoc Monachi Ecclesiæ Christi, Wido videlicet, et Normannus, qui disciplinam ad Episcoporum imperium intulerunt. Deinde divisi sunt per Ecclesias Angliæ, et loco illorum xxiv Monachi Ecclesiæ Christi admissi, cum Priore nomine Antonio, qui Sub-prioratus officio Cantuariæ fungebatur. Cives vero, qui Abbatis curiam armata manu intraverant, capti; et qui se ab ejus impugnatione purgare non poterant, oculos amiserunt.

Post obitum Lanfranci caruit Ecclesia Christi Pastore quatuor annis mensibus ix et diebus ix in quibus multa adversa perpessa est. Anno vero Dominicæ incarnationis mxciii datus est Pontificatus Cantuarberiæ Anselmo Beccensi Abbati, ii Non. Martii, viro probo, bono, apprime erudito, et sui temporis nominatissimo. Venit autem Cantuariam vii kal. Octob. multis eum causis rationabilibus detinentibus, quod prius venire nolebat; et sacratus est ii Non. Decemb.

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The letters t, h, m, I, b, attached to the figure of a page, mean top, high, middle, low, bottom.

p 2 l. Wesseaxna] This is the form which survives in the name of Wessex. The form without the t occurs in many places in A and its earlier successors; but never in E. E.g. p 4: A. D. 560, 611, 643, 650, 670, 827, 836. In 855, C exhibits the archaic form, where A has the t. It has been questioned whether Wes- had the same meaning as the later West-; and this doubt would apply also to the parallel case of the Visigoths = Westgoths. Förstemann, Ortsnamen, p 133, treats the identity as certain, and produces Visula and Bisula as acknowledged forms of the river-name Vistula, which river he supposes was once the western boundary of the Gothic tribes.

p 3 t. gebeode] gebeodu D. This word means, not nations or peoples, but languages. The translators have been misled by the sequel, which goes on to speak of them as peoples; following Beda in rough epitome. The Latin of fif gebeode is quinque gentium linguis. Gens, natio is beod, but gebeod is the national language: cf. Matth. i. 23. on ure gebeode=in our speech. As beod was thus affected by the prefix ge-, so by the suffix -isc: beodisc=language, both in A.S. (Boeth. 19) and in the continental dialects; whence Theotiscus, Tedesco, Deutsch, Dutch.

Among the five languages used in Britain, Beda enumerated Latin. A glance at his text will shew that this would be included quite naturally from his point of view, which was to enumerate the languages used in this island in the services of religion. In D, the list stands unaltered; but E, who did not go to the original, but copied from (such as) D, not catching the idea, tried to make five

languages in the common secular sense, and therefore he resolved the Bryt Wylse of D into two, Brittise and Wilse. The sense which he attached to this distinction was Welsh and Cornish. See 835 and foot-note. We find Wales called Brytland in 1063, 1086 (p 222). This alteration of E was followed by F.

Book-Latin is the usual but inapt rendering of Boc-Leden. Book-language would be a truer equivalent. Already, before the date of D, had the word Leden attained that 'Common-Noun' state, in which it equalled language in general, or a strange, mysterious, learned language in particular; and from which it was able to form its derivative Latimer=an interpreter. See Genesis xi. 6. Dis is an folc and ealle hig sprecas an Lyden=This is one folk and they all speak one language. The determinative Boc-would not have been prefixed, so long as Leden was regarded as a Proper Name. In Chaucer, Squier's Tale, it is used of the discourse of birds.

- p 3 h. Scithiam] Meaning Scandinavia, or as it is expressed in Smith's note in Beda i. 1. "Scythiam citeriorem." The tendency to transform names into those of classical celebrity is seen just above, where Armenia stands for Armorica.
- p 31. Scotta sum dæl gewat of Ybernian on Brittene] = Some of the Scots emigrated from Hibernia into Britain. And that emigration proved the cause of transferring the national name. The name of Scotland appears to date from the eleventh century; previously it was 'Albania.' In the Saxon Chronicles we find earlier mention of the 'Scots' in the north of Britain, as at 684, 937; but we do not find 'Scotland' until 1066 (p 201). The 'Scots' in 891 are plainly those in Hibernia.
- p 3 b. Reoda.... from þam heo sind genemnode Dæl Reodi] The Irish authorities give a different account of this name. They say that British Dalrieda (a kingdom comprehending a large part of South-Western Scotland, namely, Argyle, Kantire, &c., founded by an Irish colony A. D. 503) was named from the territory of Dalrieda in Antrim, because its chiefs were from the Irish Dalrieda.

It was probably the Dalriedan king who gave Iona to Columbkille, and not the Picts, as stated by Beda. King's Hist. of Irish Church vol. i. p 85, referring to Lanigan ii. 159.

425 E. A Latin Chronicle, apparently Frankish, of which we have had instalments above, is incorporated from time to time. Faramundus in Frankish story is the traditional name of the founder of the monarchy. His personality was doubted by De Thou; and Sorel (La Bibliothèque Françoise, Paris, 1667, p 373) went so

far as to say: "On est fort peu asseuré si Pharamond fut jamais au monde." Buckle, Civilization, p 705.

Patricius]

430 A. Palladius] This mistaken correction by the interpolator a, was probably borrowed from some MS. like E, the only one that reads Patricius. It is the only notice of S. Patrick in the Saxon Chronicles. As to Palladius and Patricius, see some annals of Marianus in Monumenta Historica Britannica, p523 foot. Also Nennius c. 55 and 56. The earliest authority is said to be Prosper, who was a contemporary of Palladius and Patricius. The date given for the preaching of S. Patrick is 431, the year after the mission of Palladius. The proximity of the dates, and the comparative obscurity of Palladius, led to the substitution of S. Patrick in his place. Prosperi Chronicon apud H. Canisium. Lect. Ant. vol. i. p 301. Ed. Basnage.

457 A. Creegan ford] In margin of C is written in an Elizabethan hand: nunc creyford non longe a dartford—and at top of page, partly cut away in binding: Crea fl intrat [?] dartford, ejusque fons est ad orpyngton, super eam sunt seint Mary crey, powles crey, north crey, beckesley & creaforde. This and some other notes, (chiefly topographical) in C, may possibly belong to the collection of material for Camden's Britannia; but the handwriting is unknown. See Introduction, description of C. Infra 477, 491, 577, 591, 648, 673, 679, 685, 752, 763, 822, 874, 875, 878, 880, 893, 894 (p 93).

477 A. Cissa] ab hoc Cissa puto Chichester dictam Cissanceast' C marg.: cf. note on 457 A.

477. Cymenes ora] Camden and, after him, Gibson say this place must have been near Wittering on the coast of Sussex. They rely on a Charter which Kemble (Cod. Dipl. 992) has marked as spurious, but which was no doubt constructed with a regard for probability. In it this name occurs as Cumeneshora, a form which countenances Ingram's guess that Shoreham is the place; quasi Cymeneshoreham.

491 A. Andredes cester] Hac (ut puto) ab hoc Cissa post dicta est Cissanceaster C marg. In Cod. Dipl. 1094 there is a Cissan bearh. The site of Andredes ceaster is discussed in Archæol. Journal, vol. iv. p 203; and decided in favour of Pevensey.

508. Natan leod] This is equivalent to Naiton Rex (Pictorum Beda v. 21) or Nectanus Rex in Annals of Tighernac 717 (Ann. Ulster 716). There is also a Nechtain Ann. Ulst. 709. The indices to the Irish Annalists will give sundry others in the seventh and eighth centuries. This name Natan, Naiton, Nechtain was evi-

dently a name frequently borne by Keltic princes. It entered also into names of places: Dunnichen near Forfar is identified with the Duin Nechtain of Tighernac 686 quoted below, note on 685 E. The word lead is identical with clwydd or llwyd=prince; which is seen in the Welsh compound Arglwydd=Lord: and which is so well known as a family name of Welsh extraction Lloyd. See Garnett's Philological Essays, p 329.

I copy from Mr. Hawker, Vicar of Morwenstow, the following Cornish illustration of this name: "In a rocky Glen, midway between the Castles of Bottreaun and Dundagel, there is a Fall of Waters into a hollow Cauldron of native Stone, which has borne for Ten Centuries the Name of St. Nectan's Kieve. He was the brother of St. Morwenna, and like her a famous Saint of this Northern Shore. He founded the Stations of Hartland and Wellcombe; and bequeathed his Name to other Sacred Places along the Sea, in the Former Ages of Cornish Faith." The Quest of the Sangraal. Exeter 1864. Appendix A.

Since the above was written I am glad to discover from a note on p 56 of Mr. Pearson's Early and Middle Ages of England, that Dr. Guest has already given this sense to lead in Philolog. Trans. vol. i. No. 2. He translates Natan-lead, king of the Nattas.

- 534. There was in the time of Edward the Elder, a barrow at Stoke near Hurstbourne (Hants) known as Ceardices beorg, the hill or (?) barrow of Cerdic. Cod. Dipl. 1077. For this remark I am indebted to an article in the Archæological Journal, July 1857—a posthumous paper of Mr. Kemble, who has rendered such services to our early literature and history by his Translation of Beowulf and other works; but above all by the invaluable store of materials he has brought together in the Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici.
- 556. Beran byrg] Probably Barbury Camp between Swindon and Marlborough. "This is a large camp, in excellent preservation. It is nearly circular, and girdled by a double ring of ditch and rampart; the inner very strong, sloping full 50 feet to the bottom of the ditch." Murray's Hand Book, Wilts.
- 577. This Annal with that of 584 record two important steps in the advance of the West Saxons upon the British population, bringing our ancestors, according to Dr. Guest, along the Severn valley, so far as Faddiley (Feþan leag) on the confines of the Vale Royal of Cheshire.

Deorham, where the battle of 577 was fought, by which the important triangle of Gloucester—Circncester—Bath became Saxon, is identified with Dyrham, on the turnpike-road between Bath and

Gloucester. In Domesday it is written Dirham; and Gibson (Glos. ad Sax. Chr. sub voc.) says it was called Durham in his day.

Commail, Condidan, Farinmail may have been (as suggested by Dr. Guest) the princes of those three cities, and they may have made a stand at Deorham with their combined forces, against the aggressive Saxon.

M. de la Villemarquè has adopted the view of Sharon Turner, identifying Condidan with Kyndylan son of Kyndruyn, whose fall in the Saxon invasions is the theme of a celebrated Welsh Elegy by the cotemporary bard, Llywarch Hen. Dr. Guest, who makes that Elegy apply to 584, contends that this view is faulty, because Kyndylan in the Elegy is slain near Shrewsbury, whereas Condidan in the Chronicle falls at Deorham. But it is a curious coincidence, that among Kyndylan's companions in arms in the Elegy, there figures conspicuously Garanmael son of Kyndylan. Goreu gwr Garanmael: Bravest hero Garanmael. See Les Bardes Bretons du vie Siècle, par M. de la Villemarquè, pp 66, 107.

The 'many towns' and 'countless spoil' of 584 come out very well under the theory of Dr. Guest. For if Fepanleag is in Cheshire, the expedition passes through Powys-land, of which the capital was Pengwern (Shrewsbury). Of this district M. de la Villemarquè says: "Powis, ce paradis des Cambriens ce pays de la poésie et de la renommée"—referring to the expressions of the Welsh bards. That the desolation of Uriconium may with high probability be referred to these invasions, has been shewn in a very convincing manner by Dr. Guest in the Paper so often referred to (Archæological Journal, No. 75: On the English Conquest of the Severn Valley); a remarkable example of approach to certainty in the twilight scenes of our early history.

These Annals, so distinctly original, were hardly penned before the events were on the verge of oblivion—therefore, if a transposition of names or other slight adjustment seems to be required by the Welsh remains, historical criticism could not object. The Saxons had arms, and the Britons arts.

577. Cirenceaster] cyceter C marg.: cf. note on 457 A. Gibson in his Glos. to Sax. Chron. spells it Ciceter.

591. Woddes beorge] Wodebryg' in Suthfolk from Ipswych v myle C marg. Again 715. Gibson says: Hodie Wodnesburh in agro Wiltun. Viculus fossæ cuidam admirandæ adsidens, quæ Wodnesdic appellatur, et totam eam regionem transversa intersecat. E has æt Wodnesbeorge.

 $603\,\mathrm{A}$. æt Ægesan stane] The readings æt Egisan stane BC—0.02

æt Dægsan stane (E)—at Dægstane (a)—are pretty clearly identical in origin. The D form is according to Beda i. 34, in loco celeberrimo qui dicitur Degsastan id est Degsa lapis. So it would seem as if in the resolution of coherent dentals the D was lost, and hence the form in ABC. Gibson says: Dawston (Cumberland)—Ingram conj. Theekstone (Yorks. N. R.).

633. Heöfelda] Hatfield (with Hatfield Moor, Hatfield Chace) in West Riding of Yorkshire: cf. Beda ii. 20, Smith's note; Gough's Camden, vol. iii. p 273.

641 E. Maserfeld] This place is matter for conjecture. Smith (Beda iii. 9 note) produces a place of the same name in Lancashire. Gibson fixes it at Oswestry (Oswaldestre) because this name has Oswald in it. Ingram guesses Mirfield, Yorkshire West Riding.

643. þa ciricean] þa ealdan cyricean BC. For the importance of this insertion see the description of MS. B in the Introduction. In F it stands: Description het getimbrian hymposter on Wintanceastre on Sce Petres naman.

648. Æsces dune] Aschedown foresta yn Suthesexe C marg.: cf. note 457 A.

There are three other mentions of this same place, and all very significant. In 661, Wulfhere king of Mercia carries his ravages as far as this—in 871, Æ8ered and Ælfred fight with the whole Danish army on this down-and in 1006, we have the Danes passing from the neighbourhood of Wallingford "along Ashdown;" and we next find them at East Kennett, not far from Marlborough. Æscesdun is clearly that mass of chalk-hills between Wallingford and Marlborough, on which is the famous white horse of Berkshire, and on which a private residence, Ashdown Park near Uffington, preserves the ancient name. Here it was that king Cenwalh gave a large tract of country to his cousin Cuthred; probably with a view to make the position secure against the Mercians. It is remarkable that 661, when Wulfhere advanced to Æscesdun, is the year of Cuthred's death. Perhaps he fell defending his territory. Cuthred's father Cwichelm was also famous in those parts, for "Cwichelm's low" was somewhere near Ashdown (1006). Cf. Cod. Dipl. 693.

652 E. Pendan] An error of the scribe for "Peadan."

653 E. æt Icanhoe] æt ycean ho' BC; on Icanho F. Gibson supposes this place to be Boston in Lincolnshire, quasi Botulfeston.

654. forpan bet ver is an well Smith on Beda iv. 6 disputes this derivation à fonte voraginoso, and explains the name as Locus habitationis in pratis.

656. p 30t. wed broderes This relationship, whatever it was, must be understood as between Peada and Oswi-not Wulfhere and Oswi. The Northumbrian victory of 654 had broken the power of Mercia, and made it dependent on Northumbria. Peada ruled by Northumbrian favour, and as having a Northumbrian princess for his consort. It is the family alliance and pledged brotherhood between Peada and his father-in-law Oswin that is represented in the word wedbroderes: whether the writer of this slovenly interpolation so understood it or not. In Beda iii. 24 fin. it is said that Oswiu gave Peada the government of South Mercia eo quod esset cognatus suus. There was a double marriage between the families: Peada married Alchfied daughter of Oswiu, and Alchfrid son of Oswiu married Cyneburg sister of Peada. Yet we must not understand wed-by its modern association with marriage: but simply as signifying that a covenanted alliance existed between the parties, which made them bound to stand by each other like (or even more than) natural brothers.

Sir Frederic Madden (Lazamon, vol. iii. p 354) has adopted the more usual explanation of this passage, brother by baptism.

656. p 30 h. for hwi] The Demonstrative to this Interrogative is for bi; e. g. p 256 t.

656. p 33 h. þeonest men] This appears like the Danish tjeneste = service; which also compounds with a noun of the person who serves, as, Tjeneste-dreng = serving-boy: Tjeneste-folk = serving-folk: Tjeneste-mö or Tjenste-pige = serving-girl: Tjeneste-qvinde = serving-woman. Molbech v. Tjeneste.

656. p 33 m. undyde] irritum redderet: disannul. It is not usual to find undon in this sense of καταλύειν, ἐξουθενεῖν, ἀθετεῖν: its prevalent use is that of opening what is shut, as below in the same page, of S. Peter with his keys undoing, opening the doors of heaven. Infra 1122, of the phenomenon of a cloud seeming to burst open, and divide into four parts (se wolcne undide on fower healfe). In Fragments of S. Swiðhun, p 6. line 17, þa eagan undyde=opened his eyes. In Ælfric's Homilies, vol. i. p 548, undyde his muð (=opened his mouth); otherwise expressed in the same page "geopenede his muð."

658. æt Peonnum] "Pen, an obscure village now, but antiently famous, being ordained by destinie as it may seeme to the overthrow both of Britans and Danes. For at this verie place Keniwalch a West Saxon, had such a day of the Britans, that they would scarsely ever after abide to come into the field against the English Saxons. And many a yeare after that, king Edmund surnamed Ironside,

gave there a notable foil to the Danes, as he pursued Canutus their king."

This is Pen3lewood, or Penscellwood, i.e. Pen-Selwood, or head of Selwood, (locally pronounced Zilw'd,) on the confines of Wiltshire, Somersetshire, and Dorsetshire. The place is famous for the "Pen Pits," which are said to be the vestiges of an ancient British town. In the neighbourhood there is an earthen fortress of large area, known as "Keniwilkins's Castle"—a name which bears a strong resemblance to that of Cenwalh.

664. Wagele This passage is from Beda (iii. 27), but the name of Tuda's burial-place is so different here from that which is found in the text of Beda, that it becomes a topographical question belonging to the Saxon Chronicles. In the Eccl. Hist, it is Pægnalæch: in the Anglo-Saxon version it is Peginaleah. Smith, the editor of Beda, thinks the similarity of name is enough to identify it with Pincanheal (now Finchale two miles from Durham), where a Synod was held in 788. Ingram, who brings forward another form of the word, Vegnalech, from Leland Bed. Collect. ii. 143. ed. 1774, conjectures that it is Whalley, or as he otherwise writes it (I know not whether upon authority or by way of etymology) Wayleigh. This Whalley is an extensive parish, lying in three counties, Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire, containing several towns, chapelries, and townships, with a fine Abbey Church-so that it is not unlikely to have been of ancient celebrity. But the identification of Wagele must after all be left to the local antiquarian.

671. wæl] ruina Æthelweard. strages Flor. Henry of Huntingdon and Roger of Wendover both make it a battle among the birds!

673. Æþeldryht] alias etheldrythe C marg.: cf. infra 679 note; and supra 457 note.

675. p 38 h. onsting] Cf. Mr. Baron's Edition of Johnson's Ecclesiastical Laws, vol. i. p 127 and note. Cod. Dipl. 843.

675. p 38 h. hwile abbot be hwile man swa]=what abbot soever what man soever, &c.

675. p 381. ge redd] read, published by reading. For the sake of any reader who may not be familiar enough with his mother-tongue to perceive the comparative modernness of this and such like late insertions, this word is selected as a palpable illustration. Nowhere in the elder Chronicles will this verb be found in the modern sense of ἀναγινώσκω, legere. Rædan is to plan, counsel, advise; e.g. p 157, where the same participle ge red means resolved upon.

675. p 381. Al swa ic beode be Saxulf, &c.] And as on the one hand I ordain unto thee that (according as thou desirest) the minster be

free—so on the other hand do I forbid thee and all the bishops that come after thee in the name of Christ and of all His Saints that ye have no claim on the minster but according to the Abbot's will. This pretension would appear to be set up as early as 656 (p 33 l), but the expression is not so distinct there as here. In this place the language is so distinct that no doubt can remain about the anachronism. The first real case of exemption of an English monastery from episcopal jurisdiction appears to have been that of Battle Abbey. Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. ii. p 165 note. Robertson, Church Hist. vol. ii. pp 103, 203.

675. p 39 m. to ligge [See Glossary to Ormulum, Ed. White, v. Tolip.

675. p 39 m. Bredune. Hrepingas. Cedenac] See a Paper by Mr. Stubbs in the Archæological Journal of 1861, p 202.

678 E. Eatan] There is a life of this Eata in vol. viii of the Surtees Society Publications, entitled, "Miscellanea Biographica."

679. Æþelþryþ] æþeldrið C. fēt audrye C marg.: cf. Gough's Camden's Brit. ii. 194, and supra 673 note. See E 963; and Halliwell, v. Tawdry.

- 685. Cedwalla quondam Rex Southsexiæ fundator Cicestren' ecclesiæ C marg. See note on 457 A. But as to the foundership which this annotator attributes to Ceadwalla, cf. Gough's Camden, vol. ii. pp 194, 195.

685 A. Ecgferb cyning mon ofslog] E adds be norðan sæ. The commencement of his expedition against the Scotti is noticed in 684 E. The battle in which he fell is called the battle of Dunnichen, and is thus recorded in the mixed language of the Annals of Tighernac:—686. Cath Duin Nechtain [i.e. The battle of Duin Nechtain] xx die m. Maii Sabbati die factum est, in quo Ecfrit mc Ossu [i.e. Ecgferd son of Oswiu] Rex Saxonum, xv anno regni sui, consumata magna cum caterva militum suorum interfectus est la Brudhi mc Bili Rege Fortrein [i.e. by Bruide son of Bili king of Fortren].

685 E. Agust'] For Hagustaldesham (as above) or Hexham.

Ceastre] This means York. So again 762. Many places were locally called Ceaster; but with the progress of centralization it became necessary to keep up their distinctive prefixes, as Winchester, Manchester, &c. Only one great place has come to be known by the simple name of Chester; with obscure places such as Caistor, Castor, &c., it was more easy, and probably there are several of them in existence.

688 E. under Cristes clasum] Rex verò secundum votum infra

septem dies in albis mortuus est. Hen. Hunt. The ancient practice was to put off the white on the eighth day after Baptism. Bingham xii. 4. § 3. Cf. note on 878.

only in D. This is the Drycthelmus of Beda v. 12; a Northumbrian thane of Incuneningum (prob. Cuningham) who died in the evening and woke to life in the morning, and remembered what he had seen in the other world, while out of the body. The narrative of his vision was long used in church teaching, and Wanley notices in his Catalogue five different volumes in which homilies or narratives of Drihthelm's vision are extant. Dr. Ingram (Appendix to Sax. Chron.) has pointed out that Dryhthelm's remains were deposited at Melrose according to Hugo Candidus (ap. Sparke, p 40)—and also that the wonderful vision of Charles le Gros, related by Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Angl. lib. ii, was probably founded on Dryhthelm's.

694. xxx m̃] Allen, Royal Prerogative, pp 177, 178, supposes that the were paid for Mul's murder by the men of Kent was 30,000 sceattas, and not shillings or pounds. Pearson's Early and Middle Ages of England, cap. ix.

604. Here F has an insertion which should have been put in the Appendix. It is "King Wihtred's Grant of Privileges" (as entitled in Johnson's Canons, Ed. Baron, Anno 692) made at the Synod of Baccancelde (Bapchild, Kent). "And sona das de he cing was, he het gaderian mycel concilium on Sare stowe Se ys geclypod BAC-CANCELDE. On Sare was Wihtred sittende. Cantware cing. and se arceb' of Cantuarebyri Brihtwald, and se biscop Tobias of Hroueceastre, and mid heom abbodas and abbedessen, and manige wise menn dar wæron gegaderade, ealle to smeagende embe Godes cyrcan bote &a beo innan Cent. Nu agan se cing to specende. and sæde. Ic wylle bealle a mynstre and a cyrican a wæron giuene and becwedene Gode to wyrdmynte be geleafulra cinga dagan. minra forengenglan, and be minra magan dagon, be Ægelberhtes cinges. and para de him efter fyligdan. swa beliuan Gode to wurdmynte. and fæstlice standan. á to ecnesse æure ma. Forðon Ic Wihtred eorplic cing. fram San heouenlice Cinge onbryrd. and mid andan Sare riht-

wisnesse anæld. of uran ealdran fæderan gesetnesse ic habbe þ geleornod. þat nan læwede man nah mid rihte to stingan hine an annare cirican. na an an sara singan se to cyrcan belimps. And forsi stranglice and truwlice we gesettas and demas, and on Godes naman þes ealmihtiges, and on ealra halgena, we forbeodas eallon

uron æftergengan, cingan, and ealdermannum, and eallan læwedan mannum. æure ænne hlauordscipe ouer circan. and ouer eallan heora vingan. Ve ic ove mine yldran. on ealdon dagan. giuan Xpe to loue on ece erfwyronesse, and ure hlæfdian Sca Marian, and oan halgan apostolan. Ac loc hwenne hit gewurde biscop. odde abbod. odde abbedesse, gewite of Sysan line, sy hit gecydd San arb', and mid his ræde and gedeahte sy gecoren swilce wurbe beo. and his lif de man sceal to swa gedonne Singe cysan asece se arb'. and his clænnesse. and . . . an nane wisan ne wurbe gecoræn nan. na to swa gedonan Kingan gehalgod. butan þes arb' ræde. Cyngas sceolan settan eorlas and ealdermen. scirereuan and domesmenn. and arb' sceal Godes gela\unge wissian and rædan. and biscopas. and abbodas. and abbedessan. preostas. and diaconas. ceosan and settan. halgian and getryman, mid godan mynegunga and forebysene, þe læste þe æni of Godes heorde dwelie and losie." See more in the Latin version in Cod. Dipl. 996; and, with some variations, in Spelman, vol. i. p 189. After the place where F leaves off, Spelman's version continues thus: "Hoc præceptum statuimus hiis monasteriis quorum nomina hæc sunt annotata. Primum, primi Apostolorum principis Petri, id est, Vpmynster, Raculf, Sudmynster, Dofras, Folcanstan, Hymming (Lymming Wilkins), Stepeis & Hor. Hæc omnia interdicimus (sicut antè diximus) ut nullus habitus ex numero laicorum ad se pertrahat vel suscipiat nullum monasterium de hiis prænominatis."

699 E. In the Annals of Ulster this is entered under 697. Bellum inter Saxones et Pictos ubi cecidit filius Bernit qui dicebatur Brectrid. Tighernac 698.

705. Mit dem Tode Aldfrid's begann der Lichtpunct der Geschichte Northumbriens zu verbleichen. Lappenberg, vol. i. p 205. Compare note on 731.

710. Gerente Weala cininge] The name Gerent recurs in British history. In this place it is that Gerent king of West Wales (i.e. Devon and Cornwall) to whom Aldhelm, when Abbot of Malmsbury, addressed a letter or treatise (librum egregium adversus errorem Brittonum Bed. v. 18) about conformity to the Roman Ritual. Titled thus: Domino gloriosissimo, occidentalis regni sceptra gubernanti, quem ego, ut mihi Scrutator cordis et rerum Testis est, fraterna caritate amplector, Geruntio Regi, simulque cunctis Dei Sacerdotibus per Domnonia conversantibus, Aldhelmus, sine meritorum prærogativa Abbatis officio functus, optabilem in Domino salutem! Aldhelmi Opp. Ed. Giles, p 83.

We know of an earlier Gerent, also connected with Devonshire, through an elegy upon his death by Llywarch Hen. It is the first n M. de la Villemarquè's Bardes Bretons; and is entitled, Maronad Gerent Mab Erbin=Elegy of Gerent son of Erbin. This Gerent is almost of the times and cycle of Arthur: though M. de la Villemarquè would vindicate him for history by identifying him with the "swipe æbelne monnan" who fell fighting the Saxons; above 501.

Mr. Pearson, Early and Middle Ages of England, p 35 note, says the mythical Vortigern is a transformation of that Gerontius, a native of Briton, who transferred the diadem from the usurper Constantine to the head of his friend Maximus.

Gerrans in Cornwall is connected with 'king Gerennius' by a very distinct and circumstantial tradition. On the highest ground in 'Roseland,' overlooking Gerrans Bay, is Vervan Beacon, or (in the Ordnance Map) Carne Beacon, a tumulus of the first magnitude. Tradition calls it the tomb of king Gerennius, who lived in a palace on yonder side of the bay, and his corpse was rowed across in a golden boat with silver oars, which were all buried along with him. mound was opened in 1853 by the Rev. John Adams [Newdigate Prize-man 1847], the Hon. and Rev. J. T. Boscawen, and others; and a Report which appeared in the Cornwall Gazette, written by Mr. Adams, ought to be enshrined in some less ephemeral publication. The effect of the opening was to establish the sepulchral character of the Beacon; for after some days' excavation, they reached a kist-vaen of massive unhewn rocks, fit for the resting-place of a king. All within had mouldered to dust. Mr. Adams assigns a date to this interment, from a place in the Register of Llandaff, which says that S. Teilo on his way homeward from Brittany (whither he had retired during the prevalence of the ictericia pestis) visited Gerennius king of Cornwall, and attended his death-bed. The date of this event is A. D. 506 (Stubbs, p 156).

710 E. Hæfe and Cære] "Loca duo sunt in agro Northymbrensi decem plus minus mille passuum invicem distantia, Carehouse et Heefeld, paulum ultra vallum Pictorum. Etsi non ausim affirmare ea olim fuisse dicta Cære et Hæfe, videtur tamen illud suadere tum nominum antiquorum et hodiernorum similitudo, tum etiam locorum situs. Circa limites enim Pictorum et Northymbrorum præliatum fuisse, non est cur dubitemus." Gibson. "Heugh and Caraw" Thorpe.

Ann. Tighernac 711. Strages Pictorum in Campo Monand a Saxonis ubi Findgaine mc Deleroith immaturâ morte jacuit. Congressio Brittonum et Dalriadha for Loirgeclat [loingg ecclet. Ann. Ulst. 710] ubi Britones devicti. Ap. Skene, Collectanea de rebus Albanicis.

716 A. pa ciriclecan scare] the ecclesiastical tonsure, as ABC; or Sancte Petres scære, S. Peter's tonsure, as DEF: cf. 737 E. 757 E. This tonsure was circular like a crown, and was called the corona; whereas that in use in the Scotian Churches was crescent-shape from ear to ear. See Robertson's Church History, vol. ii. p 61.

Ann. Tigh. 718. Tonsura Corona s.v. familiam Iea dat', which Mr. Skene renders, "The Coronal Tonsure imposed upon the community of Iona."

722. Tantun] Comparing this with 658 we measure the westward progress of Saxon dominion. Taunton was now its most advanced station. The Tone here passes through the gate of the country, as the Thames does at Reading. Taunton commanded the narrow plain between the Quantocks and the Wellington Pillar Heights. In the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society's Proceedings for 1853 is an excellent paper on the position, history, and present condition of Taunton Castle, with a plan and illustrations, by the Rev. F. Warre. It was placed in the angle made by a small stream flowing into the Tone.

728 A. Ine ferde to Rome] In a highly demonstrative epistle from Gregory II. to Leo the Iconoclast, quoted in Gibbon, c. 49, the Roman bishop makes a diplomatic use of the zeal and submissiveness of the converted barbarians of the West; and there is room to imagine (as the historian has done in a note) that this pilgrimage by king Ine was in the writer's mind.

731. Ceolwulf was king of Northumbria when Beda died; it was to him that he had dedicated his Ecclesiastical History (see foot-note supra, p 52): in the last chapter of which he left a sentence of gloomy foreboding as to the future prospects of his country. His foresight was justified by events, as may be seen by the divisions and crimes and instability marked in the Northumbrian Annals 757, 759, 774, 778, 789, 790, 794: cf. note on 705.

The turn of Mercia comes next: hitherto its conflicts had been with Northumbria, but now we see it expanding and becoming aggressive in the direction of Wessex (733); taxing Cuðræd's efforts (741,752); in alliance with Cuþræd against the Welsh (743); fighting against Kent (773), and under the dread king Offa wresting Bensington from Wessex (777), who extorts from the Abp. of Canterbury a cession of part of the primacy, to render Mercia ecclesiastically independent (785); orders the king of E. Anglia to be put to death (792), and throws up "Offa's Dyke" (Asser). Under Ceolwulf they overrun Kent (796), and continue to hold the leadership in

Britain till the close of the century. But from the accession of Ecgberht (800), the power of Wessex begins to aim at the position which it ultimately attained.

740. Eadberht] Error of scribe for Cu8-: cf. 758.

745. Danihel] Daniel of Winchester, the correspondent and counsellor of Boniface, Missionary Bishop of the Germans. Robertson, Church History, vol. ii. p 95 sqq.

752 A. Beorg feorda] Burford C marg : cf. 457 note.

755. In this circumstantial narrative the reader should bear in mind the arrangements of a Saxon residence. The chief building was the hall, around which grouped the other apartments, each entered from the court; the whole surrounded by a wall or rampart of earth, and therefore named a burh. The common external entrance was the gate (geat), which was an opening in the wall; but the entrance to any of the enclosed buildings was a door (duru). The description in this Annal seems to imply that the residence at Merton covered a considerable area.

The king was in the lady's chamber (bur—the 'bower' of mediæval romance), and Cyneheard surprised him there (hine bær berad) by riding in unexpectedly through the outer gate into the court, before the king's attendants, who had retired to the hall, were aware (ar hine ba men onfunden be mid bam cyninge wærun). Then the fight between the king and his foe takes place at the door (duru) of the lady's bower, and there the king was slain. And now the lady's screams had, for the first time, alarmed the king's guard in the hall. They hasted to the rescue, scorned Cyneheard's proposals, and fought till all but one were slain. Next morning the rest of the king's party came up, and found Cyneheard in occupation, and in a posture of defence (bone abeling on bare byrig metton). His party had closed the outer gates (ba gatu), and meant to defend them. After a fruitless parley, they fought about the gates (ymb ba gatu) till the party inside was obliged to yield. See Mr. Wright's very interesting work, "Domestic Manners and Sentiments," p 13.

755. þone bur utan beeode] þa burh utan ymbeodan B; þa burh utan beeodan C; þone búr utan beeodon D.

755. p 50 t. on bees wifes gebærum] by the woman's cries. So gebærum Oros. iv. 10. § 2; Ed. Bosw. Psalm xxxiv. 15. In these two instances it might be questioned whether 'gestures' or 'cries' were the sense. In Oros. i. 12. § 1. wifa gebæra is vague. In our text it is clearly 'cries;' and so Sir F. Madden renders it in Glos. Lazamon v. ibere.

The use of the preposition on in an instrumental sense was widely

spread, and is still in extensive provincial use. The expression 'along of' is but a modification of the genuine 'along on' to convey cause or occasion. Thus Chaucer (Canones Yemannes Tale):

I cannot tell wheron it was along, But wel I wot gret strif is us among.

755. p 50 h. alle lægon] all lay, i. e. were corpses. No later inventions of human language have rendered death with more expression, than that which was the most obvious and probably the very oldest—the motionless prostration as of a felled tree. This thought produced $\pi\tau\hat{\omega}\mu a$ and cadaver. In Job xiv. 10. it is put forward prominently, but our version has overlooked it. Renan: Mais quand l'homme meurt, il reste étendu. De Wette: Aber der Mann, stirbt er, so liegt er da. Compare Zosimas in Appendix to Swiðhun, p 110. l 7, þæt mægn þæs liegendan.

And as liegan=to lie, is used for the state of death; so leegan, transitive, to lay or fell, is used of slaying; like occidere and occidere. See Schmid, Gesetze Glos. v. leegan.

755. p 50 m. hiera agenne dóm] their own terms.

755. p50 l. object hie jeer inne fulgon] until they penetrated, or forced an entrance. Grein seems to be right in rendering felgan simply intrare. Kemble v. filhan. The word is an obscure one, and perhaps was never in general use: so B avoids it by writing wurdon; and E has recourse to the wild substitute flugon, which is quite out of place.

761 E. Florence says: juxta Clivum Edwini, clitonem quendam nobilissimum Oswinum occidit. Hen. Hunt. is more ample: Mol rex Nordhumbre interfecit Oswine fortissimum ducum suorum, qui committens prælium erga dominum suum apud Eadwinesclive, jure gentium spreto, jure Dei occisus est. Simeon Dun. describes the battle-field as, juxta Eldunum secus Melros. Written Eladunum in Hoveden and Chr. Mailros. This word El with its variants Al, Hel, seem to have designated a height, rock, or mountain. Beda E. H. i. 12. has Alcluith, quod linguâ eorum significat petram Cluith. Helvellyn is rendered yellow mountain, on the authority of Dr. Guest, "as Rhiwvelen, that name so common in Welsh topography, meant yellow slope." Archæological Journal, No. 75. p 214.

763. pone feowertegan dæg ofer midne winter] id est Candelmas day C marg.: cf. 457 note.

773. read Cristes mæl] Hardly "a fiery crucifix" (MHB); but as Mr. Thorpe, "a red cross." Literally, Cristes mæl means the sign or emblem of Christ. Florence has it, Rubicundi coloris sig-

num in crucis modum in cælo apparuit post solis occasum. Infra p 123 l, the cross of signature is called by this name.

. 778 E. heahgerefan] Kemble (Saxons in England, vol. ii. c. 5) thinks these high-reeves were no part of the ordinary machinery of government, but officers occasionally commissioned with extraordinary powers. Simeon of Durham calls them duces here and in 780. The title occurs again 1001 T (three times), and 1002 E. The only other light we get on the subject is from a little code on Wergilds (Thorpe's Ancient Laws, 8vo. p 186; -fol. p 79. Schmid, Anhang vii) in which the heahgerefa ranks with the hold (having the same wergild); above the thane, but below the bishop and ealdorman. In having a wergild at all, he is, as Schmid remarks, distinguished from other gerefan, who have no wergild as gerefan. In all other cases where gerefa has a prefix, it is a substantive, expressive of the province of his reeveship; e.g. Scirgerefa=reeve of the shire, sheriff; burhgerefa, charged with the maintenance of a fortress (burh); portgerefa, provost of a market-town; wicgerefa, village-reeve; tungerefa, farm-bailiff; swangerefa, supervisor of the swanas or swineherds, and controller of the forest-pasturage.

780 E. p 57. Ælfwold cining sende man] man delendum. As it now stands, it would mean that the king was sent &c. The odd thing is that the error is in D also, so that it may have pervaded several chronicles. Unless perhaps a sense can be found for it, which escapes me?

780. p 57. The Pallium recurs so frequently in our records, and is a symbol of such historical importance, that the following paragraph, dated April 20, 1863, cannot fail to interest the student of these annals:—

"The Archbishop of Paris received the Pallium yesterday from the hand of the Papal Nuncio, in the small church of the Lazarists, in the Rue de Sèvres. The ceremony was comparatively private, though a large body of clergy and several bishops were present. The religious papers tell us that the stuff out of which the Archiepiscopal vestment called the Pallium is manufactured, is made from the wool of ten white lambs, which have received the Apostolic benediction in the church of St. Agnes at Rome, on the day of the festival of that saint. These lambs are afterwards kept in a convent until the shearing-time arrives. The Palliums made from this wool, without any admixture, are then deposited on the tomb of St. Peter, and remain exposed there during the night preceding the fete of that Apostle. The next day they all receive benediction at the altar, and are despatched wherever they are required. The Pallium, in shape,

is composed of two woollen bands, about two inches in breadth, which hang suspended down the back and chest." The Guardian, April 22, 1863.

The chief points of interest in the history of the Pall may be readily seen in Dean Hook's Lives of the Archbishops, vol. i. p 27; where the main authorities are given. Originally it was an undefined mark of honour, but at length it acquired a special reference to the exercise of the metropolitan dignity, and as such it was defined in a Canon of the Council of Lateran 1215. The conventional shape of the Pall is seen in the archiepiscopal arms of Canterbury, Armagh, and Dublin.

785. and Ecgfert to cyninge gehalgod.] Hen. Hunt. says, Eodem anno Egfert sacratus est in regem Kentensis provinciæ. There is no older authority for making Ecgfert king of Kent: and it may be a confusion on the part of that chronicler with what happened in the dynasty of Wessex in the next century. But still the whole subject of the succession to the throne of Kent becomes at this period so obscure, and the pretensions of Mercia must have grown so absolute by the event of 773, that it would be unsafe to reject Henry's statement, which makes Kent an appanage of Mercia. Moreover, it is to be observed that the elevation of Eadbryht Præn (794) coincides with the death of Offa. The ultimate expulsion of the Mercians from Kent is recorded in 823. If E's reading 'gehalgode' is anything more than a blunder, and we attach any value to it, its meaning would be, that the new Mercian archbishop consecrated the royal candidate.

787. se gerefa] This is the weard or landweard of Beowulf 457, 3777 (Kemble). The incident was clearly a celebrated one at the time and long after: it is thus recorded in the magniloquence of Æthelweard: Regnante Byrhtrico rege piissimo super partes Anglorum occidentales, jam innocentia protensi populi arvis sereno cum tranquillitate dabant squalidis sulco, et oneriferæ boum costæ proximo amore colla jugo subdebant; advecta est subito Danorum ardua non nimia classis, dromones numero tres; ipsa et advectio erat prima. Audito etiam, exactor regis, jam morans in oppido quod Dorceastre nuncupatur, equo insilivit, cum paucis præcurrit ad portum, putans eos magis negotiatores esse quam hostes; et præcipiens eos imperio, ad regiam villam pelli jussit; a quibus ibidem occiditur ipse, et qui cum eo erant: nomen quippe exactoris erat Beaduheard.

Henry of Huntingdon gives it thus: Brichtricus anno regni sui quarto, duxit in uxorem Eadburh filiam regis Offæ Merce: unde comfortatus est in regno et provectus in superbiam. His autem diebus vene-

runt Daci cum tribus puppibus in Britanniam prædationis causa. Quod præpositus regis illius provinciæ videns, occurrit eis debito securius, ut comprehensos ad regium duceret castrum. Nesciebat autem qui essent qui appulerant, vel cur appulissent. Statim vero immixtus eis occisus est. Hic primus fuit Anglorum cæsus a Dacis, post quem multa millia millium ab iisdem cæsa sunt: et hæ puppes primæ fuerunt quas huc Daci adduxerunt.

This gerefa, weard, landweard, exactor regis or præpositus regis, affords an analogy for the office of the much discussed *Comes Litoris* Saxonici.

It appears from the Annales Cambriæ, that the south coast of Ireland was likewise visited by the Danish ships this year for the first time: "Primus adventus gentilium apud dextrales ad Hiberniam."

787. þa ærestan scipu Denisera monna] What these ships were like we may at some future time know better than we do at present. In a recent extraordinary find of antiquities at Nydam Moss in Denmark, there has been discovered a perfect ship, built for oars, 72 feet long and 9 feet in the beam. The planks are of oak, with large iron bolts, and clamps cut out of solid oak. The excavations being followed up under the eye of the late king, Frederick VII, they found another boat 44 feet long, of deal. Roman coins accompanying this find, the latest A. D. 217. For full particulars see the account in Gent. Mag., December 1863, by Professor George Stephens.

790 E. eft feng to rice] Not "proxime capessit regnum" (Gibson); nor merely "succeeded" (Ingram); nor "afterwards succeeded" (Thorpe): but "again obtained" (MHB). He returned to the throne from which he had been expelled (778), four years after his accession (774); where he is called Molles sunu, and here Avelwaldes sunu. His father was Moll Ævelwald (759). See parallel cases in 828, 1046 (p170). This is the special function of eft, to signify iterum, denuo, rursus, re-, abermal, πάλω or aðes. See Dr. White, Gl. Orm. v. Eft. Its general, or base-meaning, is "afterwards;" but this sense almost vanishes in the prose literature.

At the early date of 685 there appears to be a clear case of eft=
"afterwards;" that on p 12, ac hie eft on hie fuhton, is of later
date, and "afterwards" is not an adequate rendering. Rather thus:
"but they afterwards turned and fought against them."

In 797, of the two instances, one may be doubtful. In 838, and by ilcan geare eft=and a second time the same year. In 894 (p 91 l), eft-ageaf = restored, gave back without ransom. In 918, and ba

aliesde Eadweard cyning hine eft; it is equivalent to the compound eft-aliesde = redemit. See p 5; also 633, 869, 937 (p 115), 1048 (p 180 tw.), 1068 (p 207).

F 796. p 58*. Here a privilege is inserted in F:—And Avelard arb' of Cantwareb'. sette synoö. and getrymde and gefæstnode. ourh oas papan hæse Leones. ealle ða ðing be Godes mynstran. ða wæron gesett be Wihtgares dæge. and be oðra einga dæge. And ðus cwæð. Ic Aðelard. eadmod arb' of Cantwareb'i, mid anmodan ræde ealles sinofes, and mid ealra fare gegaderunga ealra dara mynstra. dam be ealdan dagan frignesse was geauen fram geleaffullan mannum. On Godes naman. and durh his bifigendan dom. ic bebeode. swa swa ic hæse habbe of dan papan Leone. \$ heononford nan ne dyrstlæce ceosan him hlauordas of læwedan mannan ouer Godes erfwyronysse. Ac eal swa swa hit ys on dan gewrite de se papa hæfd giuen. odde da haligan weras gesettan. Te beot ure fæderas and ure lareowas be haligum mynstrum. swa hi beliuon unawemmed butan ælcre ánsæce. Gif æni mann ys p bis Godes and uræs papan and ure bebod healdan nelle. ac farseoð and far naht healdað. witan hi b hi sculon gifan gescead toforan Godes domsetle. And ic Abelhard arb'. mid twelf biscopan, and mid brim and twentigan abbodan, bis ylce mid rode tacne Xp'es getrimmað and gefæstnia.

797. The history of the case is in Gibbon, c. 49; but this legend is a transfer to Leo of the famous miracle of the African Confessors, which puzzled Gibbon (c. 37), and which Dean Milman (Latin Christianity, vol. i. p 332) calls the one post-apostolic miracle which appears to rest on the strongest evidence. In a note at the end of the volume he quotes a surprising parallel from a recent traveller.

Matth. Westm. (Flores Hist.) has here a very different story about this Leo having cut off his own hand, to avoid a certain contamination, and having originated the practice of kissing the foot instead of the hand of the pope.

800. Cynemæresforda] Kempsford in Gloucestershire; or Commerford in Wiltshire, concerning the claims of which latter place, see Camd. Brit. col. 106. (Stevenson.)

819. Cenwulf Miercna cyning] There is a leaden bulla of this king in the British Museum. It bears on the obverse A COENVVLFI RELIS; and on the reverse MERLIORVM. (Sir F. Madden, in Archæol. Journal, 1856, p 369.)

822. Clofes hoo] Cleofes hóó C; doctor Hethes benyffyce C marg.: cf. 457 note. See the Chronicles of Abingdon edited by Mr. Stevenson for the Master of the Rolls. Where it appears that the monastery of Abingdon was founded near a town called Seukesham or Seovescham or Sheovesham. The locality is central for Mercia and Wessex. Gibson (Glos. Sax. Chron.) maintains it is Abingdon; and unlike himself, growing warm in his argument, he deems that haud facile sanus quispiam in hdc re hærere possit. Ingram

silently, "Cliff at Hoo, Kent." In Cod. Dipl. 1034 the place is written Clobesham. Where may Dr. Hethe's benefice have been?

823. Gafulforda] Hodie (opinor) Camelford in agro Cornubiensi, quod oppidum alicubi vocari Gaffelford asserit Camdenus (Gibson). The substitution of F for M appears elsewhere, e. g. Boethius, c. xxxv. § 4: the name of Nimrod or rather Nemrod (Vulg.) is rendered 'Nefrod.' Semington (Wilts) has an alias 'Sevington.' Compare the variations efn- or emn-, stefn or stemn.

This seems to have been a check given by the Welsh of Cernyw to the advance of Wessex settlers, who probably designed to push beyond the Tamar by turning it high up—und so wenig verbreiteten sich die Angelsachsen über den Tamarfluss hinaus, dass dieser noch viele Iahrhunderte hindurch eine der merkwürdigsten Sprach- und Volker-Scheiden Europas geblieben ist (Lappenberg).

823. and Cantware him to cyrdon . . . wærun The established translation of this passage runs thus: "And the men of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Essex submitted to him (viz. king Ecbryht), for formerly they had been unjustly forced 'from his kin," (i. e. severed from connection with the Wessex family.) Such a connection is made out by Henry Hunt. in the person of Eadbert Præn, whom he brings into his rendering of this passage-" rex Ecbricht in dominium suscepit quos prius cognatus suus Pren injuste amiserat." This is one of 'die wichtigen Notizen' peculiar to Henry Hunt., on which Lappenberg here builds; and if it be accepted, all difficulty is obviated. To me it does not bring conviction. MHB emphatically questions Eadberht Pren's kinship to Ecgbriht, "sed de cognatione ejus cum Egberto adhuc quærendum" (p 733). Next it is to be observed that the grammar has to be stretched, and "him to" must be referred to Ecgbriht, over a distance which nothing less than certainty as to the sense could bridge over. In this state of the case, I will venture to propose a new translation which is a little speculative, but which may be worth trying where the old one stands on such dubious ground. "They drove Baldred the king over the Thames; and the Kentish men threw off their allegiance to him, as did Surrey, Sussex, and Essex, on the ground that they had originally been unjustly subdued by his family." The two words on which this great alteration of sense turns, are to cirdon and from. From instead of meaning removal, separation, 'away from;' is here made to be passival, and to mean 'by' of the agent. This use, though archaic and uncommon, is well enough known, and need not be questioned if we can settle the other. It is to cirdon, which I venture to suspect may mean the very opposite of that sense

which ordinarily, and not groundlessly, has been assigned to it. The old rendering may be justified by many passages, e.g. Exod. xxxiv. 31, ba clipode he hig. ba cirde Aaron and ba vldestan men to him=Then called he them; then turned Aaron and the rulers to him. Notwithstanding, I think that him to cirde in our text is 'turned from him,' rejected him, cast him off. The 'to' is not the 'to' of adhesion; but the other, which means severance (Lat. dis-, German zer-). See compounds with to- in Glossary. A happy illustration is in E 1094 (p 230 t), 'hi þa mid mycelon unsehte to cyrdon'=cum gravibus inimicitiis discesserunt (Gibson); they parted with great dissension (Stevenson); they separated with great animosity (Thorpe). If my version is right, all the Latin chroniclers are wrong, which on the one hand gives a check to my confidence; but on the other, it would throw a great light on the history of the Language to recover a sense which to Ethelweard and his successors was remote and obscure.

The expression genydde (to which anidde in this place is probably equivalent) occurs repeatedly in Orosius, of forced adhesion, e. g. Book iii. c. ix. § 6. in Ed. Bosworth. "And sixxan for on Cilicium, and þæt folc to him genydde; and sixxan on Roxum þæt igland, and þæt folc to him genydde. And æfter þam he for on Egypti, and hý to him genydde." Also Book v. c. xii. § 4: and in Book v. c. xv. § 3. we have the inverse; "Germanie gesohton Agustus ungenydde him to frixe" = The Germans voluntarily besought the favour of Augustus.

827 A. þus micel rice] Hæfde ærest 8ysses gemetes rice Ælle &c., Beda ii. 5.

827. Dore] near Sheffield, just within the border of Derbyshire. Again 942. Here, as there, it marks the verge of Mercia and the confines of Northumbria.

835. Her cuom . . . winnende wæron] Florence renders thus: Dani multa cum classe in Occidentalium Britonum terram quæ Curvalia vocatur, appulerunt; cum quibus Britones fœdus paciscuntur, et eos secum ducentes, fines regni Ecgbrihti regis depopulantur.

836. iii gear] ein Irrthum für dreizehn. (Lappenberg). Ecgbryht spent the time of his exile at the court of Charlemagne.

839 T. Cwantawie] Cantwarabirig C; Cantwic D E. See note in MHB.

840. This Annal looks rather like a repetition of 833; but both are found in all the Chronicles, Saxon and Latin.

851. Æþelstan cyning] brother of Æþelwulf and king of Kent. Chr. Melrose.

851 A. AND PY ILCAN] These capitals probably represent the national exultation at so novel and promising an event as a naval victory over the vikings. In B it is explicitly said, that they fought in ships—gefuhtan on scipum—and so also C D E, and even F, Æ elstan cing gefeht on scipe agean hæpenæ. Cf. Dean Hook, Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, vol. i. p 292.

852 E. græfan] This doubtful word was boldly rendered by Gibson as mineral coal, "duodecim plaustra carbonum fossilium;" and so all the Editors since ('coal,' Ingram, Stevenson; 'pit-coal,' Thorpe), except MHB, where it is prudently left untranslated. We have hardly an indication that this kind of fuel was known in Saxon times. Mr. Wright ("Domestic Manners," p 21) thinks he finds one in the Vocabularies, where col and synder are rendered carbo and scorium. The item reads very well as fuel in association with those before and after it; and a suitable etymology is obvious, as Mr. Stevenson has noted, from grafan, to dig, mine, quarry. But it may be asked, is it likely, if græfa had been once a word in Lincolnshire, Northants, &c., for coal; and if this article had been so well known that Peterborough Abbey received twelve loads of it every year from a single estate; is it likely that this name of a useful commodity would have quickly disappeared? Yet no trace of it is found anywhere.—Another consideration may influence our interpretation. Where should the lessee of Sempringham, as it is now called, in the south of Lincolnshire, procure twelve load of pit-coal? A glance at a geological map shews no coal measures nearer than Derbyshire! I conclude that the pit-coal must be given up, and that græfa was gravel for the annual repair of the dykes, embankments, and roads, so necessary a provision in the Fens. It is quite possible that the wood mentioned before, and the fagots or stakes which come after, may, one or both, have regarded the same service.

We find at a later date the representatives of the Abbey of Peterborough are held responsible for considerable works of this nature, as the following extract will shew. In an Ordnance of the Commission of Sewers for the Fens (A. D. 1616) it stands: "And that the Old Ea being another branch of the river Neene, from Claylake unto Middlehome, hard att Bulldyke End neere Peterborough, shall be roaded and cleansed to the old bottome and antient breadth, and all dames and other stopps therein shall be avoyded and utterly taken away by the Deane and Chapter of Peterborough or theyre tennants." Wells' History of the Bedford Level, vol. ii. p 45.

852 E. foora . . . foour . . . foour] Either horse-loads, or else

some definite quantity by weight or measure. Halliwell v. Fother, says 19 cwt. It occurs in Chaucer, Prologue 532, where the reading is not ylaid (Tyrwhitt), but jladde (Bodl. MS. 3360).

852 E. mittan] In the Lindisfarne Gospels, sub modio Matt. v. 15, is rendered under mitte vel under sestre; and in Rushworth, under mytte; where in the WS. Gospp. it is under cyfe.

853. domne Leo] This form is found also in the Saxon Beda iii. 14. "min domne bisceop," for the Latin "domine antistes."

855 A. Adam. primus homo et pater noster. est Xps.] In this ascension from Adam to Christ, we have something like the train of thought by which Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom. vi. § vii. p 769) deduces the pedigree of Greek philosophy from Christ as the primæval source. Later philosophers being descendants of Zeno, Aristotle, Epicurus, Socrates,—these of Pythagoras, Pherecydes, Thales,—the parents of these again having been the Egyptians, Indians, Babylonians; the scale at length ascends to the original parents of mankind; and these received all their light from Him that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. Blunt, Early Fathers, p 174.

865. him feoh geheton wið þam friðe] See Dean Hook, Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, vol. i. p 291. The version of Asser (whose chronology differs by a year) is as follows: Anno dominicæ incarnationis DCCCLXIV Pagani hyemaverunt in insula Tanet, et firmum fædus cum Cantuariis pepigerunt; quibus Cantuarii pecuniam pro fædere servato reddere promiserunt; interea tamen vulpino more Pagani noctu clam castris erumpentes, fædere disrupto, et promissionem pecuniæ spernentes (sciebant enim majorem pecuniam se furtiva præda quam pace adepturos) totam orientalem Cantiæ plagam depopulati sunt.

865. up bestæl] It is strange that the force of up should have been overlooked by the classical scholars who have laboured on the Chronicles, since it is exactly like the well-known use of ἄνω for going 'up the country' or inland, from the coast. The enemy was encamped on Thanet, but they stole a raid into the heart of the country. In 901, where the transaction is all inland, the same expression occurs without up: cf. also 876. Other instances are, uppe on londe, 897 (p 95 l); upbecoman=they landed, p 115; up eodon, 998; upgang=an inland expedition, 1009 (p 143): but the most decisive place is in 1046 (1), ægðer ge upganges ge wæteres. Compare Ælfric's Homilies, vol. i. p 312 (Ed. Thorpe); where, speaking of Pharaoh's pursuit of the Israelites into the Red Sea, Đaða he com

on middan være sæ, þa wæs þæt Godes folc upagán = By the time he (Pharaoh) had reached the middle of the sea, the people of God was safe on shore. Also up on lande, id. p 162.

866 A. Æþered] Æðelred E. The form Æþered is constant in A here and 868 and elsewhere, not only of this king, but also of the Archbishop Æþered, 888. So also BCD agree with A, and E is the earliest that introduces the form Æðelred. But at 888 all the MSS. down to F agree in omitting the l.

867. ungecyndne cyning] See Abp. Trench on "a kindly king," in English Past and Present, p 136. Cf. infra, p 126 h, ... goda purh gecyndne cræft=naturæ indole bonus (Gibson); and p 222 m, Normandige p land wæs his gecynde=Normandy was his birthright.

867. late on geare] The word late=serd, is a word which the modern English possesses in common with the Low German dialects, where the Hoch Deutsch has spät. At Hamburg, you may hear the boatmen who have been in good time for a chance, call out to those who come up afterwards, that they are 'al to laat.'

867. to pam gecirdon pet] they resolved that they would fight &c., MHB; they came to the resolution that &c., Thorpe.

871. wip alne pone here on Æsces dune] This is the Battle of Ashdown which the White Horse of Berkshire is supposed to commemorate.

871 X. Meretune] Merantune B; Meredune D; Mæredune E; Merentune F. Gibson says this is generally set down as Merdon (Wilts), meaning the place which is now written Marden near Devizes—but that others maintain it is Merton 3 m. from Bicester. He commends the enquiry to the attention of local antiquarians. Merton in Surrey, mentioned 755, Gibson does not bring in here. So generic a name is a poor geographical guide.

871. sumor lida] Miss Gurney translated this "summer pestilence" on the authority of Lye; and also because it appeared to her more probable than the astiva quies of Gibson, or the astivus exercitus of Athelweard and Henry of Huntingdon. Mr. Thorpe, Translation of Lappenberg, vol. ii. p 45, pronounces Ethelwerd's version undoubtedly right. Lappenberg (Geschichte, vol. i. p 312) would correct the text and read sumor lida, i. e. astiva classis. But we find yalida for a ship in Beowulf 395. The accompaniments of the root lidan=to go, cannot easily be separated off from those which belong to the German verb leiden=to suffer. Diefenbach (Gothisches Wörterbuch, vol. ii. p 131) throws them into one group, and remarks on the abnormal shifting of the dental, and also on the

confused intermingling of the two senses, t. going, 2. suffering, which he is at a loss how to connect, save by the medium-idea of fatigue. He prefers after all to suppose that two distinct roots have run together.

871 A. p 76. anlipig aldormon] Only in A. In BCDE the adjective is dropped, and the substantive put in the plural. Gibson translates, singulis ducibus. MHB has, single caldormen. Mr. Thorpe, individual aldermen. We have not in English a proper adjective which—like anlipig in Saxon and singulus in Latin—conveys the idea of numerous and solitary undertakings. Infra, p 218 b, 'an ælpig' represents only one of these ideas, 'one single.' In the parable where they received 'every man a peny,' and where the Gospel has 'syndrige penegas,' a Homily has 'pa underfengon hi ænlipige penegas.' Thorpe's Analecta, p 74. In the Paris Psalter, Ps. xiii. 2, it appears in the simple sense, 'no fordon anlepe'=non est usque ad unum. In Wiclif it appears as oonlypi, Luke vii. 12; viii. 42; ix. 38.

874. Hreope dune] Rippon C marg.: cf. 457 note.

874 A. anum unwisum] BCDE give the name, Ceolwulfe anum &c. Of this Ceolwulf II. of Mercia there is extant 'a beautiful and unique penny,' in the possession of Mr. Assheton. It is figured in Mr. Hawkins's account of the Cuerdale coins: Numismatic Chronicle, vol. v. p 10, 1843. Jubilee Edition of the Works of King Alfred, part ii. p 142.

875. Hreope dune] Rypon non Rypton upon Trent C marg. The annotator is mistaken. In Beda v. 1. we have the Saxon form for Rypon as 'Inhrypum.' This is rendered 'Repton' by MHB.

875. p 78. eft hergade on Peohtas] The correction of a oft instead of eft is supported by the other Chronicles B C D E, and justified by the sense. Here is a point in common with the Irish Annalists. Ann. Ulst. 874. Congressio Pictorum for Dubgallu (i. e. against the Danes) et strages magna Pictorum facta est.

876. Her hiene bestæl se here into Werham Wesseaxna fierde] In rendering this archaic passage, modern translators have gone wrong, first by taking Asser and Florence for their guides rather than the Saxon words; and, next, by a misapplication of the Latin. Thus the word flerde has come to be a castle. 'Castellum' in Ass. Flor. is (an extra, descriptive of Werham, but it is) not offered as an equivalent of flerde; he ignores the words 'Wesseaxna fierde.' The fact appears to be that the translator, whoever he was, of that

version which is common (or nearly so) to Asser and Florence, seems not to have found it convenient to render these words. It is of course possible that they were absent in his copy—the phrase would still be complete without them (e. g. 865)—but it is difficult to adopt this explanation when we find the said words in ABCDE. We have the less hesitation in thinking that the same difficulty was felt by the ancient as by the modern translators, because one of them, and he the earliest to whom a date can be assigned, viz. Æthelweard, has made the most romantic nonsense in his attempt to turn it into Latin.

The obscurity results from two causes. I. The indistinctness of the case-ending of fierde. It is a genitive, in construction with a compound verb in be- privative. If it had been a conspicuous genitive like 'rices besciered' 821, no one would have mistaken it. Or again, if it had had its article before it, as 'bestælon pære fierde' = stole away from the army (Thorpe) in this same annal, it would have been a little clearer. But, 2. what has tended still more to obscure the relation between bestæl and fierde, is the awkward and, I suppose we may say, archaic and even rude collocation. In the case quoted from 821, as well as in the parallel case in this same annal, the genitive is inseparate from its verb. But the meaning certainly is: Here the invading force deluded the national army and got into Werham.

876. apas sworon on pam halgan beage] beah is generally a ring; and thence particularly any circular ornament, frontlet, bracelet, necklace; all which notions may be seen condensed in its modern form badge. Those who are familiar with the collections of barbarian antiquities, such as are to be seen at Copenhagen or Dublin, know how largely primitive wealth was invested in ringed or spiral ornaments. The fashion survives in the 'crown' which is its most select example, and in the 'wedding ring' which is its most universal. These are still 'holy badges' upon which oaths are sworn. The Norsk name for the ring-oath was Baug-eiðr: cf. Egilsson in voc.

Other Saxon instances of the word may be seen, e.g. Cod. Dipl. 694—"anes beages is on syxtigum mancussum goldes"—apparently a golden *crown* 60 mancus-weight. In Ælfric's Homilies, vol. i. pp 416, 417, the martyr's 'crown of glory' is wuldor-beah; and he who is 'crowned with glory' is (p 52) said to be gewuldorbeagod. In Wright's Vocabularies, p 61, Dextrochirium=brad earm-beah; p 94, Umbo=rand-beah.

The French retain the word in bague, a ring; yet more significantly in the phrase bagues et joyaux, for valuables in jewellery; and une bague au doigt = a feather in one's cap.

876. and ergende wæron and hiera tilgende] "and were ploughing and some of them (?) were tilling." This hiera seems to be an archaic use of the genitive, in the sense of some=έξ αὐτῶν. The Asser-Florence version is founded on a confusion with here army: "illamque cum suo exercitu coluit."

877. This annal is very awkwardly put together, but I do not now, as I once did, suspect a dislocation. The sequence of events is made clear, if we observe that "and se cyning Ælfred æfter pam gehorsudan here mid fierde råd" looks back to the movement of the mounted Danes at the close of the previous annal, and 'råd' may conveniently be regarded as a pluperfect—had ridden. The whole of this sentence down to "... to ne meahte" is parenthetical, and inserted here, because as the scene shifts from Swanawic to Exeter, it is necessary to report how Ælfred had come to Exeter. The treaty, hostages, &c., are not therefore in consequence of Ælfred's pursuit to Exeter, but of the disaster at Swanawic.

In Florence the whole narrative is omitted, which is strange, as it is unconsciously repeated in Asser; the first time more fully than in the Saxon, and a second time more meagrely. The two relations are given as of distinct events, and are connected by "Eodem anno." This delusion is partly sustained by the diversity of corruption which the name Swanawic has undergone. In one of the two accounts it is Gnavewic, and in the other Suanavine. The superior purity of the Saxon Chronicles appears here as at so many other places; for the modern name of Swanage bears testimony to the genuineness of 'Swanawic'=the village of swineherds. Swanage has been thus described by Mr. Kingsley: "A little semicircular bay on the E. of the Isle of Purbeck, its northern horn of chalk cliffs, and the southern of Purbeck marble. A quaint old-world village slopes down to the water over the green downs; quarried like some gigantic rabbitburrow, with the stone-workings of 700 years. Land-locked from every breeze, huge elms flourish on the dry sea-beach, and the gavest and tenderest garden-flowers bask under the hot stone-walls." Illustrated London News, December 26, 1857; in connection with Mr. Beckles's geological diggings.

878. buton pam cyninge Ælfrede] "Four words very powerful in their plain simplicity" (Pauli).

878. æfter wudum] per sylvestria (Asser): cf. p 90 h, æfter þæm wealda. In Somersetshire they still say, going along 'after the wall,'

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'after the stream,' to signify following the line of. It is by transition from this usage, that we have the phrases 'After this manner,' and 'Deal not with us after our sins.'

878. p 80. on West Seaxum on Defena scire Asser describes the scene of this decisive conflict by name, as 'Arx Cynuit.' Various attempts have been made along the north coast of Devon to identify this Arx Cynuit. Mr. Kingsley, in the opening of Westward Ho, brings it in as one of the historical features of the neighbourhood of Bideford. His young hero, temp. Eliz., is on the high ground that overlooks the estuary of the Torridge. "Beneath him on his right, the Torridge, like a land-locked lake, sleeps broad and bright between the old park of Tapeley and the charmed rock of the Hubbastone, where seven hundred years ago, the Norse rovers landed to lav siege to Kenwith Castle, a mile away on his left hand; and not three fields away are the old stones of 'The Bloody Corner,' where the retreating Danes, cut off from their ships, made their last fruitless stand against the Saxon sheriff and the valiant men of Devon. Within that charmed rock, so Torridge boatmen tell, sleeps now the old Norse Viking in his leaden coffin, with all his fairy treasure and his crown of gold; and as the boy looks at the spot, he fancies, and almost hopes, that the day may come when he shall have to do his duty against the invader as boldly as the men of Devon did then." Such is the illusory effect of tradition, even in modern times, that a mere conjecture of Camden's has taken root as a local reality. One would suppose from the above, that there was a genuine 'Kenwith Castle,' which the writer identifies with the historical event alluded But Camden knew of no such name in his day. He says: "Hinc Tawus Towridgi aquis auctior Sabrinianum mare petit. An verò Chimligh illa sit Kinuith castrum cuius meminit Asserius, non facilè dixerim." A far more probable spot appears to me to be 'Countesbury' near Linton; and possibly, if an elder form of that name could be found, it might approach nearer to 'Cynuit.'

878. p 80. Ecgbryhtes stane] Probably the judgment-seat of the district, and where the hundred-gemot or the scir-gemot was held, as at Ægelnoöes stane. Cod. Dipl. 755. The name has been identified with *Brixton* Deverill near Warminster.

878 E. p 81. Wealwudu] All the earlier Chronicles have 'Selwood,' but we need not suppose this to be a mere blunder of E. The meaning of 'Selwood' is the 'great wood,' and the meaning of 'Wealwudu' (cf. 'Weallande,' 1040 E) is the 'Welsh wood.' Selwood was for a long period the barrier between the Saxon and the Welsh territories, and it is quite conceivable, that it may have been

purposely spoken of as Welshwood. At the risk of seeming to explain *ignotum per ignotius*, I cite 'Wychwood' as meaning 'Hwiccian wood,' if we may be guided by the spelling 'Hwiccewudu' in Cod. Dipl. 247.

878 A. p 80. behinon sæ]=on this side the channel. Infra, p 84, behienan Wendel sæ=this side the Mediterranean.

To this word answers the Latin citra, and that rare preposition of middle English, behither, which is found in Barnabas Oley's Preface to Herbert's Country Parson: "I have not observed any one thing (behither vice) that hath occasioned so much Contempt to the Clergy, as Unwillingness to take, or keep, a poor Living."

878. p 80 m. Epandune] Edyngton C marg.: cf. 457 note.

This place and Iglea have been variously identified. Iglea has been fixed at *Clay* Hill near Warminster (Gough and Sir C. Hoare); *Leigh* near Westbury (Gibson); *Highley* Common near Melksham (Whitaker), which seems every way the most probable.

Epandun has been identified with Edington near Westbury, partly because of its name, and partly because of its White Horse and Bratton Camp. Dr. Thurnam in Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine, 1853, maintains the view of Mr. Whitaker, that it is Yatton, five miles N. W. of Chippenham. I am inclined to place it at Heddington, on the line of the Roman road from Bath to Marlborough; to which it was assigned by Milner, History of Winchester, 1798. Dr. Thurnam objects strongly to this opinion, because the place is spelt Edinton in Domesday.

878. p 80. Alre] Aller (Somersetsh.) locally pronounced Oller. Many years ago, a friend took me to view the place and to call on Dr. Young, then Incumbent of Aller. My eye was caught by a vase, looking like a rude font, erected at the bottom of the lawn. On enquiry, it had been got out of the deep moat-like pond, which is at the foot of the slope. From time immemorial this water had never been cleared out, till Dr. Young had it done, and then this font came to light. Everything about the present church betokens energetic restoration in Norman times, and it is natural to conclude that then this old font was thrown aside. Of course this cannot be the very font at which Alfred stood sponsor to Guthrum; for the simple and conclusive reason, that such a thing is too good to be true.

878. p 80 l. crismlising] chrismatis solutio. Asser. Flor.

This was a rite in use up to the Reformation, Maskell i. 36; iii. xxi. note.

Unction (χρῖσμα; in English, 'chrism' and later 'chrysom;' in French, 'le saint chrême') was used in Baptism, Confirmation, Coro-

nation. A linen band was then put about the head or other anointed part, and kept on for certain days. This was the vestis chrismalis, pannus chrismalis, or simply chrismale. The removal was done with ceremony, and in church ("tertia die vadant...ad ecclesiam ad chrismalia deponenda," Rubric in Maskell i. 36). This is the crismlising.

After Coronation it was not removed till the eighth day. "In the old account of the coronation of Henry VI. we find, after the anointing: 'And then they leyd a certeyn softe thynge to all the places so annoynted. And on his hede dyd a white coyfe of silk, and so he went and lay viij dayes. And the viijth daye they shuld wasshe it of hym.' Also in the Devyse for the coronation of Henry VIII: 'He shall put vpon the kyng's hed a coyfe, the same to be broughte to the grete chamberlayne: whiche shall contynuelly abyde on the kings hed to the viijth daye next following, at whiche viij dayes [end], after a solempne masse seyd by a Bisshop before the king, the seid Bishop shall take the coyf from the kyng's hed.'" Maskell iii. xxi. From a note on this page in Maskell it would appear that this passage of our Chronicle is the most ancient mention known to Ritualists of the deposition of the Chrismale.

De Quincey ("Essays") says that, to this hour, in our London bills of mortality, there is one subdivision headed, "Chrysom children," viz. those which have died within a month from birth. It was the custom to bury them in baptismal robes; to which the northern Spaniards (Biscay) add, "A happy garland of the pure white rose." The value anciently attached to chrism in baptism is traceable in the fact, that the word stamped itself on a whole round of objects. There was the chrysom itself, or act of anointing; the chrysom-oil; the chrysom-child; the chrysom-vesture.

879. wicenga] This Saxon form is less delusive as to its etymology than the Norsk form viking, which has suggested the erroneous connection with 'king.' Mr. Dasent has already pointed out that this word is a derivative from vik=a creek, sinus maris, which might well have been the basis of their designation, as they used creeks for piratical lurking-places. Possibly, however, a more general sense attached to the word; for vik was used also of the open sea, and viking might have been merely 'son of the sea,' one who lived by sea-plunder, a sea-rover.

880. Ciren ceastre] cyceter C marg.: cf. 457 note.

881. ufor] This is not merely 'further' (MHB), 'ulterius' (Grimm, Gr. i. 247), nor 'up' (Thorpe)—but as Ingram has it, 'higher up,' superius, ἀνωτέρω. It is the comparative of an old and lost uf (a

dialectic variety of up) extant in German in the prep. auf -but which in the Northern dialects faded into of, (as ufor into ofor (E 882), unde ofer, subst. adv. prep.) This modified or corrupt of came thus to be confusable with our modern preposition of; and hence one probable cause of the neglect of the former. But it is important to make acquaintance with this of, because though nowhere found alone, it continued in use in compounds. The A.S. verbs in of- have been ill understood, from the error of association with $of = ab = a\pi \delta$, instead of of=auf, with a force in composition much like that of ofer-. The simple positive uf or ufe we probably have in the proper name Ufegeat (p 140) [= Highgate]: also in Offa, Yffi (Bd. ii. 14, 20), Yffe (560), Uffingas, Ubii. Comparative ufor, in its adj. use in Bd. v. 2. on væm uferan dæle=in superiore parte: Jos. iv. 6. on uferum dagum, in days to come. Superlative, Gen. xl. 17. on 8am ufemystan windle=in the uppermost basket. Adverb of place, ufan =ἄνωθεν, desuper. In 882, feor (A) is probably a mere error for ufor, as appears from BCD.

883 E. ælmessan to Rome þe Ælfred eing gehet þider] F Lat.: Rex Ælfredus misit elemosinam quam voverat dum sederet contra exercitum cum paucis, cum multi essent inimici, Romæ.

F 884. An insertion misplaced by a hundred years: this Chronicle (F) has the death of Ædelwold again under its true year 984.

885. p84. Wendel sæ] This name for the Mediterranean indicates a time when that sea was known to the northern nations through or in connection with the Slavonic people, who were formerly known collectively by the name Winidæ. See Professor Max Müller's Lectures, p 204.

886. be ær east gelende] qui antea in Oriente appulerant (Gibson); that before were bent eastward (Ingram); which before had drawn eastward (MHB); which had before landed in the east (Thorpe). The reference is to the opening of 885, where the piratical army parts in two, "oper dæl east" = altera pars Orientem versus. That division which had then moved eastwards, now reversed its course. This is plainly the sense; but the word is not easily accounted for. The same verb is used again below, p 92 t, in the participle, 'he wæs on hergad gelend' = he was gone foraging: where it is a reiteration of the 'ut afaren on hergad' some lines above. I am not aware of any instance of this verb in the sense of 'to land, appellere,' which Mr. Thorpe has assigned to it in his Anal. Glos. v. Gelendian. There is a 'gelende' on p 45 of the Analecta (Ed. 1846) which has to do with 'land' in the sense of ager: " Da seofon mynstru he gelende

mid his agenum"=These seven minsters he endowed with land from his own property. As the counterpart of this 'gelende,' we have in Chronicle E (p 233 t) 'belende'=deprived of lands.

But this 'gelende' is quite foreign to our text, which has to do with movement; and if connected with 'land' at all, is so only in the vaguest and most general way. We have our word again in Orosius, Book iii. c. 1. § 4. Ed. Bosworth; "æfter þam Conon gelende to Ahtene;" where Professor Bosworth has justly rendered it, "Conon came to Athens."

I suspect a connection between this verb and the adjective lang = long; of which we have derivatives signifying movement of the desires; e.g. langian, verlangen—lango, desiderium—langung, desiderium—langung, desiderium—langung-hwil, tempus tædii: and we still use the verb to long for the expression of urgent desire. I imagine then that 'gelende' is quasi 'gelencgde' a preterite of 'lencgan or lengan,' of which we have 'lengde' below 1072, only in the sense of delay. Whether the German 'lenken' is of this root or not, it is a very inviting word in this connection. Sich rechts—links lenken is just the notion required.

After five centuries we find it again, e.g. in "Cheuelere Assigne," line 5 (Roxburghe Club), not much modified in sense:

For this I saye by a lorde was lente in an yle That was called Lyor, a lond by him selfe.

Also, compare Halliwell's Archaic Dictionary, v. lent; where is cited the following MS. instance:

On a laund are thay *lent* By a forest syd.

886. gesette Ælfred Lunden burg &c.] Interea obsidetur a rege Ælfredo urbs Lundonia: et quem ingenio quem occursu non superaverat civilis discordia sæva, hunc ut redemptorem suscepere cuncti, et maximè genus Saxonum, excepto Barbaræ gentis et his qui sub manu eorum tum captivi tenebantur. Etiam post manus catervæ confirmatas, ibi constituitur dux Æthred à rege præfato, custodiendi arcem. Æthelweard.

Ælfred Angulsaxonum rex, post incendia urbium stragesque populorum, Lundoniam civitatem honorificè restauravit et habitabilem fecit; quam genero suo Ætheredo Merciorum comiti commendavit servandam, ad quem regem omnes Angli et Saxones, qui prius ubique dispersi fuerant, aut cum Paganis sub [v.l. sine] captivitate erant, voluntariè converterunt et suo dominio se subdiderunt. Asser. Flor.

Rex Anglorum post incendia urbium stragesque populorum, Londoniam

permaximam civitatem honorificè restauravit et habitabilem fecit, quam Ethelredo præcipuo duci Merciorum commendavit servandam. Omnes verd, Angli et Saxones, qui privs ubi ubi erant dispersi cum Paganis aut à captivitate liberati, venerunt sponte ad regis præsentiam, sponte se suo domino inclinantes. Ipse autem ut erat clementissimæ mentis cunctis indulsit patrocinium suæ benignitatis. Simeon Dunelm.

Alfredus rex Londoniam obsedit, quia maxima vis Dacorum secuta fuerat Gallicanum exercitum, omnes autem Anglici statim ei subditi sunt et receperunt eum. Daci namque aufugerunt. Rex verd tradidit Ædredo duci civitatem in custodiam. Henry of Huntingdon.

King Alfred laid siege to the city of London and took it; the Angles flocked to him, and the Danes retreated. He entrusted Ethelred, the earl of the Mercians, with the restoration of the city. Chron. Melrose (tr. Stevenson).

In these versions there is a manifest contradiction. According to some, London was desolate through the ravages of the wars (Asser, Flor., Simeon)—according to others, it was in a state fit to be besieged (Æthelweard, Hen. H., Melrose). Nay more, according to Henry Hunt. the opportunity to lay siege to it arose out of the abstraction of important numbers which had joined the army for Gaul; implying that its normal condition at that time was so populous and strong as to defy attack.

It is plain to see that these conflicting accounts have risen out of the text before us, and how they have risen. The divergence was caused by the different senses put upon the word gesette. This word means founded, instituted, colonized, peopled (Oros. B. i. c. 10. § 5. and B. iii. c. 5. § 2. Ed. Bosworth; also see infra 890, the intr. gesæt); but it seemed a strange thing to say of so ancient a city, that "Alfred founded it." Hence the explanations of Asser-Flor. &c. about the desolations of the wars, by which, in conjunction with a modified version of gesette (viz. honorifice restauravit et habitabilem fecit), the paradox of 'founding London' was eluded.

The other class of Latinizers could not by any contrivance bring themselves to admit a founding or even a refounding of London, and so they virtually changed gesette into besæt. Such a clumsy solution need not astonish us either in Æthelweard (cf. Introduction) or in Henry of Huntingdon (cf. p 113 note). They translated a word which means he founded by he besieged.

Yet with all this violence, they are able to render better justice to their original than the accommodating Asser-Flor. They are able at least to bring out a reasonable sense, without disturbing the order of the original. Which Asser-Flor. has not been able to do.

For what sense could there be in interposing a general adhesion of all Angli et Saxones everywhere, between what Alfred did for London, and what hands he left the place in? So Asser-Flor. has coupled the two latter items, and then appended the adhesion. Both classes have found it necessary to do violence to the text.

It is easier to see that the Latiners are wrong, than to supply the correction. I offer the following rather with the hope of stimulating enquiry, and particularly among local archæologists, rather than as expecting it will be received as final. London was a flourishing and opulent city, the chief emporium of commerce in the island, and the residence of foreign merchants. Properly, it was now an Angle city, the chief city of the Anglian nation of Mercia, but the Danes had settled there in great numbers, and they had numerous captives that they had taken in the late wars. Thus the Danish population had a preponderance over the Anglian free population, and the latter were glad to see Alfred come and restore the balance in their favour. It was of the greatest importance to Alfred to secure this city, not only as the capital of Mercia (caput regni Merciorum Malmesb.), but as the means of doing what Mercia had not done, viz. of making it a barrier to the passage of pirate ships inland. Accordingly, in the year 886, Alfred planted the garrison of London (i. e. not as a town is garrisoned in our day, with men dressed in uniform and lodged in barracks, but) with a military colony of men to whom land was given for their maintenance, and who would live in and about a fortified position under a commanding officer. It appears to me not impossible that this may have been the first military occupation of Tower Hill, but this is a question for the local antiquary.

All I would insist upon here, is this; that Lunden burh is not to be taken as merely equivalent to Lunden. I have counted 63 places in the Chronicles in which the latter occurs, but I have only been able to discover 13 instances of Lundenburh. In one of these, 896 init., the Danes are said to have gone up the Lea and made a strong work 20 miles above Lundenburh. This description would be particularly appropriate, if Lundenburh occupied the site of the Tower. Also, one then sees why they should go up the Lea, viz. because their old passage up the Thames was intercepted. Upon this view, the whole sentence is in sense and order: The same year Alfred founded the burh of London, and he was joined by all Londoners of Angle-race who were not compulsorily prevented by Danish servitude. And he committed the burh to aldorman Æsered to hold.

I know not how much weight is to be given to the text of F in

this place, but it certainly has an appearance of being independent of the other Chronicles, and it rather lends countenance to the emphasis I have claimed for the word burh. Her gesette Ælfred cing pa burh Lundene. and him eall Angeleynn to cyrde.

It is a pleasure for once to observe that Æthelweard, against whom we have so much to say, is here (as the nearest in date ought to be) the best interpreter (e. g. catervæ—arcem), so far as his meaning can be discerned through the mist of his puzzle-headed rhetoric.

887. The deposition of Charles-le-Gros. His accession is given above at 885; both dates true. For the details of Carlovingian affairs, consult the voluminous "Histoire Littéraire de la France," by the Benedictines of St. Maur.

887. p 86. to geboren] born to the inheritance of the empire. The to here acts a semi-prepositional part, as in to gehalgode three lines above. But the compiler or copier of E in the twelfth century, though he understood to gehalgode, did not understand to geboren. The verbal prefix to, so largely used in our ancient language, had already begun to fade out of importance, in proportion as it extended its purely prepositional functions. Within the literary period since 1611, educated men lost sight (for a time) of the meaning of a verb compounded with this prefix, although it stood in a tolerably conspicuous situation, viz. Judges ix. 53.

887. p 86. Æþelhelm aldor mon] Æthelhelm comes Wiltunensium (Asser). At the record of his death, below 898, he is called in The American Wiltunscire ealdormon. He is a person of mark, as the protector of the young Dane Odo, who was driven from his home for embracing Christianity, and who afterwards became Archbishop of Canterbury. Dean Hook, vol. i. p 362.

887. p 86; and 888. lædde . . . ælmessan] So in Yorkshire they talk of *leading* hay, *leading* corn &c. from the field, in carts and wagons. The modern phraseology is, 'to *convey* certain presents, &c.' Dean Hook, vol. i. p 364.

Chaucer's Ploughman in the Prologue, 1.532, was one 'That hadde ilad of dong ful many a fothur,' i.e. who had carried a-field a great many horse-loads of dung. This reading has been restored in the Edition of the Percy Society, by Mr. Thomas Wright.

891. butan ælcum gere rum] Stevenson translates "without any rudder." Ingram, "without any oars." The Saxon comprises both. The rowage and steerage were not so distinct as now. The steering was done by oar over the ship's side, as may be seen in old illuminations. Hence the term 'starboard'="the steering side." In Ohthere's Narrative (Oros. i. 1) steerbord and bæcbord stand for

starboard and larboard. But perhaps Gibson's "sine ullo remige" is the best of all. In the Vocabularies we find Remex, repra (Wright, p 48): Nauta, gerepru — as well as Aplustre, gerepru — (p 56): Remex vel nauta, regra (pp 73, 88). By butan ælcum geregrum was probably meant, without any mariners to navigate the craft.

891. And Swifneh se betsta lareow be on Scottum wæs gefor.] The cast of this phrase implies the scholastic celebrity which Ireland at this time enjoyed among the nations. "Swifneh died, chief doctor in Hibernia, the Academy of Europe." Scotus Erigena [Erin-born Scot], the beacon of learning and the ornament of the Frankish Court, was dead a few years earlier. Mr. Goldwin Smith says: "During the seventh and eighth centuries, and part of the ninth, Ireland played a really great part in European history." Irish History and Irish Character, p 28. It will please a philological eye to see these foreign names in their native form. Through the zeal of the Dublin scholars, the stores of Irish History are now open, and the distinguished names of each period are accessible. These four names are all found in the Index to the Annals of Ireland, by the Four Masters (Ed. O'Donovan), as borne by memorable personages about this date. The Irish forms are,

Dubshlaine,
Mac Beathaidh,
Maolionmain (Maelinmhain, Mod. Irish),
Suibhne.

The latter—the great teacher of Ireland—is identified in the Irish Obituary of 887. He is "Suibhne, son of Maclumha, anchorite and scribe of Cluain-mic-Nois." The Editor notes that the date 892 given in Sax. Chron. is the true year of his death, and that a tombstone inscribed with his name is still preserved at Clonmacnoise. He refers to Petrie's Round Towers, p 323.

Of the three pilgrims, it is possible that one of them is the "Maolionmain eccnaidh—ancoire Glinne da locha" = wise man and anchorite of Glendaloch; whose death is recorded in 953, sixty years after the present date. The probability is greatly heightened by the fact that this is the only individual of the name in the Index.

891. same] An archaism which has survived the handling of the copier in this manuscript only. All the others have altered it to sume, a foolish reading—as if there were two opinions, and "some men" held the identity of the comet with the stella crinita. It is either a relative pronoun="which same," δυπερ; or else an adverbial conjunction, meaning likewise, withal, pariter, etiam. The latter is rendered the more probable by Cædmon 397, swa some=

likewise; and by passages in Alfred's version of Boethius, where we have swa same, or eac swa same, i. e. 'likewise also.' In Orosius, p 45, Ed. Bosworth, women fight as well as (swa same swa) men; and in Apollonius, p 3, Ed. Thorpe, we read that he who rightly answered the riddle was led to execution swa same swa, i. e. just the same as he who interpreted it wrongly. This phrase is frequent in Old Saxon in the form so same; see Schmeller's Heliand, Glossary, v. Same. Also Ettmüller, Lex. Sax. p 625.

In another form it occurs in Orosius, cap. i. Narrative of Wulfstan, where a tribe of Esthonians is said to possess the art of making water to freeze, sam hit sy sumor, sam winter, just the *same*, whether it be winter or summer. Numerous examples of *sam*-, as a particle in composition, may be seen in Grimm, Gr. ii. p 764.

893 A. Bunnan] to bunan C; Boloniam que et bononia, hodie boleyn C marg.: cf. 457 note.

893. swa þæt hie asettan him on ænne siþ] Cf. 1001: swa þ hy upp asetton on ænne siþ swa þ hy asettan him upp ón ænne sið.

893 T. lið ut of þæm wealda] runs out of the weald. lið 3rd sing. pres. of liðan, to go, to pass, to move; from which came a family of words, mostly appropriated to navigation. See Ettmüller's Lexicon, p 190. Compare the following from a Copenhagen MS. (communicated in Archæological Journal, 1859): Se þe bið of earde and feor of his cyððe. hu mæg he ham cuman gif he nele leornian hu se weg lioge þe lið to his cyððe? He who is absent from his land and far from his people, how can he get home if he will not learn how the way lies that goes to his country?

893. on ha ea hi tugon up hiora scipu obhone weald. iiii mila fram hæm muhan utan weardum] They towed their ships up that river so far as the weald, four miles from the outside of the harbour. So much has the coast changed in that part, that there is no river now to be found which would admit the Danish ships. (As to their probable size, see note on 787.) But there are three places where, in the early condition of this shifting shore, vessels may have passed up to what is now the high land N. of the shore. According to the present aspect of the ground, Rye seems the most likely spot, as indicating the former outflow of a large river; next in promise, comes Romney, where there must once have been a large estuary. When we search for the inland spot towards which they made their way, it is the gap between Appledore and Ebony Chapel that is selected alike by the explorer of the country and the explorer of the map. There is a line of fault in the deeper seated strata

from Tenterden through the alluvial plain by Appledore, and extending on towards Romney, which may indicate an old channel. Probably there were two or three outlets diverging by Appledore. The elevated ground of Appledore, Playden, Ebony Chapel, Kennardington, &c., probably once formed the actual coast-line. These were high lands in early British times, with inlets of the sea converging to the N. W., and receiving the currents of the Weald country. That there was once a capacious river crossing the plain, was proved not many years ago by the discovery of a large vessel which was dug out of the alluvial soil two miles E. of Newenden.

But neither Rye nor Romney will satisfy all the conditions for identification with the muba of the text. Off at the eastern extreme of the plain we observe the name Lympne, which obviously claims connection with the ancient river 'Limen,' as well as with the harbour and Roman station 'Portus Lemanis,' which has been fixed in the Ordnance Map near Lympne. The question then rises, whether there was ever a river skirting that side of the plain and running out by Hythe. There is physical evidence to shew that the expanse of shingle between Hythe and Dymchurch is a very modern deposit, and that it is now gradually increasing. And there is some remarkable documentary evidence. In Cod. Dipl. 47 (A. D. 715) certain land is defined as lying "ad australem quippe fluminis quæ appellatur limin aea," the river being the N. boundary: and in No. 234 (A. D. 833) the river Limen or Limin is used as a S. boundary-"ab austro fluvius qui dicitur limin aee." In both these cases, the river is represented as holding a course E. and W. This evidence, joined with the other data, helps to the conclusion that in the eighth and ninth centuries a river ran from Appledore due E. towards Hythe, where was a harbour which is now represented by the shingle between Hythe and Dymchurch. The line of this river would be nearly the same as that of the new canal. It appears then that so late as the close of the ninth century, the river Limen flowing out by Hythe was the chief effluent of this Delta; but that the channel being silted up and the harbour filled with shingle, all superficial evidence of this river has disappeared. It seems that the next chief outlet was by way of Romney, perhaps not a great while after the Conquest. At length Romney harbour itself was stopped by a great storm about 300 years ago, which closed the inlet with shingle. Since that, the chief drain of water has been through the Rother to Rye, and this remains now the only extant channel of the three. At first, the three coexisted, though the other two may have been insignificant while the Limen was in full action. Of one we find

mention in Cod. Dipl. 1072, flumen quod vocatur Rumenea; and of the other we have evidence in the name Rother, which is an ancient river name, far older than the highest date contemplated in this note.

As to the shifting character of this district, Mr. Etheridge of the Geological Survey of Great Britain, to whom I am indebted for the materials of this note, says, that Lydd and New Romney once stood on the shore, and the coast is now increasing at the rate of eight yards per annum, the Lighthouse on Denge beach standing so much farther in every year. "I think the great alluvial plain of Romney Marsh and Walling Marsh covers up much of the early Physical History of that coast. There is no reason whatever why, in former times, there may not have been an extensive river running up to Appledore either from Romney or Rye or even Hythe."

There can be no doubt that Apuldre, which is mentioned in the next paragraph, and again on p 91, as the station of the Danish ships, is identical with this Appledore. The clearance of the forest of the Weald has caused the rivers to shrink, as the clearance of the sides of the Apennines has made the Campagna suffer from drought.

894 t. foregisla] It is not clear what is the signification of the fore- here and at 877, 878. Whether it expresses the representative function of the hostages, as being for their nation, or whether it signifies hostages from the foremost persons. Asser ad loc. speaks of "electos obsides." Except this, there is nothing in the Latin historians to distinguish foregislas from the simple gislas. But in 877 and 878, where hostages and oaths are combined, the latter are in both cases magnified by the adj. micle, so that fore would appear to have a like effect on the former.

894 h. oppe on heora healfe an. [Pa] A too rigid adherence to the MS. has here led me into an impracticable reading. The testimony of the next MSS. is for the reading, oppe on heora healfe. Ond pa &c.

894 h. rymet] room, space, opening. This uncommon word is found in Joshua i. 3, and it occurs repeatedly in Cod. Dipl. 594.

894 h. bi swa hwaperre efes swa hit poñ fierdleas wæs] The word efes, which we retain only for the eaves of the roof, seems to have been habitually appropriated to the margent of the wood: cf. Cod. Dipl. 209, to pæs wudes efese=to the wood's edge; 353,0% hit cimes to sære efese. Sonne å nors be wyrtwalan &c.; also 715, Hrisebyrgan be Cilternes efese=Risborough on the edge of Chiltern.

894 l. here hyo] army-supplies, provisions. See notes to S. Maria Ægyptiaca, p 115.

894 b. igga*] river-island, 'eyot.'

stemn gesetenne] stemninge gesetene BC; steminge gesetene D. Here we have the participle of an *intransitive* verb in concord with its indirect object, which is rather super-grammatical. It seems to have been attracted into conformity with the 'mete ge notudne' that was coming, and which is quite normal, as 'mete' is, in technical grammar, an accusative governed by 'notian.' Chaucer has,

It is ful faire a man to bear him even For al day meten men at unset steven. C.T. 1525.

In this passage the verb is settan=to appoint, statuere; but in our text it is sittan=to sit, sedere. For want of observing this distinction, Ettmüller (Lex. p 728) has wrongly rendered this place; illi habuerunt tempus præstitutum. It is, They had sate out or served their term of service: cf. 921, se fird stemn for ham.

894. p 91 h. buton swipe gewaldenum dæle easteweardes bæs folces] besides a very considerable body moving eastward, but they were of the people, self-enlisted volunteers, and no part of the flerd. This distinction between folc and fierd appears again, p 107 h, 'gegadorode micel folc hit.'

894. p 92 t. cumpæder] The Latin word compater, which probably at this date was still understood in its etymological sense, of the relation subsisting between two men who were godfathers to the same child, or between a godfather and the natural father. Alfred and Æbered were both in this relation to Hæsten, as appears in the previous sentences. Cf. Cod. Dipl. 709, Eadrico meo compatri. The word soon became generalized; and in the Lexicon Manuale Infimæ Latinitatis, par Maigne D'Arnis, it is rendered "Sodalis, amicus; camarade, ami." It began and ended much as our gossip (Sax. God sib, quasi coram Deo affinis).

Mary Queen of Scots, writing to the Constable de Montmorency, begins "Mon Compère;" in which case Miss Strickland says it was merely a term of familiarity. However, we find the feminine still in earnest use, in a letter of Melville to Queen Elizabeth, asking her to be gossip at the baptism of Mary's infant son James. For (says he) in England they call the comers (commères) gossips.

894. p 92 m. Buttingtune] Two places have hitherto contended for this site, viz. Boddington near Cheltenham and Buttington in Montgomeryshire near Welshpool. But Mr. Ormerod (Archæologia, vol. xxix; and Strigulensia, p 60) has put forward a claim for Buttinton in Tidenham, on the peninsula formed by the Severn and the Wye. There are traces of works here, though less considerable than

those at Buttington in Montgomeryshire. Mr. Ormerod grounds his claim mainly upon Matthew of Westminster's "paganos tam navali quam terrestri exercitu circumcinxit." No such thing appears in the text before us, but to the opposite effect. One is almost tempted to suspect that this 'Verwirrer der Geschichte' (as Lappenberg calls Matthew of Westminster) caught sight of 'sciphere' in the next line and imagined the rest. But it must be allowed, Mr. Ormerod's position has its advantages. It does not, however, suit 'pa up be Sæferne,' if this means that they went up-stream, which would seem to be its meaning, though not in Florence.

894. p 92 l. miclne] The omission of the 'e' is not mere haste; B has myclne. It is as proper a form as micelne.

894. p 93. westre ceastre] Westch' civitas legion est C marg.: cf. 457 note. They reached a waste or deserted fortress in Wirrall called Legaceaster. This is the true source of the name of "West Chester," which Richard of Cirencester, a contemporary of Chaucer, identifies with Deva, B. i. c. 6. § 27. All idea of this name having any connection with the 'West' is dissipated by this place in the Chronicle, for west=occidens, cannot take the inflection westre. That Chester was for a period desolate, like Uriconium or Silchester, may surprise any one to whom it is new, but it is no way contrary to the analogy or probability of history.

894. p 93. on ælcere efeneh&e] on every plain, or pasture field. The substantive efeneh& is the abstract of efen=even, smooth; and corresponds to the OHG forms ebanôd, m.; ebanôti, f.=planities (cf. Graff). This word both in England and in Germany has served for local names: we have it well preserved in Emneth near Wisbeach; and in Germany are found Ebnet, Ebnit, Breitebnet. Die Deutschen Ortsnamen von Ernst Förstemann: Nordhausen, 1863, p 62.

895. on foran winter] on forwerdne — B; on forweardne — C; on forweard — D.

896. p 94 h. gerypon . . . ripes] In Mr. Wright's Anglo-Saxon Vocabularies, p 74, Messor, riptere; Messis, ge rip: cf. Matth. ix. 38. In Somersetshire 'reaping' is pronounced 'ripping.'

gehawade] surveyed, inspected, reconnoitred; perlustravit. In Zosimas Fragm. p 108. l. 22. to pære halgan Godes cennestran hawiende=intuens, ἀτενίζουσα. Paris Psalter xiii. 3. See the few words of this family in Ettmüller, p 485; who observes that its analogue is not found in the other dialects.

Cwat brycge] Brycge D; below Bricge B C, and Brygcge D. Gibson shews it to be Bridgenorth, which place in his day was still known as 'Brigge.'

896. p 94 m. stæl wyrðe] The rendering 'captu dignæ' of Gibson is based on association with the verb 'to steal,' which is incongruous here. This stæl is identical with the German Stelle=place, room, station: and ships are stælwyrðe which are fit for their place, worthy of their post, seaworthy, serviceable. An analogous compound may be seen p 95 m, 'nytwyrðoste;' and in Boethius xl. 1, 'nytwyrþe.' The first English translation of this word is by Mr. Thorpe, who renders it by a later form of itself, stalworth. The only form of this word known to modern English is the Scottish(?) form stalwart; or it may be the alterate of stealweard, custos loci, the keeper and maintainer of the position.

I am indebted to my friend Mr. Baron for some excellent illustrations of this hitherto obscure word. Wiclif in Dan. viii. 24, "and his strengthe schal be maad stalworthe"=et roborabitur fortitudo ejus (Vulg.)—other instances in the Glossarial Index of the Oxford Edition. See also references in H. Coleridge's Glossarial Index, v. stalward and following words. Mr. Baron gives me Stallworthy as an existing surname.

Since the above was written, I have been surprised to find that Miss Gurney (1819) has here the palm over all the translators before or since. Thus: And all that were serviceable they brought into London.

897. p 95 h. ge*Sungnestan] Again 905. In Mr. Wright's Vocabularies, p 47, "Emeritus, provectus, gebungen."

897. p 95 m. unwealtran] less liable to roll; unwaltier as we may say now, since Longfellow has restored the word to literature, in "The Phantom Ship" (1858):

But Master Lamberton muttered,
And under his breath said he,
"This ship is so crank and walty
I fear our grave she will be!"

D has here the very beautiful and interesting v.l. untealtran=less tilty.

897. p 95 m. uter mere] = outer sea, open sea; as opposed to the creek or æstuary. Chaucer, Cant. Tales, l. 15966, has "to thin utter eyen"—which is rendered in the margin of one of the MSS. "exterioribus oculis" (Tyrwhitt). Troil. iii. 665. "And I wol in that utter house alone."

897. p 96 h. cynges geneat] "Lye understands this as meaning 'the king's neat-herd;' but 'geneat' signifies a companion, and is probably the Saxon representative of the Latin comes." (Stevenson) Geneat is the German genefien. In the Laws of Ine, § 19, the

wergild of a cynges geneat is 1200s, the same as that of a cyninges begen, and the high rank of the title is apparent here from the fact of particular mention. See Schmid, v. geneat.

897. p 96 m. Wealh gefera] Wealhgerefa B C D, which Kemble (Saxons, vol. ii. p 178) adopts, without noticing the reading of A. The same variation occurs on the previous page, line 4; where BCD read wicgerefa. Kemble thinks he was a royal reeve to whose care Ælfred's Welsh serfs were committed; and is not inclined to think that he was a margrave, commissioned to watch the Welsh border. I must think the reverse, as I know nothing about Ælfred's Welsh serfs, and as there is evidence that the Welsh border was continually under surveillance. The king of Mercia had been wont to keep guard along the line of Offa's Dyke. The property in that neighbourhood was subject to an impost for the maintenance of this guard. In 855, Burgred, king of Mercia, gave land to the monastery of Blockley in Worcestershire, adding to his gift an exemption à pastu et refectione illorum hominum quos Saxonicè nominamus Walhfareld (Cod. Dipl. 278), by which I understand the patrolling corps on the Welsh border. The same body seems spoken of C 1053, p188 of this vol.: "Særa weardmanna"=the ward-men who were slain by the Welsh near Westbury. Whether we read Wealhgefera or -gerefa, I understand the commander of this force, charged with the defence of the border; and I prefer Wealhgefera because of its correlativeness with Walhfæreld=Wallica expeditio. At a later period, the line was fortified with castles. We read of William Rufus in 1007, he be ham gemæron castelas let gemakian.

In a genuine charter of the eighth century, Cod. Dipl. 95, one Alda signs as cinges gefera.

901. "Albrit rex Giuoys moritur" (Annales Cambriæ), i. e. rex Gewissorum.

901. Da gerad.... pa rad....] Here is a good place for observing a special use of the prepositive ge. It has not unfrequently the force of turning an intransitive verb, such as 'to go,' 'to ride,' into a transitive 'to go and get,' 'to ride and win,' or 'to win by going, by riding &c.' So here, Æ elwald rode and secured the ham, and thereupon the king rode with the militia till &c.

A strong instance is gewinnan (1090)=to win; which sense, now so intimately identified with this root, is not in the simple verb winnan until compounded with ge. Winnan is to toil, fight, contend: gewinnan is to get by striving, fighting, contending; i.e. in one word, to win: cf. 685.

901. Tweoxneam] "hodie, ab æde Christo sacra, Christ-

church; olim, quod inter amnes interpositum, Twinamburne, eodem planè sensu quo Italiæ Interanna. Hæc Camd. in descriptione agri Hamtunensis. Certe vox Saxonica Tweoxnea[m] (quæ duplicem fluvium significat [rather, inter fluvios]) antiquo isti nomini optimè respondet, nec, meâ quidem opinione, alibi quærendus est hic locus. Quod etiam confirmat Winburnæ (agri Dorsætensis oppidi) vicinitas; hæc enim duo, parvo temporis intervallo, dicitur Æthelwaldus in suam potestatem redegisse." Gibson.

901. p 98. Pa berad mon pæt wif] The lady was arrested suddenly by surprise on the part of those who claimed her. Those who had might to capture or imprison a legal adversary were allowed under certain conditions the right of doing so, in the Laws of Alfred $(42,\S1)$; and in this concession the verb beridan occurs as descriptive of the process that would be used.

905. Crecca gelade] Crac-B; Creace-C; Creoce-D. Below 1016, it is by C spelt Cregelade; by E, Cræcilade; by F, Crecalade. Now Cricklade. All these are varying forms of the British cerrig= a stone.

917. Hoceneratune] Hocenertune BC; Hocceneretune D. In Gough's Camden ii. p14. this is identified with 'Hocknorton or Hokenorton' (Oxon), now written Hook Norton. "The large round barrows of Tadmerton were probably cast up on this occasion by the Danes, and the smaller (rather square) at Hocknorton by the Saxons."

918. Lidwiccum Cf. 885 (p 84). A strange derivation of this name is given in a (doubtful) passage of Nennius xxiii: "Britones namque Armorici, qui ultra mare sunt, cum Maximo tyranno hinc in expeditionem exeuntes, quoniam redire nequiverant, occidentales partes Galliæ solo tenus vastaverunt nec mingentes ad parietem vivere reliquerunt: acceptisque eorum uxoribus et filiabus in conjugium, omnes earum linguas amputaverunt, ne eorum successio maternam linguam disceret; unde et nos illos vocamus in nostra lingua Letewicion, id est semitacentes, quoniam confuse loquuntur." Whatever this be worth, it illustrates Ethnic Names of the βάρβαροι type. See a collection of these in Words and Places, by Rev. Isaac Taylor, c. iv. Camden says: "Hæc regio primum Armorica dicta erat, i. ad mare sita, deinde Britanice Llydaw, i. littoralis, Latine Letavia apud nostros mediæ ætatis scriptores, unde Letos fuisse suspicor quos in Gallia nominat Zosimus, postremò Britannia Minor à Britannis nostris:" p 57. Ed. 1594. Is it possible that the corrupt 'Lemovices' in Cæsar's Catalogue of the Armorican States (B. G. vii. 75) may be our 'Lidwiccas' in disguise? Mr. Thorpe (Lappenberg,

vol. ii. p 95) thinks the form 'Lidwicingum' in 885 (C D), and in the Traveller's Song, would countenance a derivation from lid, ship, and wicing, pirate. It is not at all improbable that these words may have had an after-influence on the Saxon form of the name, in the way of what the Germans call Folfsethmologie.

918. be pam sæ] Instead of sæ, B C D have staðum. The text of X appears imperfect as it stands; the intended expression was probably be pam sæ riman; as in p 95 m, and E 991, 994. We should hardly expect to find sæ masculine at this date, and even if the gender were not a difficulty, the expression is at best a strong solecism.

Of the word stadum we have a dative-singular, p 95 h, be pem substade. The change of the inner vowel æ in the singular, and a in the plural, depends on the principles of what Grimm (Deutsche Grammatik, Bk. i) has named Umlaut and Rückumlaut. This fine point of orthography had vanished by the time of Lazamon: "uppen Seuarne stape," l. 7. And the word itself has quite dropped out of standard English. But it still retains a good local hold; see Halliwell's Archaic Dictionary, v. Stathe. In Aldhelm's Psalter xxii. 2 (our xxiii) it stands: And fedde me be wætera stadum.

918. Cameleac] Cimeliauc bishop of Llandaff. Stubbs, p 156. Ircinga felda] "Fortasse ab Ariconio veteri oppido, cujus in hoc tractu meminit Antoninus, inquit Camd." (Gibson). Ariconium seems to have been either at Ross or at Weston-under-Penyard, 2 m. from Ross. Was Ircinga feld an old name of the Forest of Dean or of an open tract at the north of it? The name implies an open wild or forest country, as in the Norwegian 'Dovre Fjeld;' and as in the 'fells' of Cumberland. The modern use of 'field,' ager, had not yet come in. The word for this was accer (1130), as in German also After.

an Englise text of the tenth century. It is one of the few Keltic words which continued to hold a place in the language of the Anglo-Saxons. At their first occupation of the country they adopted many words from the older inhabitants. But these borrowings were local, and rarely came to the surface of general literature. This word lay for centuries in obscurity, till it came to light in the modern purk. It still exists in spoken British. In French-Brittany it is the most common word for a small close or paddock near home. Also, in Devonshire, small fields near the farm-house are often named, Little-Park, Great-Park, Higher-Park, &c. See Halliwell's Archaic Dictionary, v. Park. The modern and grandiose use of the word park

is apt to mislead us, unless we observe the fundamental idea of a (little) inclosure of ground from the open country. The inclosure is the point in the text; the enemy once in it were as in a trap. There is an interesting parallel in Boethius xviii. 2, where the comparatively small area of the habitable world (ἡ οἰκουμένη) is dwelt on. In the previous chapter it was swelce an lytel cafertun= like a little court. But in cap. 2. it is on ŏisum lytlum pearroce. I think Förstemann (Ortsnamen, p 83) is mistaken in identifying Park with ahd. pferrich, nhd. pferch=a hurdle, pen for cattle; except in so far as it may have got blended with the Keltic word.

918. p 104. hæfde funden þæt] effecerat ut. In the Lindisfarne Gospels, Matt. xiii. 22, efficitur=gefunden bið.

918. p 104. ætswummon] D has oðswymman mihton. The prepositional prefix æt bears here and in some other compounds the notion of escape, exemption, deprivation; they swam away, got away by swimming. So likewise ætbregdan; e. g. Sy &am arleasan ætbroden seo gesih & Godes wuldres is the rendering of Tollatur impius ne videat gloriam Dei (verbally thus: Impio auferatur visio Dei gloriæ), Ælfric, Hom. i. p 300. — ætberstan: ætfleon: ætwindan: e. g. ætfleon ne mihte=could not escape, Joshua x. 35—in Job i. the repeated phrase, "and I only am escaped alone to tell thee," is thus variously rendered in the A.S. version; and ic ana ætbærst þæt ic þe þis cydde.... ic ana ætwand.... ic ana ætfleah (Thwaites, Hept. p 165). See also below in the Glossary, vv. ætbærst, ætbæd.

921. p 106 t. Wiginga mere] We must not stray across the country to fix this place, as Gibson does, at Wigmore in Herefordshire. Mr. Thorpe (ap. Flor.) says, "Supposed to be Waymere Castle, on a small island near Bishop's Stortford." This at least keeps to the right side of the map. Yet in his Index to the Saxon Chronicle, Mr. Thorpe has gone back to Wigmore in Herefordshire! If we consider the whole list of fortifications, which Eadweard established between 913 and 924, we see that they must be regarded as a series, and identified with one continuous line of country: Hertford, Witham (Essex), Buckingham, Bedford, Maldon, Towcester, Wigingamere, Huntingdon, Colchester, Stamford, Tamworth, Nottingham, Thelwall, Manchester, Nottingham (the south burg), Bakewell.

921. p 106 h. hlaf mæssan] What the origin of this hlaf is, has puzzled many. Macpherson, in his Ed. of Wyntoun, conjectured that Lammas was curt for "S. Petri ad Vincula mass." This may seem too ingenious to be true, but there is no better explanation as yet. We do find this feast spoken of by the abbreviation of "Ad

Vincula," e. g. in Mr. Shirley's Letters of the Reign of Hen. III., No. xxxiii: "nona die ante Ad Vincula." If this is the derivation, the H and F have come in on a false understanding, and the later form Lammas' is the better.

921. p 107 m. wicinga æsc manna] Both translated pirates by Florence: "Quod Dani East-Angliam incolentes graviter ferentes, suamque injuriam ulcisci cupientes, cum piratis quos in auxilium sibi contraxerant ad Mældunam profecti sunt, et eam tamdiu obsidentes impugnabant, quoad Anglis de finitimis locis auxiliarii venissent; quos cum Dani adventare vidissent, ab urbis impugnatione recesserunt. Hoc viso, Angli illos magno impetu persecuti, multa millia et de piratis et de cæteris prostraverunt, reliquos verò fugaverunt."

921. p 107 m. ge wrecan hira teonan] suamque injuriam ulcisci cupientes, Flor. The phrase lived on into the fourteenth century—it is found in the Tale of Gamelyn, which is included in the Canterbury Tales in some editions, but which is somewhat older than Chaucer. "Gamelyn overtook the porter, and his teene wrak." Chaucer, Ed. R. Bell, vol. i. p 249.

921. p 107 l. Passanhamme] "Hodie Pasham in agro Northamtunensi," Gibs. But in A.K. Johnston's General Gazetteer (1850) it is "Passenham, 8 m. S.E. Towcester. It has an entrenchment, supposed to have been raised by Edward the Elder, to defend the passage of the Ouse against the Danes."

922. Howel] This is the favourite name in Welsh history, as Alfred in English. In the Brut y Tywysogion 948, he is described as Howel da, vab Kadell, penn a molyant yr holl Vrytanyeit = Howel the good, son of Cadell, chief and glory of all the Britons.

923. p 110. on ufan hærfest] 'late in the harvest,' Ingram: 'after harvest,' MHB: Florence has simply, autumnali tempore. I am inclined to believe that it means 'before harvest' or 'in the early part of the autumn.' The usual phrase for 'after harvest' would be 'ofer hærfest.'

924. ægþer ge Englisce ge Denisce ge Norþmen ge oþre] A peculiar interest attaches to this passage because it indicates that the terms 'Denisce' and 'Norþmen' were not equivalents. This feature has not been brought out by the translators with the distinctness which is due to it; save Gibson, who renders with fidelity, "sive Angli, sive Dani, sive Normanni, sive alii [quicunque]:"—whether English or Danish or Northmen or others.

937. p 114 t. cread cnearen flot] This reading of A is corrupt, but the next MSS. give good help. See the foot-notes. I

would correct the passage thus: cread cnear on flot, i.e. he (the king) thrust out his bark on the deep; crowded his knar a-float; or, in modern nautical phrase, shoved her off.

The modern idea of crowding is thronging, ὅχλος—but at this date it was thrusting onwards, driving forwards, ποθέν ποι. In Cod. Exon. 384, 15, we have it in 3rd sing. pres. indic., bonne heâh gebring on cleofu crydeð=when the high swell dashes on the cliffs. In Norfolk and Suffolk they talk of crowding a wheel-barrow, or, as it is also called, a crowd-barrow. See Forby and Halliwell, in voc. This illustration must not give the word an ignoble aspect, for in early times it is found in dignified associations; as in the text. It occurs three times in Chaucer's Man of Lawes Tale, which is written in the grand style. It figures twice in one stanza containing a majestic apostrophe to the firmament, regarded astrologically as the ruthless engine of human destiny (Tyrwhitt's Ed. l. 4716; Ed. R. Bell, vol. ii. p 16):

O firste moving cruel firmament,
With thy diurnal swegh that croudest ay,
And hurtlest al from Est till Occident,
That naturally wold hold another way;
Thy crouding set the heven in swiche array,
At the beginning of this fierce viage,
That cruel Mars hath slain this mariage.

Further on in the same tale (l. 5221, Ed. Tyrwhitt; p 33, Ed. R. Bell) we find a more exact parallel to our text:

But in the same ship as he hir fond, Hire and hir yonge sone, and all hire gere, He shulde put, and crowde fro the londe, And charge hire, that she never eft come there.

Cnear occurs again on the next page in dat. pl. cnearrum. In both cases it is used of the ships of the Northmen; and in both places the errors of the scribes attest the strangeness of the word. In MS. D, 'nægled cnearrum' is transformed into 'dæggled on garum.' Icelandic knörr and also knarri=navis. See Mr. Dasent's Article in Oxford Essays. In a historian of the eleventh century we get the word in a Latin guise: Ordericus Vitalis, Lib. viii. c. 23, anno 1095, says: Quatuor naves magnæ quas Canardos vocant, de Northwegià in Angliam appulsæ sunt.

Flot is the right word here, and flod in the next line. The former regards the surface, and is represented by the modern affoat: the latter regards the aggregate of water, as still in flood.

937. p 115. on dinges mere] Wheloc: in procelloso mari.

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But what is 'dinges?' It recalls the onomatopæia of πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης.

937. p115. Difelin secan] Worsaae (in "Danes and Northmen," p 317) gives a List of Norsk Kings in Dublin, from Lindsay's "Coinage of Ireland," among which is "Anlaf, 934." In the Appendix to "Danes and Northmen" is figured a silver coin, which had before escaped notice, with the legend (as read by the author), "Oolaf i Divielin," i.e. "Olaf in Dublin." He decides that this coin was struck in Dublin in the tenth century. The chief positions of the Danish princes in Ireland, were Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford—the last a town of their own founding. Robertson's Church History, vol. i. p 430.

937. p 115. saluwig padan] Not in apposition to hra (as Thorpe), but of the raven. So in Cædmon, 1443 (p 87. Ed. Thorpe), salwigfeeera is used of the raven that Noah sent out of the ark. Compare a striking parallel in Judith, § 11:

pæs se hlanca gefeah wulf in walde, and se wanna hrefn wæl-gifre fugel; wistan begen pæt him ða þeod-guman þohton tilian fylle on fægum; ac him fleah on laste earn ætes georn, urigfeðera salowig pada sang hilde leoð, hyrned nebba. Thereof fain was the lank wolf in the wold, and the wan raven carnage-fond fowl; wist they both that the sons of men were minded to give them a spread of fate's victims; next in their wake flew eagle corpse-eager, dew-be-gemmed sable-robed he sang battle-pæan, horny-cheeked.

Saluwig-pad-an means one that possesses (-an, nom. -a), a jacket (pad), which is dusky (saluwig).

The word pad appears in Anglo-Saxon nowhere out of composition, but its simple form is found in the kindred dialects. In Gothic it is paida, which occurs five times in the Gospels: also there appears a Gothic verb ga-paidon = ivdiciv in Ephesians vi. 14 (Loebe's Glossary to Ulfilas). Other dialectic forms are given in Grimm's Grammar, vol. iii. p 447; among the most interesting is that from the Heliand (a Gospel-Narrative in Old Saxon), in which peda is the word for the seamless coat.

942. Dor] No doubt the same as above 827, and it may safely be identified with Dore 5 m. from Sheffield. It was probably so called because it was the door or entering in of Northumbria from Mercia,

πύλαι. It is associated with "hwitan wylles geat" = Whitewell's gate; and not far from Dore we find Whitewell, and both of them on the verge of the shire. Indeed, this word dor seems to have been used as a common noun for a mountain pass, as we see in Cod. Dipl. 570 (p 79) that in a description of bounds a dor occurs between two brooks, "of seegbroce to an hean dore; of hean dore to brydbroce."

scadeb] divides, i. e. the waters, and likewise the nations. It is from this word that we have the 'water-shed,' in the sense of a line of division. Physical Geography has lately brought this word forward out of its provincial obscurity. See Wilbraham's Cheshire Glossary, v. Shed; Miss Baker's Northants Glos. v. Sheth. In Wright's Vocabularies, p 183; discrimen, shade of the here. So in Jamieson, to shed hair, is to separate it so that it fall to either side.

942. nyde gebegde] Here we have a case of transition from the verb which was anciently established in this connection, to a substituted modern verb of proximate meaning. The old verb is preserved in BCD. Above 937 x, we have the old verb in X, but the genuine orthography is only found in BCD. The old verb is gebædan=to compel, from an obscure word bad, found only in the compound nyd bad=exaction, toll, compulsory payment. Cod. Dipl. 95; Schmid, v. bad. The verb is found so often with the adverb nyde, that nydegebædan might almost be regarded as a compound = ἀναγκάζειν. Grein, v. gebædan.

The new verb is gebegan = flectere, transitive of gebugan = to bow.

962. man bryne] Contrary to all the translators from Gibson downwards, who understand by this word an epidemic fever, I take it for a great and disastrous fire in London. In many places of Cædmon, bryne is incendium; see Bouterwek. And færbryne=terrible burning of the sun's heat, Cæd. 3001. Mån-bryne is a bad or destructive fire; according to the analogy of mån-bealo, malum perniciosum (Bouterwek).

One cannot but be struck with the singular parallelism between this annal and the events of A. D. 1665, 1666.

963. p 123 m. messe hacel] mass-hackle, i. e. mass-vestment, cope. In the West of England the word hackle is specially used of the conical straw roofing that is put over bee-hives. Also, of the "straw covering of the apex of a rick," says Mr. J. Yonge Akerman, Glossary of Wiltshire Words, v. Hackle.

963. p 123 l. And he macode fyrst þa wealle abutan þone mynstre. geaf hit þa to nama Burch. þe ær het Medeshamstede.]

Though the language here is of the twelfth century, yet this statement is apparently authentic. The great fortifying era in England had been initiated by Edward the son of Alfred. Fortified monasteries became common, and Peterborough was probably one of the earliest instances. Fortification changed the character and the moral aspect of the monastic institution, and the change of name was a natural consequence. The irregular cluster of humble edifices, which shewed like any other "homestead" of the open country, was now encircled with a wall, like one of the fenced cities. Henceforth it is no more Medeshamstede or the Meadow-homestead; but Burh or Burch, the garrison and capital of a dependent region. The fortified place became also the market-place of its district, and hence it reaped commercial advantages, direct and incidental. Laws of Edw. i. 1. Athelst. ii. 12. Cod. Dipl. 575.

963. p 123 last line. and heold be hwile be he beer wees] What did he hold? Gibson's version is as follows: "easque devexit ad Burch, et consecravit omnes sancto Petro uno die, retinuitque quamdiu ibi esset." The Mon. Hist. Brit. renders, and observed it the while that he was there. Mr. Thorpe, and held it the while that he was there. Plainly Gibson means that he retained possession of the forenamed relics of saints, and did not part with them. The MHB version is equally plain, that Abbot Ælfsi, in succeeding years, made a point of keeping the day of the Translation of the Relics as a highday. Mr. Thorpe's rendering is verbal. Gibson's version appears to me preferable, both as most suitable to the language (as far as anything can be rested on it, where the construction is so lax, as throughout this piece), and also most apposite to the habits of the age in treating relics as merchandize. In adverse times, an embarrassed abbot made ready money of his relics, just as kings of Judah got out of their difficulties by cutting off the gold and silver of the Temple. Ælfsige was not a seller but a buyer of such treasures, when he met with impoverished abbots, as may be read below, anno 1013.

973. on Sære ealdan byrig Acemannes ceastre] I do not think this ancient name for Bath is rightly explained by reference to the sufferings alleviated by the Bath waters, quasi ache-manchester. Ake- seems to be simply a corruption of the Latin Aquæ; like Aix, Ax, Dax (=de aquis), and the German Nachen. Whether the next part -man- meant homo, appears to me highly doubtful. The genitive given to it in the tenth century ('-mannes') must not weigh much with us; any more than the uncritical form in Florence,

Acamanni civitas. In ancient British, man signified place; and this would make a suitable appendage here.

973. sigora frean] Cf. p 126 m, Sigora waldend. A good deal of doubt hangs over the interpretation of this word sigora. It seems to be a gen. pl., but of what subst. is not clear. The phrase may mean either lord of victors or lord of victories: cf. Bouterwek, Glossar, vv. sigor and sigora.

978. up floran] "Solarium, up flor;" Semi-Saxon Vocabulary, Ed. Wright, p 93. Upflora; Ælfric Hom., Ed. Thorpe, vol. i. p 314: upfleringe, id. pp 296, 314.

979 E. æt Corfes geate] This subsequently slid into the acceptation of "the gate of Corfe Castle;" and hence the picture of the arched gateway, and the horseman stabbed while drinking. Gibson, though dissatisfied, could not mend the conventional rendering. He says, "Est autem Corfe castrum vetustum in medio Insulæ Purbecke dictæ, in agro Dorsætensi; cui 'geate' adjectum videtur indicare, Ælfritham Eadweardo Regi insidias struxisse in ipso castri vestibulo, sive via ad castrum ducente." It did not occur to him that there was no Castle there at that time. The name Corfes geat or Corf geat (F) signifies the singular cut or cleft in the line of chalk hills, wherein Corfe Castle has since been pitched, on a minor eminence. The 'geat' is a gate, not of art, but of nature; as above 942, 'hwitanwylles geat.'

982 C. Sarcena] This is not the earliest mention of the Saracens in Saxon literature. See Bede's E. H. v. 23, where the genitive plural is Sarcina.

991. † man geald ærest gafol Deniscan mannum] This tallies exactly with the dates of Anglo-Saxon money found in Denmark and Sweden; in both which countries it has been exhumed in large quantities, but especially in Sweden. The dates range from Æðelred to Edward Conf.; and coins of some of the intermediate reigns have been found in Denmark and Sweden in larger numbers than in England. Anglosachsiska Mynt i Svenska Kongl. Myntkabinettet af Bror Emil Hildebrand. 4to., Stockholm, 1846.

992. gif hi muhton þone here ahwær utene betræppan] v. l. utan betreppan C D; gif man mihte betræppan þane here ahwar wiþutan F, Cf. Ælfrici Colloquium (Thorpe's Analecta, p 25), where the bird-catcher takes birds mid treppan=decipulâ. The project was to environ the hostile force by surprise. Florence says, "ut, si quo modo possent, Danorum exercitum in aliquo portu circumvallando comprehenderent." And Henry of Hunt-

ingdon, "rex Dacis insidias molitus est ut interciperent Dacos."

utene is not to be joined with ahwær=anywhere without (Ingram), anywhere abroad (Thorpe), as if utene meant "out at sea," "out on their cruise," "out about the coasts"—but it goes almost into one word with betræppan=to take or catch the foe by surrounding him on the outside. utene-betræppan, or (better) utan-betræppan, is to beleaguer. Florence had the same Saxon before him as we have, and he renders it word for word fully and faithfully. ahwær=in aliquo portu: utene=circumvallando: betræppan=comprehenderent. MHB's "anywhere betrap the army about" is admirable. utan (utene) is ἔξωθεν, not ἔξω. See the Glossary, v. utan.

994. and hi ahredde] and rescued them. We retain this verb in our Bible; "rid me and deliver me out of great waters." Ps. cxliv. 7, 11, and lxxxii. 4.

994. Æĕelward ealdorman] This is supposed to be the historian "Patricius Consul Fabius Quæstor Æthelwerdus." See MHB in Pref. p 81.

995. This Annal is prolonged in F as follows:-And Ælfric. Wiltunscire b'. wear'd gecoren. on Easter dæi on Ambresbyri. fram Ægelred cinge. and fram eallen his witan. Des Ælfric was swyde gewis mann. bet nas nan snottere man on Engla lande. Da for Ælfric to his arcestol. and ha he hider com. he was underfange of pam hades mannum be him ealra uneavest was, pat was of clerican. And sona efs. . ealla þa wisuste men he awar gecneow. and swylce æfter ealdan mannum. þa cuðan þat soðuste seggan hu ælc þing wearð on þis lande be heora yldran dagan. to eacan ban he sylf geleorned hæfde on bocan, and at wisen mannum. Him tealdan þa swyðe ealde menn. ægðer ge gehadode ge læwede. heora yldran heom tealdan hu hit was gelagod sona syppan S. Augustinus to pisan lande com. Da ba Augustinus bone b', setl fenge hæfde on bare burh, ba was he arceb' ofer ealles bes cinges rice Ægelberhtes. swa hit ys geræd on Ystoria ealdan Romaniscan wearde onginnon. sa . . . and forð to sprytanne. Of þam geferscipe wæran þa fyrmestan. Mellitus. Iustus. Paulinus. Rufianus. Be þysan sende se eadiga papa bone pallium. and barto gewrit. and tacnunge. hu he b' halgian. and an hwylcum stowe on Britane hi settan scolde. And pam cinge Æ.. he sende gewrita. and manega woruldgiua of mistlicum þingum. And þa cyrican be hi gegearcod hæfdan. he het halgian on Drihtnes naman hælendes Cristes. and sancta Marian, and himsylfum par eardung stowe sette, and his æfter filigendum eallan, and bat he scolde bar innan settan bes ylcan hades menn ba he beder to lande sende, and ba he sylf was, and eac bat ælc oper b. scolde beon munec hades mann be bone arb'stol gesæte an Cantwarebyri. and bat scolde beon æfre gehealden be Godes leafe and bletsunge, and be S. Petrus, and be ealra pa æfter him coman. Da beos sand angean com to Ægelberhte cinge, and to Agustine. hi wurdan swyde blide burh swilce wissunge. And se arb' ba halgode bat mynstre on Cristes naman and S. Marian on bam dage be ys gecweden twegra martira mæssa dæi. Primi et Feliciani, and þar binnan munecas gelogode eal swa Sce

Gregorius bebeod. And hi Godes beowdom clænlice be eodan, and man nam of ban ylcan munecan biscopas to gehwylcre stowe. swa bu ræddan miht on Ystoria Anglorum. Da was Elfric arb' swyde blide. bathe swa fela gewitnesse hæfde bara be mihtan betst to bam timan wið bone cing. Gyt ba ylcan witan be mid ban arb'. wæran cwædan. Dus eal swa we geteald habbað þurh wunedan munecas on Cristes cyrican on Agustines dage, and on Laurenties. Mellites. Iustes. Honories. Deusdedit. Deodores. Brihtwoldes. Tatwines. Nothelmes. Cuthbertes. Bregwines. Ianbertes. Adelhardes. Wulfredes. Felogild. Ac bes ea . . . geares. ba Ceolnod com to ban arb'rice. weard swylc mancwealm bat na belaf binnan Cristes cyrcan butan fif munecas. To eallan his timan. wear'd gewinn and sorh on bysum lande. bat nan mann ne mihte bencan embe nabt elles butan Nu Gode banc ys hit on bas cinges anwealda and on þynum hwæðer hi leng þar binnan lengre beon motan. forbon na mihte man hi næfre ut bet bringan bonne man nu mai gif bas cing' willa is and bin. Se arb' ba butan ælcre lettinge mid eallan bam wisum mannum ferde anan to pam cinge. and cyddan him eall ealswa we her beforan tealdan. Da weard se cing swide blide bissere tidunge, and cwæd to bam arb' and to bam odran. Me bind ræd þat þu ealra ærost fare to Rome æfter þinon ærce and þu þam papan cyðe eal bis. and sybban be his ræde far. And hi ealle andswaredan bat bat was se betsta ræd. Da þa preostas þis gehyrdan. Þa ræddan hi. þat hi naman twegen of heom. and sendan to pam papan, and budon him mycelne garsuman and sealfer, wid pan be he scolde gifan heom bone erce. Ac ba hi to Rome coman, ba nolde se papa naht bat don for hi ne brohtan nan gewrit. nader na of bam cinge na of ban folce. and het hi faran loc whar hi woldon. Sona swa ba preostas banon gecyrred wæron. com se arb' Ælfric to Rome. and se papa hine underfeng mid mycelan wurscipe, and het hine a morhgen mæssian at S. Petres weofode, and se papa sylf dyde on his agene pallium and hine swyde wyrdede. Da bis was gedon, se arb' ongan to tellende þam papan eal embe þa clericas. hu hit gefaran was. and hu hi binnan þan mynstre at his arb' rice wæran. And se papa him agean gerehte hu þa preostas to him cuman wæran. and mycelne gærsuman budan. for þi þat he scolde heom bone pallium gifan. Ac cwæð se papa. far nu to Englalande angean. mid Godes bletsunge. and S. Petres. and minre, and swa bu ham cume. do into þinan mynstre þas ylcan hadesmenn. þe beatus Gregorius bebead Augustine par inne to londe. be Godes bebode. and S. Petres. and minre. Se arcebisceop pa mid bysan gecyrde to Englalande. Sona swa he ham com. he gesæt his arb'stol. and sippan to ban cinge ferde. and se cing and ealle his leade Gode bancode his angeancumes and pat he swa geærndod swa pan ealra leofuste wes. He pa eft to Cantwarebiri ferde and þa clericas ut of þam mynstre adraf. and þar binnan munecas sette. eal swa se papa him bebeod.

Iste fuit prudens valde, ita ut illo in tempore nullus sapientior haberetur in Anglia. Recedente itaque inde rege, Ælfricus pergit Doroberniam. Ubi cum venisset, receptus est, a tali ordine clericorum, a quo minus vellet. Cogitavit igitur et multum secum tractans, quali modo possit eicere eos, quos sciebat in Ecclesia Christi injuste mansisse. Ut supra diximus, valde fuit prudens, et ecclesiasticis disciplinis plurimum instructus. Itaque præcepit congregari omnes quos sciebat prudentiores per totam Angliam, et maxime senes. Ad quem cum pro reverentia viri festinanter venissent, requisivit ab eis si quid aut ipsi a suis antecessoribus de Ecclesia Christi Cantiæ audissent, aut ipsi in aliquo loco legissent, quis ordo in prædicta ecclesia Deo servire debuisset, clericorum aut monachorum, aut quis eo tempore postquam Augustinus Angliam ingresset, ibi locatus esset in initio. Ipse vero multa a multis antea inde audivit, et in libris legit. Tunc

seniores et prudentiores narraverunt ei, quod inde a suis patribus audissent. Postquam Deus, inquiunt, per beatum Augustinum aperuit cor regis Ædelberti ad suscipiendam fidem Christi, ipse Augustinus elegit sibi sedem in civitate Dorobernia quæ erat caput totius regni Ædelberti regis, ubi invenit quoddam opus inceptum Romano opere, quod auxiliante rege statuit perficere. Quod dum perfectum esset rex Ægelbertus cœpit consilium quærere ab Augustino et a cæteris consiliariis suis, quem ordinem monachorum vel clericorum convenientius in illa ecclesia ad serviendum Deo constituere potuisset. Qui omnes dederunt consilium, ut rex ex sua parte mitteret nuntios suos, et Augustinus monachos suos cum nuntiis regis Romæ, ad papam Gregorium, et ejus consilio sicut antea idem Augustinus venit in Angliam, ita et ecclesia jam nominata dedicaretur et ordinaretur. Quod et factum est. Nam rex statim paratis nuntiis suis, misit Romæ, et Augustinus nichilominus suos. Cum autem venissent ad papam, et nuntiassent quod Angli suscepissent fidem Christi, gavisus est valde. Auditis itaque omnibus quæ a rege et Augustino mandata fuerant, statim remisit nuntios, cum quibus hos viros misit Augustino ut essent ei in adjutorium ad fidem Christi confirmandam; Mellitum, Justum, Paulinum, Rufinianum. Per istos etiam misit Augustino pallium, atque in quo loco deberet episcopos co-ordinare, et ponere mandavit; ecclesiam quoque quam fecerat in honorem Jhesu Christi, et S. Mariæ matris ejus, præcepit dedicari, ejusdemque ordinis quo ipse Augustinus, et alii quos ipse sibi misit, erant, in eadem ecclesia ad serviendum Deo ponere, sibique ibidem sedem archiepiscopalem et omnibus successoribus suis statuere, omnesque archiepiscopos sibi succedentes monachos esse debere, ex parte Dei viventis, et beati Petri, et ex sua, et omnium successorum præcepit. Cum autem nuntii reversi, venissent ad regem, et ad Augustinum, gaudio maximo repleti sunt pro tali mandato. Tunc Augustinus festinanter dedicavit ecclesiam illo die quo festum sanctorum Primi et Feliciani, v. Idus Junii, habetur, posuitque in ea monachos sicut papa mandavit; et ex ipsis ordinabantur episcopi per Angliam sicut ipse legisti in Ystoria Anglorum. Itaque cum ista Ælfricus archiepiscopus audisset, et tales testes habuisset, qui illo tempore maxime in consilio regis erant, gaudio repletus est. Addiderunt adhuc prædicti viri: Ita sicut diximus, permanserunt monachi in ecclesia Christi Cantuariæ, tempore Augustini, Laurentii, Melliti, Justi, Honorii, Deusdedit, Theodorii, Brihtwaldi, Tatwini, Nothelmi, Cuthberti, Bregwini, Janberti, Athelhardi, Wulfredi, Feologildi. Illo vero primo anno quo Chelnodus suscepit archiepiscopatum Cantiæ tanta mortalitas facta est, ut in Ecclesia Christi non remanerent nisi v. monachi, et ideo pro tali necessitate idem C. archiepiscopus accepit de clericis suis presbiteros, qui quousque restauraret ecclesiam monachis, juvarent paucos monachos qui remanserunt. Nunc autem est in potestate regis et tua, si diutius vultis ut ibi clerici . . maneant, quia postquam pro tali necessitate ibi positi sunt, non potuerunt levius eici quam modo. Tunc archiepiscopus cum magna festinatione cum his omnibus quos secum ibi habebat, perrexit ad regem Ægelbertum, et indicavit ei per ordinem hæc omnia. Tunc dixit accepto consilio rex: Hoc videtur mihi melius consilium, ut eatis Romæ pro pallio vestro, et indicetis apostolico omnia, et secundum suum consilium per omnia fieri concedo. Dixerunt omnes optimum esse consilium regis. Archiepiscopus autem paratis rebus suis perrexit Romam. Statim vero ut clerici audierunt consilium regis, paraverunt duos ex ipsis qui irent Romæ, portantes secum multum auri et argenti, quod darent papæ pro pallio. Sed nuntii archiepiscopi præcesserunt. Nam cum clerici pervenerunt ad papam, respondit se nolle illorum verba suscipere, quia nullum signum nec a rege nec a populo terræ secum haberent. Discedentibus clericis, venit archiepiscopus ad papam, qui suscepit eum cum magno honore. In crastino fecit eum celebrare missam ad altare beati Petri, et ipse imposuit ei proprium pallium suum. Cum hæc ita facta essent, archiepiscopus cœpit dicere papæ de clericis, et de Ecclesia Christi sicut supradictum est, et papa ei de clericis quomodo venerint ad eum, et quod obtulerunt sibi magnam pecuniam pro pallio; et adjecit papa: Redite in Angliam cum benedictione Dei, et Sancti Petri, et in ecclesia tibi commendata, ejusdem ordinis in ea ponite quem papa Gregorius Augustino præcepit, et hoc tibi præcipio ex parte Dei et beati Petri, et nostra. Tunc archiepiscopus ita rediit. Cum autem revertisset in Angliam, statim adiit ecclesiam suam, et post adiit regem, et lætatus est rex, et omnis Anglia, de reditu suo et quod omnia secundum voluntatem regis peregit. Post hæc reversus ad sedem suam, et ejectis clericis, locavit ecclesiam monachis sicut papa illum imperaverat, secundum quod B. Gregorius præcepit Augustino facere in primordio ecclesiæ. F Lat.

997. Penwiht steort] steort, tail, is the Saxon addition. The Keltic name is represented by Penwiht, which C gives Penwiö, and D Penwæd. The latter appears nearest to the Welsh, from the following passage of the Brut y Tywysogion: "King Henry collected an army against Gwynedd and Powys o'r van eithiaf o Gyrnyw lle gelwir Pengwayd, hyt y vann eithiaf o Brydyn lle gelwir Penblathaon;" i.e. from the land's end of Cornwall, which is called Pengwayd, to the land's end of Prydyn, which is called Penblathaon.

1001. Tegntun] Locus in agro Devoniensi;....sed è pluribus in isto agro hujus appellationis locis, quis sit nescio (Gibson). One among many instances of his scrupulous fidelity. His successors, Ingram and MHB, retained the name unaltered in their translation; but Mr. Thorpe has tacitly given it as Teignmouth, first in his Translation of Lappenberg (vol. ii. p 162), and since in his Edition of the Chronicles for the Master of the Rolls. Both name and site speak for Kingsteignton, three miles up the estuary of the Teign.

Peon hó] Now Pinho, three miles N. E. of Exeter, and a favourite walk with residents of the western capital. It is near the Clists, one of which is here indicated by the name 'Glistune.'

The composition of the name **Peon ho** is tautological; the latter being a Saxon translation of the former part, which is British. Gibson (strangely) confounded it with æt **Peonnum**, 658.

1003. gebræd he hine seocne] feigned he himself sick: cf. Lazamon, vol. i. p 284, þe king hine breid seac.

1004. ac hi abrudon ha de he to hohte] "but they in whom he trusted failed to do it," MHB; "but they whom he trusted in failed him," Thorpe. This passage may help to justify the reading of the manuscript of Lazamon (vol. i. p 82. Ed. Madden):

al heo tileden ase heo to bohten suggested an emendation. In Ælfric Hom. vol. i. p 268, ac we sceolon biddan † God us gescylde, † we ne abreovon on være fandunge=but we must pray that God would shield us, that we fail not in the trial: mox, swa he ofter on være fandunge abryv, swa he forcuvra biv=the oftener he fail in trial, the more desperate he will be. Below 1101, æt þære neode abruvon.

abručon is the pl. pret. of abreóčan, well illustrated by Grein, Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie, Glossar s. v.

became winterly or winterish. This verb seems to be formed from an adj. winterlie; sumorlæcan from sumorlic, &c. So in OHG, nalihhon, ga-ebanlichon are ranged by Graff under Lih=similis. But æ does not often present itself as an alterate of i; and Grimm is embarrassed by the unconformability of the verbs in -læcan. Deutsche Grammatik, vol. ii. pp 119 and 283.

The following list is taken from the first volume of the Homilies of Ælfric (Ed. Thorpe):

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ge-anlæhte . . . . . . page 318.
ge-cneordlæcende . . . .
                             436.
ge-cuðlæhte . . . . . .
                             388; cf. Lazamon, vol. iii. p 492.
ge-dyrstlæcð . . . . . .
                             456.
ge-edlæhte . . . . . .
                             28, 296.
   efenlæcendra . . . .
                             395.
ge-ferlæhte . . . . . .
                             132, 414, 494, 496, 532, 544.
ge-lomlæcendum . . . .
                             578, 614.
   nealæcan . . . . . .
                             584.
ge-rihtlæcon . . . . . .
                             494, 578, 618.
   sumorlæhð .....
                             614.
ge-þwærlæcð . . . . .
                             518, 548, 616, 700.
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To this list may be added from the Vocabularies (Ed. Wright, p 54), "Venusto, ic cyrtenlæce:" cf. Ettmüller's Lex. p 386. Also, geþrystlæhte] in the fragment of Zosimas, p 104, l. 17, in the Appendix to my Swishun. Ettmüller (Lex. p 184) gives wiserlæcan= privare; but I cannot verify his reference.

1006. p 140 m. to his fry stole to Wihtlande] C D omit the second to; F has, to his frip stole into Wiht; ad Asylum nempe Vectam (Gibson). A metaphorical use of fris stol is found also in the Paris Psalter, Ps. lxxxix. 1, xciii. 21: and of fris stow, Ps. xvii. 1; where the Latin version has, in all three cases, refugium. The literal fris stol was a seat in a privileged 'sanctuary.' "In several English churches there was a stone seat beside the altar, for those who fled to the peace of the church. One of these still remains at Beverley, another at Hexham. To violate the protection of the

frið stol was not to be compensated by a pecuniary penalty; it was bot-leas." Prof. Cosmo Innes, Scotland in the Middle Ages, p 195. The frið stol in Hexham Abbey would grace a more advanced position—if one may criticise arrangements which appear to be ruled by good taste and good feeling.

1006. p140 m. to heora garwan feorme] There is a bitter pleasantry about this, of which the point is, that the pirates regarded the well-stored farms of Berkshire and Hampshire as so much provisions laid up for their own winter entertainment. It is not easy to devise a modern form of words which shall reflect the spirit here manifested—it is somewhat of this kind: at Christmas they made a progress to those hospitable quarters where they knew they were always welcome.

1006. p 140 m. Cwicchelmes hlæwe] E. S. E. of Wantage is "Cuckhamsley Hill or Cuchinslow, a large barrow on a wide plain overlooking White Horse Vale." Gough's Camden, i. 225. In Cod. Dipl. 693, we have a scirgemot æt Cwicelmes hlæwe.

beotra gylpa] This would have been in the text of E but for an accidental omission, which has been supplied in the foot-note from C. It is a genuine Saxon idiom = out of insolent bravado. It is a sort of genitive absolute, a good example of which may be seen in a Charter communicated by the late Mr. Kemble to the Archæological Journal, No. 53 (1857), p 60; ungebetra þinga=without having mended matters.

and sona þet wærod on fleame gebrohtan] J hi dar þ Englisce folc a fleame brohtan F.

rancne] prutne F.

1008. This tantalizing annal prompts a conjecture that the annalist had access to public accounts which he cared little to understand, and contented himself by making a hasty extract. The formality of the paragraph, with its videlicet († is ponne)—the ἄπαξ λεγόμενον scegt—the allusion in the next annal to books which can hardly mean published books—might thus be accounted for.

In this rating of land for raising a navy, the numbers are so unconformable to the statistical numbers preserved elsewhere, and so incommensurate with each other, that they must be received with suspicion. All the texts agree, except D, which, of all extant texts, is probably the nearest to the source. In the confusion of the text of D, may possibly be found materials for a future emendation.

But, taken at its worst, the annal is rich in interest. We learn the curious fact, that it was incumbent on each of the landed subdivisions, to provide the king with a ship and its armour. The

government did not levy ship-money, but required each county to find its quota of ships. This would apply as well to the inland districts, as to those on the sea-bord. And here we find the explanation of an otherwise inexplicable bequest of good Abp. Ælfric, who died two years before this date. He gave one ship to the folk of Kent, and one to Wiltshire. The will is in Cod. Dipl. 716. Doubtless, in each of the cases, the bequest was intended as an alleviation of the heavy imposts under which the people groaned. His gift being to the shire, is an argument that the assessment was by shires. It appears to me probable that each shire had to furnish one ship for every three Hundreds contained in the shire. Thus a shire containing thirty Hundreds would have to furnish ten ships. (Accordingly, D may be right: of brym hund scipum:?=of three Hundreds, Hundre body of the people, according to their rating. But the wealthy landowners had a special burden besides. He who had property up to or over the extent of ten hides, would have to furnish a scego-and every thane under ten hides, had to furnish a helmet and breastplate.

feastlice] fæstlice CD; intentè Flor.

sceg\(\delta\) Wright's Vocabularies, p 47, Scapha vel trieris, litel scip vel sceig\(\delta\); p 56, Trieris scei\(\delta\); p 63, Trieris sceg\(\delta\). See Schmid, Glos. v. Scei\(\delta\)man; and Cod. Dipl. 755, Winsig sceg\(\delta\)man. This word appears to have been borrowed from the Northmen: Skei\(\delta\), navis cursoria, Egilsson.

1009. p 143. lencton] Here it is seen by the relation in which Lencten stands to Winter, that the original sense is not Lent, but Spring; as Lenz, still used in poetic German:

Und Lenz wird kommen, Und Winter wird gehn.

Wilhelm Müller's "Trockne Blumen."

And this is the sense in which it entered into 'Lent-lilies,' Old English (now provincial) for daffodils.

In like manner hærfest originally meant autumn, like the German Herbst.

rabile verò cuiquam (Gibson); it was impossible for any men [man] to say (Ingram).

ræpling] This rare word occurs but this once in the Saxon Chronicles. It is found in Genesis xxxix. 20; Ps. lxviii. 38, Ed. Spelman: in both cases of prisoners, vincti. Above in the same page is ræpton from ræpan=ζωγρεῦν, they seized, took captive. See the family of words in Ettm. p 267, who connects it with rap,

rope. Henry of Huntingdon has caught up the sound of this lament: Videres autem spectaculum horrendum, faciem urbis antiquæ et pulcherrimæ totam in cineres redactam, caput fidei fontemque doctrinæ Anglorum vinculis mancipatum opprobriose pertrahi.

noise. hry dera] "Horned beasts are still designated in Dorset, and in other parts of England, Rother Cattle; likewise in Stat. 3 and 4 Edw. vi. c. 19, mention is made of 'Rother beastes, as oxen, steres, noutes, kyen, heighfers and calves.' Piers Ploughman describes the husbandman driving his team of foure rotheren." Archæological Journal, 1860, p 157.

nartyred at Greenwich, whither he had been conveyed from Canterbury by Sandwich. An old triforium window in the north choir aisle of Canterbury Cathedral represents, in three compartments, the story of Elphege: 1. The siege; 2. The embarking at Sandwich; 3. The martyrdom at Greenwich, when Thrum, whom the Abp. had baptized, put him out of pain by a blow of his axe ('impietate piâ').

Elphege is buried in the Cathedral at Canterbury on the N. side of the ascent of steps towards the high altar, under the spot where now is the altar-tomb of the late Archbishop Hooley. Opposite to Elphege, at the other end of the same steps, is the resting-place of Dunstan, where are still remains of the fret-work of his shrine. In the midst of the ascent is the site of the grave of Odo, predecessor of Dunstan.

The scene of the martyrdom was Greenwich, and probably the very site on which Greenwich church stands;—they would no doubt have wished to plant the church on the identical spot, and would have taken pains to ascertain it. The church is dedicated to St. Ælfheah. See Osborn's Life of Alphege in Anglia Sacra 147; also Acta Sanctorum, Ap. 19 and 21.

1013. p 149. byre] Only this once in the Chronicles. It is not 'time,' so much as favourable circumstance, occasion, opportunity, καιρός. The word seems to be at home in the North, where byrr is ventus secundus (Egilsson), and analogous in its derivative meanings to οὖρος. Connected with this is the Norsk impers. verb mer byrjar, me decet; and the corresponding Saxon hit gebyrað, it is seasonable, appropriate. The only other case of byre, which I find in Saxon, is in the Lay of Byrhtnoð 121, Ed. Grein: Thorpe's Analecta, p 135, ba he byre hæfde=when he had opportunity.

1014. Candel mæssan] The Purification, February 2. For the history of this Festival, which is not one of the ancient ones, but traced back only to the times of Justin or Justinian, sixth century,

see Suicer, v. 'Υπαπαντή: Bingham. Bp. Sparrow, A Rationale of the Book of Common Prayer, quotes S. Bernard for the Procession and Candles. This last feature has stamped the day in several modern languages; in French, La Fête de la Chandeleur. And in Swedish I find kyndilmüsso (Bonaventuras Betraktelser, cap. 10).

1016. Cræcilade] Above 905, in the older form, Crecca gelade. The second part is lad, gelad, a ford or ferry, a passage of a river. It is seen in the sister-name of Lechlade, and other names in Gloucestershire, as S. Mary Lode, Abload, Evenlode, Framilode. The first part, which is now shrunk up to Crick-, is probably Cerrig, the British word for stone, which is still an important element in names, not only in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, but also in England and France. In Ireland the common form is Carrick, e.g. Carrickfergus &c., also Creagh; in Scotland, Craig, e.g. Craigmillar &c., or Craw, as Crawford; in Wales, Cerrig, Craig, Crick, e.g. Crickhowel (i. e. Howel's stone) &c. In England we have Crichton, Crick House, Craik (Co. Durham), repeated instances of Crawley, Cray, Creake, which occur in divers counties. In France there is " La Crau" near Arles, which is the Λιθώδες or Stony Plain of Strabo iv. 7. Camden was the first to point out this derivation: . . . "Gallis hodie la Craux dicitur. Nominis tamen rationem nesciunt, at lapides Craig Britannica lingua nominantur."

1016. p:54. eall be westan] This phrase filled out full, would stand thus—"be westan dæle;" and Gibson has rendered it excellently, per plagam occidentalem. Of the English translators, none has surpassed Ingram's "all by west"—the later version of MHB and Thorpe, "all to the west," being no improvement.

1016. p 155. Georius] Georgius C D; Georgies F. Concerning S. George, an Anglo-Saxon Poem of about this date, or a little later, was edited by Mr. Hardwick for the Percy Society, 1850. The Preface shews that this Saint was well known in Saxon times, and that his celebrity did not rise out of the Crusades. But his quality of Patron-Saint of England does date from that period.

gang dagum. The Rogation days before Ascension Day, in which litanies were sung in procession round the fields. The petition of the litanies was for the kindly fruits of the earth. This is the going to which the etymology of the word points. A faint image of the procession still survives in the annual custom of beating the parish bounds at this season.

1016. p 156. æt Sceorstane] "....in Wiccia, in loco qui Scearstan nominatur, Flor.; i.e. (interprete Camdeno) Comitatus lapis.

Putatur enim lapis esse terminalis qui quatuor Comitatus, Oxoniensem, Glocestrensem, Wigorniensem, et Warwicensem distinguit" (Gibson). Mr. Thorpe ap. Flor. Wigorn. ad loc. has an ingenious method for bringing about an identification of this place with Chimney in Oxfordshire.

Englaheode] = There Knut was victorious and conquered all the English nation. In D it stands 'gefeaht him wio ealle,'—to the confusion of the sense. A new hand begins at 'gefeaht' in the middle of the sentence, and hence probably the error.

1016. p 159. and ba cyningas comon togædere æt Olanige] Here the manuscript D has a noticeable amplification: æt Olanige. wið Deorhyrste, and wurdon feolagan and wedbroðra, and bæt gefæstnodon &c. The locality is still more distinctly indicated by Florence: . . . ambo reges, ad locum qui Deorhyrst nominatur, in unum convenerunt : Eadmundus cum suis in occidentali ripa Sabrinæ, Canutus verd in orientali cum suis consedit. Dein uterque rex in insulam quæ Olanege appellatur, et est in ipsius fluminis medio sita, trabariis advehitur; ubi pace amicitia fraternitate, et pacto et sacramentis confirmata, regnum dividitur. Gibson says, "Hodie The Eight, insula in agro Glocestrensi, quam Sabrinæ fluminis aquæ sese diffindentes efficient." There is hardly any doubt that it is Alney Island, close to the city of Gloucester; whether this be The Eight of Gibson or not. Either the description "near Deerhyrst" must be a mistake, or "Deerhyrst" must be other than the place of that name near Tewksbury. The MS. D and Florence are too nearly allied to strengthen each other's statement.

This meeting of Cnut and Edmund is represented as a duel by a great majority of later historians. Sharon Turner gives the following list of authorities for the duel: Henry of Huntingdon; Matthew of Westminster; The Peterborough Chronicle, ap. Sparke; Knyghton; Brompton; Higden; Rieval; Radulf Niger (MS. Vesp. D. 10, p 25); Anglo-Saxon History, vol. iii. p 267, note 13. In Malmesbury and the Encomium Emmæ, Cnut is said to have declined battle. The following authorities make no mention of duel or challenge: Saxon Chronicles; Florence; Simeon of Durham; Hoveden; Knytlinga Saga.

It became in the course of time one of the established sensation scenes of History. Speed, Baker, and Grafton describe the wager of battle circumstantially, with stand-up speeches, after the manner of the early books of Livy. Camden adopts the Monomachia. Hume does not notice it. Turner relates it with a precise comparison

of authorities. Lingard introduces it guardedly thus: "To account for the final success of Canute, it was said that the two kings fought in single combat in the Isle of Olney, &c. &c."

The question was elaborately stated and examined by Mr. Hogg in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. v., New Series; and the conclusion was in favour of the Single Combat. This view is moreover supported by the Rev. S. Lysons of Hempsted Court, the Archæologist of Gloucestershire, to whom I am indebted for many curious particulars in illustration of the locality.

The name of the island in which the kings met, is found in a late historian spelt Holenghege, and this has seemed to countenance the combat view. The Northmen had a custom, when great issues were to be decided by single combat, to choose for the arena a riverisland, to which the principals repaired, accompanied only by their seconds, while the other supporters waited the event on the opposite banks. This was called Holm-gang, Island-going. Mr. Hogg and others, who support the combat view, see in the late form Holenghege some touch of this Holm-gang. But it is really only an aspirated form of spelling Olanige or Alney.

Another circumstance has been urged as bearing upon the question. The strand of the Severn, opposite to the Island, is now called Coggins, and was temp. Edw. I. known as Cockayne; a word which Du Cange renders querelle, disputation, contention. But perhaps this spot, which lay between the Castle of Gloucester and the river, was the public exercising ground, and thus the continual scene of an emulative 'contention.' (But cf. Mr. Lysons in Gent. Mag., June 1861, p 631.)

It appears to me that the combat owes its existence in history to a single expression in the Saxon Chronicles, viz. comon togædere. There is no doubt from the context that the intention of the Saxon Chronicler is to relate an amicable conference. But in employing the words comon togædere he inadvertently gave occasion for a misunderstanding, inasmuch as this is also used (like όμόσε lέναι) of hostile meetings: cf. 992, 1001, p 158. Orosius, p 416. Ed. Thorpe: iv. 10. § 2. Ed. Bosworth. In the Coke's Tale of Gamelyn, l. 236, "Whan Gamelyn and the champioun togider gon to goon."

1021*. D alone adds, And Ælfgar b'. se ælmes fulla forð ferde on Cristes mæsse uhtan.

1022. swa se papa him tæhte] instructed can hardly be the word for this place, as the later translators have rendered it. It sounds too much like partisanship in the judge.

Better follow Gibson: "et ipsum ab omni crimine purgavit, cujus

(ut à Papa didicerat) fuerat insimulatus, testante Archiepiscopo, et toto comitatu qui apud eum aderat."

But this is not satisfactory. The word tæhte, if it signify any help that Leofwine obtained from the Pope, it can only be help in the way of directions as to the requisite process for his clearance. We should thus say, "as the Pope directed or enjoined him." And this sense seems to be borne out by Cod. Dipl. 693, where the word is thus used once if not twice. The only other possible meaning seemed to be "as the Pope pronounced to him, in the presence of &c.," viz. that he had successfully cleared himself.

1025. to ba holme set ea pere halgan] The river-name "Helge-Aa" is here translated, "at the holy river." This river is now in Sweden, with the town of Christianstad on one of its lakes. But it was then the boundary between Sweden and the Danish possessions, and was accordingly liable to witness conflicts between Danish and Swedish leaders.

But the accuracy of this record has been questioned because of a more famous disaster for Cnut which took place two years later than this date. In 1027 king Olaf of Norway discomfited Cnut's navy by an ingenious stratagem at the river "Helge-Aa." The similarity between the two events has led to the suspicion that they have grown out of one. Yet there are some distinct features in this entry, which speak for its genuineness. There is the 'holm,' and the names of the leaders on the Swedish side, Ulf and Eglaf, which Munch finds agreeable to the Swedish history of the time. This is not "Ulf Iarl," brother-in-law of Cnut—but Ulf and Eglaf were two sons of Ragnvald Iarl, who had been in the service of the king of Sweden. Munch's Norske Folk's Historie, vol. ii. pp 733-735.

1028. ge ahnode him bet lande] vindicated to himself that land, made good his claims. This is the proper meaning of the verb; see apposite quotations in Schmid, Glos. vv. agnian, agnung: Grein, vv. agnian, geagnian. Cf. Cod. Dipl. 693. Cnut had hereditary claims to the sovereignty of Norway.

1031 A. Her com Cnut agan] Cf. Luke xix. 15.

1036 C. hættode]? scalped: it can hardly be flayed? cute capitis abstractâ, Flor. In Cnut's Laws, repeated theft is punishable by certain mutilations, and among these hættian, a word which Grimm did not know and would have altered: cf. Schmid, v. hættian and v. Strafen. His quotation from Cod. Colb. leaves little room for doubt: corium capitis cum capillis (auferatur) quod Angli dicunt behættie. It would be connected with Germ. haut=skin; our hide.

1036. p 165. ongean wealcan] contra moliri; as Ettm. I.ex. p 78, who prints the two words in one, as a compound. The old High German preserves the elementary idea of this word in Walkan =volvere, q.v. in Graff. Above, p 95 m, unwealtran=unrolling-er, is from a collateral form, with T instead of C. In Ælfric's Homilies, vol. i. p 448 m, weolc the preterite, in the transferred sense of revolving in the mind. Here it is of bringing a powerful agitation to bear on a political question, for which the word was well prepared by the familiar phrase, yda gewealc, fluctuum volutatio, the rolling swell of the waves. See reff. in Bouterwek, Glos. Cædm. To the same effect F says, Godnine eorl and ealle &a betstan men on Westsexan widowadon. ac hi naht ne gespeddan. and he was pa fullice cing ofer eal Englaland.

1036. Englalandes * * him and his broxer] Though the MS. shews no lacuna here, there is reason to suspect one. Malmesbury's text is here akin to ours, and he supplies the sentence of which we have only the latter end in E: "Angli diu obstiterunt; magis unum ex filiis Ethelredi, qui in Normannia morabatur, vel Hardecnutum filium Cnutonis ex Emma, qui tunc in Denemarchiâ erat, regem habere volentes."

the nom. must be hamule, hamele; at first perhaps signifying a rowlock-strap, and so symbolizing some subdivision of the crew. There is not money enough to give eight marcs to every rower. Cf. Ettm. p 466. Egilsson, v. Hamla.

1040. of weallande] from abroad, from foreign parts, from exile. See note, page 65, and below on 1048, p 178 m.

1046. p173. be so cyng him geunnen hæfde] him is sibimetipsis, to them the pleaders, Harold and Beorn, who urged that Swegen must not be invested with any of the things (offices or possessions) which the king had already granted away to themselves. The expressions of C are more distinct.

1050 D. p 173. and se cyng ha sende æfter ham scypum he he ofsendan mihte. he ær ham wendon] and the king then sent after such ships as he could overtake (of those) which recently went home.

1046. p 174 t. Da scyfte man Harold eorl up bes cynges scipe be Harold eorl ær steorde] The confusion of this passage will be remedied if we suppose the first Harold to be an error for Beorn.

1046. p 174. tealde] This and tealdon (1086) are to be noted as probably the earliest extant instances of their use in a sense

identical with the modern 'tell, told.' Before this the verb tellan is used for "to count numerically, to enumerate, to account as &c.;" but it is a step in the history of the word when it appears as the mere equivalent of "to say." It seems less like a developement in direct line, than an introduction from a collateral dialect, or from provincial or colloquial usage. Yet telle, tellanne in 1085, where the sense is to recount, narrate, may represent the connecting link.

1048. p 178 t. to- pære burge -weard] When we call this Tmesis, as we were taught to do in reading Homer, we speak præpostere, inversely to the order of facts. We are familiar with toward as one word, and therefore we regard it as a severance of that which has been coherent, when we find it written as two words. Here, we see that the two parts have become coherent as a consequence of their being frequently brought near together. We still keep them apart in certain phrases, as, to the east ward-from the north ward—where the practice of writing east-ward, north-ward, as compounds, is a mistake of the syntax. Examples from the Authorized English Bible are given in my Swidhun, p 115. To those may be added, wid heofenas weard, Ælf. i. p 46. 206; to mynstre weard, id. p 336; wid Petres weard, id. 376. An example of older growth is the compound preposition between, which we only just catch a glimpse of in its earlier state, in the poetical phrase be sæm tweonum=between seas. The accidental and local character of this compound is seen in the fact, that the analogue in Dutch and German is simple, viz. tusschen, swiften = tween.

1048. p 178 h. of sænde] Not 'sent off,' but 'sent for, sent after, μετεπέμψατο. Compare Lazamon, vol. ii. p 235, bat he ofsende Magan, & wes a selcu mon, i. e. that he should send for Magan, who was a marvellous man. Again, p 324 (where we accept the Editor's emendation as unquestionable), ofsende biscopes, and boc-ilarede men, i. e. send for bishops, and book-learned men. The renderings are Sir Frederic Madden's. Cf. Ælf. Hom. i. p 400, 'of-arn done begen Naaman'=ran after the thane Naaman. So in our text, above p 98 t, 'ne mehte hine mon of ridan' = they were not able to ride him down, to overtake him, equitando assequi. Gen. xiv. 13, 'and efste wid bæs heres ob \$ he hig of rad'=and pursued the army till he overtook them. The verb ofahsian (or ofaxian) is interesting. Meaning etymologically 'to ask after, enquire;' it came like πυνθάνεσθαι to mean 'get information, be told, learn, hear of;' and in 1016 (p158) C and D have ofahsade (ofaxade) where E and F have geherde secgan, heard say. Cf. below, notes on 1050 D; and on 1098, of eode.

1048. p 178 h. sceolde] This verb has here a force still known in the dialects, and in high activity in German. It characterises the statement as being merely the version of Eustace.

1048. p 178 m. þa welisce menn] This means simply "the foreigners;" as also below, þa wælisce men: in both cases indicating the Normans or Frenchmen. See note, p 65, and on 1040. In Devonshire the walnut is called 'French nut,' in Somersetshire it is 'Welsh nut,' but the signification is the same in the two cases, both alike meaning foreign nut. At the time when the English name of the juglans was fixed in Somersetshire, the current word for foreign was Welsh—when, at a later date, it was fixed in Devonshire, the common adjective for foreign was French, which it may almost be said to be still.

1048. p 180 h. ealra pæra pegna] Qu. pinga?

1048 E. ad fin. Oddan] He is named again p 182, and his death is recorded 1056 D with a character. There is a slab among the Arundel marbles at Oxford, which was found in 1675 near Deerhurst Church in Gloucestershire. It bears the following inscription in letters of Saxon times:

PHODDA DVX IVSSIT HANC REGIAM AVLAM CONSTRVI ATQVE DEDICARI IN HONO-RE S-TRINITATIS PRO ANIMA GERMANI SVI ELFRICI QVE DE HOC LOCO ASVPTA EALDREDVS VERO EFS QVI EANDEM DEDICAVIT II IDIBVS APL XIIII AVTEM ANNOS REGNI EADWARDI REGIS ANGLORV.

The death of the said Ælfric, brother of Odda, is recorded 1053 D (p 189). The quaintnesses of the inscription are partially reproduced in *Parker's Glos. of Architecture*, Companion, p 26.

1052. p 183 h. hasæton] rowers. Norsk hásætan: cf. Mr. Dasent's Article on Iceland, in Oxford Essays.

shrunk not from, the risk of foraging: cf. Gospels, Matt. xxii. 16, bu ne wandast for nanum menn: bith um Niemand fummerst. De Wette.

1052. p 185. Nore musan] Nothing has been done for the identification of this place since Gibson: Hodie, opinor, ostium Medwægi quod vocatur the buoy in the Nowre. Putarem esse North-Forland nisi mus adjiceretur, quod semper ostium designat. Ingram: the Nore. Later Editors, verbally, Northmouth.

1052. p 185. to Middeltune pæs cynges] This can be no other than the ancient town of Milton (Royal), situated on "Milton Creek," landward of the Isle of Sheppey. The associations at 892 and 894 shew that the Middeltun there is also the same place, viz. in Kent. Gibson says, 'Middleton in Essex;' but I cannot find any such place that is passable here.—The Middeltun of 964 is Milton Abbas, near Blandford, Dorset: "Ibi enim hujus nominis locus est, ubi vetusti cænobii parietes conspiciuntur, quod Æthelstanus Rex fundavit, ut fratris sui manes expiaret" (Gibson). A document, No. 375 in Kemble's Cod. Dipl., appertaining to this foundation, is of later date, and otherwise suspicious-locking.

1052. p 187 h. unwræste scipe] a crazy, unsafe, unseaworthy ship. The simple adj. is wræst=firm, steady, secure; (Ettmüller, Lexicon, p 155) as in the paraphrased Psalter, Ps. li. 6, on his welan spede wræste getruwode=in the multitude of his riches he firmly trusted. Other examples in Bouterwek, Glos. v. vræst. Unwræst occurs in E three times. The second time is at p 220 b, where it is used morally: "Alas, how delusive and insecure (unwrest) is this world's riches!" In the third place, p 260 t, Abbot Henry is represented as searching for some device which shall never profit him: an unwreste wrenc=some lame pretence, or bootless, desperate imposture. At Lazamon's date, this forcible adj. retained only the faded and vague sense of poor, wretched, weak, wicked; and from the repeated blunders of the scribes in writing the word, it appears almost obsolete in the thirteenth century: cf. Madden's Glossary to Lazamon, v. unwræst; and White's Ormulum, Glos. v. unnwræste.

From Grosseteste's "Castell of Loue," I am enabled, by the kindness of Mr. Weymouth, who is engaged in editing it, to cite the line, "And for vre speche vnwreste and vyl" (l. 1149). In some other instances one of his manuscripts has rejected the word as obsolete. Instead of vnwreste (l. 335) the said manuscript substitutes gret synne—vnwresteschipe (l. 1141) is replaced by gret gult—vnwrestliche (l. 1464) by unkyndely.

1055. p 190. sce Ædelbryhtes mynster] This is Hereford Cathedral. The name thus honoured is that of the East Anglian king, who was killed by order of Offa, as related above 792. He was regarded as a martyr, and the brief reign of Offa's son was deemed a vindication of the innocence of king Æthelbriht: —— quin et Deus adeò evidentibus signis sanctitatem ejus prodidit, ut hodieque sedes episcopalis Herefordi sub ipsius nomine consecretur. Nec ineptum debet videri aut incongruum quod antecessores nostri, probi et religiosi viri, vel taciturnitate toleraverunt, vel auctoritate

roboraverunt. William of Malmesb., Gesta Regum ii. § 210. The Cattle Fair at Hereford on May 20, is still called St. Ethelbert's Fair.

1066. p 201. butse carlas] ship-men, mariners. This butse is probably the same word as the East Anglian buss for a boat, as used by the fishermen of Yarmouth, who speak of their herring-busses.

1066. p 201. se Norrena cyng] This is the Norsk adjective itself: cf. Egilsson, "Lexicon Poeticum Antiquæ Linguæ Septentrionalis," v. Norrænn, Norvegicus. This king was not Harold Harfagera, as stated in MS. D, and by Florence both here and above 1048 (where see note, Ed. Thorpe); but Harold Sigurdson, alias Hardrada. The time of Harfagr is earlier, he died in 936.

no66. p 203 m. eam] uncle. The native word, which the Germans have kept in their Dheim, has, after a struggle, been displaced by the Latin avunculus in its French form oncle. In Spenser we find eme and uncle used of the same relation in continuous stanzas. Faerie Queene, B. ii. C. x; Stanzas 47 and 48. The banished word has left its genitive case behind in the family name EAMES.

not placed in Albis, because the White Garments of those who had been baptized on Easter Day were worn on the Octave for the last time. How this name should have been transferred to Pentecost is a curious question, about which there was an active debate in the Guardian in 1859. Some held that, like the German Pfingsten, our name is really a corruption of Pentecost, passing through an intermediate form Whingsten to the modern Whitsun, and that therefore it is Whitsun-Day and not Whit-Sunday. Mr. Baron (Aug. 17,1859) demolished this theory by quoting this place of D, and by references to Lazamon (v. Glossary), to prove the high antiquity of the name White Sunday.

But one thing was still unexplained, viz. why the name was transferred from after Easter to Pentecost. The solution may be, that Pentecost, being a few weeks later in the year, was preferable in our climate for Baptism; and accordingly that it bore away the name of White, which continental practice had associated with Easter Tide.

1070. þa Densca huscarles] "Hus-carls were the 'King's Own,' the body-guard of the Danish Sovereigns. They were retained after the restoration of the Anglosaxon line, and then they seem to have formed a class of Thanes.... The great Earls had Huscarls, like

the King." "They were also called *Hirdmen*." Palgrave's English Commonwealth, p ccclxxxi.

1070. cantelcapas] Chanters' capes or copes. In Cod. Dipl. 940, there are "iii cantercæppa:" cf. Lazamon, Glos. v. Cantelcape.

The dyde eall be pere munece ræde] quod fecit omnind monachorum consilio; and not as Gibson, "se autem hæc omnia fecisse Monachorum consilio." All the translators, except my friend Mr. Stevenson, have followed Gibson, and have fixed a most unmerited stigma upon the worthy churchwarden's name. Even Mr. Stevenson's translation betrays an uncertainty, which in such a scholar is almost stranger than oversight. He translates, "and that he did all by the advice of the monks;" leaving it open for the reader to take that as a conjunction to the dishonour of Yware, or as a relative pronoun which would mark the churchwarden as a true man, honoured with the confidence of his fraternity. If Mr. Stevenson had only adhered to the rule he seems to have set himself, and translated verbally, he would have avoided the ambiguity which now attaches to his version, through the intrusion of the conjunction "and."

Had there been an 'and' in that place of the original, it would have appeared to assert the conjunctional dependence of bæt upon sægde. But even then we should have had a means of correcting the mistake by the expression just above, and swilce litles hwat = and such like trifles. It is plain the removal of these objects was no treachery, but in the interest of the society, when the chronicler could thus speak of it. The Peterborough monks were not more disposed than others to make light of their wrongs. This may be seen a few lines further on. In this place the writer is evidently regretting that the churchwarden could not have included in his parcel the crown of beaten gold, and the bracket of red gold, and many other valuables, enumerated on p 209, which became the prey of the outlaws.

sceolden cumen] were expected to come, were said to be coming. 1071. arhlico] basely, cowardly, dastardly. Compare earhlico of slogon, p 223 h: rancne here and unearhne, p 140 l; pone ungemetlice eargan=the excessively timid. Boethius, Ed. Cardale, p 298 h.

1072. æt þam Gewæde in lædde] D. ferde inn ofer þ Wæð. Gibson treated this as an error for 'Tweed.' The annalist of Waverley appears to have read 'Scodwade.' David Macpherson, "Geographical Illustrations," conjectured that it meant the "Scottewattre or Wattyr of Forth."

The Wattyr of Sulway was specially known as Scottis-se or Scottiswath; and Macpherson quotes from Snorro (Hist. Reg. Norweg.

c. 21), "Deir fóro yfir á nockra, þar sem heitir Skiótans-vad edr Vapna-vad" = They passed over a certain river at a place called Skiótans-ford or Weapon-ford. Hence it may be supposed that the term vad, wath, wæth, was generally applied to the friths or fiords of Scotland; and the Gewæde or Wæs may have been the Frith of Forth.

A word of this sort, signifying ford or passage, must once have been widely used. In a grant to Shap Abbey (temp. Hen. II), brought to my knowledge by Mr. Albert Way, "totam terram quæ fuit Karl, scilicet per has divisas, de vado de Karlwath &c." Several local names of Waithe seem to belong here, e. g. Waithe near Great Grimsley, Waith Common at Ewerby near Sleaford.

According to Florence, William penetrated to Abernethy, and therefore left both the Tweed and the Frith of Forth in his rear.

1075 D. hearma] Ermine. Wright's Vocabularies, p 22, "Netila, hearma." Shall we call this a gen. pl. or suppose it stands undeclined in composition? In fact it was a mere foreign sound, and had acquired no grammatical attributes in English. This delicate fur coming from N. Asia by Armenian merchants was called in Italy Armellino; and the word passed, along with the article, through the courts of Europe. Diez, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Romanischen Sprachen.

1075. p 214. ge niðrade] pessundati (Gibson), subdued (Ingram, Stevenson), crushed (Thorpe): niðerian is in its etymological and original sense, e.g. Luke xiv.11, to put down, deprimere; but its prevalent use was "to condemn," e.g. Matt. xii. 7, 37, 42, xx.18; Luke vi. 37. The former seems preferable here, as the translators have taken it.

The narrative of D preserves the tragic lines in a less mutilated form than E. Among them occurs "sume getawod to scande," which has been the subject of some debate. The word scande needs little elucidation. It is Germ. Schunde, disgrace. In Wright's Vocabularies, p 21, we find Ignominia, scande. In the Laws of Hlodhære and Eadric, § 11, scandlice gretan, is to insult a person with opprobrious epithets; or, as they would be called in Devon, scandalous! More apposite is Lazamon, vol. iii. p 176:

preostes he blende al bis folc he scende.

The verb 'to shend' is not uncommon in Elizabethan poetry, e.g. in Spenser's *Prothalamion*:

.... these twain, that did excel The rest, so far as Cynthia doth *shend* The lesser stars. and Fairfax, Tasso i. Canto vi:

Tortosa won, lest winter might them shend, They drew to holds, and coming spring attend.

In Shakspeare the preterite or participle shent occurs several times.

The verb tawian will be best understood by a view of the group to which it belongs, as collected and illustrated in Ettmüller's Lexicon, p 528. It appears to have been, in its proper sense, associated with rude manufacturing operations, such as dressing hides; and hence its fitness for expressing shameful handling, when applied to humanity. Compare as a kindred phrase "to sceame tucode," Judges xv. 8. The details of this shameful handling are stated in Florence thus: quosdam erutis oculis vel manibus truncatis deturpavit.

1076. Vithele] Vitalis, Abbot of Westminster. His monument, in the Cloisters of Westminster Abbey, is the earliest English tomb with an effigies; according to Mr. Westmacott, in the Archæological Journal, 1860, p 304.

1077. forbarn Lundenburh] This fire of London is found in no Saxon Chronicle except E; nor do I find it repeated by any of the Latiners.

1083. "Amongst the causes of this new sort of war, one of the chief was the zeal of Thurstan the abbot to introduce the Norman service, or rather the way of singing begun by William a monk of Feschamp, and to thrust out that of Gregory the Great, which had before been commonly used by the English monks." Inett, History of the English Church, part ii. c. 3. § 6. vol. ii. p 90. Ed. Griffiths. Quoting Malmesb. de Antiq. Glaston. Eccles. p 331. Coll. Gale, [p 114. Ed. Hearne.]

1083. mistukian] This seems to signify the infliction of some irregular and capricious punishment: cf. Ettm. p 534, and Glossarial Index by Herbert Coleridge, v. Tuke. Gibson was so far influenced by the parallel narrative in Florence, as to render perperam docere, explaining it of the abbot's attempt to substitute a modern chant in place of the Gregorian,—by which means he obtains but a poor harmony, and does violence to the word mistukian. Compare "to sceame tucode," Judges xv. 8.

1085. p 218 l. lett agan ut] scrutari, Gibson; marking well the inquisitorial character of the proceeding. Some doubt may be felt about this word agan, what it is. I take it for a compound of gan or gangan = to go; and identical with gegangan, gegan, of which the pret. 'geeodon,' p 2 m; 'geyde,' 617, conveys the notion of invasion

and conquest. So here, there is the sense of acquiring statistics by invasion of the Englishman's home; expressed below in other words, Swa swy & nearwelice he hit lett utaspyrian. An admirable illustration occurs in the Laws of Æthelbirht, § 29: Gif friman edor gegange = If a freeman enter (violently or intrusively) a habitation, &c.

1085. p 219 h. teale] incrimination; complaint with or without ground; declining rather to the latter aspect, so that the word often stands as equivalent to calumnia, βλασφημία. Thus it is used by Ælfric, who writes it according to the standard form tal. forms tæl and teal are provincial; e.g. Ælc synn and tál bið forgifen behreowsigendum mannum, ac bæs Halgan Gastes tál ne bið næfre forgifen. Deah de hwa cwede tallic word ongean me &c .= All sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven to repentant men, but blasphemy of H. G. shall never be forgiven. Even though one utter injurious language against me &c., Hom. i. p 498.—And &a Iudeiscan boceras mid hete bæt tældon; ac heora tál næs na of rihtwisnysse, ac of nide = And the Jewish scribes censured that with warmth, but their censure was not of justice, but of envy, Id. p 338.—Peah wære Godes rihtwisnys eallunga untæle=Yet would God's justice be quite unassailable, Id. p 112. The prevalence of tælnys, false accusation, is one of the cotemporary evils complained of in a passage about to be quoted from a Homily on the Life of S. Neot, which has been thought to belong to this date. The present Annal closes with a tale of distress which in the next year swells into a long and loud wail of lamentation. In the same general strain, and agreeing with it in several particulars, is the peroration of this Life of S. Neot. Mr. Duffus Hardy has said (Catalogue, p 539) that this Homily must be assigned to one of the two epochs of murrain and general distress, 986 or 1086. He prefers the former, because of the supposed approach of the end of the world. If this apprehension ceased at 1000, this single feature of the Homily is enough to decide its date, and it must belong to 986. But all the other features coincide so much better with the narrative of our Chronicle at certain later dates, e.g. 1085-6; or 1116; or again 1131: that I am inclined to suppose the miseries of the eleventh and twelfth centuries may have tended to prolong the anticipation of impending doom. And it appears to me that not only is the good time of Alfred's reign here commemorated; the loss of a native dynasty is touched in accents not loud but deep. It must be admitted that the earlier date represents very bad times, a weak government, want and distress, conspicuous crimes, Danish ravages. The passage is as follows: Eac is to wytene \$ se king Ælfred manega bec

burh Godes Gast gedyhte; and binnen twam and twentig gearen his cynerices and (?) biss eor lice lif forlet, and to ban ecen gewende, swa him God geu e for his rihtwisnysse.

Eala mæn þa leofe, þa wæron gode dages on þan gode time, for Cristenes folcas ge earnunge and rihtwisra heafod manna. Nu is æighwanen heof and wop, and orefewealm mycel for folces synnen, and wæstmes æigder gea on wude gea on felde ne synd swa gode swa heo iu wæron, ac yfele's swy'se eall eor'se wæstme. And unrihtwisnysse mycele wexe wide geond wurlde, and sibbe tolysnysse, and tælnysse; and se binc's nu wærrest and geapest be o'serne mæig beswican, and his æhte him of anymen. Eac manswered man mare pone he scolde, by hit is be wyrse wide on eorde, and beo ban we mugen understanden b hit is neh domes dæge. Ne spared nu se fæder þan sune, ne nan mann oðren, ac ælc man wind ongean oðren, and Godes lage ne gemc's, swa swa me scolde. Beo ban we mugen ongyten \$ biss wurld is aweigweard, and swyde neh ban ænde bysser wurlde. Eale gesælig byd se be hine sylfen on time gebyreged. Uten nu bidden georne Seinte Neoten and o'ere halgen \$ heo ure bingeres been to ban heofon kinge, \$\dagger\$ we næfre ealles to yfelne time ne gebiden on byssen earmen life, and b we moten æfter fordside to ecere reste becumen .= You should know also that the said king Alfred was the author of many books by the Spirit of God; and within twenty-two years from the settlement of his kingdom, he left this earthly life, and went to that which is eternal, by divine favour, for his righteousness.

Ah, brethren, those were good days, in that good time, for the Christian life of the people, and the blessing of just rulers! Now it is a groan and a cry on every side, and huge murrain for the people's sins, and the fruits of the wood and the field are not so good as they were formerly, but all the fruits of the earth are seriously damaged. And injustice is vastly on the increase far and wide, and dissolution of amity, and slanderous accusation; and that man is now thought shrewdest and cleverest who can betray another and defraud him of goods. Men perjure themselves too, even when they are not under pressure, and this makes it worse, all the world over, and thereby we may understand that it is nigh doom's day. Now, the father has no mercy on his son, nor one man on another, but each man is at strife with his neighbour, and God's law is not respected, as it should be. Thereby we may learn that this world is on the wane, and that it is very near to the end of this world. But withal, he shall be saved that taketh heed to himself in time. Let us entreat S. Neot and other saints, that they be our advocates

with the heavenly king, that our lot be not cast on too utterly bad a time, and that we may after death attain to everlasting rest. MS. Cott. Vespas. D. xiv. f. 148.

segetes etiam et arborum fructus segnius maturescebant (Gibson), corn and fruits were at a stand (Ingram), corn and fruits were left standing (Stevenson), corn and fruits were at a stand (Thorpe). The only other case of æt-standan that I find is in Beowulf 1776 (Kemble, 891 Grein), where it is used of the sword-blade that has passed through the dragon's body. But whether the verb æt-stod in that place signifies that it stood out conspicuous, or that it stuck in to the wall beyond, is doubted. Kemble takes the former, and renders æt-standan by exstare: Thorpe the latter; and also Grein, if I understand his German,

ben wunderbaren Burm, bag an ber Wand es anstund.

If Kemble is right, ext-standene might signify cereals sprouting in the ear.

1086. p 220 b. unwrest] Cf. below, the note on 1131 (p 260 t). p 221 m. wur'sful] majestic, worshipful, dignified, kingly.

p 221 b. fyrmest to eacan pam cynge] the most prominent, the first man next to the king.

p 222 h. sona he forleas &c.] This was law in Saxon times; cf. Alfred's Laws, 25, § 1; and still in Bracton.

p 222 m. werscipe] "and if he might have lived two years longer, he would have won Ireland by his valour, and without any weapons" (Stevenson). Gibson, Ingram, Thorpe, substantially the same. But one may ask, What is this antithesis between valour and weapons? How should his valour act without weapons? If it be answered, By the terror of a great military renown—then we reply, that this cause is speedy in operation, and is not helped by the lapse of time; why then the words "two years longer?"

Plainly, werscipe is, by a negligent orthography, for wærscipe; and has nothing to do with wer=vir, but with wær=pactum, fædus, cautela. So wes for wæs, weron for wæron (see Glossary). Then a clear sense comes out: if he might have lived two years longer, he would have won Ireland with his wary negotiation, and without any weapons.

"It (the Conquest of Ireland) was simply the sequel of the Norman Conquest of England." Prof. Goldwin Smith, Ireland, p 45. "Ireland was struck by the last languid wave of a deluge of conquest, which had overwhelmed all the neighbouring nations." Id. p 47.

p 223 t. for leon] sic MS. for fleon, Gibson, Ingram, Thorpe. p 223. Eac weard on Ispanie &c.] The only notice of Spain in these Chronicles. But though Spanish affairs generally were not much heard of at Peterborough, yet the struggles of Spain at this date, which agitated the heart of Christendom and produced the Cid el Campeador, might well come to the knowledge of a historian who had lived at the Conqueror's court.

In 1085, Toledo was wrested from the Moors after they had held it 372 years. This was achieved by Alphonse VI, king of Castile and Léon, the "Christian king Anphos" of our text. Here was the first step in the Christian Reconquest of Spain.

So startled were the Emirs, that they rashly invited over Youssouf ben Taschfin, parvenu king of Fez, who readily came with his formidable Almoravides. The terror of this army roused France to make common cause with the Christian states of Spain. The confederates met the Africans at Zélaca, near Badajoz, and suffered a tremendous defeat. But this victory was turned by the ambitious Youssouf against his own allies. He subjugated the Mussulman governments, and established the sway of the Almoravides. Toledo remained in the hands of the Christians.

In the next generation the struggle was continued. Another Alphonse drove the son of Youssouf from Saragossa, and made that city the capital of Aragon (1118). This Alphonse ("the warrior") even marched an army into Granada (1125), and attempted the work that was reserved for Ferdinand. His romantic expedition, though disastrous, shed lustre on the Christian cause.

It almost looks as if our chronicler wrote this paragraph late enough to have heard something of all this, otherwise his closing words are loose and incorrect.

1086. p 223 b. to ælcen mynstre and to ælcen cyrcean uppe land] This is a good passage to illustrate the early relations between the minster and the country church. The religious organization is here seen to repose upon the minster as its unit and base, where we should now put the parish church.

1087 m. Rodbeard amundbræg] A Saxon corruption of the name De Mowbray: cf. Flor. ad annum.

1087 b. De b' Odo be bas cyng of awocan] Here 'cyng' is a blunder for 'bing;'=The bishop Odo with whom these things originated.

1087. p 225 h. heora wudas and slætinge] sylvas suas et venatus, Gibson: their woods and chaces, Ingram: their woods and [the right of] killing [the deer], Stevenson: their woods and liberty

of the chace, Thorpe. See Halliwell, v. Slate; and Herbert Coleridge, v. Slating.

Brêle, formerly called the Eu, the boundary between Picardy and Normandy: quoting Mr. Stapleton's Paper in Archæologia, vol. xxvi, which I have not the opportunity of consulting. Moreri, Dictionnaire, gives Albamala as the Latin form of Aumale.

"Comite invito" (Gibson)—" against the will of the Count" (Thorpe). Unpances is the adverbial genitive of unpanc, or more properly ungepanc, of which the meaning is "mala intentio" (cf. Grimm's Gr. ii. 777. for the force which the prefix un-imparts), "an adverse, hostile purpose." Hence the expression in the text means "to the detriment or prejudice of the count; or, in pursuance of hostile designs against the count." It would appear to have been by retroaction upon the simple pances, that the latter grew to signify gratis, ultro, gratia, &c.; and in this movement we discern the pivot of transition from think, cogitare, to thank, gratias agere.

Malcolm moved out of Scotlande into Lothian, which was in (the Engles' land, or) England. Here we see that 'England' was at that time bounded by the Frith of Forth, and Lothian was in 'England' and not in 'Scotland.' Cf. Geographical Illustrations of Scottish History, by David Macpherson, 1796, v. Louthian. But it must be observed, "Englaland" here, is purely an ethnological and not a political term. As to government, it appears to have been held by the kings of Scotland under the crown of England, and to have been one of those districts which made it a confused question how far the Scotch throne was feudatory to the English.

Mr. Thorpe renders "into the district of Leeds," because Flor. has "in provincia Loidis."

each other. The verbs in to- have so much lost their ancient character, that the investigator of the English language as it is, naturally takes this to to be a preposition, and supposes an ellipse of the governed substantive. In the old language there were the compound verbs to-bræcan, to-secotan, to-tæran, &c.; but now we hear of 'breaking to pieces,' 'tearing to shreds,' &c.: and Dean Alford says, 'that in the expression "shutting to," it is the preposition, and not the adverb, that is used; that to which the door is shut being omitted.' The Queen's English, p 32.

1093. be ær on his agenre hand stod] which before was in

his own tenancy. William Rufus was the first sovereign who kept bishoprics and abbeys vacant for the sake of their revenues. Queen Elizabeth was the last. Mr. Griffiths ad Inett, part ii. c. iv. § 3. Stephen's Commentaries, book iv. part i. c. vii.

1094. p 230 h. læhte] Of this root we have the *latch* of a door, and the verb is preserved in full use in Norfolk, where men say of a cricket-ball, "If yo'll hull it, I'll latch it," i. e. If you will throw it, I will catch it.

Gibson took 'tide' in these places for festival, season, as we still speak of Christmas-tide, Whitsun-tide. This is surely right, and it is not easy to see why the modern translators have not followed him. His version is as follows: Eorum aliquos Rex ante illud festum jussit in custodias tradi; et postea admodum minaci edicto per totam hanc terram [misso] jussit omnes qui à Rege terras tenebant, modò pace dignos haberi se vellent, adesse suæ Curiæ in festo.

gemahlice] In Wright's Vocabularies, pp 50, 55, gemah is put for the Latin words procax, pervicax, importunus; and gemahnys for procacitas, pervicacia. See quotation in note on 1098.

1096. p 233 t. hine on orreste overcom] vanquished him in (judicial) combat. Orrest is a Danish word, which was probably well understood in the neighbourhood of Peterborough. Egilsson, Lexicon Poet. Septent. v. Orrosta, pralium—and, Folkorosta, pralium acie commissum. I am not aware that the word is found elsewhere in the Saxon remains. Ettmüller, Lexicon Anglo Sax., p 41, gives orrestscipe, ignominia, on the authority of a Cotton MS. Vocabulary. I have searched Mr. Wright's Edition of the Vocabularies for it in vain. On p 21 there is "Ignominia, scande." If Ettmüller's instance is not a pure error, the word can hardly have anything to do with our orreste—it would probably be a compound of or and estscipe.

The genuine Saxon term would have been on gefeohte; but as the verb gefeaht had just preceded, the variation is useful. Already we see the language profiting by the commixture of different national elements.

1096. p 233 h. þæs cynges aðum] Eude, earl of Champagne, had married William's half-sister, and on this ground he is called the king's aðum, a term which commonly means son-in-law. In Wright's Vocabularies, we have Gener, aþum, p 52; and Gener, oþam, p 88. It is not found that language produces a special term to denote each grade of family relationship, until after a long and elaborate discipline in jurisprudence, such as that which the

Latin passed through. The vagueness of the term 'brother' in Hebrew is well known; our word 'nephew' formerly denoted two different relations, and 'cousin' in our own day is still found convenient to express indeterminate kinship. It is therefore a very moderate deflection of a sum from a daughter's husband to a sister's husband. The same use is found above, 1091 m.

1096. p 233 m. and eall Normandig æt him mid feo alisde, swa swa hi þa sehte wæron] There is nothing to add to the translations of Gibson and Stevenson, the two who have understood the passage, except that alisde ('mercaretur,' Gibson; 'purchased,' Stevenson) is identically our modern verb leased. In Latin documents it was represented by redimere, and reversely this Latin word was supplied in Anglo Saxon theology by the verb alysan. Ps. lxix. 7, Alysend=Redeemer: cf. Ps. xlix. 16. Ælfric's Hom. i. p 138, God bebead, on þære ealdan æ, his folce þæt hi sceoldon him offrian ælc frumcenned hysecild, oð alysan hit ut mid fif scyllingum=God bade his people, in the old law, that they should offer to him every first-born male child, or redeem it with five shillings.

It may seem strange that this verb should be used for an act which is almost the opposite to redeeming, viz. the taking as pledge or security. But this migration of a word is not hard to parallel; and we still hear the verb to lease used both of lessor and lessee.

1097. p 234 t. sum pæra wæs Caduuagan gehaten] one of them was named Cadwgan. All the translators agree here in translating sum=one; and this rendering might be advantageously extended to many other cases. Thus in 605 E, fiftiga sum is not with about fifty' or 'some fifty,' but simply 'one of fifty.' So 626 E, twelfa sum=one of twelve: 794 E, heretogena sum=one of the leaders: 894, p 92 m, sum dæl=(not 'some part,' but) a part: 911 A, sum hund scipa=one hundred ships. There are doubtless instances in which nothing but the modern 'some' can be used to express it, but these are less numerous than is supposed. How nearly it is equivalent to the numeral 'one' may be seen from Mark iv. 8, where it alternates with an; 'and an brohte prytigfealdne, sum syxtigfealdne, sum hundfealdne.'

1097. p 234 h. manige men leton þæt hit cometa wære.....

m. þæs þe men leton] many men supposed.....
as men surmised.

The verb thus repeated here, is not found else in the Chronicles, and it may be doubted whether it is preserved in any other Anglo Saxon text. The law of Eadgar about burying in the church (Wilkins, p 84, § 29) seems to contain, not this verb, but the well-known lætan,

to permit, allow, grant, let: bet man innan circan ænigne man ne birige, bute man wite bet he on life Gode to bam wæl gecweme wære bet man durh bet læte bet he sy dæs legeres wyrbe=that within the church they bury no man, unless they know that in life he so pleased God, that upon this ground concession be made of so honourable a resting-place.

But leton in our text has nothing to do with lætan. It would be vain to look for its infinitive, and other parts, for it is simply a Danish word. The Danish verb Lede is to seek minutely for an obscure thing, from corner to corner. Man kan ikke 'lede' efter et Skib paa Oceanet; i. e. this verb 'lede' is not used of looking for a ship on the wide ocean. Molbech, v. Lede. In Swedish it is Leta, which is in abundant use, and has various applications, all branching from the sense to search, enquire.

The root of this verb is found also in the southern branch of the Gothic family, but in the opposite voice. Instead of bearing the active sense, of searching, peering into; it bears the passive sense of being seen, seeming, videri. In Platt-Deutsch we find Laten rendered by auffehen, scheinen, gastaltet seyn. Bremisch-Nieder saechsisches Woerterbuch, Bremen, 1768. So in Cheshire, Leeten means, you pretend to be; e.g. you are not so mad as you leeten you. Grose and Pegge's Provincial Glossary.

Both of these senses spring out of that train of ideas which is associated with wlite, the human face.

1008. p 235. of eode This word, which signifies attainment, acquisition, answers in a general way to the English verb to obtain. Gibson's impetraverat goes beyond the original, and conveys that it was obtained by simple request. This is not in of eode, nor does history supply it. In Cod. Dipl. 594, the word is used for acquisition by involuntary purchase. It is not very clear how the elements of this compound should have led to the sense which it obviously bears. Mr. Thorpe is at fault upon this word (Glossary to Analecta, v. ofeode and ofgangan). Ettmüller omits it. Under these circumstances some illustration is desirable. "We sceolon burh gehyrsumnysse and forhæfednysse and eadmodnysse, anmodlice to urum exele stæppan, and mid halgum mægnum oone eard ofgan, be we ourh leahtras forluron;" i. e. "We should, by obedience and continence and humility, resolutely march to our inheritance, and with holy virtues attain that congenial land which by our vices we lost." Ælfric's Homilies (Ed. Thorpe), vol. i. p 118. "Sollice gemagnys is bam soðan Déman gecweme, þeah de heo mannum undancwurde sy; fordan de se arfæsta and se mildheorta God wile bæt we mid gemág-

licum benum his mildheortnysse ofgán, and hê nele swa micclum swa we geearnia us geyrsian; i.e. "In fact, importunity is pleasing to the true Judge, though it is offensive to men; for it is the will of the just and merciful God that we with importunate prayers obtain (=conquer, win) his mercy, and he will not be angry with us according to our deservings." Id. vol. ii. p 126.

Other verbs of motion, compounded with of, give this sense of assequi, adipisei; viz. ofridan, 877, 901; offaran, p 157. Cf. Thwaites, Heptateuch, Joshua ii. 5. Cf. note on 1048 (p 178 h), 'of sænde.'

1100. swa swa mænige sædan þe hit geseon sceoldan] as many said who professed to have seen it. This clause has occurred a little before, 1098. By the word 'sceoldan,' the writer is exempted from all share in the statement, like Herodotus so often, e.g. vii. 152: Έγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαί γε μὲν ὧν οὐ παντάπασι ὀφείλω.

This verb tyrwigan, tyrigan or tyrian, is not found in any other place of the Chronicles. But it occurs in Ælf. Hom. i. p 562: Pa gelamp hit bæt same þa hæðenan wurdon mid andan getyrigde &c. = Then it happened that some heathens were disturbed with envy &c. Other examples in the Lexicons, Ettmüller, p 522.

not, as now, another word for marriage. There is a highly interesting chapter in the Saxon Laws, entitled, Be wifmannes beweddunge, which Mr. Thorpe has put among the Laws of Edmund (vol. i. p 254); but Schmid has given separately, Appendix vi. The various legal steps in the process, from the enquiries preliminary to betrothal (weddian) down to the religious forms that are to be observed at the marriage (æt þam giftan), are stated very distinctly. Below, p 243, we have the expression for marriage, "for his dohter gifte," i. e. giving away: cf. "Who giveth this woman &c.?"

need to this land in a hostile manner," Stevenson: "who was meditating a hostile invasion of this land," Thorpe. It is not easy to find in modern English a simple rendering for fundian in this place. It is not exactly the act of coming or the intention of coming, but the impulse of coming, the move, the start of the expedition. Perhaps it would be best translated, "who started for this country with hostile intent." The word was selected here, to express by anticipation the abortiveness of the project. Above 1085, fundode hiderward may be rendered huc proficisceretur, was preparing

to advance against this country. To say that Cnut meditated an attack on England, would have been almost superfluous, from what was known of his position and character. Munch, Det Norske Folks Historie, vol. iii. p 399 sqq. To say that he came, would contradict the sequel.

The verb does not occur in the Chronicles more than in these two places; but we have 1106 (p 241 t) the expression "on his fundunge ofer sæ," which means, on the eve of his departure, or when he was in actual motion to depart over sea. The verb fundian is related to the poetical adjective fûs, ready to set off, identical with OHG funs=pronus, promptus, Graff.

The poetical examples of fundian have been collected by Bouterwek and Grein. Some of the best prose examples are in the translation of Boethius, where it is rather a frequent word, e.g. to bæm gode ealle ba gesceafta fundiab be heora gecynd healdab to that good (viz. the summum bonum) all the creatures tend, that keep true to their nature, xxxv. § v. p 256, Ed. Cardale: gif twegen men fundiab to anre stowe=if two men are setting out for one place, xxxvi. § iv. init. Probably there are not many languages that could furnish a precise match to this verb; $\delta\rho\mu\hat{a}\sigma\theta\alpha$ is that which most readily offers itself.

1101. abrudon] See above, note on 1004.

convenit, Flor. This is the right meaning, according to agreement between him and the king. But how is the simple and vague gewear's with a dative (έγένετο αὐτοῖς) able to convey this idea? Perhaps this is an instance of that readiness to adopt an elliptical phraseology, which is of the genius of the English language. Above, p 151 t, we have the original and full expression, "gewear's him and pam folce on Lindesige anes"=an agreement was made between him and the folk in Lindsey. This sentence could be rendered verbally in Latin or Greek or any cultivated language almost; but perhaps we should search far without finding an idiom such as this, with the main and most significant substantive (anes=covenant) omitted. Cf. Dean Alford, Queen's English, p 65. In Cod. Dipl. 1302, are repeated and strongly marked examples of this idiom.

described under the other, Ingram; who in his note takes a severely mathematical view of the passage, but very happily quotes Matth. Westm. "albi, picti, et mirabiliter implicati." It cannot be doubted that Matthew's words are derived from the Saxon here before us. Thorpe translates "each twined under the other." This gebroiden

is the word, when mention is made of braided or broided hair, as it ought to stand in 1 Tim. ii. 9, instead of 'broidered hair.' See Trench, English Past and Present, p 198.

swylce hi gemette wæron] quasi essent picti, Flor. A painting is meting, as in the following interesting passages from Ælfric: "On oore wisan we sceawiao metinge, and on oore wisan stafas. Ne gæ8 na mare to metinge buton bæt bu hit geseo and herige: nis na genoh bæt bu stafas sceawige, buton bu hi eac ræde, and bæt andgit understande"=There is a difference between the way in which we look at a picture, and the way in which we look at writing. For a picture, you have only to see and praise it, but it is not enough to take a view of writing, unless you also read it, and understand the meaning. Hom. i. p 186. In the other passage he is saying that though in heaven the saved will command a view of the woes of the lost, yet it will not diminish their felicity; "ac heora tintrega becymo bam gecorenum to maran blisse, swa swa on metinge biŏ forsewen seo blace anlienvs, bæt seo hwite sy beorhtre gesewen"=but their pains will have the effect of enhancing the bliss of the elect, in the same manner as in a picture a dark figure is put in, that the fair one may shew the brighter.

1106. p 241 m. sac leas] unimpeached, unaccused. Sometimes it means innocent, e. g. nanne sacleasan man forsecgan=inculpate no innocent man. Laws, Æthelred iii. 4. And so it is used by Sir Walter Scott, "whether she was sackless o' the sinfu' deed." Heart of Mid Lothian, cap. v.

on the part of an Editor of the Saxon Chronicles to pass this celebrated difficulty over without note or comment. But before a new remedy is proposed, the previous suggestions should be reviewed.

Lectio fortasse vitiosa; certè vocabuli significatio me latet. Gibson.

Ingram translates, "who held Maine in fee-tail of Henry;" adding the following in a note: "That is, the territory was not a fee-simple, but subject to taillage or taxation; and that particular species is probably here intended, which is called in old French 'en queuage,' an expression not very different from that in the text above."

Mr. Stevenson provisionally adopts Ingram's translation, adding: "The rendering here adopted is that of Ingram, which is allowed to stand, though unsatisfactory, no better explanation having as yet occurred."

Mr. Thorpe proposes, instead of "on cweow," to read "Angeow,"

translating it thus, "who held Le Maine of king Henry and Anjou;" and adding the following note: "If the reading of 'Angeow,' for the senseless 'oncweow' of the text, be well founded, it shews that Hélie held of both princes, of Henry as count of Normandy, and of the count of Anjou."

No one will think that Mr. Thorpe's emendation, either for its historical or philological probability, is worthy to displace that of Ingram, which has at least the merit of ingenuity. To Ingram's it may be objected, that it takes no account of the conjunction 'and.'

It appears to me that the place may possibly be mended by simpler means. Instead of 'oncweow' I would propose to read 'oncneow.' This is then a verb coupled with geheold, and standing in an antithetical position to the next apodosis 'and hi togeanes ham cynge heold.' The translation would in this case be as follows: Also this year died Count Hélie, who held Maine under king Henry and acknowledged [the dependency]; and after his death the Count of Anjou had it, and held it against the king.

1110. p 243 m. Ceortes æge] This ancient foundation dates from a little after the middle of the seventh century, as it owes its origin to Erkenwald, who was bishop of London 675-693, and of whom Bede (iv. 6) says, that he founded the two monasteries of Chertsey and Barking (Essex) before he was bishop. After the Danish ravages it appears to have been resuscitated, and it was among the first of those on whom the Reform of Dunstan took effect, above 964. The death of an Abbot is noticed 1084.

In the year 1853, workmen who were employed on the site came on some encaustic tiles, which happily caught the eye of Mr. Shurlock, who ensured their preservation. They are now in the South Kensington Museum. The style of art on these tiles is not unlike the illustrations in Cædmon and other Anglo Saxon manuscripts. Mr. Shaw refers them to the thirteenth century. Tile Pavements from Chertsey Abbey, Surrey, by Henry Shaw, F.S.A., 1857. He remarks: "It is somewhat singular that although the destruction of this extensive and richly endowed Abbey was so complete that scarcely one stone was allowed to remain upon another or even a tile to escape mutilation, no record has yet been found of the time when this destruction took place, under whose authority it occurred, or of any of the circumstances attending it."

In 1861, the site was sold by auction, and Mr. T. R. Bartrop, one of the honorary secretaries of the Surrey Archæological Society, was the purchaser. In Bede the name is spelt Cerotæsei (v. l. Ceorotesei); in Cod. Dipl. 987 (marked spurious by Kemble) it is Cirotesege.

may be illustrated by a comparison of the two versions of Lazamon, vol. i. p. 104:

vnder bissere blisse vnder bane blisse ber comen muchele burstes. The same variation is repeated in page 247.

importance when swine were the chief live stock. In Cod. Dipl. 843, mid mæste=cum porcorum escâ.

gæsne, barren, sterilis, expers. Cf. Grimm's Andreas und Elene, p 124.

phania was Englished down to 'Tiffany.' See Miss Yonge's *History* of Christian Names, vol. i. p 433.

1121. Adeliza of Louvain is the best known form, of which 'Adelis' may be a Saxon rendering. She is also called Alix la Belle. Our English form is Alice. The name which Queen Adelaide has lately planted among us, a name representing the Old High German Adalheid, i. e. nobilitas, nobleness (as to this -heid, see Grimm, Gr. ii. p 498), is probably the same. See more in Miss Yonge's History of Christian Names, vol. ii. p 398. A late discovery presents us with this Queen's name in what may be deemed an authorized form. Fair impressions of her seal have for the first time come to light in the muniments of the Marquis of Westminster, bearing SIGILLVM-AALIDIS. In the Foundation Charter of Reading Abbey, preserved at the Rolls, it is written "signum Adeleidis reginæ." A grant to the Abbey, printed in Kennett, begins Archæological Journal, September 1863, "ego Aelidis regina." p 281. Below 1127, Æ8elic.

prodigies (Stevenson). The last is the best, not only as more conformable to the verbs of seeing and hearing, but also as rendering the vagueness of the original. The word 'dwild, as it may fairly be written for gedwild=deceit, not being really a vox propria for any object either of eye or ear, but an elevated and euphuistic generalism for illusions which were attributed to the trickery of evil spirits.

1122. pæræfter] Science has calmed these terrors, and broken the connection between meteoric phenomena and the events of history. But these groundless anxieties have produced some of the most lively touches in our early records. Nowhere has the descriptive energy of language been more brought out than when minds have

been wrought upon by these apprehensions. Above 1104 we have a graphic account of a parhelion; here and below 1131 of an Aurora Borealis.

We are apt to suppose that it was only in the remote and primitive times that men's minds could be terrified by such appearances; but the following passages shew that the public was just as easily alarmed in the eighteenth century as in the twelfth.

In 1716 the public mind was much excited by the trials and executions that ensued upon the quelling of the insurrection of 1715, and especially with the execution of Lord Derwentwater.

The following is from the Diary of Mary Countess Cowper (Murray, 1864), under the date of March 6, 1716:

"An extraordinary light in the sky, described to me since by Dr. Clarke, who saw it from the beginning. First appeared a black cloud, from whence smoke and light issued forth at once on every side, and then the cloud opened, and there was a great body of pale fire, that rolled up and down, and sent forth all sorts of colours like the rainbow on every side; but this did not last above two or three minutes. After that it was like pale elementary fire issuing out on all sides of the horizon, but most especially at the north and north-west, where it fixed at last. The motion of it was extremely swift and rapid, like clouds in their swiftest rack. Sometimes it discontinued for a while, at other times it was but as streaks of light in the sky, but moving always with great swiftness. About one o'clock this phenomenon was so strong, that the whole face of the heavens was entirely covered with it, moving as swiftly as before, but extremely low. It lasted till past four, but decreased till it was quite gone. At one, the light was so great that I could, out of my window, see people walk across Lincoln's-innfields, though there was no moon. Both parties turned it on their enemies. The Whigs said it was God's judgment on the horrid rebellion, and the Tories said that it came for the Whigs taking off the two lords that were executed. I could hardly make my chairmen come home with me, they were so frightened, and I was forced to let my glass down, and preach to them as I went along, to comfort them. I'm sure anybody that had overheard the dialogue would have laughed heartily. All the people were drawn out into the streets, which were so full one could hardly pass, and all frighted to death."

"March 7. The town full of lies of what was seen in the air last night. Papers printed and sold that two armies were seen to fight in the air, that two men with flaming swords were seen to fight over Lincoln's-inn-fields. The mob that went to Mr. Linet's burial last night said they saw two men in the sky fight without heads."

In the Historical Register for 1716 there is an account of this phenomenon:

"March 6. The same evening, about eight of the clock, was seen a strange phenomenon in the sky. It appeared at first like a huge body of light, compact within itself, but without motion; but in a little time it began to move and separate, extending itself towards the west, when it seemed, as it were, to dispose itself into columns or pillars of flame. From thence it darted south-east with amazing swiftness, and after many undulatory motions and vibrations, there

appeared to be a continual fulguration, interspersed with green, red, blue, and yellow. Then it moved towards the north; from whence, in a little time, it renewed its wavy motions and coruscations as before, which continued to be seen till past three in the morning."

Mr. Gibson, the antiquary, in his Dilston Hall, or Memoirs of the Earl of Derwentwater, says that the phenomenon has ever since been known as "Lord Derwentwater's Lights." [Extracted from Guardian, May 4, 1864.]

1123. se biscop Roger of Seresbyrig on an half him. and se biscop Rotbert Bloet of Lincolne on o'er half him.] For a sketch of these, Henry's favourite bishops, see *Essays and Reviews*, by the Rev. R. W. Church, p 199 sq.

ries. p 250 h. samodlice] This was no adverb of every day currency, but made with a purpose. It occurs not again in the Chronicles, nor do the Dictionaries furnish another instance. It is not merely 'together' (Thorpe), which is in Saxon ætsomne, tosomne, ætgædere. Ingram alone has translated the word adequately "all in a body." The bishops had determined to act collectively, unitedly, conjointly, and therefore they went to the king all in a body. "Unanimiter" (Gibson) is implied in samodlice.

1124. Belmunt Watteuile] Belmunt appears to be Beaumont, $2\frac{1}{2}m$. from Pont L'Evêque in Normandy, the birthplace of Laplace the mathematician.

Of Wattevile, Gibson says, "Hodie opinor Vattevile ab australi parte Sequana, prope ejus fluminis ostium." This place is now written Fatouville.—Murray's Handbook of France; Map of Seine.

1124 b. sed læpas] seed-lips, as the large wooden troughs which are slung in front of the sower to carry his seed in are still called in Somersetshire. Literally, seed-baskets. Here it stands for a measure of capacity. See Mr. Albert Way's note in Prompt. Parv. v. Leep.

expression "harsh, severe courts," is illustrated by what is narrated of the proceedings at the "gewitene mot" in Leicestershire. We are not to suppose that this "gewitene mot," which was presided over by a subject, was the Great Council of the Nation; neither was it a "scirgemot" or Assembly of the Shire. Saxon institutions had been much disfigured and confused by arbitrary and unconstitutional expedients, and men had forgotten the precise import of the terms belonging to them. Among other changes, open courts were much disused, and were superseded by the "hall-mote" or court held in the lord's hall, the mere statement of which readily suggests what

would follow, and makes the "strange motes" of the text easy to comprehend.

1125. fals] This is the Latin falsum=a counterfeit, spurious thing, a fraud. The crime of falsum applied not only to the forgery of a will or other instrument, but likewise to the adulteration of gold or silver coin. See Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiquities, v. Falsum. From it has come the present French word for "forgery," which is faux, having passed through a form much like that in the text. The word fals (neuter substantive, bæt fals) occurs both for 'base coin,' and also for the crime of debasing the coin, falsification, forgery. Schmid (Glos. v. Fals) renders it corruptio, Falschung (bes Gelbes). A law of Cnut (ii. 8) decrees the loss of the right hand to the false moneyer; "... ymbe feos bote, þæt an mynet gange ofer ealle bas beode butan ælcon false and bæt nan man ne forsace; and se be ofer bis fals wyrce, bolige bæra handa, be he bæt fals mid worhte, and he hi mid nanum pingum ne gebicge, ne mid golde ne mid seolfre;" i.e. . . . about correcting the money-system, that one currency pass every where in these realms without falsification, and that no man decline it; and whose hereafter is guilty of false-moneying, let him suffer the loss of the hand that he made the spurious coin withal-and let him not with any consideration redeem it (his hand)-not with gold nor with silver. In Cod. Dipl. 717, the word is used in reference to a written document.

they suffered the consequences of. See Lazamon, Glos. v. abugge, and the note there referred to. Tyrwhitt in Chaucer, Glos. v. Abegge, Abeye, Abie, renders it simply "To suffer for," without noticing the parent sense "To pay the full price of."

1125. p 254. se b' of Lopene J.] John, the first bishop of Glasgow. David Macpherson's "Geographical Illustrations of Scottish History," 1796, v. Louthian.

which is above II21 spelt Æ elis; shewing that indifferent use of S and C, of which many examples occur between this and the end of E. Lappenberg speaks of her as king Henry's Tochter Adelheid, welche später gewöhnlich den damals beliebtern Namen Mathilde führte, vol. ii. p 248. Under the name of Matilda she is celebrated as the rival of Stephen.

1127. p 256 l. on be selue der fald] in the very deer-fold; in the home-park itself. The nature of the hunt here imagined is totally different from that of our day. Now-a-days men hunt for exercise and sport, but then they hunted for food, or for the luxury

of fresh meat. Now the flight of the beast is the condition of a good hunt, but in those days it entailed disappointment. They had neither the means of giving chase nor of killing at a distance, so they used stratagem to bring the game within the reach of their missiles. labyrinth of allevs was penned out at a convenient part of the wood, and here the archers lay under covert. The hunt began by sending men round to brush and beat the wood, and drive the game with dogs and horns into the ambuscade. This pen is the haia so frequently occurring among the silvæ in Domesday. The der fald of our text seems to be the same. Horns were used, not as with us, to call the dogs; or, as in France, to signal the stray sportsmen; but to scare the game. The text has twenty or thirty hornblowers. In fact it was the battue, which is now, under altered circumstances, discountenanced by the authorities of the chase, but which in early times was the only way for man to cope with the beasts of the field.

Gervase, so often referred to by Professor Willis for the excellence of his architectural notices. He was a sacristan in Christ Church, witnessed the fire, and watched the rebuilding. Learned architects are able to verify his descriptions in the present fabric. See especially, A Lecture on Modern Restoration of Ancient Buildings, by Mr. Gilbert Scott, 1864.

nu him behofed bæt he crape in his mycele cræftes. nu him behofed bæt he crape in his mycele codde in ælc hyrne gif bær wære hure an unwreste wrene bæt he mihte get beswicen anes Crist and eall Cristene fole] = "Here all his boasted astuteness failed him; now he had good cause to creep into his vast wallet [and explore it] in every corner, [to see] if by any chance there might be there just one poor contrivance, so that he might yet once more deceive Christ and all Christian folk." The figure is, that this Abbot Henry's stock in life was a wallet full of tricks and evasions, but that now when he sorely needed one of them to serve his present occasions, they were all exhausted or worn out. Gibson caught the spirit of the passage: "omnis ei angulus tentandus est."

Codd is bag, wallet, scrip, unde, 'peas-cod,' &c. It is used in the A. S. Gospels (Ed. Thorpe) to translate pera, πήρα, in Matt. x. 10; Mk. vi. 8; Lk. ix. 3: cf. Chaucer, Canterbury Tales, l. 12468. In a curious inventory of the goods of a shopkeeper of Kirton in Lindsay, A. D. 1519, "ix coods," i.e. pillow-cases or pillows. And

in Durham Wills ii. 156, "xxi coddes," A. D. 1587. Gent. Mag., April 1864, p 501.

hure is huru, and joined with a low numeral like an, it means "just one" or "so much as one," "vel unum." By way of further aggravating his case "unwreste" is added to the smallest numeral = if he could find at the utmost one shabby evasion that might by good luck serve one more turn, like the crazy ship in which the ousted foreigners got away (on ænon unwræste scipe, p 187).

The same figure occurs in Chaucer's Romaunt of the Rose, 3263, with the substitution of male=malle, portmanteau for cod:

So much treason is in his male, Of falseness for to faine a tale.

1132-1154. One of the most palpable characteristics of the language of this Continuation, is the appearance, now for the first time, of the conjunction for, in the sense of the Latin nam, enim, etenim; also, but less often, in the sense of quia, quod, ideo quod. Instances:

p 261; for þat ilc gear warth þe king ded.

for æuric man sone ræuede oþer þe mihte.

for agenes him risen sona þa rice men þe wæron swikes.

and for he hadde get his tresor (=et eo quod &c.)

for æuric rice man his castles makede

p 262; for ne uuæren næure nan martyrs swa pined

for nan ne wæs o þe land for ouersithon ne forbaren hi nouther circe ne cyrce iærd. for hi uueron al forcursæd for þe land was al fordon

p 263; ac he ne myhte for he wart it war.

p 264; for be king him sithen nam in Hamtun.

p 265; for ha he king was in prisun ha wenden &c.
for he besæt heom til hi a iauen up here castles
and be gode rihte for he was an yuel man (=quod)
for warese he com he dide mare yuel
al folc him luuede for he dide god justise.

In the old classical Saxon way of expressing this conjunction, for was merely the preposition of the conjunctional phrase, for ham he, pro eo quod, with its variants, one of which is still extant here and there in this section in the form $for \delta i \delta at$.

1137. hise neues] his nephews, i.e. two nephews of Roger bishop of Salisbury. Gibson rendered "suum nepotem," and this has been followed by all after translators. Yet the words are distinctly plural, to a degree that admits not of being rendered in English, as both the pronoun and the substantive have plural forms.

Alexander bishop of Lincoln was nephew of Roger bishop of Salisbury; while the other Roger, the Cancellarius, was his nephew by courtesy, or as Malmesbury sets it forth, "qui nepos esse, vel plusquam nepos, ejusdem episcopi ferebatur." Hist. Nov. ii. § 20.

rendered here and above, p 222 h, carl man "common man"), but simply men, the male sex as opposed to wimmen the female. It is necessary to distinguish clearly between this word carl, mas, and ceorl, rusticus; because they are quite distinct in use, if not in origin. Grimm (Gr. ii. p 463) gives carl-cat, tom-cat; carl-fugel, avis mascula. This is the word that has become a Christian name, Rarl, Carolus, Charles; and our compound carl man (Frankish karlo-man) is the source of the name Charlemagne, the 'man' having been twisted into magnus by after-thought.

1137. p 262 h. lof J gri] This would appear to be an abbreviation for lof and grin, which might be rendered beam and shackles. In the Paris Psalter, Ps. xxxiv. 8, teldedon gryne, they tilled a snare; and v. 9, Gefo hi þa grynu, may the gins catch them.

This barbarous engine seems to challenge comparison with the "devil on the neck," which was used under Henry VIII. to vindicate the honour of the Six Articles. Fox ii. 517, 536.

1137. p 262 m. drapen] they killed. Although this word occurs both in Beowulf (3487, 3178, Ed. Kemble) and in Cædmon (deaðdrepe 3424=ictus letalis: gemynddrepen 1565=stupor sensûs, Bouterwek)—yet its presence in this place may safely be attributed to Danish influence. The word may have passed at an early period from the Danish to the Anglian Scalds, and the occurrence of the word in those poems tends to confirm their Anglian character. The word is not cited from any positively Saxon documents. It is a Norsk word: Icel. drepa; Swed. dräpa; Dan. dræbe=to kill. In the Glossarial Index of Thirteenth Century English, by Herbert Coleridge, v. Drepen, it is cited from Havelok the Dane, and an Early English Psalter, edited by Rev. J. Stevenson, for the Surtees' Society, both Dano-Anglian sources.

1137. p 262 m. flee] This word is found written without the S in a Vocabulary melioris ævi, Wright, p 60 a; "Lanio....flæc tawere."

1137. p 262 l. ouer sithon] I cannot adopt Gibson's rendering 'tandem enim;' though followed by Ingram and Stevenson 'after a while;' still less Mr. Thorpe's 'everywhere at times.'

Sithon or si\omegan or sipum (d. pl. of si\omega=journey, course, going) meant number of times, fois, vicibus. With a numeral it is of com-

mon occurrence, twelf sipum, duodecies; seofon sipon, septuplum, &c. In later times we find other words besides numerals combined with it, e.g. offte sipe=oftentimes, Ormulum, Ed. White, v. Offte; and often sithes in Chaucer, Prol. Cant. Tales, 487.

It is not impossible that ouer in this place may belong to the 'of' which is in 'often;' and have nothing to do with 'ofer, over.' Then it is identical with Chaucer's often sithes, oftentimes. Supposing 'over' to be meant, it would mean 'times past reckning.'

openly that Christ slept. Was it His poor friends or His proud foes that said so? The latter, it would seem, from the word openlice. But there are examples for both. Perhaps in some sense He admits it Himself—Dormio sed cor meum vigilat. Cantica Canticorum. When He slept in the ship, all this was indicated. Ezekiel viii. 12, ix. 9; 2 Pet. iii. 4; Ps. cxxi. 4.

1137. p 263 h. circe wican . . . horder wycan Mr. Stevenson's version of this passage was (substantially) right, but Mr. Thorpe has involved it in obscurity again. Mr. Stevenson has it:-" privileges, one for all the lands of the abbacy, and another for all the lands which belonged to the sacrist; and had he lived longer, he intended having done the same for the treasurer." The grammatical designation of wican is obscure, as there are no marks of gender, and I do not know where we find the word in another inflection. But as it ranges here with '\$ abbotrice,' it may be expected to signify rather office than officer. These words circe wican and horder wycan should be the offices of which we have the officers' titles on page 260 h, 'circeweard and hordere,' churchwarden and treasurer. And there is a passage in Ælfric, Hom. ii. p 592 l, in which wican is used of ecclesiastical offices in general: "Hu mæg oððe hu dear ænig læwede man him to geteon þurh riccetere Cristes wican; i.e. How can or how dare any lay man appropriate to himself through the insolence of power the offices of Christ!" With this slight modification of Mr. Stevenson's version, I would render :privileges, one for all the lands of the abbacy, and another for the lands that belong to the sacristy, and if his life were prolonged he meant to do the same for the treasury.

1137. p 263 m. Nu we willen sægen &c.] This story of S. William of Norwich is a recurring one. S. Hugh of Lincoln, a saint of the same strain, is thus apostrophised by Chaucer's Prioress in her peroration:

O yonge Hughe of Lyncoln; slayn also With cursed Jewes—as it is notable, For it nys but a litel while ago—

The Tale of the Prioress is but a variation of this supposed Jewish atrocity. S. William seems to have retained his celebrity down to the time of the Reformation, at least in Norfolk. In Loddon church, which is advanced perpendicular of about 1500, there is a painting of his crucifixion on a panel of the rood-screen, still in fair preservation. I am indebted to my friend the Rev. Greville J. Chester for a copy of this relic.



These accusations against the Jews are not everywhere so obsolete as in England. So recently as 1840, the "Chamber of Deputies" debated on an affair of this nature. The French consul at Damascus brought a charge against the Jews there, that they had immolated a Christian monk for their passover. The Turkish authorities proceeded so severely against the Jews, that great indignation was

excited at Paris against the consul. The government, however, supported their representative; and the validity of the charge against the Rabbins was stoutly maintained by M. Thiers in the Chamber of Deputies.

1138. A rhetorical monograph of this battle of the Standard was written by a cotemporary, Ethelred [al. Ailred, Aldred] Abbot of Rievaulx. It is printed in Twysden "X Scriptores"—"de bello inter regem Scotiæ et Barones Angliæ apud Standardum juxta Alvertonam." In this recital, (which is merely a Cistercian demonstration,) Willielmus comes Albemarum is overshadowed by the hero of the piece Walterus Espec, the founder of Rievaulx Abbey, where the Cistercians had their earliest foundation (1132) and chief seat in England. A representation of "The Standard" is given in Twysden, apparently from an ancient drawing.

1140. p 264 t. fordfeorde Will' ærceb' of Cantwarb'] Mr. Hartshorne has vindicated for Archbishop William de Corbeuil the glory of being the builder of the celebrated "Gundulf's" Tower at Rochester. Archæological Journal, September 1863, p 210. He quotes Gervase, ap. Decem Scriptores, p 1664, saying that "rex Henricus dedit et confirmavit ecclesiæ Cantuariæ et Willielmo archiepiscopo Castellum quod est in civitate Roffensi, ubi idem archiepiscopus turrim egregiam ædificavit." Strongly confirmed by Florence, Cont. 1126.

1154. 7 at Torn'] Cf. 1066, p 203 m, where we get some insight how patronage accrued to Burh.

The magnificence of Peterborough Abbey gave occasion to the proverb Orgoyl de Bourk'=Peterborough Pride, which is found in a list of local characteristics current in the time of Edw. II; published by Mr. Nichols in Gent. Mag., January 1862, p 64, from MS. Douce 98.

GLOSSARIAL INDEX

GLOSSARIAL INDEX

OF

EVERY FORM OF WORD IN A AND E

DIRECTIONS

Words peculiar to T are distinguished by an *.

Words common to both Chronicles are in thick type.

Words undistinguished by either of these signs are peculiar to E.

Italics in head-words signify a state of transition, or other departure from the normal type.

References are sometimes made by the number of the year, and sometimes by the number of the page, so as to subdivide the text and reduce the extent of the portions referred to. The Annal-figure is used for referring to a whole Annal, only when the whole Annal is printed upon the same page. When a page is turned in the course of an Annal, the after part of that Annal is referred to by its pagination. Hence, the page-reference often applies only to a small remnant of an Annal over the page. Thus "p238" refers only to three lines on the top. Any figure referring to a whole page is followed by one of the five letters t, h, m, l, b=top, high, middle, low, bottom.

Where the modern equivalent is in Roman type, it indicates physical affinity to the head-word.

Where a modern word is put in brackets, thus [drench], it signifies that it is physically related to the head word, but not its equivalent in meaning.

s. n. or n. abbreviation for "see note;" s. f. n. for "see foot-note."

 EA.
 .
 East Anglian

 NH.
 .
 Northumbrian

 SS.
 .
 South Saxon

 WS.
 .
 West Saxon

 NL.
 .
 Local Name

NLL. . Name of Divers Places

NM. . . Man's Name

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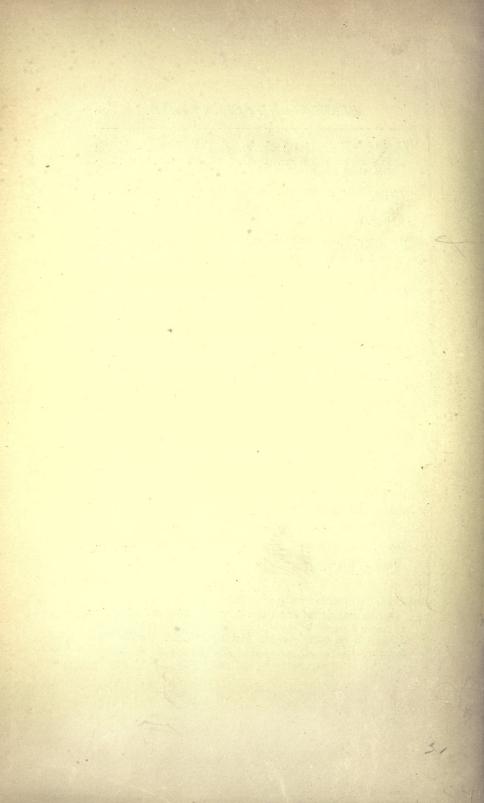
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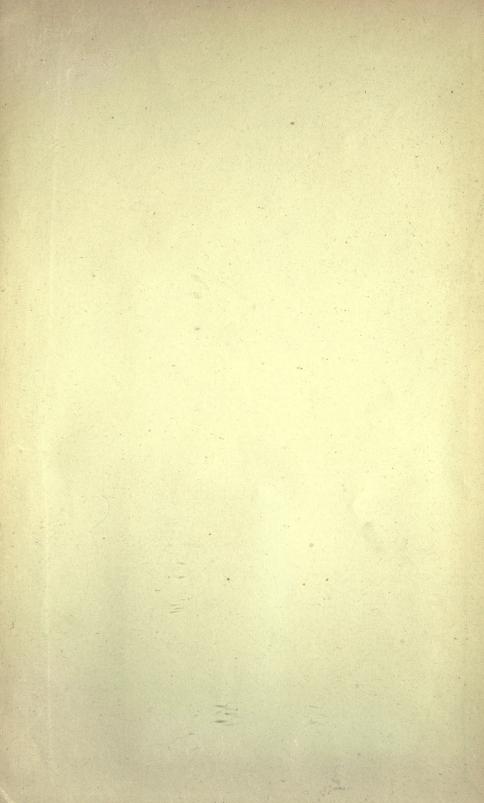
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