

SUSSEX ANGLO-SAXON CHARTERS

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INTRODUCTION

IT may be claimed that the charters of Sussex contain more of real historical interest than any similar group in England, since the standard written authorities, such as Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* contain such meagre information about Sussex that the charters are almost the sole repositories of information concerning the fate of the ancient kingdom in the seventh and eighth centuries and the history of the episcopal see of Selsey from its foundation in A.D. 681 almost to the Norman Conquest.

It may be of profit before considering the charters to summarize the details about Sussex given in the national chronicles. Sussex was occupied late in the fifth century (477 is the traditional date) by Ælle and his sons Cymen, Wlencing, and Cissa, who in 491 captured a fort named Andredesceaster, which was presumably Pevensey.¹ Ælle was recognized as over-king by all the other Saxon tribes, but after his death (when, the twelfth-century writer Henry of Huntingdon tells us, he was succeeded by his third son Cissa) his kingdom disappeared completely from history: the early sixth century was the period of British growth which culminated in 516 with the battle of Mount Badon, and it is possible that Ælle met his end in some military disaster.

We are told that in 607 there was war between Wessex and Sussex; also that Damian, bishop of Rochester (c. 654–64), was a Sussex man, so that it is clear that Christianity reached Sussex, in some degree at least, at a very early period. In 661 Æðelwath, king of Sussex—the first name preserved since Cissa—was baptized, with his chief ministers, at the instance of King Wulfhere

¹ The possibility that the actual stronghold of the Britons was one of the hill-top forts on the edge of the Andredesweald should not be entirely ruled out.

(658–75) of Mercia, who granted him the Meon district of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight; this monarch was still reigning in 681 when Wilfrid of York (634–709), on his first exile, visited Sussex and effected a wholesale conversion of the inhabitants. Before 685 Æðelwath had been killed and his kingdom ravaged by Cædwalla (685–8), king of Wessex, and although he was driven out by the late king's aldermen, Berhthun and Andhun, his successor Ini (688–725) succeeded in restoring West Saxon power for many years. Meanwhile, in 686 Wilfrid left Sussex and the district remained under the episcopal cure of Winchester until, about 709, Eadberht, abbot of Wilfrid's community at Selsey, was appointed bishop. He was succeeded by Eolla, on whose death, some time before 731, there was a vacancy in the see which was only filled by the appointment of Sigfrid in 733.

Ini did not retain his control without fighting. In 722 Sussex gave asylum to the rebel Ealdberht and in 725 there was further conflict. From thence there is a leap to 771, when the late-eleventh-century writer Symeon of Durham tells us that King Offa (757–96) of Mercia reduced the men of Hastings by force of arms. In 823 the men of Sussex were among those who made submission to Ecgberht (802–39) of Wessex. In 894 the Danes ravaged in Sussex and fought with the men of Chichester. The remarkable consecration of seven bishops at once, in 909, caused the name of Beornheah, bishop of Selsey, to be remembered as one of those concerned. In 982 Eadwine, alderman of Sussex, died. These brief references conclude the history of Sussex, according to the standard written authorities, up to the outbreak of the second Danish war in 991, while the next reference to a bishop of Selsey is not until 1038, when the death of Bishop Æðelric I is mentioned in the *Chronicle*.

The sequence of charters runs sparsely but fairly continuously from the end of the seventh to early in the ninth century, and again from the year 930 onwards. The earliest charter of all is exceptional in that it is not

a Chichester document at all, but has its provenance at Canterbury; it is a grant by Cædwalla to Bishop Wilfrid, in 680, apparently prior to the latter's arrival in Sussex, of land forming the present Hundred of Aldwick. This later came into the peculiar jurisdiction of Canterbury, where it was explained that the land had been given by Wilfrid to Archbishop Theodore (668–90) as part of their reconciliation in 686. Its successor is a grant of 87 hides forming the Hundred of Manhood, with other lands, by Cædwalla to Wilfrid in 683. This land is unquestionably identical with the 87 hides which, according to Bede, were granted to Wilfrid by Æðelwath; doubtless Cædwalla as over-king was caused to confirm the grant, and in fact the name of Æðelwath in a mutilated form appears as an assentient.

Wilfrid left Sussex in order to be reconciled to Theodore in 686, but despite Bede's statement that the see of Selsey remained vacant for about twenty years, the charters give clear evidence that, although Eadberht, the follower and successor to Wilfrid, may only have filled the post of abbot of Selsey, he actually enjoyed bishop's orders; for he signs charters as bishop before 709: No. II with Wilfrid, perhaps in 686, and Nos. III and IV in 689 and 692. The evidence of No. V shows, however, that the local nobility regarded Wilfrid as their bishop as late as 692.

Bede's narrative suggests that the independence secured by the aldermen Berhthun and Andhun lasted until the end of Cædwalla's reign in 688; the West Saxon recovery must have been made at once, for in 689 the West Saxon kings Cœnred and Ini attest a charter of the new king of Sussex, Noðhelm or Nun (No. III). This remarkably rapid change suggests that Nun was, in fact, a puppet set up by the West Saxon kings. The *Chronicle* says that a Nun who was the king's relative aided him in a war against the Welsh in 710: as names in N are quite foreign to the West Saxon royal house—the members of their royal family changed from names alliterating in C to a vocalic alliteration about this very time, with the solitary exception of Beorhtric

—it is likely that this Nun of 710 was, in fact, Nun of Sussex, and that his status as ‘relative’ was derived from an act of fealty.

Nun reigned a full quarter of a century; he is last heard of in 714 (No. VIII). Meanwhile Bishop Eadberht had died about 710 and been succeeded by Eolla, who had been abbot for a few years, and was himself succeeded as abbot by Beadufrið, after whom we know no more of the names of the abbots of Selsey. Eolla does not seem to have lived to enjoy a very long episcopate: he apparently died about 720, and Nun perhaps about the same time; at least if we are right in supposing that he was a West Saxon puppet, the trouble referred to in the *Chronicle* under 722 and 725 may be associated with the end of his reign and the succession of a less complaisant monarch. Perhaps an unsettlement in the political state of Sussex may also account for a lapse of a decade or more in the tenure of the See. For it was not until 733 that, according to the Continuator of Bede, Sigfrid was appointed into the room of Eolla. He held the see until at least 747, when he attested the acts of the Council of Clofesho. The charters tell us (Nos. VII, IX, and X) that the king of Sussex at this time was Æðelberht; his reign was assigned to the period about 774 by the editors Birch and Kemble because No. IX has a confirmation by Offa (757–96) added; the appearance of Bishop Sigfrid, however, shows that their true date is thirty to forty years earlier. The charters from here until 771 are granted by kings of Sussex quite independently of any outside authorities, and this suggests that in the fighting with Wessex in the early 720’s the men of Sussex had been victorious. Æðelberht, if we may judge by the alliteration of his name, came of the same royal stem which had produced Æðelwalh (660–86) as well as a tributary-King Æðelstan who had signed a charter of Nun (No. VIII) in 714. It is, indeed, quite feasible, although incapable of proof, that these three were father, son, and grandson.

The medieval Cathedral Lists, the materials for the compilation of which no doubt included charters now

lost to us, mention as the successor to Sigfrid a bishop named Alubert; but in the extant documents there is a gap until 765, when the testimony of three charters of roughly contemporary date (Nos. XI, XII, and XIII) reveals that the political state of Sussex was very confused. The see of Selsey at this time was occupied by Oswald, the sixth of his line, who lived to witness the Mercian conquest of Sussex and died between 772 and 780. Of these three charters the first two are of land at Ferring and at Henfield; they are granted by a king named Osmund and witnessed by the bishop and others of lesser rank. This King Osmund also, at an uncertain date, made a grant of land at Peppering, near Arundel (No. VII); we may perhaps, therefore, infer that his sphere of influence lay in western Sussex.

The third of these charters (No. XIII) is a very corrupt grant by King Ealdwulf of land at Stanmer and Wivelsfield, witnessed by two other kings, apparently his dependants—Oslac and Ælfweald: it would thus appear that he reigned over eastern Sussex. But that these kings Osmund and Ealdwulf were not entirely independent of each other is shown by the fact that two witnesses of minor degree—Eadberht and Hedde—attest the charters of both.

In 771 this state of affairs was summarily closed by Offa, king of Mercia; Symeon of Durham refers to his intervention when he says *Hestingorum gentem armis subegerat*; the charters, however, make it clear that this conquest extended to the whole of Sussex; for when in 772 Offa granted land at Bexhill to Bishop Oswald, the charter (No. XIV) was witnessed by Kings Osmund, Ælfwald, and Oslac with the reduced rank of aldermen; and before 775 Ealdwulf has the same title in a Mercian confirmation of No. XII. These local chieftains retained some degree of power until near the end of Offa's reign, the last charter for which they are responsible being No. XVII, granted by Alderman Ealdwulf in 791. Early in the eleventh century Wulfnoð, the supposed father of Earl Godwine, who took to piracy about 1007, was referred to as 'the child' of Sussex, a title usually

reserved for the heirs-apparent of royal families; from this it has been inferred that the ancient dynasty of Sussex in fact persisted until the end of the Anglo-Saxon period. Nevertheless, no identifiable member ever held any power after 791, while in 792 there is a charter (No. XIX) by Offa confirming a grant which had been made in 787 or 788 (No. XVIII) by the Mercian alderman Berhtwald of land at Rotherfield, Hastings, and Pevensey to the church of St. Denis in France. In their present form both these charters are complete forgeries. But the abnormal dedication of the church of Rotherfield to St. Denis, which persists to this day, points to some ancient connection between the two places, and it may well be that these charters represent a genuine grant, and that the names in them were taken from a genuine charter—which to the eye of an eleventh-century Frenchman would be an unsatisfactory affair owing to its lacking a seal. For the present purpose, however, the interest of these charters lies in the fact that neither invokes any Sussex authority; and we may thus be brought to consider that the fact of the last native charter of Sussex being dated about 790 (the date of No. XVII, 791, is based on a reconstruction) is no mere accident of survival, but that the reigning dynasty actually came to an end at that time.

The reigning dynasty of Sussex seems to have been a fruitful one, if we may judge by the number of kings it produced during the last generation of its existence. Its disappearance, then, is not likely to be due to the ordinary accidents of biology, and we can reasonably suppose that it was suppressed by order of the Mercian government in some way or another. Why should Offa have tolerated the native dynasty for twenty years after the conquest and then deprive it of all its power? We cannot answer this question directly—probably we shall never answer it—but parallels drawn from the condition of the other kingdoms which were subject to Mercia at that time may provide a hint.

We find that towards the close of his reign Offa's hold on his dependent kingdoms was maintained with diffi-

culty. In Kent a certain Ealhmund became king and in 784 issued a charter without reference to any Mercian authority; the country had to be systematically reconquered by Coenwulf (796–821) of Mercia in 798. In 794 the *Chronicle* records that Offa caused the king of East Anglia to be beheaded; this would seem a purposeless exhibition of cruelty unless the king had been involved in some kind of revolt. It is a plausible conjecture that the native aldermen of Sussex were also disaffected at the same time, and that they were deprived of their authority in consequence.

Meanwhile Bishop Oswald had died and been succeeded by Gislhere, whose episcopate is only remarkable that from it (780) survives the oldest extant original Sussex charter (No. XV). Gislhere cannot have survived long, for in 789 we find a certain Wihthun signing charters, and the medieval Cathedral Lists tell us that there had been a Bishop Totta between Gislehere and Wihthun. The episcopate of Wihthun opens a new era in the ecclesiastical as in the political history of Sussex. Hitherto the bishops of Selsey had led a restricted, insular existence. The first three, Eadberht, Eolla, and Sigfrið, are mentioned by Bede in purely local connections; of the many synods and councils attested by charters during the eighth century only two were attended by bishops of Selsey: Sigfrið signed the proceedings of the synod of Clofesho in 747 and Gislhere that of Brentford in 781. But from 789 to 838 Wihthun and his two successors, Æðelwulf and Coenred, regularly sign dozens of charters of all kinds; charters in general are scarce for the remainder of the ninth century but when the regular flow is resumed about 930 the bishops of Selsey are revealed as taking a frequent part in the councils of the king.

The removal of the native aldermen left no one to represent Sussex on the king's council. The disaffection of the local nobility meant that the new aldermen had to be Mercians appointed from outside, purely administrators with no intimate knowledge of local conditions. If Berhtwald was the new alderman, we know from his

signatures to charters that he was an old soldier who had had the rank of *dux* in Mercia for a generation prior to 790. Accordingly the bishop was the only man who had the local knowledge and, at the same time, the political impartiality to represent Sussex on Mercian councils, and it was no mere coincidence that the bishops of Selsey appeared in the king's councils at the same time that the kings, or, more properly, ex-kings, of Sussex disappeared from them.

Check List of Sussex Kings and Bishops to 800

<i>Kings</i>		<i>Bishops</i>		
			<i>Acc.</i>	<i>Death or trans.</i>
1. Ælle	? 477-? 516	1. Wilfrid	681	trs. 686
2. Cissa	? 516	2. Eadberht	686	705 × 709
3. Æðelwalh	c. 660-686	3. Eolla	705 × 709	c. 720
4. Noðhelm	688/9-c. 720	4. Sigfrið	733	747 × 765
5. Æðelstan	fl. 714	5. Aluberht	747 × 765	747 × 765
6. Æðelberht	c. 720-740	6. Oswald	747 × 765	772 × 780
7. Osmund	fl. 765-772	7. Gislhere	772 × 780	781 × 789
8. Oslac	fl. 765-780	8. Totta	781 × 789	781 × 789
9. Ælfwald	fl. 765-780	9. Wihthun	781 × 789	..
10. Ealdwulf	fl. 765-790

I

In nomine saluatoris nostri Ihesu Christi. *Nihil intulimus in hunc mundum verum nec auferre quid poterimus.*¹ Idcirco² terrenis et caducis æterna et cœlestia supernæ patriæ premia mercanda sunt. Quapropter ego² Cædualla³ disponente domino rex rogatus a venerando uulfrido⁴ episcopo ut sibi aliquantulam terram ad suffragium vitæ suæ famulorumque suorum qui secum conversarentur et in divino servitio huius peregrinationis quam vir venerandus diutius peregit pro relaxatione criminum et perpetui premii receptaculo largiri dignarer. cuius *precibus annuens*⁵ terrenam sibi possessiunculam de qua *sugerere videbatur*⁵ pro remedio animæ meæ libenter inpendi. et hanc libertatem⁶ sub estimatione lxx tributariorum taxavimus in illo loco qui dicitur pecganham⁷ aliisque locis circumquaque adiacentibus. hoc est scrip-

pan eg.⁸ ceorla tun.⁹ bucgan ora.¹⁰ beorgan stede.¹¹ north beorgan stede. crymesham.¹² se northra mundan ham.¹³ other mundan ham. et hæc omnia venerabili viro uuilfrido cum consensu et devota confirmatione ecgualdi¹⁴ subreguli in potestatem propriæ donationis pro suæ nimie sanctitatis conversatione et nostrorum peccatorum relaxatione redigimus. insuper addidimus fratribus suis deo servientibus ad æcclesiam sancti andreae super ripam positam orientalem portus qui dicitur uedringmutha.¹⁵ terram quæ dicitur tangmere.¹⁶ x tributariorum. ut eis quamdiu regnet fides catholica hinc necessaria corporalis usus specialiter prebeantur. Si quis vero quod absit contra hæc decreta firmiter statuta contraire et ea solvere conatus fuerit, noverit se ante tribunal examinis christi rationem redditurum et habere partem cum iuda traditore domini nostri ihesu christi in inferno inferiore. hæc sunt territoria ad peggan ham⁷ pertinentia primitus ab occidente uedringmutha.¹⁵ per illum portum ad locum qui dicitur holan horan fleot¹⁷ et sic ducitur in lang port.¹⁸ inde ad aquilonem to unning londe.¹⁹ sic ad orientem on fleot super illud quod dicitur inufes ford.²⁰ inde in locum qui dicitur cynges uuic.²¹ et sic ad locum qui dicitur langan ersc.²² inde on loxan leage.²³ et sic in locum qui dicitur bebbes ham.²⁴ inde in pontem thelbrycg.²⁵ et sic ad aquilonem juxta palustria loca. super hoc ad locum qui dicitur hylsan seohtra²⁶ et sic ad orientem in uuærmundes hamm.²⁷ hinc in uuadan hlæu.²⁸ ab illo loco in fisc mere.²⁹ et sic in brynes fleot.³⁰ sicque dirigitur in mare. Sed et hi sunt termini pertinentibus ad tang mere.¹⁶ primitus of hleap mere³¹ per viam publicam³² ad terram heantunensem³³ ad angulum circianum.³⁴ inde in locum horsa gehæg.³⁵ et sic ubi dicitur hean ersc.³⁶ hinc ad ælrithe.³⁷ ab ipso rivo ad fraxinum unum. et sic ad locum cealc mere.³⁸ hinc ad headan screaf.³⁹ ab illo loco to lulan treouue.⁴⁰ et sic in tatan ham.⁴¹ sic ad risc mere.⁴² ab illo loco to hleap mere.³¹ Et sunt pascua ovium in meos dune⁴³ pertinentia ad tangmere.¹⁶ anno dominicæ⁴⁴ incarnationis. dclxxx. ego cædualla rex³ a præfato rogatus episcopo hanc donationis meæ cartulam

scribere iussi. et absque trimoda necessitate totius christiani populi. id est. arcis munitione. pontis emendatione. exercitu congestione.⁴⁵ liberam perstrinxi. ego ecguald⁴⁴ subregulus mente devota consensi et subscripsi. ego æthelredus⁴⁶ domino præstante rex pro remedio animæ meæ hanc donationem corroboravi. ego hæddi⁴⁷ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego ercenualdus⁴⁸ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego aldhelmus⁴⁹ scolasticus archiepiscopi theodori⁵⁰ hanc cartulam dictitans prout regia maiorumque inperia statuerunt scribere iussi. illisque sancientibus constitutum est ut beato viro uuilfrido liberum remaneret arbitrium in vita sua de hac ruris possessiuncula. et post obitum cuicunque voluerit in æternam possessionem iure hereditario derelinqueret.⁵¹ pax cunctis legentibus consensumque prebentibus. sitque laus utentibus luxque præpes credentibus. virtus vita faventibus. rite constet senatibus anglorum atque cetibus (*sic*) qui dona firment nutibus.⁵² uuilfridus⁴ episcopus cartulam hanc multimodasque et humillimas theodoro⁵⁰ archiepiscopo in christo salutes.

In the name of our Saviour Jesus Christ. We have brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out. Therefore the eternal and heavenly rewards of the Kingdom on high are to be sought instead of earthly and transitory things. On that account I, Cædwalla, king by the grace of God, have been asked by the venerable Bishop Wilfrid to be so good as to grant him a little land for the support of himself and of his followers who abide with him, and in the divine service of the pilgrimage which the venerable man has long made for the forgiveness of sins and the receipt of the eternal reward; and I have, in answer to his pleas, freely for the good of my soul granted him that small estate which he had indicated; and this jurisdiction we rate by estimate at 70 hides in the place which is called Pagham and other places in that neighbourhood, that is, Shripney, Charlton, Bognor, Bersted, North Bersted, Crimsham, North Mundham, South Mundham; and all this we grant to the venerable Wilfrid with the consent

and pious agreement of the under-king Ecgweald, to be in his own power of gift, for the abode of his great holiness and the forgiveness of our sins. In addition, we have granted to his brethren, serving God at the church of St. Andrew, situated on the eastern shore of the harbour which is called Withering, the land of 10 hides which is called Tangmere, that as long as the catholic faith remains supreme the necessities of their bodily requirements may be especially provided therefrom. And (may it not be) if anyone attempts to go against and nullify this firmly established decree, let him know that he will have to render account before the judgement seat of Christ, and will take his place with Judas, the betrayer of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the depths of Hell. These are the lands belonging to Pagham, firstly from the west of Withering, by that harbour to the place which is called Honer stream, and thus it leads to the long village, thence northwards to Unna's land, so eastward to the stream and over it at the place called Ufa's ford, thence to the place called the king's farm, and thence to the place called Lagness, thence to Loxley, and so to the place called Babsham, thence to the bridge at Elbridge, and thus northwards beside the marshy places, over this to the stream called (Aldingbourne Rife) and thence east to Wærmund's enclosure, thence to Wada's barrow, from that place to the fish pond, from there to (Ryebank Rife), and so the line runs to the sea. And these are the bounds belonging to Tangmere, firstly from Leapmares along the highway to the Easthampnett land, to the bend, thence to the horse paddock, thus to the place called the high stubble, thence to the eel brook, from that brook to the single ash-tree, and thus to the place called the chalky pool, thence to the (?) deep cave, from that place to Lula's tree, and thus to Tata's farm, thus to the rushy pool, and from there to Leapmares. And there are sheep pastures belonging to Tangmere at (? Levin Down). In the year of our Lord's incarnation 680 I, Cædwalla, king, at the request of the aforesaid bishop, have ordered this grant of mine to be drawn up as a charter, and made it free, with the usual three

exceptions common to the Christian world, that is, the arming of forts, the repairing of bridges, and the raising of troops. I, Ecgwald, under-king, have agreed and signed with devout mind. I, Æðelred, king under the rule of the Lord, have corroborated this gift for the good of my soul. I, Hæddi, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Earconweald, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Aldhelm, student of Archbishop Theodore, have dictated this charter and had it written out in accordance with the orders of the king and of the elders. And with the agreement of these men it was decided that the holy Wilfrid should retain full control over this parcel of land during his lifetime, and at his death leave it in eternal possession as a legal inheritance to whomsoever he wished. Peace on all who read this and agree with it, and praise to those who use it, and swift-moving light on all who believe it, and a good life to those who favour it. Properly may it have the support of the councils of the English and of others who support the gift. Bishop Wilfrid gives this charter in the name of Christ to Archbishop Theodore with many humble greetings.

This charter appeared in Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum* (London, 1885—hereafter as BCS), No. 50, and in Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici* (London, 1839–48—hereafter as KCD), No. 18, from the tenth-century copy in the British Museum, Cotton MS. Augustus ii, 86; photographed in the *Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum* (London, 1874), vol. iv, Plate 1.

NOTES

1. This is a quotation from the Old Latin (pre-Vulgate) version of 1 Timothy vi. 7.

2. These phrases occur in several charters of about this date; BCS, Nos. 25, 47, 70, and No. II (all of Cædwalla) and Nos. 58, 59, of Æðelred of Mercia but relating to Malmesbury.

3. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Cædwalla began to struggle for a kingdom in or about 685; this and the next charter show that he must have claimed the title of king some time earlier. He resigned in 688 and went to Rome to be baptized by Pope Sergius, dying there in his chrisom-cloths a week after Easter, 689.

4. This is the famous St. Wilfrid, who had led the Roman cause at the Synod of Whitby, 664, and was made bishop of York soon

after. He was expelled from his see by Ecgfrið, king of Northumbria, in 678, and imprisoned for a while after vainly attempting to enforce a decree of the Pope, restoring his see, on the militant king. He came to Sussex in 681 and saved the inhabitants from a severe famine by teaching them to catch fish in nets; as a result he was able to convert them to Christianity. This grant, made in 680, was evidently in preparation for that expedition. Wilfrid was at length restored to a portion of his old see and died in 709 at the age of 75.

5. The phrases *precibus annuens* and *sugerere videbatur* appear to be taken from the *Privileges* of Leuther, p. 508, 16.

6. These early grants of large parcels of land do not seem to be grants of possession but, as Vinogradoff pointed out, rather of jurisdiction or, to use a later medieval phrase, suit of court. Some of the land contained in them is granted again in later times. This would be superfluous if the original grant had conveyed any kind of freehold. I have therefore translated the word *libertas* as 'jurisdiction'.

7. *Pecganham* is Pagham, from the personal name *Pæcga* and OE. *ham*, homestead, with the *-an* of the OE. genitive being weakened to *-e* in Middle English and finally disappearing altogether.

8. *Scrippan eg* is Shripney in Bersted parish, near Bognor. The second element is OE. *eg*, island. The first is a very difficult word indeed. It is not a personal name, since it appears as a significant word in a charter (BCS, No. 390), *on þone midmestan scrippan*. This is probably connected with the modern word 'to scrape' and therefore may mean either something flat (this would suit the situation of Shripney very well) or long and attenuated. As the land of BCS, No. 390, is situated in the Wiltshire downs the latter would seem the more likely.

9. *Ceorla tun* is Charlton, a lost tithing of Pagham—the tun, or farm, of the husbandmen. See *S.N.Q.* IX. 148.

10. *Bucgan ora* is Bognor, from OE. *Bucge*, pers. name, and *ora*, or bank.

11. *Beorgan stede* is Bersted, near Bognor; it appears once again in a charter of 988 (No. XLIX) as *Beorganstedinga mearc*: from OE. *Beorga*, pers. name (evidenced in Bede, where the name of the queen of Northumbria, generally known as *Æðelburh*, persistently appears in such forms as *Aedilberga*) and *stede* often used in as loose a sense as 'place', but here meaning 'piece of property'.

12. *Crymesham* is Crimsham Farm in Pagham. The second element is *ham* (n. 7 above); the first is *Crymi*, a pers. name perhaps derived from the use of the word 'crumb' to describe a small person.

13. *Mundan ham* is Mundham, North and South; from a pers. name *Munda*, formed as a nickname of names like *Eadmund*, *Æðelmund*; and *ham*.

14. The name of *Ecwald* does not appear again except in No. II, and there it also occurs with a variant spelling *Ethwald*. I think it very likely, therefore, that this is a corrupt form of that *Æðelwalk* who, according to Bede, was King of Sussex at this time; cf. also n. 46.

15. *Uedringmutha* is Withering, which is the old name for Pagham Harbour; it occurs as *Wynderynge*, *Wuderingemuðe* in 683 (No. II) and as *wedering muðe*, *wederingemuðan* in 956 (No. XXXIX). As both of these are fourteenth-century copies, it appears likely that this is a formation with OE. genitive in *-ing*, rather than one in *-ingas* which would mean 'the people of—'. The OE. word *muða* (mouth) is found occasionally with personal names.

16. *Tangmere* is the present village of that name near Chichester. To this day it forms a detached portion of the Hundred of Aldwick, which is the territory described by this charter. There are very few ponds anywhere in the district now, but the word *mere* occurring two or three times in this charter show that there must once have been several. The 'mere' in the village, shown as extensive in late eighteenth-century maps, is now little more than a puddle.

17. *holan horan fleot* is Honer Farm in Pagham; from OE. *hol*, hollow, *ora*, bank, and *fleot*, creek; hollow-banked creek.

18. *Lang port* is not identified, but it must have been to the north of Honer Farm.

19. *Unning lond* contains the word 'land' with a genitive form in *-ing* of the pers. name *Unna*.

20. *Inufes ford* is a variant of the name *ufes ford* due to the preposition having become attached to the name itself, a very common phenomenon when OE. words were entered into Latin documents. This contains the same name *Ufa* as is found in Oving not very far away. The ford must have been over Pagham Rife, which is the *fleot* in question.

21. *cynges uuic* is self-explanatory; the king's farm.

22. *langan erse* is Lagness in Pagham; the long stubble.

23. *loxan leage* is Loxley Farm in Pagham.

24. *bebbesham* is Babsham Farm; *babberham* [sic] in 988, No. XLIX. The homestead of *Bæbbi* (pers. name).

25. *thelbrycg* is *þelbrycg* in 988 (No. XLIX); Elbridge Farm in North Bersted—'plank bridge'. Initial þ is often lost in Middle English documents.

26. *hylsan seohtra*, 'drain, ditch', is the stream now called Aldingbourne Rife. It has taken its present name in comparatively modern times from the village.

27. *uærmundes hamm* is the *hamm* or enclosure of one *Wærmund*. The word *hamm* is often very difficult to distinguish from the much commoner *ham* or homestead. Confusion between the two often arose in quite early OE. documents. Thus Bosham, Sussex, occurs in Bede as *Bosanhamm* in all MSS. except the Moore MS. which, although written as early as 737, has reduced it to *Bosanham*. *Wærmund* is a name well attested in the Heroic Age, but uncommon in later OE. times. Examples are the *Wærmund* who appears in the upper stages of the Mercian royal genealogy in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; and the one who signs a Sussex charter in 780, No. XV. The preservation of the form *hamm* and the old-fashioned personal

name are indications of the general antiquity and trustworthiness of the document.

28. *wuadan hlæu* is the barrow of one Wada. A personal name could be attached to the word *hlaw* quite late; the barrow of Tæppa, which gave its name to Taplow (Bucks.), proved on excavation to be filled with grave-goods of about 575 at the earliest. This type of name is not, therefore, as has sometimes been argued, valid evidence for early Anglo-Saxon settlement in an area.

29. *fisc mere* is self-explanatory; the fish-pond.

30. *brynes fleot* is the stream now called Ryebank Rife. The pers. name *Bryni* (equivalent to German *Bruno*) occurs several times in OE. documents with regard to this area; it is the first element in Brinfast Farm in Selsey (*Brimfastun* 683, late copy, in No. II; *Brimesfasten*, 957, late copy, in No. XXXIX) and in the lost name of the dyke north of Birdham (*brimes dik* 683, *brynes dic* 957); and is the name of the Sussex ealdorman who granted No. VI about 692.

31. *hleap mere* is not, as suggested by the editors who produced the volume on Sussex for the English Place-name Society, Limmer Pond, but another pond a short distance westwards along the main road from Limmer, which seems now to be nameless, but was referred to as *leap mare* in an estate map as late as 1791.

32. *via puplica*, 'the highroad', perhaps denoting a road built by communal labour of the whole district and thus belonging to the people of the village, and not the local landowners. Perhaps the highroad in question is the present Arundel-Chichester road. Between two important local centres it is likely to have existed from very early times.

33. *terra heantunensis* is 'the land of Easthampnett'. The form with medial *n* is due to an OE. dative, (*æt þæm*)*hean tune*, at the high farm.

34. *angulum circianum* is a very obscure phrase. It seems to mean 'the rounded corner'; perhaps named from the configuration of the land at this point.

35. *horsa gehæg* is 'the horse enclosure, or paddock'. [Mention of 'campus qui vocatur Horsehaie de territorio Hamton' occurs in a deed of c. 1200 in the Boxgrove Chartulary: Cott. MS. Claud. A. VI, fol. 64.—*Editor*.]

36. *hean ersc* is 'the high stubble-land', with the same element *ersc* as is found in Lagness *supra*, and the OE. dative form of *heah*, high; cf. n. 33.

37. *ælrithe* is 'the eel stream'; probably Aldingbourne Rife, east of Tangmere.

38. *cealc mere* is 'the chalk pool'; as the Tangmere district is some distance from the main chalk areas, the presence of an odd pocket or outcrop would be sufficiently remarkable to give its name to the place.

39. *screaf* is a den or cave; *headan* probably for *headō*, deep.

40. *lulan treouue* is self-explanatory; 'Lula's tree'.

41. *tatan ham* is Tata's enclosure, Tata being a nickname of forms such as *Tatwine*.

42. *risc mere* is 'the rush pool'.

43. *meos dune* may perhaps be Levin Down near Singleton; it figures as *Mousdone apud Sengleton* in an Assize Roll of the thirteenth century. The situation of swine- or cattle-pastures at a distance from the main territory is a feature found in Sussex, Kent, and the Meonstoke area of Hampshire; it has been held to be evidence of former Jutish occupation. Cf. No. II.

44. The Era of the Incarnation, invented by Dionysius Exiguus in 525 for the purpose of calculating Easter tables, was not put into practical use until used by Wilfrid at the time of the Synod of Whitby (664); and it was popularized by Bede's *Chronicle* and *De Temporum Ratione* (725); this is, therefore, an early example of its use. As Wilfrid was concerned, the genuineness of the document need not be called into question on that account.

45. The phrase *trimoda necessitas* does not occur until the tenth century; here it is probably an addition by the transcriber.

46. Æðelred was king of Mercia 675-704, and Eddius, the biographer of Wilfrid, writing about 720, says that before his accession Cædwalla was a fugitive *in desertis Ciltine et Ondred*; the Chilterns are certainly Mercian territory; on the other hand, there is not a scrap of evidence that Cædwalla ever had any dealings whatever with the Mercian government. This is very likely another corrupt form of Æðelwath, king of Sussex (c. 660-86) (cf. n. 14); the Anglo-Saxon characters for *r* (r) and *w* (p) are similar, and if the MS. were only slightly injured the transcriber would jump to the conclusion that the name was the very common and familiar Æðelred.

47. Hæddi was bishop of Wessex 676-705 according to Bede, 703 according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which also gives the length of his episcopate as 27 years.

48. Earconweald was bishop of London 675-692/4: Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III. 22, IV. 7, 11.

49. Ealdhelm was abbot of Malmesbury 676-705, bishop of Sherborne 705-9: Bede, *H.E.* v. 18.

50. He had studied under Theodore at Canterbury before his abbacy.

51. The insertion of these phrases, which are an essential part of later charters, at the end in this awkward fashion, shows that this charter does genuinely date from an early period when formulæ were less rigidly laid down and charters might be made up almost offhand.

52. For verses of this kind cf. Aldhelm, *de Virginitate*, c. 7, and *Epistola ad Effridum* (*Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, *Auctores Antiquissimi*, xv).

II

In nomine salvatoris nostri ihesu christi! Nihil intulimus in hunc mundum, verum nec auferre quid possumus; idcirco terrenis et caducis æterna et cœlestia supernæ patriæ præmia mercanda sunt. Quapropter ego Cædualla disponente domino rex rogatus a venerando uuilfrido episcopo ut sibi aliquantulam terram ad suffragium famulorum christi, qui vitam cœnobialem degant, et ad construendum monasterium in loco qui vocatur Seolesige,¹ pro relaxatione criminum et perpetui præmii receptaculo largiri dignarer; cuius precibus annuens eandem terram de qua suggerere videbatur, pro remedio animæ meæ libenter impendo;² id est lv tributarios in illis locis qui vocantur Seolesige,¹ Medemenige,³ Wihtringes,⁴ Iccanore,⁵ Bridham,⁶ Egesauude,⁷ simulque Bessenheie,⁸ Brimfastun,⁹ et Sidelesham,¹⁰ cum aliis villis sibi cohærentibus, et cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus. Necnon terram illam quæ appellatur Aldingborne¹¹ et Lydesige,¹² vi cassatos; et in Geinstedisgate¹³ vi, et in Mundham¹⁴ viii,¹⁵ et Hohtun viii,¹⁶ et in Uualdham¹⁷ iiii, id est xxxii¹⁸ tributariorum, cum consensu uuilfridi archiepiscopi,¹⁹ et Æthuualdi²⁰ subreguli, cæterorumque episcoporum, ducum, optimatumque Anglorum, in potestate propriæ donationis dabo.²¹ Si quis vero contra hæc decreta firmiter statuta contraire et ea solvere conatus fuerit, noverit se ante tribunal examinis christi rationem redditurum, et habere partem cum iuda traditore domini in inferno inferiore. Scripta autem est hæc cartula anno ab incarnatione domini dclxxxiii, indictione xi, mensis Augusti die iii. Prædicta siquidem tellus his terminis circumcincta clarescit. Ab introitu portus qui appellatur Anglice Wynderynge,²² post retractum mare²³ in Cumeneshora;²⁴ sic versus occidentalem plagam juxta mare usque Rumbruge²⁵ in ante juxta littus maris usque Chenestone;²⁶ inde in ante juxta littus usque Heremuðe;²⁷ et inde versus septentrionalem plagam in longum fluvii²⁸ usque Wiales flet,²⁹ rursus usque quo Brimesdik³⁰ exit; inde versus orientem in longum prædicti fossati in Woflet;³¹ inde versus orientem in longum

fluvii et sic versus australem plagam usque Wuderinge-
muðe.²² Ego Cæduualha³² rex, a præfato rogatus
episcopo, donationis meæ cartulam subscripsi. Ego
Uuilfridus³³ archiepiscopus¹⁹ consensi et subscripsi. Ego
Birhtuualdus³⁴ archiepiscopus³⁵ consensi et subscripsi.
Ego Eguualdus²⁰ episcopus³⁶ consensi et subscripsi. Ego
Uuilfridus³⁷ episcopus terras mihi donatas crucis christi
roboratione confirmo. Ego Eadberhtus³⁸ episcopus con-
sensi et subscripsi. Ego Ealdulfus³⁹ dux Suðsaxonum
consensi et subscripsi. Omnes isti et multi alii con-
sentientes subscripserunt et confirmaverunt.

In the name of our Saviour Jesus Christ! We have brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out. Therefore the eternal and heavenly rewards of the Kingdom on high are to be sought instead of earthly and transitory things. On that account, I, Cædwalla, king by the grace of God, have been asked by the venerable Bishop Wilfrid to be so good as to grant him a little land for the support of the followers of Christ who lead a monastic life, and for the construction of a monastery in the place which is called Selsey, for the forgiveness of sins and the receipt of everlasting reward; and I have, in answer to his pleas, freely for the good of my soul granted him the same land which he had indicated; that is, 55 hides in the places which are called Selsey, Medmeny, Wittering, Itchenor, Birdham, Egesa's wood, Bessa's hedge, Brinfast, and Sidlesham, with other vills adjoining and with all things pertaining thereto. In addition, with the consent of Archbishop Wilfrid, and Æthwald the under-king, and the rest of the bishops, dukes, and noblemen of England, I will give in his own power of gift the land which is called Aldingbourne, and Lidsey, of 6 hides; and 6 at Westergate, and 8 at Mundham, and 8 at and Houghton, and 4 at Coldwaltham, that is 32 hides. And if anyone attempts to go against, and nullify, this firmly established decree, let him know that he will have to render account before the judgement seat of Christ, and will take his place with Judas, the betrayer of the Lord, in

the depths of Hell. This charter was written in the year of our Lord's Incarnation 683, the 11th of the indiction, on the 3rd day of the month of August. Indeed, the aforesaid land is clearly described by these bounds. From the entrance to the harbour, which is called in English Withering, round where the sea retreats to the Owers, thus westwards along the sea-coast to Rumbridge, along the shore as before to the queen's farm, then along the coast to Hormouth, thence northwards along the river to (Bosham Channel), and up it to the mouth of Bryni's dyke; thence eastwards along that dyke to the crooked stream, thence eastwards along the river and south to Withering. I, Cædwalla, at the request of the aforesaid bishop, have signed the charter of my grant. I, Wilfrid, archbishop, have agreed and signed. I, Birhtwald, archbishop, have agreed and signed. I, Ecgwald, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Wilfrid, bishop, confirm the lands granted to me with the strength of the cross of Christ. I, Eadberht, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Ealdwulf, duke of the South Saxons, have agreed and signed. All these and many others agreed and signed.

This charter appeared in BCS, No. 64, and in KCD, No. 992, from the following MS. sources: (a) Chichester Cathedral (hereafter as CC.) MS. Liber Y, f. 73r (c. 1250); (b) CC. MS. Liber A, f. 16r (1337); (c) CC. MS. Liber B, f. 4v (1368-85). This is the MS. which was cited by Birch as MS. of the Dean and Chapter of Chichester (hereafter as DCC.), Register B. xviii; (d) CC. MS. Liber E, f. 175v (c. 1400).

The present edition is from (c). (a) is as given without the bounds and is dated erroneously 673. (b) has added a note in Latin that at the Inquisition by Commission in 1525 Bishop Sherburne exhibited ancient copies of Cædwalla's Charter which were hardly legible through age and faintness of the ink, but were found to agree with extant copies in the registers. (c) adds after *clarescit*: 'tunc sequuntur limites et bundæ terrarum prædictarum in carta originali, sed in quadam alia copia veteri cartæ prædictæ sequuntur bundæ dictæ sub hac forma.' This has been omitted from the present edition because it forms no part of the charter but is a mere footnote.

1. *Seolesige* is Selsey, which became the seat of the Sussex bishopric; for the place-name form we cannot disagree with Bede's explanation (*HE.* iv. 13) *selæseu quod dicitur Latine insula vituli marini*, the Sea-calf being the nearest Latin rendering of 'the Seal'.

2. The whole of the portions of this charter printed in italics are derived from No. I above; see notes thereto.

3. *Medemenige* is Medmeny Fm. in Selsey, 'the middle island' with relation to Selsey and Thorney.

4. *Wihtringes* is East and West Wittering; it is an *-ingas* formation from a personal name, 'the people of Wihthere'. Here and almost throughout the place-names of this charter have been rendered into ME.

5. *Iccanore* is Itchenor, near Wittering, 'Icca's bank'.

6. *Bridham* is Birdham north of Selsey; self-explanatory.

7. *Egesauude* cannot be identified; it is a compound of the word 'wood' with a personal name *Egesa* which is evidenced in the form *Egesan stane* in which the name of the battle of Degsastan (603) appears in the *ASC*. This is apparently a weak form.

8. *Bessenheie* cannot be identified; it may contain the common word 'hedge' (OE. *hegge*) with the *g* softened to an aspirate in the ME. form; with a personal name, *Bæss*, which was that of the monk who founded Reculver minster in 669 (*ASC*).

9. *Brimfastun* is Brinfast Fm. near Selsey; it contains the personal name Bryni (see No. I, n. 30) with a very rare and archaic OE. word *fæsten* denoting a fortress; the occurrence of this word has been held to be evidence of very early AS. occupation in this area; but in view of the survival of the name as a living person at the end of the seventh century, and a duke at that who may well have been the very man who gave his name to all these places, and who certainly held large estates in this area, it may be questioned whether the word did not survive longer in Sussex than elsewhere, owing to its inaccessibility and severance from the outside world.

10. *Sidelesham* remains with its spelling almost unaltered as Sidlesham to this day. It contains the common OE. word *ham*, or homestead, with a personal name Sidel, which is a regular pet-name for the Sida which is occasionally attested as an element in compound names such as Sideman.

11. *Aldingborne* is the present village of the name east of Tangmere. It contains the common word 'bourne' with a personal name Ealda which is a contraction of many common names as Ealdhelm, Ealdwulf, &c.

12. *Lydesige* is Lidsey, near Aldingborne; perhaps 'Lida's island'.

13. *Geinstedisgate* is Westergate in the same neighbourhood. It occurs in No. IV as *Genstedegate*; this may mean simply 'the gate to the estate' from OE. *ongean stede gat*; in ME. this might well be misunderstood and redivided as *on genstedegate*; this was a very common phenomenon (cf. n. 25 *infra*); the preposition was then omitted and a medial *s* added in accordance with the more familiar genitive formation of place-names.

14. See No. I, n. 13.

15. The re-grant of the same lands in 957 (No. XXXIX) gives *Amberla* (Amberley in the Arun valley) in place of this lacuna, which

is common to all the MSS. and therefore must be due to a defect in a very early copy.

16. *Hohtun* is Houghton, near Amberley.

17. *Uualdham* might on etymological grounds equally well be Coldwaltham in the same vicinity or Up Waltham NW. of Arundel.

18. This, with the addition of the 55 hides above, makes a total of 87 hides; it is almost certain that we have here the same grant as was mentioned by Bede as 87 hides at Selsey conveyed to Wilfrid by Ædelwalh, king of Sussex. This lends colour to the suggestion that the under-king Ecgwald, Ethwald, mentioned here was none other than the same Ædelwalh (No. I, n. 14).

19. Wilfrid was never archbishop, and this had been held to brand the present document as a forgery; but surely it may be due to a copyist's error, who put in 'archbishop' as that was the title by which he was accustomed to call Wilfrid.

20. See n. 18 above and No. I, n. 14.

21. The form of grant in the future is discordant with the rest of the charter, and in any case is not a charter form at all but an epistolary form, used very often in Gaul but only occasionally found in Britain; here it is in a peculiarly localized distribution, as follows: (a) grants by kings of, or relating to, the Hwiccas region; KCD, Nos. 13, 21, 53, 146, 993 (672-781); (b) grants by kings of, or relating to, Kent; KCD, Nos. 39, 179, 1005, 1013 (696-801); (c) grants by kings of Sussex; Nos. III, VIII, X (692-735). Now all these areas have been held to be areas of sometime Jutish influence. In the Hwiccas region, at the large early AS. cemetery of Bidford-on-Avon, were found a number of brooches with Kentish type of ornament; the region had its *communis silva* at a distance from the centre, so typical of Jutish organization, in Wychwood (OE. *Hwicce wudu*); and there is the place-name Conderton which goes back to OE. *Cantwaratun*, 'farm of the men of Kent'. In Sussex there have been found, at High Down, Alfriston, and elsewhere a good number of brooches whose ornament shows very close affinities with those from cemeteries in Kent, and a large number of estates have detached swine-pastures. *Communis silva* is especially vouched for by the occurrence of the word *gemæne* in No. XIII, which is glossed in an early-ninth-century charter (BCS, No. 426) *in commune silva quod nos saxonice ingemennisse dicimus*. The evidence that the future tense in grants comes from areas of Jutish influence is further supported by the fact that this is a form common in Gaul; now many of the peculiarities of Jutish organization can best be traced in Gaul, and the earliest charters, going back to the beginning of the seventh century, show evidence (although corrupt in their present forms) of having been written under Merovingian influence. No. I states explicitly that it was drawn up by Ealdhelm, at that time abbot of Malmesbury; this charter shows extensive similarities with it, and in those parts of the main grant which are not identical, the general language and style suggest that they were both drawn up by the

same person. No. I and the main part of No. II were, therefore, most likely drawn up in Wessex, since Cædwalla only visited Sussex to conquer it, in 686. But the epistolary part of No. II was almost certainly drawn up in Sussex, or possibly in Kent (where Cædwalla was in 687), since in Wessex the epistolary form would not have been used. Although it conveys the same lands as No. IV, a purely Sussex document in which the Wessex authorities appear only as confirmatory witnesses, the language similarities are not sufficient to suppose that it was merely a corrupt text of that charter inserted here by error; it must have been a record of a genuine grant by Cædwalla with the consent of Æðelwalh, which took place in 686/7, probably to Wilfrid's successor Eadberht; it would appear superfluous for Wilfrid to consent to a grant to himself. Very likely the original addressed Eadberht merely as *episcopo* or even *tibi* (this is the usual epistolary form), and a later copyist misunderstood this to be Wilfrid and entered it with the main Selsey charter. Even before 731 the two had been 'lumped together' in men's minds into an estate of 87 hides as appears in Bede; yet, as we see here, not all the 87 hides were at or even particularly near to Selsey.

22. See No. I, n. 15.

23. *retractum mare*, 'the retreated sea', is obviously a reference to Selsey Bill; it shows that the bounds were perambulated on land, since if this had been done from a boat, or taken from some plan, some word more definitely like 'promontory' would be used.

24. *Cumeneshora* is the Owers off the west of Selsey Bill, the sea having considerably encroached since the end of the seventh century. It is the *Cymenes ora* of 477 *ASC.*, where the first landing in Sussex was made by Ælle and his three sons, and preserves the name Cymen of the eldest of the three.

25. *Rumbruge* is the lost Rumbridge; it was swept into the sea in the fifteenth century. It is *at prim beorgum* in 957 (No. XXXIX); i.e. the three hills; in ME. the *p* of *prim* was mistaken for a definite article and the word redivided thus; *at þe rimbeorgum*.

26. *Chenestone* is perhaps 'the queen's stone' by a bad transcription for OE. *cwene stane*, or 'the queen's farm' in which the original OE. *cwene tune* had become in ME. *cwenes tone*.

27. *Heremuðe* is the lost name Hormouth for the entrance to Chichester Harbour; 'dirty estuary'.

28. The 'river' can only be Chichester Harbour itself.

29. *Wiales flet* contains OE. *fleot*, 'stream', with a personal name. It is the old name for Bosham Channel.

30. *Brimesdik* is the small stream leading into Bosham Channel near Birdham, which to this day forms the boundary of the Manhood Hundred described in this charter. For the personal name see n. 9 above.

31. *Woflet* is 'the crooked stream'; it is a branch of Pagham Rife, which approaches very near to Brimesdik at one point.

32. See No. I, n. 3.

33. See No. I, n. 4.

34. Berhtwald was abbot of Glastonbury 669–79, abbot of Reculver 679–92, and archbishop of Canterbury 692–731.

35. He was not archbishop, but this is to be regarded as a title by which he was dubbed by the copyist, rather than as that by which he himself signed; cf. n. 19.

36. There was no Bishop Ecgwald at the time—this is clearly the under-king, given ecclesiastical rank by a transcription slip.

37. This and the next signature are quite separate from the rest of the charter; they form a kind of receipt.

38. According to Bede, Eadberht did not become Bishop of Selsey until the time of Ealdhelm's bishopric, i.e. 705–9; but his signature here with Wilfrid, as well as in Nos. III, IV, bearing dates before 705, show that he must have succeeded Wilfrid directly, in or about 686.

39. Ealdwulf granted No. XIII (before 771) as king, and appears in Nos. XV (780), XVI (c. 785), XVII (791) as duke. His signature here as duke must therefore have taken place towards the end of the eighth century, and represents an entirely separate confirmation, entered, as often, on the bottom of the original, and then copied, through stupidity, as if the whole were one. The 'many others' were very likely the South Saxon witnesses to Ealdwulf's signature, who, as they occur only occasionally elsewhere, were probably quite unfamiliar to the ME. scribe and lent nothing to the authenticity of the document, as the more important people were considered to do; they were therefore omitted.

III

Regnante perennitus deo ac domino nostro ihesu christo simulque spiritu sancto paraclito in tribus personis una deitas sine fine permansura.¹ Qua de re unicuique cogitandum quantum sibi sufficiat possessio ut cum rebus transitoriis labentibusque sibi æterna præparet præmia quod huius vitæ præsentis quibusque nolentibus vel volentibus adpropinquat terminus. Quamobrem ego nunna² rex australium saxonum aliquas telluris partes pro amore dei et cœlestis patriæ venerando episcopo eadberhto³ in suum et in dei servitium liberato assensu sæculari⁴ æternaliter conscribo et firmiter ad episcopalem sedem adtingens⁵ cum totis ad eam pertinentibus in campis in silvis montanis pascuis pratis terra⁶ quæ vocatur hugabeorgum⁷ et æt dene.⁸ xx. tributarios libenti animo attribuo. Si quis autem successorum meorum quod absit hanc donationem meam

in modico vel in magno minuere vel invadere temptaverit sciat se in tremendo examine coram christo rationem reddere nisi ante satisfactione emendaverit. Istis terminibus circumgirata esse videntur (andlan)g dices on ðeodweg⁹ norð ofer ðone weg lavingtunes¹⁰ dices east ende. of ðære dic norð e þanan east to freccehlince¹¹ of þam hlince to halignesse¹² beorge of þam beorge east to stæ(ne¹³ of stæne to þam garan of þam garan to þam byrgelsan¹⁴ of þæm byrgelsan to billingabyrig and swa andlang læse and ða dænn ærest þær scealces burna and bollanea hi gegaðeriað¹⁵ on norðhealfe wæsbr and bulanhol and isenan æwylm and sængelwicos¹⁶ and feale beag. tibbanhol. Scripta est hæc cartula anno ab incarnatione domini. declxxv.¹⁷ indictione. ii. Testium ergo et consentientium huic donationi signa æterna demonstrabo.¹⁸ Ego Nunna² rex primus crucis christi signo munio. Ego uuattus¹⁹ rex consensi et subscripsi. Ego cænredus²⁰ rex westsaxonum roboravi. Ego Eadbriht³ episcopus mihi terram tributam confirmo signo crucis christi. Ego Ine²¹ consensi et propria manu subscripsi.

Dorso. Þis is seo landboc þe nunna cyng gebocade eadberhte bisceope into hugabeorgum. xx. hida.

In the eternal reign of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost and Spirit, one Deity in three persons remaining without end. Because of this it is for everyone to consider how far his belongings are sufficient that he may by means of things fleeting and transitory prepare for himself eternal rewards, since the end of this present life approaches everyone willy-nilly. Therefore I, Nunna, king of the South Saxons, for love of God and of the heavenly kingdom, and with the free assent of the laity, grant in writing in perpetuity to the venerable Bishop Eadberht certain pieces of land for the service of himself and of God. And I gladly assign them as firmly attached to the episcopal see with all things pertaining thereto, fields, woods, hills, pastures, and meadows, that is, in the land called Hugabeorgum and East Dean 20 hides. But if (God forbid!) any of my succes-

sors attempt in a small or great degree to lessen or encroach upon this my grant, let him know that he has to render account at the terrible judgement before Christ, unless he previously make satisfactory amends. (These lands) are clearly described by these bounds

(alon)g the dyke to the public road, north over the road the east end of the Lavington dyke, from the dyke north thence east to the dangerous hill, from the hill to the sanctuary hill, from that hill east to the stony place, from the stony place to the triangle of land, from the triangle to the tombs, from the tombs to the swordsmen's hill, and so along the pasture, and the swine-pastures, firstly where the soldier's brook and the bull's river join on the north side of [?], and the bull's hollow, and the iron spring, and the thicket dwelling, and the yellow crown, and Tibba's hollow. This charter was written in the year of the Lord's incarnation 775, the 2nd of the indiction. I will give the eternal signs of those who witnessed and agreed to this grant. First I, Nunna, king, fortify it with the sign of the cross of Christ. I, Wattus, king, have agreed and signed. I, Cœnred, king of the West Saxons, have confirmed it. I, Eadberht, bishop, affirm the land granted to me with the sign of the cross of Christ. I, Ini, have agreed and signed with my own hand.

Dorso. This is the charter by which Nunna the king granted 20 hides at Hugabeorg to Eadberht the bishop.

This charter appeared in BCS, No. 144, from (a) a tenth-century copy of the original, in the possession of DCC; and from Register B, xviii, f. 5v. The original is in a very bad state of preservation and some gaps have had to be filled in from the copy in the register, which is unfortunately without the bounds, but which examination shows to be a faithful copy of the original.

1. The first sentence is peculiarly turgid and ungrammatical. It begins in the regular way with a phrase in the ablative absolute and proceeds with a nominative in apposition. This appalling construction at once marks this charter out from the preceding, which although involved and in rather bombastic and pretentious style are at least grammatical. The whole language and phrasing of this charter are entirely separated from the other two; this suggests at once that while they were drawn up in Wessex, this was drawn up locally.

2. Nunna is a regular contraction of Nōðhelm, who is concerned in the next few charters up to 714. He must also have been the Nun who fought with Ini against the Welsh in 710 according to *ASC*. He is there described as Ini's *mæge* or relative. He was in fact subordinate to him, and may have been admitted to Ini's *mægð* as part of a ceremony similar to the later *commendatio*, or received the hand in marriage of a relative of Ini.

3. Eadberht was Wilfrid's successor in the see of Selsey; according to Bede he was abbot only, and consecrated bishop in the period 705-9, but must in fact (see II, n. 38) have succeeded Wilfrid about 686.

4. *Sæculari assensu* is apparently an ablative of accompaniment meaning 'with lay assent' and corresponding to the more pretentious phrase *cum consensu . . . ducum optimatumque Anglorum* in No. II.

5. The object of this sentence is *aliquas partes* understood from the preceding; the word *adtingens* seems to be an error for *adtingentes*.

6. The accusative *tributarios* is in apposition to *partes*; *terra* should be preceded by *in*.

7. *Hugabeorgum* is unidentified; it is the dative plural of the common word *beorg*, 'hills', understanding a preposition such as *æt*, with a personal name *hugi* which may be a weak form of the Hyge, a shortened form of names like Hygelac, Hygeberht. The present High Down (NE. of East Dean church) may preserve the name in a corrupted form.

8. *æt Dene* is East Dean, near Singleton; it means merely 'at the valley'.

9. The bounds must have begun at the point to which they return, namely *feale beag. tibbanhol*, 'the yellow crown, or ring, and Tibba's hollow'. At the NW. corner of East Dean parish—a natural point from which to start—is marked on the 6 in. O.S. map Golden Combe Bottom. If this identification is correct, 'the public road' is probably the ridgeway which forms the parish boundary for a short distance here. It should, however, be pointed out that the words *ða dænn* may introduce a list of separate swine-pastures and the boundaries proper may begin and end at the *læse*.

10. 'Lavington dyke' is presumably the earthwork close to Lavington Lane.

11. *freccehlince* contains the common word *hlinc*, 'hill' (preserved in dialectical 'linch' and in golf 'links'), with a word which may be OE. *frece*, 'danger': probably the steep western side of Duncton Hill.

12. *halignesse beorge* is the hill on which stood a heathen sanctuary: perhaps the present Heath Hill.

13. *stæ-* is probably part of the word *stæne* meaning 'stony place'.

14. The 'burials' are no doubt tumuli, still numerous round here. The *gar* is represented by an angle in the bounds of the present parish of East Dean jutting into Up Waltham parish.

15. *sealc* is a 'servant' or 'soldier'. It is probably only a curious

coincidence that just about where one would expect to find this junction of 'the soldier's brook' and 'the bull's river' there are two hillocks, separated by a slight dip, now called Soldier's Clump and Bull's Clump, as these names are probably of comparatively recent date.

16. *Sœngelwicos* contains an archaic OE. word for 'thicket' which is found twice more in this neighbourhood, in the place-name Singleton and in *la Sengle* in an Assize Roll of 1279 referring to Cowdray Park. Perhaps the whole area was once covered with brushwood. This must clearly be on the boundary of Singleton.

17. 775 is an obvious error in dating. Birch amended it to 725; but this is still inconsistent with the indiction, and at this time the Incarnation era was still a comparatively recent introduction, and the scribes being more familiar with the Indiction, this is more likely to be correct. 725, ind. viii was the very year chosen by Bede in his *De temporum Ratione* to illustrate the method of calculating the indiction. This charter must in any case have been drawn up before 714, since Eadberht died before that year, when No. VIII was granted to his successor Eolla; and after 686, when Cædwalla ravaged Sussex and killed King Æðelwath. The only two years in this period which fit the indiction are 689 and 704, and of these, the signatures (see nn. 18-21) favour the former.

18. The formularies never used the editorial first person; the use of it here is a sign of the earliness of the charter.

19. Wattus only appears here and in the following charters of 692 with Nunna; he was apparently an under-king.

20. Cœnred was the father of Ini. He is not mentioned in *ASC.* as having ever been king of Wessex; but *ASC.* says that Ini succeeded in 688 and abdicated in 728, while insisting on the length of his reign as 37 years. Cœnred appears for the last time in 692 (No. IV) and Ini was certainly sole king by 694, when the men of Kent compounded with him for the death of his relative Mul. The AS. conception of family as the basis of law was so strict that they would not have done so if his father had been alive. Therefore Cœnred must have died before 694, and this proves conclusively that this charter must bear date in 689. In fact, to allow for a reign of 37 years (or nearly 37) by Ini, he must have died in 692.

21. The signature of Ini here and in No. IV without the title of rex bears out the statement of n. 20 about the reign of Cœnred.

IV

*In nomine domini nostri ihesu christi salvatoris!*¹ ego noðelmus² rex suðsaxonum, *pro remedio animæ meæ,*¹ sciens mihi in futuro prodesse quicquid christi membris de mea propria possessione impendero, tibi noðgiðæ³

sorori meæ aliquam partem terræ *libenter dabo*, ad *construendum* in ea *monasterium*⁴ basilicamque erigendam quæ divinis laudibus et sanctorum honoribus servire videatur, id est, xxxiii⁵ cassatos in locis qui appellantur; hoc est in Lydesige⁶ et Aldingburne⁷ xii, æt Genstedegate⁸ x, in Mundhame⁹ xi, in orientali plaga¹⁰ ii, in occidentali iii, ut possidendo teneas cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus rebus, campis, silvis, pratis, pascuis. *Si quis hanc donationem* attributam tibi, in maximo aliquo *vel in modico minuere ausus sit*, *sciat*¹¹ se in districto omnipotentis dei iudicio pœnam præsumptionis suæ incurrere. *Scripta est hæc cartula anno ab incarnatione*⁴ christi dexcii. Ego nunna² rex suðsaxonum consensi et subscripsi. Ego uuattus¹² rex consensi et subscripsi. Ego cœnredus¹³ rex uuestsaxonum consensi et subscripsi. Ego ine¹⁴ consensi et subscripsi. Ego eadberhtus¹⁵ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego aldhelmus¹⁶ abbas subscripsi. Ego haguna¹⁷ abbas subscripsi.

In the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ! I, Noðhelm, king of the South Saxons, for the good of my soul, knowing that in the future it will be to my benefit to give some of my own goods to the followers of Christ, will freely grant a certain piece of land to you, Noðgið my sister, in order thereon to construct a monastery and erect a church which may be visible proof of devotion to the praise of God and the honour of the saints; that is, 33 hides in the places which are called thus; in Lidsey and Aldingborne 12, at Westergate 10, in Mundham 11, on the east 2, on the west 3, to have in possession with all things pertaining thereto, fields, woods, meadows, pastures. If anyone dares to reduce this grant made to you in a greater or lesser degree, let him know that he will incur the penalty for his presumption in the stern judgement of Almighty God. This charter was written in the year 692 from the incarnation of Christ. I, Nunna, king of the South Saxons, have agreed and signed. I, Wattus, king, have agreed and signed. I, Cœnred, king of the West Saxons, have agreed and signed. I, Ini, have agreed and signed. I,

Eadberht, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Aldhelm, abbot, have signed. I, Haguna, abbot, have signed.

This charter appeared in BCS, No. 78, and in KCD, No. 995, from DCC Reg. B. xviii, f. 4*v* (fourteenth century). Its style is much better than No. III, and the appearance of Ealdhelm among the witnesses, as well as certain similarities to Nos. I and II, suggest that he may have had a hand in its composition.

1. Cf. No. I.
2. See No. III, n. 2.
3. She appears only here and in No. V.
4. Cf. No. II.
5. The total 33 covers the first three items only. Nevertheless, as No. V also refers to 33 hides, it is unlikely that the same transcription error has been committed twice, i.e. xxx[v]iii. The last two items are probably an explanatory parenthesis to *Mundhame xi*, the figures being miswritten for v and vi respectively—the Roman figure 5 was frequently written as u and in this form became copied into ii. Cf. No. XI, whose date 765 is miscopied 762 in a similar way. The phrase would then mean ‘in Mundham 11—5 on the east, 6 on the west’.
6. See No. II, n. 12.
7. See No. II, n. 11.
8. See No. II, n. 13.
9. See No. I, n. 13.
10. The word *plaga* is used in charters in the loosest senses; in No. XVII it is clearly a synonym for the word *pars* in the sense of ‘direction’, since it speaks of *occidentali plaga . . . altera parte*; it is apparently to be rendered thus here. Cf. n. 5.
11. Cf. No. III.
12. See No. III, n. 19.
13. See No. III, n. 20.
14. See No. III, n. 21.
15. See No. II, n. 38, and No. III, n. 3.
16. See No. I, n. 49.
17. Haguna, abbot of the Old Minster, Winchester, signs five charters from 688 to 704, KCD, Nos. 35, 40, 50, 994, and 997.

V

Ego Noðgiða¹ famula christi, præfatam terram illam, quam mihi hæreditarie per manus consanguineorum meorum,² in propriam potestatem trado wilfrido³ episcopo reverendissimo; hoc est xxxiii tributariorum; meque ei monacham facio, præstante domino, devota mente paratam peregrinari coram deo omnipotente.

Ego Offa⁴ rex Merciorum illam donationem, quæ in alia parte huius paginulæ plenissime scripta tenetur, cum meis fidelissimis testibus firmiter firmo. Ego Offa rex crucis signum impono cum aliis testibus.

Ego Æðelwlf,⁵ gratia dei Occidentalium Saxonum rex, qui donavi, cum signo crucis christi propria manu impono, ab omni regali servicio et omni sæcularium causarum absoluta servitute. Si hoc quis minuere vel mutare præsumpserit, noscat se ante tribunal christi rationem redditurum, nisi prius satisfactione emenderit.

Ego Ceolwlf⁶ rex Merciorum hanc præfatam terram, secundum petitionem Kenredi⁷ episcopi, et eius placibili (pecuniæ), id est in numero c mancusæ, ab omnibus curis sæcularibus in æcclesiasticam libertatem perdono, cum meis fidelibus testibus et illis rogantibus et consentientibus. Eadbricht⁸ episcopus. Kenired⁷ episcopus. Sired⁹ dux. Wulfred¹⁰ dux. Acta sunt hæc in villa quæ dicitur Deaniton.¹¹

I, Noðgið, servant of Christ, grant to the most reverend bishop Wilfrid the aforesaid land which (was given) to me by the hands of my relatives, to be in his own power; that is, 33 hides; and I make myself his nun, under the rule of the Lord, prepared with pious mind to perform life's pilgrimage as in the sight of God Almighty.

I, Offa, king of the Mercians, emphatically confirm this grant, which is very clearly set out elsewhere on this page, with my most faithful witnesses. I, Offa, king, place the sign of the cross; with other witnesses.

I, Æðelwulf, by the grace of God king of the West Saxons, in giving place the sign of the cross of Christ with my own hand, absolving (it) from all royal dues and lay impositions. If anyone presume to lessen or alter this, let him know that he will have to render account before the judgement-seat of Christ, unless he first make satisfactory amends.

I, Ceolwulf, king of the Mercians, on the petition of Bishop Cænred and his acceptable (money), that is, 100

mancuses by count, will grant the aforesaid land as a Church jurisdiction, free of all secular dues, with my faithful witnesses, at their request and with their consent. Eadberht, bishop. Cœnred, bishop. Sigered, ealdorman. Wulfred, ealdorman. This was done in the town called Denton.

This charter appeared in BCS, No. 79, and in KCD, No. 1060, from DCC Reg. B. xviii, f. 4*v* (fourteenth century). It consists of a charter by Noðgið which is really no more than an appendix to No. IV, with three later confirmations. It is not clear why Kemble dated it to 868 unless he was thinking of the Ceolwulf 'unwise king's thegn' who became the last king of Mercia; but his reign did not begin till 874.

1. The recipient of No. IV; this charter evidently bears the same date.

2. i.e. Nunna.

3. Here and in No. VI Eadberht was not called bishop. This suggests that his consecration in 686 was either only as coadjutor or that its validity was called into question. That would account for his being reconsecrated after 705.

4. King of Mercia 757-96.

5. King of Wessex 839-57.

6. King of Mercia 821-3; the last of the ancient dynasty.

7. Cœnred was bishop of Selsey; he signs from 824 (CD 218) until 838 (CD 1044), the last signature of his predecessor Æðelwulf being in 816. This is therefore the earliest mention of him.

8. There was no Bishop Eadberht at this time; Eadberht dux signs from 811 (CD 196) to 825 (CD 220). In five charters he is the first layman signing immediately after the bishops, and it is a common error to mistake a rank at this position. The existence of a famous early Bishop Eadberht would assist this confusion in the case of Selsey.

9. Sigered signs from 814 (CD 206) to 836 (CD 237).

10. Wulfred signs from 811 (CD 197) to 825 (CD 220).

11. *Deaniton* ('the farm in the valley' from OE. *denu*, *tun*) may be any of the various places in England called Denton.

VI

In nomine domini nostri salvatoris. Ego¹ Bruny² dux³ Suthsaxonum partem agri iuris mei pro remedio animæ meæ Eadbyrhto⁴ abbati ad insulam quæ appellatur Selesey libenter concedo, id est quatuor manentes in loco qui vocatur Hilegh.⁵ Ego Nunna⁶ rex hanc donationem

consensi et subscripsi. Ego Wattus⁷ rex consensi et propria manu subscripsi.

In the name of our Lord and Saviour. I, Bryni, duke of the South Saxons, for the good of my soul gladly grant a portion of land under my control to Eadberht, abbot at the island which is called Selsey, that is, four hides in the place which is called Highleigh. I, Nunna, king, have agreed to and signed this grant. I, Wattus, king, have agreed and signed with my own hand.

This charter appeared in BCS, No. 80, from DCC Reg. B. xviii, f. 4*v* (fourteenth century).

1. For the portions in italics, cf. No. IV.
2. See No. II, n. 9.
3. The title *dux Suthsaxonum* need not imply any break in the kingship; the genitive might well be an adjectival one.
4. See No. II, n. 38; No. III, n. 3; and No. V, n. 3.
5. Highleigh near Selsey; 'the high clearing' (OE. *leah*).
6. See No. III, n. 2.
7. See No. III, n. 19.

VII

*In nomine domini dei salvatoris nostri ihesu christi!*¹ Quid aliud in hoc mundo adipisci possumus, nisi ut animas nostras deo offerentes et per beatam spem æternam mereri dignemur vitam. Qua de re *ego nunna rex sud̄saxonum, pro remedio animæ meæ,*² aliquantulam in proprias substantias condonabo famulo dei nomine Berhfrid,³ in loco qui appellatur Pipingas,⁴ juxta flumen Tarente,⁵ id est iiii tributarios; ita tamen ut in eo loco die noctuque ad deum perveniant orationes orantium pro me, et pro sæculo semper specialis locus deo servientibus conservetur. Denique⁶ præfato sene se sæcularibus se solvente rebus, et deo soli desideranti servire in re prædicta, sua omnia cum semetipso Eollano concedebat. Idcirco⁷ ego Eolla⁸ pro suscepta pecunia, hanc donationem cum consensu fratrum regisque nostri Nunnani Wulfherio⁹ in re præfata in possessionem perpetuam tradam. Si quis temeritatis audacia hæc, aut

per vim vecordiae, avertit decreta, a catholicorum cater-
 va anathematizatus iure divino, et insolubilis aeternae
 retributionis vindictam poenas¹⁰ subiaceat cruciandus
 imperpetuum. Hanc donationem meam ego Nunna rex,
 consentientibus omnibus comitibus una mecum, mea
 manu subscripsi. Ego Osricus¹¹ consensi et subscripsi.
 Ego Eadberhtus¹² consensi et subscripsi. Ego Eolla⁸
 consensi et subscripsi. Ego¹³ Beoba¹⁴ hanc terram iuris
 mei, quam mihi propinqui mei edonabant, cum consensu
 Nunnan regis et Eollan⁸ episcopi, consentientibus Æðil-
 berhto¹⁵ rege et episcopis¹⁶ Sigfrido¹⁶ Beorran¹⁷ et Eccan¹⁸
 libenter concedo; ut me vivente in potestate eorum sit,
 et post obitum meum habeant licentiam habendi donan-
 dique cuicumque illis placuerit. Eandem¹⁹ terram ego
 Osmundus²⁰ rex pretio redemi ab Errano²¹ comite meo
 cum consensu episcopi nostri, cum augmentatione terrae
 illius quae appellatur²² Titburge²³ dei famulae in perpe-
 tuam attribuo possessionem. Ego Osmund²⁰ rex signum
 sanctae crucis expressi. Ego Osa²⁴ episcopus consensi
 et subscripsi.²⁵

In the name of our lord God and saviour Jesus Christ!
 What else can we gain in this world, except that in offer-
 ing our souls to God and for the heavenly hope, we may
 be found worthy to win eternal life. On that account I,
 Nunna, king of the South Saxons, for the good of my
 soul, will grant to the servant of God named Berhfrid,
 a little piece of (land) for his own property in the spot
 which is called Peppering on the river Arun, that is,
 4 hides, so that day and night in that place the prayers
 of my beadsmen may rise to God, and that this place
 may be always specially reserved for those who serve
 God. Then the aforesaid man in his old age, retiring
 from worldly affairs, and desiring to serve God alone in
 the aforesaid matter, committed himself with all his
 goods to Eolla. Therefore I, Eolla, for money received,
 will grant this gift for the aforesaid purpose in perpetual
 possession to Wulphere with the consent of the brethren
 and of Nunna our king. If anyone with rash daring or
 by the force of folly upsets this decree, may he be

anathematized from the ranks of the catholic according to divine law, and be tortured forever and undergo the penalty and vengeance of unrelievable retribution. I, Nunna, king, have signed this my grant with my own hand, with the agreement of all the thegns with me. I, Osric, have agreed and signed. I, Eadberht, have agreed and signed. I, Eolla, have agreed and signed. I, Beoba, freely give this land of my jurisdiction, which my relatives gave me with the consent of King Nunna and Bishop Eolla, to Beorra and Ecca with the consent of King Æðelberht and Bishop Sigfrid; that it may be in their power during my life, and that after my death they may have it with permission to have and to give to whomsoever they please. The same land I, Osmund, king, have bought from my thegn Erra with the consent of our bishop, and now grant it with the addition of the land which is called [Henfield] in perpetual possession to Titburh, the servant of God. I, Osmund, king, have put on the sign of the holy cross. I, Osa, bishop, have agreed and signed.

This charter appeared in BCS, No. 145, and in KCD, No. 1001, from DCC Reg. B. xviii, f. 4v (fourteenth century).

1. Cf. No. I.
2. Cf. No. IV.
3. Berhfrid does not appear again.
4. *Piperingas* is Peppering, near Burpham on the river Arun; it is 'the people of *Pippra*'; for this name see Mawer, *Problems of Place-name Study* (Cambridge, 1929), pp. 107-13.
5. *Tarente* is the old name for the river Arun, the modern name being a back-formation from the town of Arundel.
6. The charter proper ends here. From the similarity of style to No. IV it very likely belongs to the period about 692. The next sentence to *concedebat* is a narrative passage connecting two separate documents.
7. This begins another charter, with the proem omitted; the word *idcirco* in charters always follows some religious truisms. By the witnesses this part is dated c. 710.
8. Eolla succeeded Eadberht as bishop of Selsey about 714, and died c. 720; he had been abbot before. Bede says of him (*HE.* v. 18) 'Eolla suscepit officium pontificatus. Ipso autem ante aliquot annos ex hac luce subtracto, episcopatus usque hodie cessavit.' Now Bede is very loose in his ideas of 'few years' and the like; in i. 17. for

instance, *ante paucos annos* takes him from 449 to 429; in III. 19 *his temporibus* from 651 to 631; in IV. 17 *his temporibus* from 686 to 680. If such phrases meant up to 20 years Eolla must have been dead by 720 at least; *aliquot* is more than *pauci*. He must have succeeded only a little before 714 (he appears in that year in No. VIII), since otherwise there would be no room for the episcopate of Eadberht, who according to Bede (*loc. cit*) was only officially recognized as bishop during the episcopate of Daniel and Ealdhelm, that is, 705–9. As Eadberht appears in the witnesses, Eolla must be only abbot here, and this portion bear date *c.* 710.

9. Wulfhere does not appear again. He was evidently another anchorite.

10. *vindictam pœnas*: two nouns in apposition, 'vengeance (and) punishment'.

11. Osric does not appear again. He is apparently a member of the Sussex royal house, of whom a good number appear with names alliterating in *Os-*, e.g. Oswald, Osmund, Oslac.

12. See No. II, n. 38; III, n. 3; and *supra*, n. 8.

13. Here begins another document of *c.* 735, continuing to *placuerit* below. It is not a complete charter but rather an endorsement added to the one before in a similar manner to No. V.

14. Beoba appears only in No. IX.

15. Æðelberht was the grantor of Nos. IX, X; the spelling of his name here as *Æðilberht*, which would have been archaic after the eighth century, testifies to the authenticity of the original.

16. Read *episcopo*, abl.; *Beorran et Eccan* is the indirect object. Sigfrid was consecrated bishop of Selsey in 733 (*Continuatio Bædæ*) and died in 739 according to the Cathedral Lists; but he appeared at the Synod of Clofesho in 742 and 747.

17. Beorra does not appear again.

18. Ecça may be the same as the Erra below. Under certain circumstances *r* and *c* can be very alike.

19. Here begins the last endorsement, about 770.

20. Osmund was king of Sussex *c.* 765–71, Nos. XI, XII.

21. Erra may be the survivor of the two grantees of *c.* 735; see n. 18.

22. A place-name is wanted here; from No. XII it is evidently Henfield. Apparently the scribe was interrupted and went on thinking that the *appellatur* referred to a person.

23. Titburh was a nun, the wife of the thegn Warbald; see No. XII.

24. Osa or Oswald was bishop of Selsey and appears from 765 (No. XI) to 772 (No. XIV).

25. This document gives a complete and interesting—indeed, unique—history of the land of Peppering almost throughout the eighth century. About 690 it was granted by Nunna to Berhfrid for the offering of prayers for his soul. About 710 Berhfrid retired to Selsey monastery and gave his land to Abbot Eolla, who promptly sold it to a certain Wulfhere for the furtherance of the prayers.

During Eolla's episcopate Wulfhere gave it to his relative Beoba, and about 740 Beoba granted it to Beorra and Ecca. If Ecca and Erra are the same, he must have acquired Beorra's share; if different, Erra may be the son of one or the other and inherited it. Anyway, from father or son it was bought by King Osmund about 770 and granted to Titburh for the foundation of the monastery of St. Peter at Henfield.

VIII

Ego Nunna rex Suðsaxonum¹ aliquam partem terræ iuris mei,² pro remedio animæ meæ,³ dabo⁴ Beadufrido⁵ et fratribus qui habitant in insula quæ dicitur Seolesige,⁶ ubi cupio ut corpus meum requiescat; id est. in Heritunum⁷ iiii manentes. et in Braclæshamstede⁸ iiii castatos. et in Sideleshamstede⁹ iii. cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus silvis, campis, pratis, fluminibus, coram episcopo reverendissimo Eollan,¹⁰ necnon et abbatibus comitibusque meis congregatis libenter hæc perdonamus. Si quis vero contra hoc decretum¹¹ tyrannico fastu temptaverit, noverit se in tremendo examine coram christo rationem redditurum.¹² Scripta est hæc donationis magnificentia anno ab incarnatione christi. dcc.^{mo}. xiiii.^{mo}. Ego Æðelstan¹³ rex consensi et subscripsi. Ego Æðelðryð regina consensi.

I, Nunna, king of the South Saxons, for the good of my soul, will give to Beadufrid and the brothers who live in the island called Selsey (where I wish my body to rest) certain lands of my realm, that is, in Heritun 4 hides, and in Bracklesham 4 hides, and in Sidlesham 3, with all things pertaining thereto, woods, fields, meadows, rivers; we give these gladly in the presence of the most reverend bishop Eolla, as well as my abbots and thegns in concourse. But if anyone with tyrannous pride attempts (to act) against this decree, let him know that he shall give account at the terrible judgement before Christ. This generous gift was written down in the 714th year from the Incarnation of Christ. I, Æðelstan, king, have agreed and signed. I, Æðelðryð, queen, have agreed.

This charter appeared in BCS, No. 132, KCD, No. 999, from DCC Reg. B. xviii, f. 5.

1. Cf. No. IV.
2. Cf. No. VI.
3. Cf. No. IV.
4. For the epistolary form in charters, see No. II, n. 21.
5. Beadufrið, abbot of Selsey, does not appear again. He was apparently successor to Eolla.
6. See No. II, n. 1.
7. Not identified. From OE. *here*, 'army' (cf. *heregraf* in No. XXXV) and dative plural of OE. *tun*, 'farm'.
8. Bracklesham Fm. near Selsey, from an OE. personal name with *ham stede*, 'homestead'.
9. See No. II, n. 10.
10. See No. VII, n. 8.
11. Cf. No. I.
12. Cf. No. III.
13. This king and queen do not appear again. They may well be the parents of the Æðelberht of twenty years later.

IX

In nomine dei summi! *Ego* Æðelbertus¹ *rex Sussaxonum*,² domino regnante imperpetuum, *aliquam partem terræ iuris mei*, ad construendum monasterium, Dioszan³ venerabili viro do, *pro remedio animæ meæ*, decem et octo manentes in loco qui dicitur Wystrings,⁴ *cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus, campis, silvis et piscalibus fluminibus* et ita firmiter et immutabiliter in potestatem præsentis viri Dioszan³ hæc donatio permaneat, ut nullus post obitum nostrum mutare aut minuere præsumat. *Ego* Æðelbertus¹ *rex* hanc donationem cum propria manu scripsi. *Ego* Seffridus⁵ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. *Ego* Wyghere⁶ consensi et subscripsi. *Ego* Beoba⁷ consensi et subscripsi. *Ego* Wyga⁸ consensi et subscripsi. Et *ego* Dioszan³ donationis huius terram quam mihi Æðelbertus¹ *rex* concessit, in libertate iuris mei dilectissimæ sorori meæ donabo etiam cum consensu venerandi episcopi Seffridi,⁵ ut in potestate eius sit post obitum meum habendi donandique cuicumque voluerit. *Ego* Offa⁹ *rex* hanc donationem manu propria signo et confirmo. *Ego* Cyneðryð¹⁰ *regina* consensi et

subscripti. Tunc sequuntur limites in lingua Saxonica in dorso cartæ originalis.¹¹

In the name of God the highest! I, Æðelberht, king of the South Saxons under the eternal reign of the Lord, for the good of my soul grant to the venerable man Diosza certain lands of my realm for building a monastery, eighteen hides in the place which is named Wittering, with all things pertaining thereto, fields, woods, and fishing rivers; and may this gift remain so firmly and immutably in the power of this man Diosza that none after our death presume to change or decrease it. I, Æðelberht, king, have written this gift with my own hand. I, Sigfrid, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Wyghere, have agreed and signed. I, Beoba, have agreed and signed. I, Wyga, have agreed and signed. And I, Diosza, will give the land of this grant, which king Æðelberht ceded to me, to my most beloved sister under the rights of my jurisdiction; also with the consent of the venerable bishop Sigfrid, that it be in her power after my death to have and to give to whomsoever she wishes. I, Offa, king, sign and confirm this gift with my own hand. I, Cyneðryð, queen, have agreed and signed. Then follow the bounds in the Saxon tongue on the back of the original charter.

This charter appeared in BCS, No. 211, and in KCD, No. 1010, from DCC Reg. B. xviii, f. 8 (fourteenth century).

1. See No. VII, n. 15.
2. For the portions in italics see No. VIII.
3. Diosza does not appear again.
4. See No. II, n. 4.
5. See No. VII, n. 16.
6. Wyghere does not appear again.
7. One-time owner of Peppering; see No. VII.
8. Apparently a relative of Wyghere above; it is an abbreviated form of the same name.
9. King of Mercia, 757-96; conquered Sussex in 771.
10. Offa's second wife, died about 790.
11. If the bounds were contemporary with the original (i.e. c. 740) the portions *et ego . . . voluerit* and *ego Offa . . . subscripti*, which are not parts of the charter proper, must have been added,

as it were, as footnotes; but if the original had had sufficient room for these annotations, it would be more natural to write the bounds on the *recto* with the main grant. I am therefore inclined to think that the bounds (not now preserved) of this charter were a later addition, added after the confirmation by Offa at the end of the eighth century.

X

In nomine dei summi! ego Æðelberhtus rex Australium-Saxonum, domino regnante imperpetuum, aliquam partem terræ iuris mei¹ venerabili episcopo Uuilfrido² donabo pro remedio animæ meæ, id est dimidium tributarium in australi parte Cicestrîæ³ iuxta murum, cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus campis, pratis, fluminibus, firmiter et immutabiliter permaneat, ut nullus post obitum meum mutare aut minuere præsumat. Ego Æðelberhtus rex hanc donationem propria manu confixi et subscripsi. Ego Uuilfridus episcopus consensi et subscripsi.⁴

In the name of God the highest! I, Æðelberht, king of the South Saxons under the eternal reign of the Lord, for the good of my soul will give to the venerable Bishop Wilfrid certain land of my realm, that is half a hide in the southern part of Chichester next the wall, with all things pertaining thereto, fields, meadows, rivers; may it remain so firmly and immutably that none after my death presume to change or decrease it. I, Æðelberht, king, have put together and signed this gift with my own hand. I, Wilfrid, bishop, have agreed and signed.

This charter appeared in BCS, No. 212, and in KCD, No. 1011, from DCC MS. Liber Y, f. 73r (c. 1250).

1. For the portions in italics cf. No. IX.

2. Wilfrid must be an error for Sigfrid; see n. 3.

3. This is either the Cathedral precincts or the Pallant; more probably the latter, since the Pallant was from very early times associated with Wilfrid's land of Pagham (see No. I), as a peculiar of Canterbury, and this would further the error, perpetrated here, of Wilfrid for Sigfrid. There is no reason why the church of Canterbury should not have acquired the Pallant at a later date. Chichester is *Cissanceaster* in 894, *ASC.*; the *ceaster* or fort (Lat. *castra*) of

Cissi, a variation of the name of one of the sons of Ælle, first king of Sussex.

4. This pair of charters both have certain peculiar phrases, especially the *firmiter . . . præsumat* which takes the place of a form introduced by *Si quis* in most charters. Both state that they were written by the king, and in No. X *confixi* is a very unusual word for this; it means literally 'pinned together', hence here 'put together' or 'compiled'. The early eighth century was an age of enlightened kings; Ealdfrið and Eadberht of Northumbria and Ini of Wessex are examples. It is, therefore, not impossible that these two charters were in fact personally drawn up by the king.

XI

*In nomine domini ihesu christi salvatoris!*¹ Esto nobis adiutor deus, quem credimus, et diligimus, et scimus retributorem operum nostrorum; *idcirco ego* Osmundus,² rogatus a comite meo Walhere³ *ut sibi aliquantulam terram ad construendum in ea monasterium largiri dignarer; cuius precibus accommodans eandem terram de qua suggerere videbatur pro remedio animæ meæ imperpetuum libenter impendo, id est xii tributarios*⁴ terræ quæ appellantur Ferring⁵ *cum totis ad eam pertinentibus*⁶ rebus, campis, silvis, pratis, fluminibus, fontanis, et silvatica Copanora⁷ et Tittleham.⁸ Scripta est hæc cartula anno ab incarnatione domini dclxii.⁹ indictione tertia, mensis Augusti die tertio. Ego Osmundus² hanc donationem propria manu subscripsi. Ego Osa¹⁰ episcopus consensi et subscripsi, &c. Testes in lingua Saxonica.

In the name of our lord and saviour Jesus Christ! Be our guide, O God, in whom we believe, and worship, and know to be the rewarder of our acts. Therefore I, Osmund, (have been) asked by my thegn Walhere to be so good as to grant him a little land for the building of a monastery; and in answer to his pleas I grant him the same land which he indicated, freely and eternally for the good of my soul, that is, 12 hides of land which are called Ferring, with all things pertaining thereto, fields, woods, meadows, rivers, springs, and woodlands

at Copanora and Tithesham. This charter was written on the third day of the month of August in the year 762 from the incarnation of the Lord, the third of the indiction. I, Osmund, have signed this grant with my own hand. I, Osa, bishop, have agreed and signed, &c. Witnesses in the Saxon tongue.

This charter appeared in BCS, No. 198, and in KCD, No. 1008, from DCC Reg. B. xviii, f. 5 (fourteenth century).

1. Cf. No. IV.

2. Osmund was the last grantor of Peppering (No. VII); he also grants No. XII. He signed No. XIV (772) as *dux*.

3. Walhere does not appear again.

4. For the parts in italics from *idcirco* to *tributarios* cf. No. I.

5. *Ferring* is the modern village of the same name near Worthing. The ME. spelling gives no clue to its origin. Occurring as it does from Domesday (1086) onwards with frequent spellings in -es it is probably an OE. form in -ingas from a personal name, meaning 'the people of *Ferra*' or the like.

6. Cf. No. III.

7. *Copanora* is unidentified; it is the *ora* (bank) of *Copa*; cf. Copnor, Hants.

8. *Tithesham* is the *ham* or homestead of *Titel*. A *Tita* would exist regularly from names like *Titburh* in No. XII; and *Titel* is a pet-form analogous to the *Sidel* formed from *Sida* in Sidlesham (see No. II, n. 10).

9. This is an error for *dcclxu* (765) which agrees with the indiction. The copy in Liber Y has *DCCLXIJ*; evidently through rubbing or other cause there was a break in the *u*.

10. Osa is an abbreviated form of Oswald. He succeeded Aluberht (of whom we know nothing) this very year, according to the Cathedral Lists; this is, however, probably a mere inference from this charter. He signs No. VII and No. XII, and was the grantee of No. XIV (772).

XII

In nomine domini nostri ihesu christi! Nihil intulimus in hunc mundum, verumtamen nec auferre quid possumus; et ideo cum terrenis et caducis aeterna praemia mercanda sunt. Quapropter ego Osmundus, rogatus a comite meo¹ venerabili Warbaldo² atque uxore illius Tidburge,³ ut sibi aliquantulam terram ad ecclesiam beati Petri apostoli, quae ibi sita est, [largiri dignarer; cuius precibus

accommodans terram]⁴ in loco qui dicitur Hanefeld⁵ xv manentium in perpetuam attribuo possessionem, *cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus rebus, id est campis, silvis, pascuis, pratis, fluminibus, fontanis.* Acta est hæc cartula anno ab incarnatione domini nostri ihesu christi dclxx. Deinde sequuntur bundæ sive metæ terræ prædictæ in lingua Saxonica.⁶ *Ego Osmundus* rex hanc donationem propria manu subscripsi. *Ego Osa archiepiscopus*⁷ consensi et subscripsi. *Ego Hedde*⁸ episcopus⁹ consensi et subscripsi. *Ego Eadbriht*¹⁰ episcopus⁹ consensi et subscripsi. *Ego Offa*¹¹ cum supranominatis personis hanc paginulam libens munio. *Ego Wilfrid*¹² episcopus consensi. *Ego Brodda*¹³ dux. *Ego Berhtwald*¹⁴ dux. *Ego Eadbald*¹⁵ dux. *Ego Esne*¹⁶ dux. *Ego Aldwlf*¹⁷ dux, &c.

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ! We have brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out. Therefore the eternal rewards are to be sought by means of earthly and transitory things. Therefore I, Osmund, having been asked by my venerable thegn Warbald and his wife Titburh, [to be so good as to grant] them a little land for the church of St. Peter the apostle, which is in that spot, I grant in perpetual possession [land] of 15 hides in the place which is called Henfield, with all things pertaining thereto, that is, fields, woods, pastures, meadows, rivers, springs. This charter was done in the year 770 from the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. Then follow the bounds or precincts of the aforesaid land in the Saxon tongue. I, Osmund, king, have signed this gift with my own hand. I, Osa, archbishop, have agreed and signed. I, Hedde, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Eadberht, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Offa, freely confirm this charter with the above-named persons. I, Wilfrid, bishop, have agreed. I, Brorda, alderman. I, Berhtwald, alderman. I, Eadbald, alderman. I, Esne, alderman. I, Aldwulf, alderman, &c.

This charter appeared in BCS, No. 206, and in KCD, No. 1009, from DCC Reg. B. xviii, f. 5 (fourteenth century).

1. For the portions in italics cf. Nos. I and XI.
2. Warbald does not appear again.
3. Titburh was the final recipient of Peppering (No. VII).
4. The charter in its present form is defective and does not make sense. A phrase has apparently been omitted by the transcriber, and the portions in brackets are a suggested reconstruction based on No. XI, which the present document resembles in many respects.
5. *Hanefeld* is Henfield; from OE. (*æt pæm*) *hean fælde* (dat.), '(at the) high field'.
6. This is an editorial footnote; cf. introductory note to No. II.
7. Osa never claimed to be archbishop; see nn. 8 and 9.
8. Hedde signs No. XIII.
9. They have been confused by the transcriber with the famous bishop of Winchester and Selsey at the end of the seventh century, and Osa has been promoted to make the precedence right.
10. Eadberht signs No. XIII.
11. King of Mercia 757-96.
12. There was no Bishop Wilfrid at the time; the name is perhaps a corruption of Milred, who was bishop of Worcester 743-75, FW.
13. Brorda signs charters regularly from 764 to 798 and died in 799 (SD II. 62).
14. Berhtwald signs charters regularly from 764 to 796.
15. Eadbald signs charters regularly from 749 to 789.
16. Esne signs charters regularly from 764 to 805.
17. Ealdwulf was the grantor of No. XIII as king; he signs No. XIV (772) and thence to No. XVII (791) as alderman. He was apparently 'demoted' in the course of Offa's conquest of Sussex in 771; as he signs here as alderman, the date of the confirmation is 771-5.

XIII

In nomine domini nostri ihesu christi salvatoris. Esto nobis iutor deus, quem credimus et diligimus et scimus retributorem operum nostrorum; idcirco ego¹ alduulf² rex rogatus a comite meo Hunlabe³ ut sibi aliquantulam terram ad construendum in ea monasterium largiri dignarer, cuius precibus accomodans eandem terram de qua suggerere videbatur pro remedio anime mee imperpetuum tradens libenter impendo. Et hec terra dispertitur. Sunt xvi casata in loco qui dicitur Stanmere.⁴ in Lindefeldia⁵ et Burhlea,⁶ ut habeat et utatur, et post se cui placuerit in perpetuum ius derelinquat. Et si aliquis nostrorum successorum⁷ hoc donum mutaverit, ab omnium sanctorum communione privetur in eternum. Et his terminis hec terra cingetur.

Ærest of mulestana.⁸ suð on andowi hline.⁹ ðanon on dæni¹⁰ swa norðrihte to Petteleswige¹¹ swa to riðmære.¹² dicelinga¹³ and stanmere⁴ and westmæstūne¹⁴ and swa east rið to ðan hwiten wæge swa norð to wifesfeldes¹⁵ steton¹⁶ swa east to mearchedige ðanon est¹⁷ to mulestan.⁸ hec sunt territoria silvarum to wifesfelda.¹⁵ Ærest on hæmpeles pyll and on frigedæges¹⁸ east. swa to langan beccan.¹⁹ be tweox twegen wifesfeldes.²⁰ west ðannan to hennesfeldes burnen. Ðis is east mearc to stanmere⁴ in simbl swa to humahamme east weard to semænne²¹ and langahricge belandes mæbe into stanmere.⁴ ðonne to fischyrestes eastward. swa norð to heanfelde²² to wulfpyte.²³ Hec sunt nomina pastus porcorum qui pertinent ad stanmere⁴ fischyreste æscinc-uinc.²⁴ healdeswyrð walcanstede²⁵ lendenfelda⁵ bri²⁶ bacanscylfes.²⁷ wille bogeselle leofecildes cot. Ðas syndon beu ðan midweardan and be norðan stealles felde norð weard and citangaleahge²⁸ wellinga stane²⁹ and swa dæon on bære leage³⁰ and on eastam on wæsteat³¹ and halfocunga leahge. Ego Aldulf rex hanc donacionem ad monasterii edificacionem et deo et sancto Michæli ibi serviencium augmentacionem. quamvis pridem religiosa antiquitate fundati autentico assensu propria manu subscripsi. Ego Ælhuwald³² rex consensi et subscripsi. Ego Osiai³³ rex consensi et subscripsi. Ego Warmund³⁴ consensi et subscripsi. Ego Wealhheard³⁵ consensi et subscripsi. Ego Mathelheard³⁶ consensi et subscripsi. Ego Heahfreth³⁷ consensi et subscripsi. Ego Hægga³⁸ consensi et subscripsi. Ego Lulling³⁹ consensi et subscripsi. Ego Ealda⁴⁰ consensi et subscripsi. Ego Hunfrith⁴¹ consensi et subscripsi. Ego Burchard⁴¹ consensi et subscripsi. Ego Mearheard⁴² consensi et subscripsi. Ego Eadbeorht⁴³ consensi et subscripsi. Ego Hedde⁴⁴ consensi et subscripsi. Ego Ceobba⁴⁵ consensi et subscripsi. Ego Offa⁴⁶ rex Merciorum consensi et subscripsi. Ego Cynethrith⁴⁷ regina consensi et subscripsi. Ego Ecfriþ⁴⁸ consensi et subscripsi.

In the name of our Lord and saviour Jesus Christ.

Be our guide, O God, in whom we believe, and worship, and know to be the rewarder of our acts. Therefore I, Ealdwulf, king, (have been) asked by my thegn Hunlaf to be so good as to grant him a little land for the building of a monastery; and in answer to his pleas I freely and eternally give and grant him for the good of my soul, the same land which he indicated. And this land is dispersed. There are 16 hides in the place which is called Stanmer, Lindfield, and Burleigh, to have and to use, and to leave after him in eternal right to whomsoever he pleases. And if any of our successors alter this gift, be he eternally deprived of the communion of all the saints. And this land is ringed about by these bounds. Firstly from Moustone, south to the 'andowi' hill, thence to the valley, so due north to Patchway, so to the boundary stream, Ditchling and Stanmer and Westmeston, and so due east to the white road, so north to Wivelsfield, thence east to the boundary hedge, thence thus to Moustone. These are the woodlands of Wivelsfield, firstly at Hampel's pool and at Friday's east, so to the long stream, between the two Wivelsfields, west thence to the Henfield stream. This is the east boundary to Stanmer, the same way to 'huma' enclosure, eastward to the common land and the long ridge belonging to Stanmer, thence eastward to the fish wood, so north to Henfield and Woolpack. These are the names of the swine-pastures which pertain to Stanmer, the fish wood, and the nook of the followers of Æsc, the sloping enclosure, Walstead, Lindfield, Paxhill, and Buxshalls, Leofecild's cottage. They are in the centre and on the north, northwards from the stable field, and Chiddingly and Stonehurst, and so thence to (Philpots) and eastward to 'wæsteat' and the clearing of the Halfocungas. I, Aldwulf, king, have signed with my own hand and with authentic agreement this grant for the building of a monastery and the increase of those there serving God and St. Michael, although founded long since in the pious days of old. I, Ælfwald, king, have agreed and signed. I, Oslac, king, have agreed and signed. I, Wærmund, have agreed and signed. I, Wealhheard,

have agreed and signed. I, Æðelheard, have agreed and signed. I, Heahfrið, have agreed and signed. I, Hæcga, have agreed and signed. I, Lulling, have agreed and signed. I, Ealda, have agreed and signed. I, Hunfrið, have agreed and signed. I, Burhheard, have agreed and signed. I, Wærheard, have agreed and signed. I, Eadberht, have agreed and signed. I, Hæddi, have agreed and signed. I, Ceobba, have agreed and signed. I, Offa, king of the Mercians, have agreed and signed. I, Cyneðryð, queen, have agreed and signed. I, Ecgfrið, have agreed and signed.

This charter appeared in BCS, No. 197, from the very corrupt text in the Lambeth MS. 1212 (c. 1300)—a cartulary of Canterbury.

1. For the portions in italics cf. Nos. I, XI, and XII.
2. This is the only appearance of Ealdwulf as king. He signs No. XV (780) and grants Nos. XVI (c. 785) and XVII (791) as *dux*.
3. Hunlaf does not appear again.
4. This is Stanmer on the Brighton-Lewes road: 'stony pool'.
5. Lindfield, about 3 miles north of Wivelsfield.
6. Burleigh, which gives its name to the hundred of Burleigh-Arches—'the clearing (belonging to) the fort'.
7. Cf. No. III.
8. Moustone, near Stanmer. If the *u* could be read as variant for *i* (the two are sometimes interchangeable)—simply 'milestone'.
9. *hinc* is a slope; *andowi* is untranslatable.
10. Cold Dean, near Stanmer. Simply 'the valley'.
11. Patchway, a name only preserved locally; it preserves an interesting OE. word *wig* or *weoh*, used of a heathen place of worship. In this case it is combined with a personal name *Pæccel*, which is a diminutive of that *Pæcc* which lies behind Patching. This forms one of an interesting series of place-names showing how temples were appropriated to individuals in OE. times. Others are *Cusanweoh* near Farnborough, Sy., in BCS 72; and Harrow, Mx., with forms going back to an OE. *Gumeninga hearh*. Words implying heathen worship are found several times in Sussex place-names. They are: Whiligh and Whyly in East Sussex, both derived from OE. *wig-leah*, 'temple-clearing'; the former goes back to 1018 (No. LI) and the latter is first found in 1246; the *halignesse beorg* of No. III (temple hill) near East Dean, an unidentified *punoresleah* (Thunor's clearing) near Bexhill in No. XIV; perhaps Thundersbarrow Hill near Southwick, of which no early forms occur, but *barrow* is a likely compound with *Thunor*; and also Harrow Hill, near Clapham (perhaps OE. *hearg*).
12. *mærce* is a bad form of *mearc*, 'boundary'; this spelling occurs a number of times in charters, perhaps by confusion with the

synonymous word *gemære*; *rið* is OE. for a stream and here means 'the stream boundary', i.e. a place where the boundary was marked by a stream.

13. Ditchling; *Diccelingum* (dat.) in King Alfred's will; 'the people of Diccel'.

14. Westmeston; 'the westernmost farm'.

15. Wivelsfield; 'Wifel's field'.

16. *steton* is meaningless in its present form. It almost looks as if a genitive *s* had been transferred from the word before.

17. *est* is an error for *eft*.

18. *frigedæg* is Friday; but the meaning is not apparent in the present context.

19. *becc* is OE. for a stream; but 'long stream' is not a likely boundary mark. It may be for *andlang beccan*, 'along the stream', or for *bec*, 'boundary-pole'.

20. i.e. Wivelsfield and Wivelsfield Green.

21. This is an error for *gemæenne*, 'common land'; cf. No. II, n. 21.

22. Henfield Barn, near Lindfield; 'at the high field'; cf. No. XII, n. 5.

23. Woolpack Fm., about 3 miles east of Lindfield; 'the wolf pit', i.e. a pit dug as a trap.

24. The second element of this name is OE. *wince*, a nook or corner of land; cf. *Open and Closed Winkins* in EPNS. The form *æscinc* is very corrupt and may represent any of a number of words; (a) *Æscinga*, of the people of Æsc (cf. Ashington); (b) *Æscing* (sing.), of Æsc; (c) *æscinga*, of the dwellers at the ash-tree; (d) *æscing* (genitive used adjectivally) or *æscen* (adj.) of or with ash-trees.

25. Walstead Fm., near Lindfield.

26. An error for *pri*, i.e. three.

27. Buxshalls, north of Lindfield; 'the three bake-shelves'; stones on which bread was baked in the open.

28. Chiddingly; 'the clearing of the people of Cita'.

29. 'The stone of the stream-dwellers'; now Stonehurst, near Chiddingly; see EPNS, p. 272.

30. 'The barley clearing'; now Philpots; see EPNS, p. 272.

31. Untranslatable.

32. He signs Nos. XIV (772) and XV (780) as *dux*.

33. *Sic* in MS.: an error for Oslac, who signs No. XIV (772) and grants No. XV (780) as *dux*.

34. Signs No. XV (780).

35. Perhaps an error for Bealðheard, who signs No. XV.

36. An error for Æðelheard; perhaps the original had *egomet* abbreviated to *egom* and the *m* has been transferred to the next word.

37. Heahfrið does not appear again.

38. Hæcga does not appear again.

39. Lulling does not appear again; the name is a patronymic form of the *Lulla* whose name occurs in Lyminster near Littlehampton, *Lullingmyminster* in Alfred's will, i.e. Lulla's minster.

40. Ealda does not appear again; it is a shortened form of the many names in *Eald-*.

41. Signs No. XVI (c. 785).

42. Apparently an error for Wærheard; does not appear again.

43. Cf. No. XII, n. 9.

44. Cf. No. XII, loc. cit.

45. Ceobba does not appear again.

46. King of Mercia 757-96.

47. Wife of Offa and mother of Ecgfrīð; she was evidently a woman of great piety, since Alcuin says, in writing to her son, *Disce a patre auctoritatem, a matre pietatem* (*Mon. Alc.*, pp. 266-7); she died about 790.

48. Son of Offa and Cyneðryð; he signs charters from 772, was crowned King of Mercia in his father's lifetime (787), and succeeded him in 796, dying after a reign of 141 days only. His death was regarded as a retribution for his father's cruelties.

XIV

*In nomine domini dei salvatoris.*¹ Omne quod secundum præsens seculum agitur vix usque ad mortem sufficit. quod vero pro eterna vita agatur. etiam post mortem permansit in eternum. Idcirco intenta mentis providentia *unicuique cogitandum* considerandumque est² quatenus labentibus huius sæculi possessionibus mansuras celestium promissionum divitiis obteneat. qua de re ego Offa rex Anglorum *pro remedio anime mee*¹ et pro dei amore *aliquam partem terre Sudsex*³ sicut ante promisi omnipotenti deo venerando episcopo Osuualdo⁴ *ad construendam in ea monasterium basilicamque augendam que divinis laudibus et sanctorum honoribus servire videatur.* imperpetuum attribuo possessionem. id est. viii cassatos in loco qui appellatur bixlea.⁵ sicut meta prænotatum est. Pis synd þæra viii hida land gemera þær in landes into bæxwarena lande.⁵ arast on cneohta treou. of cneohta treouue suuæ suð on læwe. swæ andlang strandes oð ongean Codanclibe.⁶ estewerd and suuæ þearupp on ða ealdan merc dic. suuæ norð to kæia weorðe. and suuæ to bænetinge riðe.⁷ and suuæ norð þurch sceorta wida to þære mearc becean. of ðære becean to noðingforda. of ðam forda andlang uuætereg to stratt brecge. of þære brecge up andlang seohtran to bedanseaðe. of þam seaðe suð

andlang mearce eft to cneohta treouue. þonne syndon þa gavolland þas ut landes into bexlea.⁵ in hiis locis qui appellantur hiis nominibus. on berna hornan iii hida. on wyrtlesham i. on ibbanhyrste i, on croghyrste viii. on hricge i, on gyllingan ii, on fuccerham⁸ and on blacanbrocan i. on ikelesham iii. cum totis ad eum pertinentibus rebus, campis, silvis, pratis, piscuariis. Ut ex hac die supradicta terra in dei ut dixi nomine per me donata ab omni regali exaccione libera et deo serviencium utilitati mancipata iugiter permaneat. ea tamen conditione ut post diem illius hec donatio reddatur ad episcopalem sedem qui dicitur Seleseig. *Si quis hanc donationem a me attributam in maximo vel in modico aliquando imminuere ausus sit, sciat se in districto omnipotentis dei iudicio penam præsumptionis sue incurrere*¹ et ob auditu malo non liberari. Þis synt þa fangemerca to icoleshamme. to binguuellan æt clibe ut on þone broc midne suæ on tattingsnad suæ ut on mor on þat Eadwining dæn oð Cantwara mearc. Þanon wuest andlanges beðles broceþ middeswerdes. Scripta est hæc cartula anno ab incarnatione domini nostri ihesu christi dclxxii. indictione x. mensis Augusti die xv. Ego Offa rex Merciorum sicut mihi a deo regnante potestas concessa est. hanc donacionis cartulam propria manu subscribens confirmavi et signum sanctæ crucis infixi. Ego Ecberht⁹ rex Cantuariorum¹⁰ consensi et subscripsi. Ego Jænberht¹¹ gratia dei archiepiscopus subscripsi. Ego Cyneuulf¹² rex occidentalium Saxonum hanc donacionem consensi et subscripsi. Ego Eadberhtus¹³ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Osuualdus⁴ episcopus ea quæ michi data sunt subscripsi. Ego Righeah¹⁴ episcopus consensi. Ego Diora¹⁵ antistes subscripsi. Ego Osuualdus¹⁶ dux Suðsaxonum consensi. Ego Osmund¹⁷ dux confirmavi. Ego Ælbuald¹⁸ dux adqueivi. Ego Oslac¹⁹ dux subscripsi. Et hii testes quoque ibi aderant, quorum nomina infra scripta sunt. Botwine²⁰ abbas. Eata.²¹ Heabercht.²² Brorda.²³ Berhtuuald.²⁴ Oesne.²⁵ Huithyse.²⁶ Baldræd.²⁷ Bryne.²⁸ Stidberht.²⁹ Cyne.³⁰ Ealdred.³¹ Lulling.³² Berht.³³ Byrnhere.³⁴ Tota. Scira.³⁵ Æmele³⁶ prefectus. Omnes isti consentientes

subscripserunt et confirmaverunt. Þis synt þa land gemæro to byrna hornan ærest on meoswille of þam wille sup on þone cumb. of þam cumbe up on hone lytland hæpfeld on pucan wylle, suuæ suð and east on ða ealden rode andlang rode on ða ealden mearce becan. þe stent on east healfe þare rode. on þone deopor cumb on wiðig mere. of þam mere to fifwegan and swa suð to þare readan sihtran andlang riðe on pican glinde. swa suð be eastwardan more oð ða hyrnan. swa east on iwedise. swa norð on þone wuda. and swa suð to cyllan beorge. of ðam beorge to cyllan wylle. west andlang streames on þunorslege.³⁷ and swa andlang streames west abutan þane sealtan merse. and swa norð to blacan riðe. up andlang riðe to swinhamme. norð andlang mares to siferþingc³⁸ steorfan. and swa oð ðone norþran fulan ford. and swa up on þa ealdan dic andlang dice east and eft on meoswylle.

In the name of our lord God and saviour. What is done for this world barely lasts until death, but what is done for eternal life remains forever after death. Therefore it is for everyone with deep forethought of mind to ponder and consider how with the fleeting possessions of this world he may obtain for his treasure the abodes of heavenly promise. Wherefore I, Offa, king of the English, for the good of my soul and for the love of God, and in accordance with my former promise grant in eternal possession to Almighty God (and) to the venerable Bishop Oswald a certain piece of land in Sussex, so that it may be seen to serve the praise of God and the honour of the saints, that is, 8 hides in the place which is called Bexhill as set forth in the bounds. These are the bounds of the 8 hides of inland of the people of Bexhill. Firstly at the servants' tree, from the servants' tree south to the treacherous place (?), so along the shore over against Cooden cliff, eastward and so up on to the old boundary dyke, so north to Kewhurst, and so to the Benetings' stream, and so north through Shortwood to the boundary beacon, from the beacon to the bold men's ford, from the ford along the marsh to the

road bridge, from the bridge along the ditch to Beda's spring, from the spring south along the boundary thus to the servants' tree. These are the gafolland of the outland of Bexhill, in these places which are called by these names, at Barnehorne 3 hides, at Worsham 1, at Ibba's wood 1, at Crowhurst 8, at Ridge 1, at Gyllingas 2, at Foxham and Black Brooks 1, at Icklesham 3, with all things pertaining thereto, fields, woods, meadows, fisheries. Let the aforesaid land remain from this day, given as I have said for me in the name of God, free from all royal exactions and bound to the use of those serving God, but on this condition: that after his day, this gift be returned to the episcopal see which is called Selsey. If anyone at any time in great or small degree dares to reduce this gift made by me, let him know that he will incur the penalty for his presumption in the stern judgement of the all-powerful God, and will not escape from a bad hearing. These are the bounds of Icklesham, to the pool in the hollow at the cliff, out on to the middle of the brook, so to Tatta's corner of land, to the moor, to Eadwine's valley as far as the boundary of Kent, then west along the middle of the bathing(?) brook. This charter was written in the year 772 from the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, the 10th of the indiction, on the 15th day of the month of August. I, Offa, king of the Mercians, as the power was conceded to me by God who reigns, have confirmed this charter of gift, signing it with my own hand, and placed the sign of the holy cross. I, Ecgberht, king of Kent, have agreed and signed. I, Jænberht, archbishop by the grace of God, have signed. I, Cynewulf, king of the West Saxons, have agreed and signed this gift. I, Eadberht, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Oswald, bishop, have signed the gift made to me. I, Righeah, bishop, have agreed. I, Diora, bishop, have signed. I, Oswald, alderman of the South Saxons, have agreed. I, Osmund, alderman, have confirmed. I, Ælfweald, alderman, have acquiesced. I, Oslac, alderman, have signed. And these witnesses were also present whose names are written below: Botwine, abbot, Eata, Heahberht, Brorda, Berhtwald, Esne,

Huithyse, Baldræd, Bryne, Stidberht, Cyne, Ealdræd, Lulling, Berht, Byrnhere, all the shire; Æmele, prefect. All these agreed, signed, and confirmed. These are the land boundaries of Barnhorne, firstly at the mossy spring, from the spring south into the valley, from the valley up on to the little heath, to the goblin's spring, so south and east to the old road, along the road to the old boundary mark which stands on the east side of the road, to the deep valley, to the reed pond. From the pond to the five roads, and south to the red ditch, along the ditch to Picknill, and so south by the eastern moor to the angle, so east to the yew enclosure, so north to the wood, and so south to Cylla's hill, from the hill to Cylla's spring, west along the stream to Thunor's clearing, and so west along the stream on the outside of the salt marsh, and so north to the black brook, up along the stream to the swine enclosure. North along the boundary to *siferthingc steorfa*, and so north to the muddy ford, and so up on to the old dyke, eastwards along the dyke, and thus to the mossy spring.

This charter appeared in BCS, No. 208, from the Lambeth MS. 1212, a Canterbury register compiled about 1300.

1. For this and later portions in italics cf. No. IV.
2. Cf. No. III.
3. Apparently a rubric which has become incorporated into the text by error.
4. Cf. No. XI, n. 10.
5. Bexhill in East Sussex; the early forms of the name are identical with those of Bexley, Kent, and a ME. tendency to pronounce the name with a medial *e* has been accentuated as a means of distinguishing the two.
6. This preserves the name of the same man who is commemorated in Cooden (OE. *Codingas*) and must have been very near to that village.
7. This may be an error for *bærnetinge*, 'stream of the men of the burned place', a very common OE. word found in numerous places as Barnet.
8. *Sic* for *fuccesham*; the modern name is self-explanatory.
9. Besides appearing as a dependant in charters of Offa, Ecgberht of Kent also grants charters of his own, as KCD, Nos. 113 (765), 132 (778), 135 (779). These late grants show that the theory put forward by R. H. Hodgkin (*A History of the Anglo-Saxons*, ed. ii, p. 387), that the kingdom of Kent was perhaps discontinued after the defeat of

an insurgent Kentish army at Otford in 775 (773 *ASC.*), cannot be entertained. In fact, the statement that the battle was a victory for Offa at all rests on no earlier testimony than that of Henry of Huntingdon.

10. The original has *Cantñ*; while this may be a contraction for some OE. word inflected in *n* such as *Cantwarena*, such a phrase would be very unusual, and the *n* is more likely an error for *r*.

11. Archbishop of Canterbury 765–92.

12. King of Wessex 757–86.

13. Bishop of Mercia 764, SD; signs charters regularly until 781.

14. Righeah does not appear again in charters.

15. Diora signs two other charters, KCD 120 (772) and 143 (781).

16. Perhaps the Osa of No. XVI, though the contraction might be of any OE. name in *Os*. But as we know from No. XI that Bishop Oswald was called Osa, it is likely that to avoid confusion the contraction was in practice used for the one name only.

17. Cf. No. XI, n. 2.

18. Cf. No. XIII, n. 32.

19. Cf. No. XIII, n. 33.

20. Botwini was Abbot of Ripon; he signs charters from c. 765 (KCD 113) and died in 785 according to *ASC.* E, 786 SD.

21. Eata signs eight charters from 749 to 775.

22. Heaberht signs KCD 99, 100, and 102 (749–57), while another of the same name signs from 789 to 816. This is more likely the former.

23. Cf. No. XII, n. 13.

24. Cf. No. XII, n. 14.

25. Cf. No. XII, n. 16.

26. Huithyse was the brother of Esne, according to a charter of 764, KCD 111; he also signs KCD 129 and 139 (765–80).

27. Does not appear again.

28. Does not appear again; the name is common in Sussex, cf. No. VI.

29. Does not appear again.

30. Cyne signs two charters of 774, KCD 121–2.

31. Ealdred may possibly be the Ealda of No. XIII (n. 40).

32. Cf. No. XIII, n. 39.

33. Does not appear again.

34. Does not appear again.

35. Birch suggests that these two names are merely the significant words *tota scira*, used to telescope a number of unfamiliar names.

36. An Æmele signs charters of King Æðelbald, but it is not clear whether this is the same. The title *prefectus* is quite usual under Offa.

37. For the series of heathen place-names in Sussex cf. No. XIII, n. 11.

38. *Steorfa* is pestilence or slaughter; it is found in several Sussex place-names, but its significance is obscure (EPNS, p. 523). *Sifer-pinge* may have some connexion with *sifepa*, rubbish.

XV

regnante in perpetuo¹ domino nostro iehsu christo ac gubernante. ego oslac² dux suth saxonum aliquam terræ partem pro remedio animæ meæ venerabile ecclesiæ sancti pauli apostoli libenter concede id est duo¹ nominibus earnaleach³ tielesora⁴ cum omnibus ad eum pertinentibus rebus. campis. silvis. anno ab incarnatione domini dcc. lxxx. factum est in loco qui appellatur solesæi.⁵ ego oslac² hanc donationem propria manu subscripsi. ego gislhere⁶ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego ealduulf⁷ consensi et subscripsi. ego ælfuuald⁸ consensi et subscripsi. ego uuærmund⁹ consensi et subscripsi. ego beornnoð¹⁰ consensi et subscripsi. ego uuerfrið¹⁰ consensi et subscripsi. ego uuiohstan¹⁰ consensi et subscripsi. ego beffa¹⁰ consensi et subscripsi. ego bealðheard¹¹ consensi et subscripsi. ego æðelmund¹⁰ consensi et subscripsi. ego beornheard¹⁰ consensi et subscripsi. ego beorhtnoð¹⁰ consensi et subscripsi. sic et regalis omnis dignitas dicit si quis vero hoc decretum irritum facere tyrannico fretus potentu violenter temptaverit, noverit se tremendo cunctorum examine coram christo rationem redditurum et habere partem cum iuda traditore domini in inferno inferiore. sub sancti crucis¹²

ego offa¹³ deo donante rex merciorum hanc supradictam terram iuxta petitionem uuehthun¹⁴ episcopi suðsaxa corroborans subscribo ac dominicæ crucis in præssione confirmabo. ego cyneðryð¹⁵ regina consensi et subscripsi. ego brorda¹⁶ prefectus consensi et subscripsi. ego unuuano¹⁷ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. hoc recte peractum in loco quæ nuncupatur irtlinga burg.¹⁸ earnaleah tielesora.¹⁹

Our Lord Jesus Christ ruling and governing forever. I, Oslac, alderman of the South Saxons, gladly for the good of my soul grant a certain portion of land to the venerable church of the holy apostle Paul, that is, two called Earnley and Tieleora with all things pertaining

thereto, fields, woods. In the year of the Lord's incarnation 780 this was done in the place which is called Selsey. I, Oslac, have signed this gift with my own hand. I, Gislhere, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Ealdwulf, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfwald, have agreed and signed. I, Wærmund, have agreed and signed. I, Beornnoð, have agreed and signed. I, Werfrið, have agreed and signed. I, Wiohstan, have agreed and signed. I, Beffa, have agreed and signed. I, Bealðheard, have agreed and signed. I, Æðelmund, have agreed and signed. I, Beornheard, have agreed and signed. I, Beorhtnoð, have agreed and signed. And thus says the king in all his majesty: if anyone, relying on tyrannous power, shall attempt by force to make this decree invalid, let him know that he will render account before Christ in the terrible judgement of all men and will have a place with Judas the betrayer of the Lord in the lower hell. Under the _____ of the holy cross

I, Offa, by the gift of God king of the Mercians, sign and agree to the aforesaid land at the request of Wihthun, bishop of the South Saxons, and will confirm it with the impression of the Lord's cross. I, Cyneðryð, queen, have agreed and signed. I, Brorda, prefect, have agreed and signed. I, Unwano, bishop, have agreed and signed. This was lawfully done in the place which is called Irthlingborough. Earnley, Tielepora.

This charter appeared in BCS, No. 1334, from the original charter at Chichester Cathedral. There is also a facsimile in E. Heron-Allen, *Selsey Bill* (1911), Pl. xi. A copy from Bishop Rede's Register was printed by Birch as No. 237; this copy, which agrees with the original in all respects except the omission of most of the witnesses, provides a valuable criterion for criticizing the other transcripts in Rede's register. This charter is of extraordinary interest as being the earliest original charter relating to Sussex, by well over a century. The crude provincial half-uncial script and the bad Latinisms contrast strongly with the practised minuscule of Offa's confirmation at the foot.

1. For *in perpetuum*: there are several other blunders of equal magnitude.

2. See No. XIII, n. 33.

3. Earnley near Selsey.

4. Unidentified. The spelling *Tiela* with the diphthong *ie* for later

Tila is a very archaic AS. form. *Tila* would be regularly formed from names like *Tilhere*, who was actually a Mercian bishop at this period. 'Tila's bank'.

5. See No. II, n. 1.

6. Gislhere signs here, and No. XVI: he also attested the acts of the Synod of Brentford in 781 (CD 143). He must have died some time before 789, when his successor but one, Wihthun, signs a charter, CD 155.

7. See No. XIII, n. 2.

8. See No. XIII, n. 32.

9. See No. XIII, n. 34.

10. He does not appear again.

11. See No. XIII, n. 35.

12. The charter ends with some words that have been erased: perhaps some form of pious exhortation which was considered superfluous and was removed to make room for Offa's confirmation.

13. King of Mercia 757-96.

14. Bishop of Selsey: he signs ten charters dating between 789 and 805.

15. Wife of King Offa: she signs charters regularly from 772 to 788, and also the spurious No. XIX (790).

16. See No. XII, n. 13.

17. Bishop of Leicester: he signs charters regularly from 788 to 799. From these witnesses the date of the confirmation is evidently about 788.

18. Irthlingborough, on the river Nene.

19. These names are a title added by Offa's scribe to identify the confirmation.

XVI

In nomine domini nostri ihesu christi. Nos quidem presentis vitæ caducam celeritatem considerantes, iccirco *unicuique. intenta meritis providentia cogitandum est*¹ ut aliquid pro redemptione animæ suæ agat quamdiu vixerit in hoc sæculo. Quapropter ego Aldwlfus² dux Suð-Saxonum aliquam partem terræ iuris mei, cum consensu et licentia domini mei Offæ regis Merciorum, ad æcclesiam sancti Petri quæ sita est in venerabili loco quæ dicitur Selesey libenti animo concedens donabo, id est terram trium tributariorum, Firolalandes,³ quatinus appellatur hiis nominibus, Peartingawyrð, Wealingawyrð,⁴ cum omnibus ad eam iure pertinentibus rebus, campis, silvis, pascuariis, aucupiis. Si quis hanc donatio-

nem augere et amplificare voluerit, augeat deus partem suam in libro vitæ; si quis hanc donationem infringere aut minuere ausus sit, sciat se in tremendo die iudicii rationem redditurum coram deo et angelis eius. Huius donationis testes fuerant hi quorum nomina infra notantur. Et ego Aldwlf² dux, qui donavi, signum sanctæ crucis infixi. Ego Gislehere⁵ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Gidheard,⁶ Hunreed,⁷ Burchard,⁸ Beornulf,⁶ Osa⁹ omnes isti consentientes scripserunt. Ego Offa rex Merciorum hanc terram silvaticam trium tributariarum secundum petitionem Wehtuni¹⁰ episcopi, signo sanctæ crucis confirmo et subscribo ad æcclesiam sancti Petri apostoli, sicut prænotatum est. Ego Ealdfrid¹¹ rex consensi et subscripsi.

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. While we consider, indeed, the swift passage of this life, so it is for each of us to think with careful forethought of mind that he may do something for the redemption of his soul while yet he live on this earth. Therefore I, Ealdwulf, duke of the South Saxons, willingly grant, with the consent and permission of my lord, Offa, king of the Mercians, a certain piece of land under my jurisdiction to the church of Saint Peter situate in the venerable place which is called Selsey; that is, land of three hides, an oak forest which is called by these names, *Peartingawyrð* and *Wealingawyrð*, with all things lawfully pertaining thereto, fields, woods, pastures, and the right to catch birds. If anyone wishes to increase and amplify this gift, may God increase his part in the book of life; if anyone dares to infringe or lessen this gift, let him know that on the terrible day of judgement he will render account before God and His angels. These whose names are written below were witnesses of this gift. And I, Ealdwulf, alderman, who have given, have attached the sign of the holy cross. I, Gislhere, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Gidheard, Hunreed, Burchard, Beornulf, Osa; all these agreed and signed. I, Offa, king of the Mercians, confirm and sign with the sign of the holy cross, this woodland country of three hides, in answer

to the petition of Wihthun the bishop, to the church of Saint Peter the apostle, as is set out above. I, Ecgfrið, king, have agreed and signed.

This charter appeared in BCS, No. 262, and in KCD, No. 1016, from Reg. B. xviii, f. 5.

1. Cf. No. XIV.
2. See No. XIII, n. 2.
3. Kemble added a footnote '*sic* for *firgenlandes*', i.e. oak forest. This is supported by the description of the land below as *silvatica*.
4. Unidentified. The identification of *Peartingawyrð* with Petworth is no longer upheld by the best authorities.
5. See No. XV, n. 6.
6. Does not appear again.
7. For Hunfrið; see No. XIII, n. 41.
8. See No. XIII, n. 42.
9. For Oswald: see No. XIV, n. 16.
10. See No. XV, n. 14.
11. See No. XIII, n. 49.

XVII

In nomine sancti salvatoris. *Omnia quæ secundum præsens sæculum laboramus vix usque ad mortem sufficiunt; quod vero pro æterna vita agatur utique post mortem conservatur. Idcirco*¹ ego Aldwlfus² dux Suð-Saxonum, aliquantulam silvæ partem iuris mei Weðuno³ episcopo largiri atque describere curabam, cum consensu et licentia Offæ regis Anglorum, in loco qui dicitur Gealtborgsteal,⁴ ad æcclesiam sancti Andreae quæ sita est in terra quæ vocatur Ferring. Hæc autem silva certis finibus terminatur; in occidentali plaga, iuxta superiorem viam quæ currit ab australi parte usque ad septentrionalem; et in altera parte in circuitu campestria. Qui hanc parvam donationis munificentiam augere et amplificare voluerit, augeat deus partem eius in libro vitæ. Si vero, quod absit, aliquis tyrannica fretus potestate, temerarie tenere aut minuere voluerit, sciat se in tremendo examinis iudicio horribiliter incidere in manus dei viventis. Et hæc acta sunt in monte qui vocatur Biohchandune, anno incarnationis domini nostri ihesu christi. dcc.xi.⁵ cunctis astipulantibus & confirmantibus nominatis

atque infra descriptis. Ego Ealdwulf, qui donavi, primum signum sanctæ crucis expressi. Ego Eadelwlf⁶ consensio et subscribo.

In the name of the holy Saviour. All that we labour in this life scarcely lasts till our death, but what is done for the eternal life remains, indeed, stored up after death. Therefore I, Ealdwulf, alderman of the South Saxons, with the agreement and permission of Offa, king of the English, have taken care to give and set down in writing to Wihthun the bishop a little piece of wood under my jurisdiction in the place which is called *Gealtborgsteal* for the church of Saint Andrew which is situated in the land which is called Ferring. But this wood is defined by certain limits; on the western side, by the high road which runs from the south to the north; and on the other side, in a circle through the fields. Who wishes to augment and increase this little gift of endowment, may God increase his part in the book of life. But if (God forbid) anyone, relying on his tyrannical power, rashly wishes to hold it, or decrease it, let him know that in the terrible judgement he will fall fearfully into the hands of the living God. And this was done in the hill which is called *Biochandune*, in the year 791 of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the agreement and consent of all who are named and written down below. I, Ealdwulf, who have granted, firstly have impressed the sign of the holy cross. I, Æðelwulf, agree and sign.

This charter appeared in BCS, No. 261, and in KCD, No. 1015, from Reg. B. xviii, f. 5.

1. Cf. No. XIV.
2. See No. XIII, n. 2.
3. See No. XV, n. 14.
4. Unidentified: from OE. *gealt* 'a young boar'. The boundaries are so extraordinarily vague as to give no assistance.
5. For dcc.xci.
6. Cf. No. VIII for other Sussex names in Æðel.

(To be continued)