

# SUSSEX ANGLO-SAXON CHARTERS

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## PART II

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### INTRODUCTION

THE charters of Sussex from 800 onwards are, on the whole, of less real interest than those dealt with in Part I. Sussex had ceased to have even nominal independence, and the documents are of standard types issued by kings of Mercia, Wessex, or England; their interest is confined to that of the statements made in them. The history of the see of Selsey is continued in rather a sparse fashion.

Bishop Wihthun's name continues to appear in charters until 805; his successor Æthelwulf attended the synods of London (811) and Chelsea (816). Cœnred certainly held the see in 823, and his signatures continue until 839. Guthheard's name occurs twice, in charters of 845 and 860. There then follows a gap in the records until Bishop Wighelm is a witness to charters between 901 and 909. In 909 Beornheah was consecrated; this fact was remembered by the circumstance that he was one of seven bishops consecrated at once. The last record of him is the grant of land made to him in 930 (No. XXVI); from 931 to 940 the signatures of Bishop Wulfhun are fairly profuse, and in 944 Bishop Ælfred appears on the scene.

There can be no guarantee that in the long blank period, 860–901, the name of a bishop had not been entirely lost; and the obscurity of some of the bishops whose names have survived is shown by the omission of their names from some of the best-known catalogues. The catalogue appended to the *Chronicle* of Florence of Worcester (fl. 1118) omits Wighelm, Beornheah, and Wulfhun; the *Liber Vitae* of Hyde Abbey (c. 1030) omits Wighelm; so does the list (c. 990) appended to the Parker MS. of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.<sup>1</sup>

The synodal proceedings of 801 and 825<sup>2</sup> refer to the existence of a monastery at Beddingham as early as the time of Offa (757–96); the language of No. XX suggests that it may have been still a going concern in 801. But when the land was made a bequest in King Ælfred's will (c. 880) the monastery had apparently been dissolved. Abbot Plegheard, mentioned in No. XXI, is an obscure character; it is not clear whether he was abbot of Beddingham, of Selsey, or of either; but he is the only Sussex abbot named since Beadufrið in 714,<sup>3</sup> and worthy of notice as such. Of interest, too, is the statement suggesting that one of the gates of Chichester was standing in 930.<sup>4</sup>

Of greater real importance for the story of the origins of Sussex are the lists of detached swine-pastures at-

<sup>1</sup> f. 55r<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> No. VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. XX, XXI.

<sup>4</sup> No. XXVI.

tached to some charters, of which No. XXVIII is a notable example. These detached pastures are found attached to parcels of land in an impressive list of charters as follows:

680 (No. I) *et sunt pascua ovium in meos dune pertinentia ad tangmere.*

689 (No. III) *and ða dænn ærest þær scealces burna and bollanea hi gegaderiað. . . .*

765 (No. XI) *silvatica Copanora et Tittlesham.*

c. 770 (No. XIII) *hec sunt nomina pastus porcorum qui pertinent ad stannere. . . .*

934 (No. XXVIII) *ðis synt ða denbæra ðe to ðissum londe mid rihte belimpað. . . .*

947 (No. XXXV) *ðis synt þa den þe þær to ge byrigeap. . . .*

953 (No. XXXVI) *hec sunt pascua porcorum . . . in communi silva pascuale quod dicitur Palinga Schittas.*

956 (No. XXXVIII) *þis synt þa den stowa. . . .*

963 (No. XLIII) *þonne sind þis þa den bæra. . . .*

It was Mr. Jolliffe<sup>1</sup> who first drew attention to the similarity of this system to Kentish practice and to that which prevailed in southern Hants,<sup>2</sup> in an area which Bede tells us was inhabited by *Iutorum natio*. Not all of Mr. Jolliffe's statements can be accepted. His place-name identifications are occasionally wide of the mark. The identification<sup>3</sup> of *Gyllingan* in No. XIV with Guestling (*Gestelinges* 1086 DB) will not bear testing; neither will that<sup>4</sup> of *wynburgespær* (No. XXXV) with Wivelsborough, the very existence of which I have been unable to verify. One would like to know whose was the 'Celtic story' which named the Saxon leader at Mount Badon.<sup>5</sup> These faults in detail, however, do but little to vitiate the value of Mr. Jolliffe's main thesis; which is that the original inhabitants of Sussex were not so much Saxons as Jutes; it is borne out not only by the list of Kentish-style swine-pastures and by peculiarities of medieval land-tenure in Sussex; but by other evidence, both literary and archaeological, of a most im-

<sup>1</sup> *Pre-feudal England: the Jutes*, ch. ii. Cf. the previous discussion of this subject by Dr. A. E. Wilson in *S.A.C.* LXXXIII. 55-73.

<sup>2</sup> Even as far west as Portland the system of gavelkind persisted into modern times; it was recorded at Wareham in 1316 (*Antiquity*, June 1948, p. 80, n. 7).

<sup>3</sup> p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> p. 82, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> p. 95.

pressive kind, while the evidence against it is relatively trifling.

Place-names provide an extensive list of these swine-pastures in addition to those named in the charters. The *Place-names of Sussex* lists no less than 41 names with the element *denn*. Other names point to the former existence of these detached pastures with even greater force. Next to Durrington is Goring (OE. *Garingas*); while in No. XXVIII we have Goringlee in Shipley (OE. *Garinga leah*) among the detached pastures. Durrington itself has its parallel in the Weald in Drungewick in Wisboro' Green. In Arundel Rape there is the village of Poling (OE. *Palingas*). In the corresponding part of the Weald we find Pallingham Farm in Wisboro' Green (OE. *Palinga ham*) and *palinga schittas* in No. XXXVI, now Limbo Farm in Petworth. Felpham is adjacent to Bognor; among the swine-pastures of Felpham (No. XXXVI) we find Little Bognor in Fittleworth; while Bigenor Farm in Egdean probably owes its name to the same connection. No. I is a grant of land at Pagham and Tangmere with detached pasture for sheep which may have been near Singleton. In the bounds of Pagham there is *brynes fleot* and at no great distance are Brinfast Farm (OE. *brynes fæsten*) and *brynes dic*.<sup>1</sup> Correspondingly near Singleton we find a lost name Brinscombe, OE. *brynes cumb*.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, farther east, the name Bletchingley in Rotherfield quite likely represents a forest-pasture belonging to East Blatchington; and Bricklehurst in Ticehurst (OE. *Beorhteles hyrst*) may be associated with Brightling (OE. *Beorhtelingas*).

Many of these names contain personal names so uncommon that the possibility of coincidence can practically be disregarded; and the mass of charter and place-name evidence pointing to the prevalence of the Kentish practice of land-tenure in Sussex is supported, as indication of former Jutish occupation of Sussex, by archaeological evidence and by evidence of the formulae of some of the early charters. The large annular brooches

<sup>1</sup> No. II, n. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *P. N. Sx.*, p. 55.

found at Highdown<sup>1</sup> are paralleled by those from Kent<sup>2</sup> and from Bidford-on-Avon, Warws.<sup>3</sup> 'Saucer' brooches ornamented with a floreate cross, found at Highdown,<sup>4</sup> are also found at Bidford.<sup>3</sup> Small gilded square-headed brooches from High Down and Alfriston can be compared with examples from Bifrons, near Canterbury, preserved among the Kent Archaeological Society's collections at Maidstone.

Another feature of charter material which distinguishes Kent, Sussex, and a few other areas sharply from the rest of England is the use of an epistolary form in charters.<sup>5</sup> It usually appears by the use of the words *tibi dabo* in the grant; the more normal Anglo-Saxon diploma is a record of a transaction already completed, and is in any case not addressed directly to the grantee by the use of the second person. Although the genuineness of the Kent charters of the beginning of the seventh century, to which the origin of this form can best be traced, has not been decisively proved, their non-tendentious nature and preservation of early Merovingian formulae must weigh heavily in their favour. The epistolary charters, although not preserved in originals, attest their genuineness by their miscellaneous provenance and archaic formulae. A faked charter of Cædwalla,<sup>5</sup> dated 688, uses this epistolary form; but it is clearly derived from a genuine original; it contains two lost heathen place-names of great interest, *Cusan weoh* and *Besinga hearh*, the latter probably the fane of the people who gave their name to Basingstoke. Its first four witnesses are the same as those in No. I. An original charter of 692-3,<sup>6</sup> granting land in a part of Essex separated from Kent only by the river, uses the epistolary form; among its boundaries we find *cæntinces treow*, 'the Kentishman's tree'. Another Kent charter, not listed previously, which uses this form is BCS 86 (694, late copy).

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeologia*, LIV, p. 372, fig. 2; LV, Pl. IX, 4.

<sup>2</sup> One from Howletts, Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, Pl. XXXIII, no. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Archaeologia*, LXXIII, p. 102; cf. *S.A.C.* LXXXVI, 63, n. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Hodgkin, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, Pl. XXII b, c.

<sup>5</sup> BCS 72.

<sup>6</sup> BCS 81.

Against this mass of evidence there are two main objections: the very name Sussex goes back to OE. *Subseaxe*, in Latin sources *Australes Saxones*, 'the South Saxons'. Another alleged source of Jutish influence, southern Hampshire, is stated in the *Chronicle* (*anno* 495) to have been the starting-point of Cerdic, first king of the West Saxons. The latter can be disposed of quickly. Writing at the end of the ninth century, Bishop Asser<sup>1</sup> spoke of Cerdic's nephews Stuf and Wihtgar as *de Gothis et Iutis*; and the fact that Cerdic's descendants became kings of Wessex does not necessarily mean that Cerdic himself or any of his band were Saxons at all.

The earliest evidence for the name 'South Saxons' dates from the turn of the seventh and eighth centuries. Between 689 and 714<sup>2</sup> King Nothhelm called himself *rex Australium Saxonum* or *rex Suðsaxonum* in charters. In 731 Bede<sup>3</sup> refers several times to *Saxones Australes*. The Tribal Hidage, which may be as old as the seventh century, but which only survives in a transcript of c. 1000,<sup>4</sup> speaks of *Sup Sexena*.

But there is evidence that from at least c. 700 onwards the definition of 'Angle', 'Saxon', and 'Jute' was not very clear in men's minds. As early as 716 Abbot Hwætberht addressed a letter from Jarrow, in an area normally regarded as distinctly Anglian, *de Saxoniam*.<sup>5</sup> Conversely, Æthelbald, king of Mercia (716–57), spoke of the people of southern Britain, Angles, Saxons, and Jutes alike, as *provinciae quae generale nomine Sutangli dicuntur*, or a similar phrase, in an original charter of 736,<sup>6</sup> and in a reliable transcript of another before 737.<sup>7</sup> Bede himself says<sup>8</sup> that Æthelbert of Kent (560–616) ruled over *omnibus gentibus Anglorum* up to the Humber, including both Saxons and Jutes in that phrase in spite of his own so precise definition of the three races from which the Anglo-Saxons had arisen; and twice<sup>9</sup> he speaks of *Anglorum sive Saxonum gens*.

<sup>1</sup> *Life of King Alfred*, ed. Stevenson, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. III, VIII.

<sup>4</sup> BM. Harley MS. 3271; BCS 300.

<sup>5</sup> Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, § 19.

<sup>6</sup> BCS 154.

<sup>7</sup> BCS 157.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. II. 5, III. 20.

<sup>8</sup> II. 3.

<sup>9</sup> I. 15, 22.

In the tenth century the chronicler Æthelweard persistently speaks of the West Saxons as *Occidentales Angli*.

It is clear, then, that too much importance must not be attached to the exact definition of the traditional name *Suð Seaxe*. Perhaps the most likely explanation of the conflicting evidence is that there was considerable admixture of races even during the migration; in some areas, perhaps, a province took its name from the race to which its ruling class belonged; in others the race-names were doubtless confused from the earliest times; but whatever be the cause of the confusion, we must not allow a mere piece of nomenclature to blind us to the fact that the earliest inhabitants of Sussex were, in the way they parcelled out their land, in the design of their personal ornaments, and, later, in the way they drew up some of their charters, not 'Saxons' at all, but Jutes.

*Bishops of Selsey, 800-940*

(Continued from S.A.C. LXXXVI. 50)

	<i>Acc.</i>	<i>Death or trans.</i>
9. Wihthun . . .	787 × 789	805 × 811
10. Æthelwulf . . .	805 × 811	816 × 823
11. Coenred . . .	816 × 823	839 × 845
12. Guthheard . . .	839 × 845	860 × 901
13. Wighelm . . .	860 × 901	909
14. Beornheah . . .	909	930 or 931
15. Wulfhun . . .	930 or 931	940 × 944

XVIII<sup>1</sup>

Donatio Bertoldi Ducis de Hastings et Pevensel portubus maris; et villa Radrefelda in Anglia.

In nomine domini nostri ihesu christi. ego Berthualdus dux justo dei iudicis (*sic*) cecidi in infirmitatem de qua medicorum nemo me sanare poterat. Audivi autem in Gallias apud monasterium sanctorum martyrum Dionysii, Rustici, et Eleutherii, cui praeest venerabilis abba Foleradus, per eosdem sanctos virtutes multas fieri, et petens a domno Carolo imperature transitum veni illuc. Ubi cum diebus ammodum paucis, aeger, ad eorum memoriam decubuissem, miseratione domini et depreca-

tione eorundem martyrum plenissime sanatus sum. Vovi autem votum domino et sanctis illis, et de eorum sanctis reliquiis impetrata patrocinia mecum detuli, et in eorum nomine ecclesiam edificavi in sede mea in villa vocabulo Ridrefelda, quae a progenitoribus meis jure hereditario mihi relicta fuerat: Quapropter dignum est ut per quos sum ab omni corporis liberatus infirmitate, ipsi michi in ipsa mea debeant hereditate succedere. Unde ego una cum favore fratris mei Eadbaldi et consensu meorum fidelium, per hanc scripturae seriem, omnem illam villam meam quae vocatur Ridrefeldam sitam super fluvium qui dicitur Saforda in pago qui nuncupatur Successa, et pagi civitas appellatur Chichestra, cum omnibus appendiciis suis, terris, pratis, campis, silvis, aquis, ita sicut ego visus sum hactenus possidere, sanctis dei martyribus Dionysio, Rustico, et Eleutherio, habendam et disponendam et in perpetuum tenendam trado. Concedo etiam per hujus monumenta cartae, ad usus monachorum ibidem deo famulantium, meae possessionis portus, qui sunt in eadem vicinitate super mare, Hastings et Pævenisel, cum salinis et omni integritate sua, ut sicut ego possidere videor sic fratres in ipso monasterio sanctorum martyrum deo servientes a modo possideant et disponant et pro me deum deprecari dignentur. Si quis autem aliquid de his detrahere aut minuere vel usurpare temptauerit, et ab illis sanctis et servitoribus eorum monachis abstulerit, regi saeculorum deo peccabit qui ab eo requirat in iudicio futuro quod iniuste abstulit cum veniet in sua majestate, et sanctorum angelorum reddere unicuique prout gessit, siue bonum siue malum, et ibunt impii in supplicium aeternum, justi autem in vitam aeternam. Actum dominicae incarnationis anno 795, anno quo coepit Offa rex regnare 31, praesente fratre meo Eadbaldo, et coram subscriptis testibus. Ego Berhtualdus Dux manu mea firmaui et subscripsi. Eadbaldus frater ejus firmaui et subscripsi. Ecgferdus comes subscripsi. Ediluuinus comes subscripsi. Cinigilesus firmaui et subscripsi. Eadbertus firmaui et subscripsi. Hunualdus firmaui et subscripsi. Ædilfridus firmaui et subscripsi. Ego Ean-



fric cancellarius scripsi, relegi ac subscripsi. Ego Deodatus monachus de manu ducis Berthualdi omnia quæ in hoc testamento scripta sunt in nomine sanctorum martyrum Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii, possidenda suscepi, et hanc traditionem per hoc scriptum coram fratribus monasterio adsignavi.

Gift of the alderman Berhtwald of Hastings and Pevensey, harbours by the sea; and the estate of Rotherfield in England.

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. I, Berhtwald, alderman, by the just judgement of God, fell into an illness of which none of the doctors could cure me. But I had heard that in France at the monastery of the holy martyrs Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius, under the charge of the venerable abbot Folcrad, many cures had been effected by these same martyrs; and obtaining a passage from the Lord Emperor Charles, I came thither. When I had lain for a few days ill, by the mercy of God and the intercession of those same martyrs I had a complete cure. And I vowed a vow to the Lord and the saints, and I brought back with me relics of their holy remains for which I had petitioned, and in their name I built a church at my seat at the town called Rotherfield, which was left to me in lawful inheritance by my forefathers; Therefore it is proper that as I have by them been freed from all bodily infirmity, they ought to succeed me in my inheritance. Therefore with the agreement of my brother Eadbald and the consent of all my faithful followers, I grant by this piece of writing all that estate of mine which is called Rotherfield, situate on the river which is called Saforda,<sup>2</sup> in the district which is called Sussex, and the chief town of that district is called Chichester, with all things pertaining thereto, lands, meadows, fields, woods, and waters, just as I myself have held them hitherto, to the holy martyrs of God, Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius, to have and dispose of and hold in perpetuity. And by this deed of gift I also grant for the use of the monks there serving God, harbours belonging to me, called Hastings and

Pevensay, situated on the sea-coast in the same neighbourhood, with saltpans and all things pertaining thereto, so that just as I possess them, so may the monks serving God in the same monastery of the holy martyrs possess and dispose of them; and may they be so good as to pray for me to God. And if anyone attempts to detract anything from this, or to lessen or interfere with it, and take it away from those saints and the monks serving them, he will sin against God the King of the universe, who will require of him what he has unjustly seized, in the last judgement when He appears in His majesty with the saints and angels to render unto each according to his life, whether good or bad, and the evil will go to eternal suffering, but the good to eternal life. This was done in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 795, in the 31st year from the beginning of the reign of King Offa, in the presence of my brother Eadbald and of the witnesses given below. I, Berhtwald, alderman, agreed and signed with my own hand. Eadbald, his brother, agreed and signed. Ecgfrið, thegn, signed. Æðelwini, thegn, agreed and signed. Cynegils agreed and signed. Eadberht agreed and signed. Hunweald agreed and signed. Æðelfrið agreed and signed. I, Eanfric, Chancellor, wrote it, re-read it and signed. I, Deodatus, monk, have received from the hands of Alderman Berhtwald all the things which are written in this document in the name of the holy martyrs Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius, and in the presence of the brothers, assigned to the monastery the grant made by this charter.

## NOTES

1. This charter is preserved in BCS, No. 252, from the transcripts in the *Histoire de l'Abbaye de St. Denis* (1625) and in Dugdale's *Monasticon* from the twelfth-century Chartulary of the Abbey of St. Denis. It is a forgery so manifest that detailed textual notes would serve little purpose. A few general notes would, however, be of some interest. The date, of course, is wrong; since Offa began to reign in 757, the 31st year of his reign ran from 787 to 788. The witnesses are completely unknown, except for the aldermen Berhtwald and Eadbald themselves (see notes to No. XII), and these, being old Mercian aldermen who had held high Mercian office before

the conquest of Sussex, are most unlikely to have held ancestral lands in that latter county, which is what is implied by this and the next charter. Nevertheless the question must be asked: What moved the monks of St. Denis to make a forgery so outlandish? Is there any ground for supposing that they might have entertained some claim to all or any part of the lands in question? Consideration must admit that the answer is slightly in the monks' favour. The church of Rotherfield remains to this day the only church in England consecrated to St. Denis. This saint is and always has been peculiarly associated with France—he was actually martyred at Autun in the third century A.D.—and his cult has never spread to this country. It is accordingly most unlikely that the church of Rotherfield acquired its dedication in the ordinary way, and the most plausible reason for the occurrence of this exotic dedication there is that there was in fact some early connection between the church of St. Denis in France and Rotherfield in England. The forgery of a charter for the downright purpose of theft was unusual; on the other hand, the majority of our forged charters of to-day were originally created to establish a claim to land which was either disputed, or had been held by common tenure dating from times when charters were considered unnecessary.

2. Now the river Ouse.

## XIX<sup>1</sup>

### *Præceptum Offantis Gloriosi Regis Anglorum.*

Evidentia rerum et experientia declarant cassabundam mortalium uitam et innumeris calamitatibus constringi, ita dumtaxat ut ante a quibus teneri ac possideri putatur, repente et mumentaneo intervallo lugubriter evanescat. Ideo singulis quibusque sollicite studendum est, ut dum indulta temporum spatia dei nutu concessa manent, ne sine fructu spiritalium bonorum easdem indutias transeant. Quamobrem ego in dei nomine Offa rex Merciorum, suggerente Maginario abbate per missum suum Nadelharium, de terra illa quae est in illo loco, in porta (*sic*) videlicet qui nuncupatur Lundenwic, ubi duo fratres Agonauuala seu Sigrinus omnem suam possessionem spontanea uoluntate ante duos annos sancto Diunisio, martyri precioso, qui est in Francia, sociisque ejus dederunt, ego quoque censum omnem quod in parte mea iure accipere debui, et ad usus proprios adhuc retinebam, sive in auro, sive in argento, sive in redditibus aliis, totum ob amorem dei omnipotentis et reverentiam preciosorum martyrum Diunisii, Rustici et

Eleutherii, jam dicto abbati Maginario ac sanctae congregationi monachorum, uel eorum successoribus, in eodem munasterio præclaro, quod est constructum in Gallias in honore ipsorum martyrum libenti ac devoto animo, una cum uoluntate meæ conjugis filiique mei et obtinatum meorum consensu, ab hac die concedo cessumque imperpetuum esse uolo, ita ut ab hac die nec ego, nec posteres mei, neque aliquis ex potestatibus hujus sæculi reditum aliquem exinde quaqua ratione repossant neque recipiant, sed semper in tempore meo uel meorum successorum, in potestate jam dicti abbatis et monachorum, favente Christo, amplius et perfectius permaneat. Præterea donatum quod amicus noster et fidelis Berhtualð dux, et frater ejus Eadbalð, de receptaculo suo Ridrefelda, quod est in pago qui uocatur Successa, super fluvium Saforda, et de portu super mare Hastings et Peuenisel, quomodo ante dies istos, legaliter subscriptis testibus, ad eosdem sanctos martyres, qui sua deprecatione ab infirmitate nimia, qua tenebatur jam dictus dux, eum resuscitauerant, fecit, petentibus eisdem atque præfato abbate, nos et concessus obtinatum meorum uno eodemque consensu laudamus et confirmamus. Si quis hanc nostram nostroque constitutionem desiderio roboratam, quam ad sanctos martyres pro amore dei et salute nostra fecimus, detrahendo uel violando infregerit, illa maledictio ueniat super eum, 'Ite maledicti in ignem eternum'. Qui autem seruauerit et adjuverit, cum sanctis dei uiuat imperpetuum. Ut autem hæc pleniorum obtineant vigorem, manu propria subter firmavimus, atque nostri anuli impressione signari fecimus. Anno dominicæ incarnationis. dcc. xc. indictione. xiii. anno namque regni mei. xxxiii. cum his testibus secundo die paschæ, pridie idus Aprilis, in Tomewordig, hanc concessionem cum signo crucis Christi confirmavi. Ego Offa rex Anglorum hanc donationem meam manu mea confirmavi et subscripsi. Hygberht<sup>2</sup> archiepiscopus subscripsi. Unuona<sup>3</sup> episcopus subscripsi. Cyniðryð<sup>3</sup> regina subscripsi. Ecgferð<sup>4</sup> filius regis subscripsi. Brorda<sup>5</sup> dux subscripsi. Bertuuald<sup>5</sup> dux subscripsi. Eodbald<sup>5</sup> dux subscripsi. Eduinus

comes subscripsi. Ego Nadelharius monachus cum fratre meo Vitale et Eodbald duce de manu regis litteras has accipiens et mecum deportans in Franciam super sepulcrum sancti martyris Dionisii conseruandas imperpetuum iubente eo posui, ubi pro rege memoria inter reliquos benefactores agatur imperpetuum. AMEN.

*Order of Offa, glorious king of the English.*

The appearance and experience of facts tells us that the lives of mortals are perilous and bounded by numberless dangers, so that that which we thought we held and possessed before, disappears dreadfully and suddenly in a moment. Therefore it is for each and every one to study carefully that, so long as the allotted span of time granted by the will of God continues, they may not pass through their allotted days without bearing fruit of the good things of the spirit. Wherefore I, Offa, in God's name king of the Mercians, at the suggestion of Abbot Maginarius through his envoy Nadelharius, concerning that land which is in that place, namely in the port which is called London, where two years ago two brothers Agonwala and Sigrin gave of their own free will all their belongings to the holy blissful martyr Dionysius, who is in France, and his associates; I also grant from this day, and wish this grant to stay forever, all the dues which I should lawfully receive and have hitherto retained for my own purposes, whether in gold, or in silver, or in other returns, all this I grant from love of God Almighty and reverence for the holy martyrs Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius, to the aforesaid Abbot Maginarius and the holy brotherhood of monks, or their successors, in that same far-famed monastery, which has been built in Gaul in honour of those same martyrs; with free and devout mind and with the goodwill of my wife and son and with the agreement of my noblemen, so that from this day hence neither I, nor my successors, nor any worldly potentate may on any pretext whatsoever demand or receive any return therefrom, but that in my time and the time of my successors it may by the favour of God remain absolutely and completely in the

power of the aforesaid abbot and monks. In addition, I and my noblemen sitting in concourse unanimously praise and confirm the grant made, with the due attestation of witnesses, by our friend and faithful alderman Berhtwald and his brother Eadbald, of his seat called Rotherfield, which is in the region called Sussex on the river Ouse, and of the harbour on the sea, Hastings and Pevensey, some time ago to the holy martyrs, because at his prayers they had cured the aforesaid alderman of a very serious illness which had overtaken him; (and this we did) at the request of them and of the aforesaid abbot. If anyone attempts to detract from or violate or infringe this our decision confirmed at our wish and made to the holy martyrs for the love of God and for our well-being, may he be overtaken by this curse, 'Go accursed to eternal fire.' But whosoever shall save or assist it, may he live forever with the saints of God. In order that this may have more binding power, we have signed it below with our own hand, and made on it the impression of our ring. I confirmed this grant with the sign of the cross of Christ, in the presence of these witnesses, at Tamworth, on the second day of Easter, the 12th of April, in the year of the Lord's incarnation 790, the 13th of the indiction, and the 33rd year of my reign. I, Offa, king of the English, confirmed and signed this grant with my own hand. I, Hygeberht, archbishop, signed. I, Unwona, bishop, signed. I, Cyneðryð, queen, signed. I, Ecgfrið, son of the king, signed. I, Brorda, alderman, signed. I, Berhtwald, alderman, signed. I, Eadbald, alderman, signed. I, Eadwine, thegn, signed. I, Nadelharius, monk, with my brother Vitalis and the alderman Eadbald, have received this charter from the hands of the king, and, taking it with me to France, have, by his command, placed it for safe keeping on the tomb of the holy martyr Dionysius, where on behalf of the king he may be held in remembrance forever among the other benefactors.

1. BCS, No. 259, from the 'original' charter in the Archives de France, K7, No. 10. This charter bears a supposed seal of Offa (reproduced in BCS, loc. cit.). The spuriousness of the seal and of the

charter itself was proved by W. H. Stevenson as long ago as 1891 (*English Historical Review*, vi. 736).

2. Hygeberht was appointed bishop of Lichfield in 779, signing a charter of that year as *præsul electus*, and was raised to archbishop at the Synod of Cealchyð in 787; in that capacity he signed several charters from 788 to 799. In 802 he signed No. XX as bishop, and Haddan and Stubbs considered that he must have resigned the pallium; although it should be noted that archbishops of Canterbury not infrequently sign charters as *episcopus*. The same scholars were in favour of identifying him with the Higberht who signed KCD 1024 (803) as abbot, and therefore held that he resigned the see as well; and indeed his name does not appear again with certainty after the opening years of the ninth century, and no future bishop of Lichfield was granted the pallium.

3. See notes to No. XV.

4. See notes to No. XVI.

5. See notes to No. XII.

## XX<sup>1</sup>

Anno dominicæ incarnationis. deccc. i. regni uero Coenulphi<sup>2</sup> regis Merciorum anno quinto, orta est aliqua dissensio inter Coenulphum et Weðunum<sup>3</sup> episcopum Australium Saxonum de terra illius prædicti episcopi, id est. in Denton.<sup>4</sup> xxv.<sup>5</sup> Dicebat rex ut rectius attingere deberet ad monasterium in Beadyngham;<sup>6</sup> dicebat episcopus quod eius antecessoribus dudum datum fuerat ad æcclesiam quæ est in Selesegh. Cogitabat rex eum in aliqua parte suæ hereditatis dispoliare, nisi episcopus prædictæ prouinciæ Weðun cum testimonio ac uerbis canonicis regem respisceret, ac perniciosam meditationem regalis potentiæ mitigaret, et humili supplicatione poposcit ut eum insontem innocentemque non condemnasset, neque depriuasset, hæreditati æcclesiæ. Tunc rex uerbis legalibus episcopo promendo consentiens, concessitque episcopo ut ad propria con cedula remeasset, ibidemque sine ullo conflictu sempiternaliter cum suis successoribus mansisset. Et hoc coram omni synodo æt Celchiðe<sup>7</sup> ascribere demandauit, ut nullus successorum eius eum in aliquo molestet vel æcclesiam agitare sub hoc testimonio quorum nomina caraxata esse uidentur. Ego Coenulf rex Merciorum hoc consensi et subscripsi. Signum manus Hugberti<sup>8</sup> episcopi. Signum manus Æðilhardi<sup>9</sup> archiepiscopi. Signum manus Eal-

dwlf.<sup>10</sup> Signum manus Cunberhti<sup>11</sup> episcopi. Signum manus Uiberti<sup>12</sup> episcopi. Signum manus Deneberti<sup>13</sup> episcopi. Signum manus Wlfhardi<sup>14</sup> episcopi. Signum manus Eadwlf<sup>15</sup> episcopi.

In the year of our Lord's incarnation 801, the fifth year of Cænwulf, king of the Mercians, there arose a certain disagreement between Cænwulf and Wihthun, bishop of the South Saxons, concerning land of the aforesaid bishop, that is, 25 (hides) in Denton. The king said that it ought more properly to belong to the monastery in Beddingham; the bishop said that it had been given to his predecessors in the church which is in Selsey. The king had it in mind to deprive him of a portion of his heritage, if Wihthun, bishop of the aforesaid province, had not convinced him with testimony and canonical phrases, and mitigated the pernicious idea of the king's majesty, and with humble supplication asked that in his innocence he should not be condemned nor deprived of the Church's heritage. Then the king pronounced his legal decision, agreeing with the bishop and granting that he should be restored to his own by a charter, and that with his successors it should remain there without any trouble. And this he ordered to be put into writing in the presence of the whole synod at Chelsea, so that none of his successors should molest him or interfere with the church in any way, witnessed by those whose names appear written below. I, Cænwulf, king of the Mercians, have agreed and signed this. Sign manual of Hygeberht, bishop. Sign manual of Æðelheard, archbishop. Sign manual of Ealdwulf. Sign manual of Cyneberht, bishop. Sign manual of Wigberht, bishop. Sign manual of Deneberht, bishop. Sign manual of Wulfheard, bishop. Sign manual of Eadwulf, bishop.

1. BCS 302, KCD 1023, from DCC Reg. B. xviii, f. 6. That the dispute was not finally decided here is shown by the fact that another synod had to make a decision on the subject in 825 (No. XXI).

2. King of Mercia 796-821.

3. See No. XV, n. 14 (*S.A.C.* LXXXVI. 98).

4. Probably the present village of the same name near Newhaven; although Denton is a very common place-name, being derived from



OE. *denu, tun*, 'farm in a valley', and in the absence of boundaries or other more detailed information the identification cannot, therefore, be certain.

5. Apparently some word meaning 'hides' has been omitted.

6. Beddingham, near Lewes; *Beadinga hamme temp.* Ælfred, No. XXIII; 'the enclosure of the people of Beada'; *Beada* as a personal name is not very well attested, but it occurs again in Sussex as an element in Beeding, Upper and Lower (*æt Beadingum*, No. XXIII).

7. Almost certainly Chelsea. OE. *cealc hygð* 'chalk landing-place'.

8. See No. XIX, n. 2.

9. Archbishop of Canterbury, 792–805. The archaic spelling of the name with *Æðil-* for later *Æðel-* is of interest and shows that this transcript must be taken from a genuine contemporary document. The older form does not occur after the early ninth century.

10. He became bishop in 796, when he signed KCD 170, 171 as *electus*, and signs charters regularly until 825 (No. XXI). A spurious charter (KCD 197) describes him as bishop of Crediton.

11. Cyneberht, bishop of Winchester, signs charters regularly from 788 (KCD 153) to here; he went to Rome with Archbishop Æthelheard in 801 and is not heard of again. Perhaps he did not return.

12. Wigberht, bishop of Sherborne, signs here for the first time; he died in 824.

13. Deneberht, bishop of Worcester, signs regularly from 790 (KCD 159) to 817 (KCD 212).

14. Wulfheard, bishop of Hereford, signs here for the first time, and thence regularly until 822 (KCD 216).

15. Eadwulf became bishop of Lindsey in 796 and signs charters until 836 (BCS 416).

## XXI<sup>1</sup>

In nomine domini. Anno ab incarnatione Christi dcccxxv. indictione tertia, anno secundo regni Beornulfi<sup>2</sup> regis Merciorum, synodus fuit ad Clobesham, præsidente archiepiscopo Wulfredo;<sup>3</sup> post mortem uero Coenulfi<sup>4</sup> regis Merciorum multæ discordiæ et innumerabiles dissonanciæ extollebantur contra uniuscuiusque principalium personarum, regum et episcoporum, et pastorum æcclesiarum Dei, erga plurima sæcularia negotia; ita ut multum dispoliatæ fuerant per loca diuersa æcclesiæ Christi in rebus, in terris, in tributo, in omnibus causis. Interea episcopus Australium Saxonum Coenredus<sup>5</sup> fuerat spoliatus de aliqua parte terræ illius xxv æcclesiæ quæ uocitatur Deanton,<sup>6</sup> quod Plegheard abbas dudum tradidit ad sedem episcopalem quæ est in Selesegh, cum

corpore suo, quod ei rex Offa ante condonauerat et conscripserat de hæreditate æcclesiæ Bedingehomes,<sup>7</sup> quam ipse sibi adquisierat in hæreditatem propriam. Tunc in præfato synodo iudicatum est ut ille episcopus, cum consensu et unanimi consilio episcoporum et abbatum seu principum, in ius proprium æcclesiæ hæreditatem sine ullo obstaculo accipiat; sicut et ante prius æt Cealchyðe<sup>8</sup> iudicatum est inter Coenulfum regem et Wehthunum de eiusdem terræ assumptione, coram archiepiscopo Æðilheardo, tertio anno Coenulfi regis. Et hæc acta sunt coram omni consilio at Clobesham,<sup>9</sup> cum consensu et licentia regis et principum et archiepiscoporum, quorum nomina infra annotantur, et cum signo sanctæ crucis Christi impresserunt et confirmauerunt. Ego Wulfredus archiepiscopus signo saluatoris pro ampliori firmitate conscribo et confirmo has testimoniarum causis. Æðelwal<sup>10</sup> episcopus. Ceobberht<sup>11</sup> episcopus. Reduwin<sup>12</sup> episcopus. Eaðberht<sup>13</sup> episcopus. Eadulf<sup>14</sup> episcopus. Wihtred<sup>15</sup> abbas. Syred<sup>16</sup> dux. Eadwlf<sup>17</sup> dux. Eadberht<sup>18</sup> dux. Ealhstan.<sup>19</sup> Ealdred.<sup>20</sup> Eadbald.<sup>21</sup> Si quis uero, quod absit, hanc munificentiam frangere temptauerit, sciat se anathematizatum ab omni synodali societate separatum, nisi ante satisfactione deo et hominibus emendauerit.

In the name of the Lord! In the year 825 from the incarnation of Christ, the third of the indiction, the second year of the reign of Beornwulf king of the Mercians, there was a synod at Clobesham, under the chairmanship of Archbishop Wulfred; for after the death of Cænwulf, king of the Mercians, there had arisen many quarrels and disagreements between various kings, nobles, and bishops and ministers of the church of God, on various matters of secular business; so that in various places the churches of God were much despoiled of goods, of lands, of tribute, and of all manner of things. Among them Cænred, bishop of the South Saxons, had been robbed of a certain part of the land of that church, 25 (hides) which are called Denton; Plegheard the abbot had formerly given it with his own body to the episcopal

see which is in Selsey; before that, King Offa had granted it to him in writing from the inheritance of the church of Beddingham, which he himself had acquired as his own heritage. Then in the aforesaid synod it was decreed that the bishop, with the unanimous agreement and advice of the bishops, abbots, and nobles, should lawfully receive the inheritance of the church without any interference, just as before it was decreed between King Cœnwulf and Wihthun about the possession of the same land, at Chelsea in the presence of archbishop Æthelheard, in the third year of king Cœnwulf. And this was performed in the presence of the whole synod at Clobesham, with the agreement and permission of the king and the nobles and archbishops, whose names are given below, and who confirmed by making the mark of the cross of Christ. I, Wulfred, archbishop, sign and confirm this declaration, for greater security, with the sign of the Saviour. Æthelwalh, bishop. Ceolberht, bishop. Hræthhun, bishop. Eadberht, bishop. Eadwulf, bishop. Wihtred, abbot. Sigered, alderman. Eadwulf, alderman. Eadberht, alderman. Ealhstan. Ealdred. Eadbald. If anyone, moreover, (God forbid!) attempts to infringe this grant, let him know that he will be cursed and barred from all religious society, unless he shall first have made amends to the satisfaction of God and man.

1. BCS 387, KCD 1034, from Reg. B. xviii, f. 6.

2. King of Mercia 823-5 (821-3, *ASC.*, but see Plummer, *Two Chronicles Parallel* (Oxford, 1892-9), II, pp. 69-70). He was killed by the East Angles. The second year of his reign was therefore 824-5.

3. Archbishop of Canterbury 805-32.

4. This entry is of great interest, showing how personal was the power of the Anglo-Saxon kings of this period; to such an extent that the death of a strong king like Cœnwulf was followed by a period of more or less anarchy.

5. See No. V, n. 7 (*S.A.C.* LXXXVI. 73).

6. See No. XX, nn. 4, 5.

7. See No. XX, n. 6.

8. See No. XX, n. 7.

9. Perhaps Cliffe-at-Hoo, in Kent; see Plummer, *loc. cit.*

10. Æthelwald, bishop of Lichfield, signs regularly from 822 (KCD 216). He died in 830.

11. Ceolberht signs three charters of the years 824 and 825.
12. Reduvin is a corrupt form of Hræðhun, who signs two charters of the year 814 as abbot, and regularly from 816 (KCD 209) to 838 (KCD 1044) as bishop.
13. Eaðberht is for Heahberht, who was bishop of Worcester, and signs regularly from 822 (KCD 216) to 845 (KCD 258).
14. See No. XX, n. 10.
15. Wihtred signs regularly from 816 (CD 209) to 852 (CD 267).
16. See No. V, n. 9 (*S.A.C.* LXXXVI. 73).
17. Eadwulf signs CD 206, 207 (814) as *minister*, and charters from 824 to 831 as *dux*.
18. See No. V, n. 8 (*S.A.C.* loc. cit.).
19. He signs one other charter of 825, CD 220.
20. He signs CD 220, 227, 237 (825–36).
21. He signs several charters from 822 to 825.

## XXII

The compilers of the *Place-Names of Sussex* (p. 354) identified *æt mallingum* of BCS 421, an original charter of 838 from Cotton MS., Augustus ii. 20, with South Malling. The charter is the account of the proceedings of a council at Kingston, Surrey, in which Ceolnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, claimed from King Ecgberht the return of the land at Malling which the king had unjustly seized; it is described as *illum agrum æt mallingum . . . quod ante a baldredo rege ad eandem ecclesiam perdonata est*—‘that land at Malling which was formerly given to the said church by king Baldred’. The king’s defence was *quia cum recta libertate facta non essent, quia in fugatu eius conscripta et concessa fuisset*—‘that it had not been done in proper jurisdiction, because it was signed and made over while he (Baldred) was in flight’.

There were two kings named Baldred known to history. The first was an under-king in Wessex, whose signature appears in connection with a few charters from 681 (BCS 61) to 693 (BCS 121). Although it is true that, during that period, Kent and Sussex were for a time under the dominion of Wessex, there is not a scrap of evidence that Baldred ever had any jurisdiction in those areas; the charters bearing his name are all associated with the West Country. In any case it is not likely that litigation would take place in 838 over a land-grant made in the seventh century.

The second Baldred was the last independent king of Kent. The *Chronicle* tells us that in 825 he was expelled by Ecgberht after the Mercian defeat at the battle of Ellandune, and took refuge north of the Thames. He is much more likely to be the Baldred referred to here; only that it is a practical certainty that he never had any authority in Sussex. Sussex was conquered by Ecgberht at the same time as Kent; and as late as the same year 825 a dispute over land in Sussex had still been referred to a synod held under Mercian

auspices, whose proceedings were attested by Mercian noblemen (charter No. XXI). The Malling of the charter of 838 is, therefore, much more likely to be Malling in Kent.

[On the other hand, Ecgberht's defeat of Baldred appears from the *Chronicle* to have been followed immediately by the surrender of Sussex and Surrey. It seems not impossible that Baldred had taken advantage of the Mercian defeat to put forward a claim to Sussex (which may have been the reason for Ecgberht's attack on him) and that when he was expelled he may have made a bid for the support of the archbishop by professing to grant, or rather confirm, to him the Sussex estate of Malling. The Kentish Malling was in the diocese of Rochester and had, so far as I am aware, no connection with the see of Canterbury.—*Editor.*]

### XXIII<sup>1</sup>

Ædeluulfus Dei gratia Rex Anglorum. Quoniam volente me de terrenis opibus quas de dei munere possidere videor, mercari bona cælestis patriæ, et petente me a beatissimo Romano pontifice Benedicto consilium ut ejus sacratissima auctoritate quæcumque de rebus meis ad sanctorum loca conferre voluero impertiar, venit ab eo Hunigerus Monasterii quod est in Francia sanctorum martyrum Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii, Monachus, una cum Legatis domni Hludovici<sup>2</sup> gloriosissimi Imperatoris, benedictionem atque licentiam benefaciendi pro peccatis meis cum privilegio ejusdem gloriosi papæ deferens, et in Lindonia civitate a nobis cum gaudio una cum suis comitibus exceptus est. Ubi cum inter cætera querimoniam pro iniuria a nostris hominibus colonis sancti Dionysii martyris qui sunt in diversis Britanniæ locis, et maxime in Ridrefelda, et in Hastings<sup>3</sup> et in Pevenisel, in salinis quoque et in Lundenuic, miserabiliter illatam deplorasset. Auditus est a nobis uti dignum erat, et ex denominatis hominibus omnem illi iustitiam pro dei honore proque sanctorum martyrum prædictorum reverentia, spontanea voluntate facientes tandem uno consensu et voluntate nostrorum fidelium decrevimus, ut omnes possessionibus quæ a deo devotis hominibus et regibus qui ante nos in hac nostra regione fuerunt, sanctis illis ad suorum servientium usus et substentationem donata sunt, sine alicuius invasione et iniuria nostrorum, illis imperpetuum perseverent

atque permaneant. Addidimus etiam de thesauro nostro viginti marcas auri, cum vase argenteo tantumdem pondus habente, et duo pallea purpurei coloris, quæ pro salute nostra mittimus ad ornandam reverendam memoriam sanctorum martyrum supradictorum Dionysii, Rustici, et Eleutherii, quatinus illi servi dei monachi et pauperes Christi qui in ipso monasterio aluntur, cotidie pro nobis, et pro totius regni nostri salute, deprecentur attentius, ut deo concedente ad æterna gaudia pervenire valeamus. Actum in Lindonia civitate, dominicæ incarnationis anno octingentesimo quinquagesimo septimo, die undecimo nonas<sup>4</sup> novembris indictione septima, anno vero regni mei decimo nono coram optimatibus et proceribus regni mei, et præsentem ac petentem Hunigero thesaurario monasterii sancti Dionysii, quod est in Francia, quem ad nos venerabilis papa Romanæ sedis Benedictus, et dominus Hludovicus Imperator, cum aliis suis Legatarium direxerunt. Ego Ædeluulfus Rex Anglorum manu mea concessionis hujus præceptum firmavi, signo victoriosissimæ crucis Christi impresso.

Æthelwulf, by the grace of God, king of the English. As I wished to buy the good things of Heaven with the earthly possessions which, by the gift of God, I hold, and sought the advice of the most blessed pope Benedict at Rome, that by his sacred authority I wished to give some of my belongings to the abodes of saints; there came from him Hunigerius, monk of the monastery of the holy martyrs Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius, in France, along with the ambassadors of the most glorious emperor Louis, bringing blessings and permission to make benefactions for the good of my sins, and the privilege of the same glorious pope, and was received with his companions by us in the city of London amid great rejoicings. Among other things he complained grievously that injustice had been done by our subjects to the tenants of the martyr St. Dionysius who are in various parts of Britain, but chiefly in Rotherfield, in Hastings, in Pevensey, in the saltings, and in London.

He was heard in a fitting manner, and promised fair treatment from the men named, for the worship of God and reverence for the aforesaid martyrs; with the consent and agreement of our lieges we decreed that all the possessions which had been given to those saints for the use and sustenance of their followers by men and kings devoted to God who lived in our kingdom before our time, should remain theirs forever without any interference or injustice by any of our subjects. We also added twenty marks of gold from our treasury, and a silver vessel having an equal weight, and two cloths purple in colour, which we are sending to decorate the venerable memorial of the aforesaid holy martyrs Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius, on condition that the monks, servants of God and poor men of Christ, who abide in that monastery, diligently pray every day for us and for the wellbeing of our kingdom, so that by the permission of God we may be sure to reach the eternal joys. This was done in the city of London, in the eight hundred and fifty-seventh year from the incarnation of the Lord, in the seventh of the indiction on the eleventh day of the nones of November, in the nineteenth year of my reign in the presence of the nobles and thegns of my kingdom, and in the presence and at the request of Huniger, treasurer of the monastery of St. Dionysius, which is in France, who was sent to us with others as an embassy by Benedict, the venerable pope of the see of Rome, and the lord emperor Louis. I, Æthelwulf, king of the English, confirmed the order of this grant with my own hand, by the affixing of the sign of the most victorious cross of Christ.

1. BCS 494, not in Kemble; from Doublet, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de St. Denis* (1625). It is a confirmation of Nos. XVIII and XIX, and like them, is in its present form at least a glaring forgery.

2. There was no Emperor Louis at this time. Louis de Débonnaire had died in 840; Louis the German (833-76) never used the style of emperor. In any case, St. Denis was not in the latter's kingdom.

3. The use of this form proves that the name was taken from a list in which it was entered in the nominative case. English documents always use the correct Anglo-Saxon dative form (in this case *Hastingum*) even when the name is governed by a Latin preposition.

4. This is an impossible date. The nones of November fall on the 5th of the month. To speak of the eleventh of the nones is, therefore, like dating the document 'minus-fifth of November'.

XXIV<sup>1</sup>

Æðelme mines broðersuna þone ham æt Ealding burnan and æt Cum tune and æt Crundellan and æt Beadingum and æt Beadinga hamme<sup>2</sup> and æt Burn ham and æt Þunres felda and æt Æscengum and Apelwolde<sup>3</sup> mines broðorsuna þone ham æt Godelmingum and æt Gylde forda and æt Stæningum and Osferðe minum mæge þone ham æt Beccan lea and æt Hryðeran felda<sup>4</sup> and æt Diccelingum and æt Suð tune and æt Lullyng mynster<sup>5</sup> and æt Angemæringum and æt Felhhamme.

To Æthelm my nephew (I leave) the estate at Aldingbourne and at Compton and at Crundell and at Beeding and at Beddingham and at Burnham and at Thundersfield and at *Æscingas* and to Æthelwold my nephew I leave the estate at Godalming and at Guildford and at Steyning and to Osferth my relative the estate at Beckley and at Rotherfield and at Ditchling and at Sutton and at Lyminster and at Angmering and at Felpham.

1. BCS 553, not in KCD, from the *Liber de Hyda* (temp. Cnut). This is an extract from the will of King Ælfred (871-99), the remainder of which is occupied with bequests of land in other areas and of chattels and other personalty.

2. Cf. Nos. XX, XXI. In the time of Offa there had been a 'monastery' at Beddingham; the charters of 801 and 825 do not make it absolutely clear that it was still a 'going concern' in the ninth century, but its description as *monasterium* (cf. n. 5 *infra*) shows that it had been so recently; the absence of any mention of it here suggests that it had ceased to exist in the meantime.

3. He was a son of King Æthelred I (866-71) and was the prince who led a revolt against Eadward the Elder in 902-5.

4. Cf. Nos. XVIII, XIX. Rotherfield was claimed by the abbey of St. Denis, and the unique dedication of the church there suggests that there was some historical basis for these claims. But it was clearly in the *de facto* possession of the king in the late ninth century.

5. The place-name Lyminster indicates that there had also been a religious house of some kind here. OE. *mynster* need not mean a monastery in the fully developed sense of that word, but any kind of collegiate church; one served by a small body of secular canons would fulfil the meaning of the word.



XXV<sup>1</sup>

In nomine ab alto cuncta cernentis. Goda,<sup>1a</sup> optimas ministerque regalis, cum consilio et licentia Eadwardi regis, iure hereditario Wiohstano, quia eius filiam in coniugio habebat, quatuor cassatos in loco quem solicolæ Uþmerdone vocitant dedit, que ille Wiohstan postea unius terram manentis, ab Elfredo et a coniuge sua Ealhsware<sup>2</sup> æternaliter ad possidendam, cum pratis, pascuis, silvis, rivulis, omnibusque ad eam utilitatibus rite pertinentibus, pecunia emit probata;<sup>2a</sup> quæ donatio empta iuxta stagnum, quod Blackmuær appellatur, facta est; cuius et testes assentientes hii fuerunt, Eadwardus<sup>3</sup> rex, Syghelm<sup>4</sup> episcopus, Heahferð<sup>5</sup> dux, Eadwald,<sup>6</sup> Æðelstan,<sup>7</sup> Ælfred, Wilfrið,<sup>8</sup> Goda, Bremhelm, Dudda.<sup>9</sup> Post interlunium temporis prædicti, Wiohstan cum uxore et filio proficiscens ad Romam, eandem hæreditalium cassatarum terram, licentia ab Æðelstano rege percepta, Wulfhune<sup>10</sup> episcopo, pro duobus denariorum millibus argenti; quibus insuper denariis uno adiuncto equo, in perpetuam hæreditatem tradidit episcopo; namque ut huius terræ emptio firma et rata esset, sibique perpetualiter perduret, deprecabatur regem ut suæ manus, suorumque optimatum inscriptum, huic cirographo imponeret, quodque faciens dixit, Qui hanc addere voluerit, bona domini in terra videat viventium; qui vero minuere, et per antiquam si supervenerit cartulam elidere temptaverit, sciat illam conticiscendo esse adnietlatam et semetipsum novissima examinationis die, classica archangeli clangente buccina paliandra frigulis homulorum liquefactis tetra relinquentibus, cum Iuda impiæ proditionis compilatore, infaustis quoque Iudæis christum ore sacrilego blasphemantibus æterna dampnatione edacibus favillantium tormentorum flammis esse periturum.<sup>11</sup> Huius sane cedulæ testes et exactores sunt, quorum nomina infra depicta annotantur. Ego Æðelstanus<sup>12</sup> privilegii ierarchia præditus rex, hunc indiculum cum signo sanctæ semperque adorandæque crucis corroboravi et subscripsi. Ego Wulfhelmus<sup>13</sup> Dorobernensis æcclesie

archiepiscopus corroboravi et subscripsi. Ego Wulfstanus<sup>14</sup> Eboracensis æcclesiæ archiepiscopus consensi et subscripsi. Et postea sequuntur termini in lingua Saxonica in dorso cartæ originalis.<sup>15</sup>

In the name of Him who surveys all from on high. Goda, a nobleman and king's thegn, gave for an inheritance to Wiohstan, whose daughter he had taken to wife, four hides in the place which the yokels call Up Marden, with the agreement and permission of king Eadweard; and this Wiohstan afterwards bought at an approved price from Ælfred and his wife Ealhswith, one hide of land to hold in perpetuity, with meadows, pastures, woods, rivers, and all the easements pertaining thereto by custom; and this grant of purchase was made by the pool which is called Blackmore; these being the witnesses who agreed to it, Eadweard the king, Sighelm the bishop, Heahferth the alderman, Eadwald, Æthelstan, Ælfred, Wilfrid, Goda, Bremhelm, Dudda. After an interval from the aforesaid time, Wiohstan, setting out for Rome with his wife and son, having obtained permission from King Æthelstan, granted this land of hereditary hides to Bishop Wulfhun for two thousand silver pennies; and when one horse had been added to these pennies he made it over in perpetuity to the bishop. And in order that this purchase of land should be firm and secure, and should remain in his possession for ever, he begged of the king to put on this indenture his signature and those of his noblemen. And in doing so the king said:—Who shall wish to add to this, may he see the good things of the Lord in the land of the living; who shall wish to reduce it, and attempt to cancel it by an ancient charter if such should turn up, let him know that it will be destroyed and cut in pieces, and that he himself on the last day of judgement, with the trumpet of the archangel sounding the call, and the released corpses of men leaving their hideous tombs, shall perish in eternal damnation amid the consuming flames of burning tortures with Judas the originator of wicked treason and the ill-omened Jews cursing Christ.

with their blasphemous mouths. The witnesses and agents of this charter are those whose names appear written below. I, Æthelstan, king established in the hierarchy of privilege, have confirmed and signed this charter with the sign of the holy and eternally blessed cross. I, Wulfhelm, archbishop of the church of Canterbury, have affirmed and signed. I, Wulfstan, archbishop of the church of York, have agreed and signed. And afterwards follow the bounds in the Saxon language on the back of the original charter.

1. BCS 640, KCD 368, from Liber B, f. 8. This document contains two transactions, separated by a generation in time. Goda sold his father-in-law Wiohstan land at Up Marden which he had received from Ælfred and Ealhswith; when Wiohstan went to Rome, he sold the property to Bishop Wulfhun for 2,000 silver pennies, with the permission of King Æthelstan. By the witnesses' names (see below) the first transaction is to be dated 900 × 905, the second 930 × 939.

1a. Goda signs a charter of before 914, BCS 638.

2. The name of King Ælfred's wife was not Ealhsware but Ealhswith. She was the daughter of Æthelred Mucil, alderman of the Gainas, married Ælfred in 868, and died in 905.

2a. The reading in KCD and in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vi, p. 1166, taken from a chartulary dated 1640 (presumably Liber K), has important variations. It has *vocitant; deditque* in l. 5 of the present text and *emptam for emit* in l. 9. It is clear that if the reading in Birch and Liber B is correct, i.e. 'Wiohstan afterwards bought land from Ælfred and Ealhsware', the identification of these two people with King Ælfred and his queen is impossible owing to the mention of King Eadweard in the previous clause. But if the reading in Dugdale and Liber K is correct, i.e. 'Wiohstan afterwards gave land which he had bought from Ælfred and Ealhsware', this possible identification cannot be disregarded.

3. Eadweard, son of Ælfred and Ealhswith, reigned from 26 Oct. 899 to Dec. 924 (see No. XXVI, n. 2).

4. Perhaps an error for Wighelm, who signs regularly from 901 to 910, caused by the transcriber's confusion with Sighelm, bishop of Sherborne, who signs charters of Æthelstan. Birch in fact reads *Wyghelm*.

5. He signs charters regularly from 900 to 910.

6. According to the *Chronicle* an Eadwald, king's thegn, was slain in 905; this is probably the same man.

7. He signs charters regularly from 900 to 910.

8. Perhaps an error for Wulfred, who signs charters from 900 (KCD 1076) to 904 (id. 339).

9. Probably identical with the Dudig who signs KCD 1078 (900).

10. Wulfhun, bishop of Selsey, signs charters regularly from 930 to 940.

11. This turgid anathema has suffered in the course of transcription. Mr. W. D. Peckham has kindly examined the source-copy in Liber B—a fourteenth-century chartulary. The word *liquefact* was wrongly expanded by Kemble as *liquefactum*, which made a sufficiently obscure phrase quite insoluble; Birch gave its proper grammatical termination *liquefactis*, but failed to read the word after *conticiscendo esse*; this is *adniclatam*, evidently for *adnichilatam*. It looks as if someone had put in a claim to the land and alleged the existence of an old charter.—*Editor*.

12. Æthelstan reigned Dec. 924–27 Oct. 939 (see No. XXVI, n. 2).

13. Wulfhelm was archbishop of Canterbury 923–42, *Chronicle*, ed. Plummer, II, p. 134.

14. Wulfstan succeeded Hrothweard as archbishop of York in 930 (KCD 351). He was deposed by Eadred in 952 for collaboration with the Danes, made bishop of Dorchester in 954, and died in 956 (*Chronicle*, MS. D).

15. This sentence is an editorial footnote by the fourteenth-century transcriber.

## XXVI<sup>1</sup>

Regnante perpetualiter atque omnem humanæ imbecillitatis sensum benignitate transcendente largissima tonantis iduma; que mirando ineffabilique proprii arbitrii privilegio alta, media, infima, justa invictæ fortitudinis lance trutinata, gubernat; et ea quæ infra sunt anotata sed sempiternaliter, manenti elucubratione voluntatis, inæstimabiliter luce inaccessibili, rimatur; que massam humanæ conditionis generalem, olim fraude falsitatis deceptam, patria naturalis sinceritatis pulsam, merito piaculi heu proh dolor commissi juste trusam, cirographum æternæ servitutis seu dampnationis subituram, temporibus labilis vitæ volventibus novissimis, præcepto pantocratoris, misericorditer reformavit; cuiusque foedata flumine æternarum lachrymarum tempora, oratio assumptæ mortalitatis, tergens eam dolores cruciatusque sempiternos evadentem, ad optabilia æternorum gaudiorum deduxit limina, quorum pars eiusdem recuperatæ massæ terreni incolatus, erumpnas, operibus examinationis transvolans, inter candentia beatorum angelorum foeliciter exultando congauDET. Altera vero alienæ gemendæ peregrinationis, diuturni-

tate exulans splendida, meritis adhuc nutantibus orbatur regione. Huius siquidem exosæ peregrinationis mærore pressus, gaudio longevæ beatitudinis illectus, ad demenda scelerum commissorum peccamina, et ad nanciscendam iam antefatæ gloriæ coronam, ego Adalstanus<sup>2</sup> rex Anglorum, anno dominicæ incarnationis dccccxxx,<sup>2a</sup> regni vero gratis mihi commissi vi, indictione iii, epactæ xviii, concurrente iiii, nonis mensis Aprilis, tertia luna rotigeræ vagationis i, per eiusdem omnipatrantis dexteram totius Britannicæ regni solio sublimatus condonando, quandam mihi ab eo telluris particulam miserabiliter concessam meo fideli episcopo Beornheago<sup>3</sup> tribuo, id est iiii cassatarum in loco quem solicolæ vocant æt Medemeninga,<sup>4</sup> cum silva campisque ad eam iacentibus quæ Earneleia<sup>5</sup> dicitur. Tellus siquidem prædicta hiis terminibus circumcincta clarescit. Ærest æt thrim beorgum.<sup>6</sup> æt tham forda. thonne æt langan stona. thær se flod up scyt.<sup>7</sup> Pratumquoque quod juxta civitatem habetur quod Saxonice Garstone appellatur, ut ille eam sine iugo detestandæ servitutis liberaliter ac æternaliter quamdiu verberanti ocellorum convolatu auraque spirabili potiatur habeat; et post generalem, qui in omnibus certis incertisque homunculis constat, transitum, cuicumque successionis hæredi voluerit imperpetuum delinquat. This sunðe the gemeare thes gerstun-landes and þere mede. Ærest at tham heagam. this hure swa suth and lang þare stanstrete on kingesham, swo thanne suth and west and lang wegges to þam hegeleten butan tham litlan stenenan forðe, swa suth and gerihte on ther eastren willes heafod. swoa west and lang streames to stockbrugge, swo north and lang thare fore strete to suthgate.<sup>8</sup> Si autem, quod non optamus, aliquis superbe atque proterve flammivoma administrante invidia afflatus spiritu evenerit hanc meæ compositionis ac confirmationis breviculam demere aut infringere et ad nihilum deducere temptaverit, sciat se novissima ac magna examinationis die, tuba perstrepenste archangeli, bustis sponte dehiscens, somata diu corrupta relinquentibus elementis omnium creaturarum pavefactis, cum Iuda proditore,

qui a satoris pio sato 'filius perditionis' dicitur, æterna confusione edacibus innumerabilium tormentorum flammis periturum; huius namque a deo dominoque ihesu christo inspirante atque vivente voluntatis scedula in villa omnibus notissima quæ Lullyngmynstre<sup>9</sup> nuncupatur, episcopis, abbatibus, ducibus, patriæque procuratoribus, regia dapsilitate ostantibus, perscripta est, cuius etiam inconcussæ firmitatis soliditas hiis testibus roborata constat, quorum nomina subtus characteribus depicta denotantur. Ego Adhelstanus<sup>2</sup> singularis privilegii monarchia præditus rex, huius indiculi firmitatem cum signo sanctæ amandæque crucis roboravi et subscripsi. Ego Wlfhelmus<sup>10</sup> Dorobernensis ecclesiæ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Hroðwardus<sup>11</sup> Eboracensis archiepiscopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Ælfwine<sup>12</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Eadgar<sup>13</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Cenwaldus<sup>14</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Cineferd<sup>15</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Theodred<sup>16</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Edward<sup>17</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Eadolf<sup>18</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Sighelm<sup>19</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Ælfheah<sup>20</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Oda<sup>21</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Osfrith<sup>21a</sup> dux consensi et subscripsi. Ego Ælfwold<sup>21b</sup> dux consensi et subscripsi. Ego Ælred<sup>21c</sup> dux consensi et subscripsi. Ego Uhtred<sup>21d</sup> dux consensi et subscripsi. Ego Ælfred<sup>21e</sup> dux consensi et subscripsi. Ego Ælfstan<sup>21f</sup> dux consensi et subscripsi. Ego Urum<sup>21g</sup> dux consensi et subscripsi. Ego Grim<sup>21h</sup> dux consensi et subscripsi. Ego Stircer<sup>22</sup> dux consensi et subscripsi. Ego Regenwold<sup>23</sup> dux consensi et subscripsi. Ego Odda<sup>24</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Wulphelm<sup>25</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Buga<sup>26</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Æthelstan<sup>27</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Wulfgar<sup>28</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Sygred<sup>29</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Ælfheage<sup>30</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Wulfsige<sup>31</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Æthelstan<sup>32</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Wyhtgar<sup>33</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego

Eadric<sup>34</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Æthelweard<sup>35</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Æthelstan<sup>36</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Æthelmund<sup>37</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Wulfsige<sup>38</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Ælhelm<sup>39</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Burhed<sup>40</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Burhtric<sup>41</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Byrthelm<sup>42</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Wulfnoth<sup>43</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi.

The tremendous image of the Thunderer reigns in eternity and with His benignity transcends all feeling of human weakness; and with the wonderful and ineffable prerogative of His own judgement He governs the high, the medium and the low, weighing them in the just balance of unconquered strength; and in the remaining labour of will, in the inestimably inaccessible light, He constantly investigates the things which are referred to below, and in the most recent revolutions of our fleeting life He has sympathetically, at the order of the Almighty, reshaped the common mass of the human race, formerly deceived by falsity and untruth, driven out from their home of virgin truth, justly pressed by the deserts of the crime which (alas! woe!) it has committed, ordained to undergo the sentence of eternal slavery or damnation; He whose cheeks were stained with the flood of eternal tears, He the Word incarnate, cleanses it, thus saved from eternal pains and tortures, and leads it to the desirable threshold of eternal joy, in whose hall a part of the same recovered mass of the inhabitants of the earth, passing the barriers, rejoice in blessed exultation among the bright ranks of the holy angels. Another part of this unhappy pilgrimage of tears, banished from immortal splendour, is on the contrary bereaved as its merits deserve. Stricken, then, by horror at this hateful pilgrimage, and attracted by the joy of long-enduring happiness; to remove the fault of the wrongs I have committed, and to obtain the promised crown of glory, I, Æthelstan, king of the English, in the year of our Lord's incarnation 930, the 6th of the

reign entrusted to me by grace, the 3rd of the indiction, the 18th of the epact, the 4th of the concurrent, on the 5th day of the month of April, the 1st day in the 3rd phase of the moon's circular journey, having been raised by the right hand of the same all-effective One to power of granting the whole soil of the kingdom of Britain, do grant to my faithful bishop Beornheah a certain portion of land mercifully conceded to me by Him, that is of 4 hides in the place which the yokels call Medmerry, with the wood and fields adjoining thereto, which is called Earnley. The above-mentioned land is clearly described by these bounds. Firstly at Rumbridge; at the ford, thence at the long stone where the stream rises. It also has meadowland near the city, which is called in Saxon, Garston, which he may hold freely without the detestable yoke of servitude, for ever, as long as he has power over the surroundings of his eyes and the breathing of the air, and after the common passing which awaits all men, inevitable yet unpredictable, he may leave it forever to any heir he may wish. These are the bounds of the garden and the meadow. Firstly at the hedge, south along Stane Street to Kingsham, thence south-west along the road to the hedge (?) outside the little stony ford, due south to the head of the eastern stream, so west along the stream to Stockbridge, so north along the Fore Street to the south gate. But if, which we do not desire, anyone in pride and impudence, inspired by the ministrations of a hellish, envious spirit, shall come forward to destroy or infringe this little note of my arrangement and confirmation, and shall try to reduce it to nothing, know he that in the last great day of judgement, the trumpet of the archangel resounding, the tombs opening of their own accord, the frightened elements of all created things leaving their long-corrupted bodies, he will perish in eternal confusion by the all-consuming flames of innumerable torments, with Judas the traitor, who by the holy Son of the Creator was called 'the son of perdition'. And, God and our Lord Jesus Christ inspiring and living, the record of this our intention was written in the town very well known



by everyone, which is called Lyminster, with the bishops, abbots, aldermen, governors of the realm, applauding the royal bounty; and the strength of its unshaken firmness stands corroborated by these witnesses, whose names are noted below, set out in writing. I, Æthelstan, king, possessed of the monarchy of unique privilege, have corroborated the strength of this little note and signed it with the sign of the holy and adorable cross. I, Wulfhelm, bishop of the church of Canterbury, have agreed and signed. I, Hrothward, archbishop of York, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfwine, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Eadgar, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Coenwald, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Cynefrith, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Theodred, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Eadweard, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Eadwulf, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Sigehelm, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfheah, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Oda, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Osfrith, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfwold, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Ælred, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Uhtred, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfred, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfstan, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Urm, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Grim, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Styrçær, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Røgnvald, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Odda, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfhelm, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Buga, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelstan, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfgar, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Sigered, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfheah, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfsgige, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelstan, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wihtgar, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Eadric, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelweard, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelstan, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelmund, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfsgige, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfhelm, thegn, have

agreed and signed. I, Burhræd, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Beorhtric, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Beorhthelm, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfnoth, thegn, have agreed and signed.

1. BCS 669, KCD 350, from (a) Chichester Cathedral MS., Liber Y, f. 73r (c. 1250); (b) *ibid.*, Liber A, f. 23v; (c) *ibid.*, Liber B, f. 16r (1350-75); (d) *ibid.*, Liber E, f. 175v (c. 1400). For a discussion of the origins and merits of these manuscripts, see Mr. W. D. Peckham's introduction to *The Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester* (S.R.S., vol. XLVI). Kemble's edition is evidently from a very bad, very defective transcript; it omits most of the witnesses, there are serious lacunae in the beginning and important textual variations; in fact, the charter as printed by Kemble is almost completely unintelligible, and there is small wonder that he marked it with (\*) as a spurious document. In fact, however, it is in exact agreement, *mutatis mutandis*, with a Crediton charter of 29 April 930, printed from the original by Napier and Stevenson (*Crawford Charters* (1895), No. IV). This is a substantial confirmation of the genuineness of the present charter.

2. This royal style is used by Æthelstan in a number of charters between 930 and 937. Original examples include No. XXVIII, and CS 677, 1343 (930). For the date as expressed by regnal years, see the article by M. L. R. Beaven in *English Historical Review*, xxxii (1917), 517-31. Mr. Beaven placed the death of Eadward the Elder, and the accession of Æthelstan, on 17 July 925, citing the *Annals of St. Neots* as authority that Eadward reigned 26 years, commencing in 899. Not only the evidence of the charters, however, but of other *annales bonæ credulitatis* militates against so late a date for Æthelstan's accession. Besides the present charter, dated 5 Apr. 930, 6th year of reign, there are others, as follows: CS 674, 23 Mar. 931, 7th year; No. XXVIII, 28 May 934, 10th year; CS 675, 21 July 931, 7th year; CS 689, 30 Aug. 932, 8th year; CS 677/8, 12 Nov. 931, 7th year; CS 716/18, 21 Dec. 935 corr., 11th year; CS 691, 24 Dec. 932, 8th year. These point to an accession date between 25 Dec. 924 and 22 Mar. 925. The *Chronicle*, MSS. B, C, and D, Symeon of Durham, Florence of Worcester, and William of Malmesbury all place Eadward's death in 924 and most of them give him a reign of 24 years only. Of these, Symeon of Durham (c. 1090) (Rolls Series, II, p. 123) says that Eadward died 924, *indictione xv*. The indiction 15 began on 25 Sept. 924; so that a date in the last days of 924 would agree both with the charters and with the Anglo-Norman chroniclers.

2a. Birch reads DCCCXXX, apparently a printer's error.

3. Beornheah was one of seven bishops consecrated at once, in 909 (Robinson, *Times of St. Dunstan*, p. 15). This is the last time his name appears; his successor Wulfhun signs a charter of 21 June 931, CS 675.

4. Medmerry Farm in Selsey; see No. II, n. 3.
5. Earnley, near Selsey.
6. The lost Rumbridge, to the west of Selsey Bill; see No. II, n. 25.

7. There is a small stream near Earnley; *thær se flod up scyt* must refer to its source. These boundaries are incomplete, as they only describe a line a short distance northwards from the sea; the eastern boundary is not given. There are and have been large extents of marsh in the Selsey Bill area, and it may be that tenth-century topographical conditions made the demarcation of precise boundaries unnecessary or even impossible.

8. For the bounds of the *gærstun*, see *P. N. Sx.*, p. 11.

9. Lyminster, near Littlehampton. The description of what can never have been more than a village as *villa omnibus notissima* is a typical example of the inflated language of the charter.

10. See No. XXV, n. 2.

11. The date of Hrothweard's accession is unknown. He signs charters from 16 Apr. 928 (CS 663) to 930 or 931 (CS 687). His predecessor Æthelbald was alive in 904 (Symeon of Durham, I, 225) and his successor Wulfstan was consecrated in 931 (*ibid.*). Wulfstan signs a charter dated 7 June 930 from the usually reliable Worcester chartulary; but the dating clause is inconsistent and cannot altogether be trusted (CS 701).

12. Ælfwine, also known as Ælle (Florence of Worcester, *Catalogue*), was bishop of Lichfield. He signs charters from 916 (CS 632) onwards; his predecessor Wigmund was, according to Stubbs (*Registrum*, ed. II, p. 23), alive in 909; but his last signature is 904, CS 607. Ælfwine's last signatures are to a pair of doubtful charters of 939, CS 738/9; his successor Ælfgar signs CS 769 (941).

13. Eadgar was bishop of Hereford, succeeding before 901, when he signed CS 596/7. His last signature is on an original charter, CS 1343, dated 29 Apr. 930, while his successor Tidhelm signed CS 701 on 7 June the same year.

14. Coenwald was bishop of Worcester 929-57 (Florence of Worcester).

15. Cynefrith was bishop of Rochester; he signs charters regularly from 926 (CS 658/9) to 26 Jan. 933 (CS 695/6).

16. Theodraed was bishop of London. He signs charters regularly from 926 (CS 658/9) to 955 (CS 910). The charter of 921 cited by Searle (*Anglo-Saxon Bishops, Kings, and Nobles*, p. 31) is false; its formulae are those of Æthelstan and its witnesses those of 931. The date of Theodraed's quitting the see is not certain. His will survives in CS 1008, a late, bad transcript. BCS 910 is not altogether reliable as it is dated 956, indiction 13; this indiction corresponds to 955. A Glastonbury charter of 950, CS 887, said to be from an original, is witnessed by Beorhthelm, who was Theodraed's successor next-but-one; a pair of Abingdon charters of 953 (CS 899, 900) bear the same signature. The last definitely dated signature of Theodraed is 951,

CS 892, also from an alleged original; also 949, CS 885. The confusion may be due to the fact that he resigned the see before his death, but still attended the king's councils occasionally.

17. Eadweard was a suffragan bishop of York. His signature occurs to three other charters, CS 1343 (930), 674, 677 (931).

18. Eadwulf was the first bishop of Crediton, consecrated in 909. His last signature was to No. XXVIII, 28 May 934; his successor Æthelgar signs CS 705, 16 Dec. 934. According to Bishop Leofric's missal (MS. Bodley 579, c. 1050) his obit fell on 9 Nov.

19. Sigehelm was bishop of Sherborne. He succeeded between 918 (when his predecessor Æthelbald was consecrated) and 925 (when he signed a charter, CS 641), and died in 933; his last signature is to CS 692, dated 24 Dec. 932, and the first of his successor Ælfred to CS 697, 16 Dec. 933.

20. Ælfheah was bishop of Wells, succeeding in 923, when his predecessor Wulfhelm (n. 10 *supra*) was translated to Canterbury; he died in 937 or 8, signing CS 714 in the former year, while his successor Wulfhelm II signed CS 729 in 938. Care must be taken not to confuse him with Ælfheah, bishop of Winchester 934-51.

21. Oda was consecrated bishop of Ramsbury by Wulfhelm of Canterbury (923-42) and signs a charter, CS 660, dated 927. He was translated to Canterbury in 942, and died 2 June 958.

21a. Osfrith signs CS 677 (931). An Osfrith had signed charters in 898 and 901 as *minister* and in 909 as *dux*; this may be the same. Alternatively, he may be the Osfrith who came to Æthelstan as ambassador from Norway (William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, i. 146).

21b. See No. XXVIII, n. 43.

21c. Probably for Ealdred, who signs a few charters at this time. In KCD 867 (c. 1060) the name of Ealdred, bishop of Hereford, is similarly misspelt in a late transcript.

21d. See No. XXVIII, n. 49.

21e. Ælfred signs CS 632 (916), 677 (931).

21f. See No. XXVIII, n. 51.

21g. See No. XXVIII, n. 46.

21h. Grim signs CS 1343 (930).

22. Styrcær signs CS 1343, dated 29 Apr. 930. His name and that of Rognvald (n. 23) are of Scandinavian origin; this is a period when the Danes and Norsemen of Northumbria made submission to Æthelstan and appeared at his courts (see No. XXVIII, n. 18).

23. Rognvald signs three other charters of 930 and 931, CS 674, 701, 703.

24. Odda signs charters regularly from 925 (CS 641) to 944 (CS 801) as *minister*. His name appears once in 942 (CS 775) as *dux*; but the charter is a bad, late transcript.

25. Wulfhelm signs charters regularly from 928 (CS 663) to 943 (CS 789); also one charter dated 944 (CS 801), but it is of doubtful origin.

26. Buga signs charters from 901 (CS 593) to 933 (CS 696), and may be identical with the Buga who attested a grant by Æthelred, alderman of Mercia, in 888 (CS 557).

27. Æthelstan signs charters regularly from 928 (CS 663) to 938 (CS 730) as *minister*; from 938 (CS 732) to 973 (CS 1295) as *dux*, as well as a false charter of 974, CS 1311. He probably became alderman of Somerset in 938.

28. Wulfgar signs charters as *minister* from 16 Apr. 928 (CS 663) to 938 (CS 722) and as *dux* from 938 (CS 724) to 943 (CS 789), with a doubtful charter of 944, CS 801.

29. Sigered signs a few charters from 928 (CS 663) to 939 (CS 742).

30. Ælfheah signs charters from 928 (CS 663) to 946 (CS 814).

31. See No. XXVIII, n. 100.

32. Æthelstan must not be confused with his namesake of n. 27 above. The existence of two *ministri* of the name is attested by a number of charters in which the name appears twice. They extend from 928 (CS 663) to 934 (CS 705/6).

33. Wihtgar signs charters from 928 (CS 663) to 946 (CS 818).

34. Eadric signs as *minister* from 929 (CS 665) to 941 (CS 770) and as *dux* from 942 (CS 775) to 948 (CS 866). He was the grantee of No. XXXV; Dr. J. A. Robinson (*Times of St. Dunstan*, pp. 43–50) suggested convincingly that he was identical with the Eadric who had some destroyed charters replaced in 916 and in 925 (CS 632, 642) and that he was the brother of Æthelstan 'the Half-King', alderman of East Anglia.

35. Æthelweard signs a few charters; CS 663, 674, 677, 689, 1343–4 (928–32). The corrupt name *pelgeard* in CS 667 probably belongs to him.

36. While several charters (see n. 32 above) are attested by two Æthelstan's, only one other has more; a contemporary charter of 12 Nov. 931 (CS 677) is signed by no less than five holders of the name. The present witness may be any one of these.

37. Æthelmund signs charters as *minister* from 928 (CS 663) to 939 (CS 743) and as *dux* from 940 (CS 748) to 963 (CS 1121); and an original charter of 965, CS 1165.

38. Wulfsgie signs charters from 928 (CS 663) to 941 (CS 765).

39. Ealhhelm signs here for the first time, unless he be the *Æðelm* in a corrupt text dated 926 (CS 659). He signs as *minister* until 939 (CS 743) and as *dux* from 940 (CS 748) to 951 (CS 892).

40. Burhred signs two other charters, CS 665 (929) and 677 (931).

41. Beorhtric signs three other charters, CS 663 (928), 677 (931), and No. XXVIII (934).

42. Beorhthelm signs No. XXVIII (934) and was the grantee of CS 746 (940). A Beorhthelm was witness to a number of charters 888–904 (CS 557, 611); it was the name of the father of Beorhthnoth, alderman (956–91) of Essex and hero of Maldon. The present signatory may be identical with either of these.

43. Wulfnoth signs here for the first time; his signatures continue until 940 (CS 753).

XXVII<sup>1</sup>

Anno dominicae incarnationis dccc<sup>vel</sup>xxxiii<sup>iii</sup>.<sup>2</sup> Ego Agylflæda<sup>3</sup> concedo ecclesie christi in Dorobernia anuente domino meo Eadmundo<sup>4</sup> terram juris mei in Suthsexan<sup>5</sup> nomine Hamme<sup>6</sup> ad opus monachorum ibidem deo servientium. liberam ab omni seculari difficultate exceptis expedicione pontis et arcis constructione. Si quis hoc donum meum fregerit, disperdat illum deus.

In the year of our Lord's Incarnation 934, or 933, I, Æthelflæd, grant, with the consent of my lord Eadmund, land of my jurisdiction in Sussex called Hamme, to the church of Christ in Canterbury for the work of the monks serving God in that place. This land is free from all temporal burdens except military service and the building of bridges and forts. If anyone infringes this my gift, may God curse him.

1. BCS 698, not in KCD, from MS. Lambeth 1212, f. 322—a corrupt Canterbury chartulary of c. 1300, in which many charters are given in abridged versions; this is evidently the case here.

2. The curious way of writing the date shows that the transcriber had considerable difficulty in deciphering his original. The association with Eadmund (939–46) suggests that the original date may have been 943, *dcccxxxiii*, in which the last *x* had been smudged. But *xxxx* is not a usual way to write '40'. Of the 72 charters of Eadmund (BCS 746–817), we find that 15 are either undated or wrongly dated; of the other 57, 55 have the more familiar *xl* and two have *quadragesimo* spelt in full. The form *xxxx* does not occur at all. In view of this fact the question of date must be left undecided, although the balance of probability is in favour of 943.

3. If the date 943 is correct, she may be Æthelflæd æt Domerhame, second wife of King Eadmund (see Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, p. 138). But Æthelflæd is quite a common woman's name and may be coincidental here.

4. Eadmund reigned 27 Oct. 939—26 May 946.

5. The late OE. dative ending *-an* (for earlier *-um*) and the unvoiced consonant in *Agylflæd* (for earlier *Æðelflæd*) shows that the document from which this text was abridged was itself a transcript at least as late as the eleventh century. The *y* in *Agylflæd* may be an example of Kentish *y* for *e* in standard OE. (see No. XXVIII, n. 7).

6. Unidentified. OE. *hamm*, 'inclosure'. This is a common place-name element and occurs by itself several times in Sussex; see *P. N. Sx.*, pp. 543, 551.

XXVIII<sup>1</sup>

Fortuna<sup>2</sup> fallentis saeculi procax non lacteo inmarci-  
 scibilibum lilorum candore amabilis. sed fellita heiulandae  
 corruptionis amaritudine odibilis. foetentis valle in lacri-  
 marum carnis. rictibus debacchando venenosis mor-  
 daciter dilacerat. quae quamvis arridendo sit infelicibus  
 adtractabilis acherontici ad ima cociti<sup>3</sup> ni satus alti  
 subveniat boantis. impudenter est decurribilis. et ideo  
 quia ipsa ruinosa deficiendo taliter dilabitur. summo-  
 pere festinandum est ad amoena indicibilis lætitiæ  
 arva. ubi angelica ymnidicæ iubilationis organa. melli-  
 fluaque vernantium rosarum odoramina. a bonis beatis-  
 que naribus inestimabiliter dulcia capiuntur. sineque  
 calce auribus clivpparum<sup>4</sup> suavia audiuntur. cuius  
 amore felicitatis illectus fastidiunt iam infima dulcescunt  
 superna eisque pro percipiendis semperque specie inde-  
 fectiva fruendis ego Æðelstanus<sup>5</sup> rex anglorum per  
 omnipatrantis dexteram totius Britanniae regni solio  
 sublimatus quandam telluris particulam meo fideli  
 ministro Ælfwaldo.<sup>6</sup> id est. xii cassatorum ecclesie  
 Christi Cantuarie civitatis subiacens in loco quem soli-  
 colae. aet derantune.<sup>7</sup> vocitant tribuo. ut ille eam sine  
 iugo exosae servitutis cum pratis pascuis silvis rivulis  
 omnibusque ad eam utilitatibus rite pertinentibus.  
 quamdiu aura naribus spirabili ocellorumque convolatu  
 cernibili potiatur habeat. et post<sup>8</sup> generalem qui omni-  
 bus certus incertusque homulis constat transitum.  
 cuicumque successionis heredi voluerit imperpetuum  
 contradendo liberaliter derelinquat. Predicta siquidem  
 tellus his terminis circumcincta clarescit. Ærast on  
 æscwoldes hlaw. ðonne on gemot biorh. ðonne on setl  
 ðorn. ðonne on lytlan biorh. ðonne on gat ham.  
 ðonne on æðelgiðe deno. ðonne on widan leh. ðonan  
 on wulfa biorh. ðonne betweonan twæm biorgum.<sup>9</sup>  
 ðonon on pæbbeles hol.<sup>10</sup> ðonon on mearc biorh.<sup>11</sup>  
 ðonon on pis berh;<sup>12</sup> and ðis synt ða den bæra ðe to  
 ðissum londe mid rihte belimpað. hlos dionu. swana  
 dionu.<sup>13</sup> gehæg holt. prentsan hlaw. ruwan biorg.  
 Ecgwealdes cumb. wæter ðorn. eófor sol. ðyrran mere.

biohhan dun.<sup>14</sup> wiðig wic. garunga leah.<sup>15</sup> hudelinga scydd. scealces hom. broc hyrst. byring falod. fæstan falod. hæcinga hleah. Si autem quod absit aliquis diabolico inflatus spiritu. hanc meae compositionis ac confirmationis breviculam elidere vel infringere temptaverit. sciat se novissima ac magna examinationis die. tuba perstrepenste archangeli. bustis sponte dehiscentibus somata iam rediviva relinquentibus cum iuda proditore qui a satoris pio sato: filius perditionis dicitur. eiusque complicibus iudeis. Cristum blasphemantibus aeterna confusione edacibus ineffabilium tormentorum flammis periturum; huius namque a deo dominoque Ihesu Christo inspiratae atque inventae voluntatis scedula. anno<sup>5</sup> dominicæ incarnationis dcccc°. xxx°. iii°. regni vero mihi commissi. x°. indictione. vii<sup>a</sup>. epacta. iii<sup>a</sup>. concurrente. ii°. quintis iunii kalendis. luna xi<sup>a</sup>; in civitate opinatissima quae Winte ceaster nuncupatur. tota populi generalitate sub alis regiae dapsilitatis ovanti. perscripta est; cuius etiam inconcussæ firmitatis auctoritas his testibus roborata constat quorum nomina subtus caracteribus depicta annotantur. Ego ædelstanus<sup>5</sup> singularis privilegii ierarchia præditus rex huius indiculi acumen cum signo sanctæ semperque adorandæ crucis corroboravi et subscripsi. Ego wulfhelmus<sup>16</sup> dorobernensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego wulfstanus<sup>17</sup> eboracensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego howæl<sup>18</sup> subregulus consensi et subscripsi. ego iuðwal<sup>19</sup> subregulus consensi et subscripsi. ego <sup>20</sup> subregulus consensi et subscripsi. ego teowdor<sup>21</sup> subregulus consensi et subscripsi. ego ælfwine<sup>22</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego eadulf<sup>23</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego cenwald<sup>24</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego biornstan<sup>25</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego ðiodred<sup>26</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego wulfhun<sup>27</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego wynsige<sup>28</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego ælfred<sup>29</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego tidhelm<sup>30</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego burhric<sup>31</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego ælfred<sup>32</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi.



ego conan<sup>33</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego wulfhelm<sup>34</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego cynsige<sup>35</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego wired<sup>36</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego sæxelm<sup>37</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego æsberht<sup>38</sup> episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego ælfric<sup>39</sup> abbas consensi et subscripsi. ego eadwine<sup>40</sup> abbas consensi et subscripsi. ego æðelnoð<sup>41</sup> abbas consensi et subscripsi. ego biorhtsige<sup>42</sup> abbas consensi et subscripsi. ego ælwald<sup>43</sup> dux consensi et subscripsi. ego osferð<sup>44</sup> dux consensi et subscripsi. ego æðelstan<sup>45</sup> dux consensi et subscripsi. ego urm<sup>46</sup> dux consensi et subscripsi. ego halfdene<sup>47</sup> dux consensi et subscripsi. ego osulf<sup>48</sup> dux consensi et subscripsi. ego uhtred<sup>49</sup> dux consensi et subscripsi. ego æsberht<sup>50</sup> dux consensi et subscripsi. ego ælfstan<sup>51</sup> dux consensi et subscripsi. ego scule<sup>52</sup> dux consensi et subscripsi. ego hadd<sup>53</sup> dux consensi et subscripsi. ego ordheh<sup>54</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego ælfgar<sup>55</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego æðelelm<sup>56</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego æðelwold<sup>57</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego eadstan<sup>58</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego æðered<sup>59</sup> minister (consensi et subscripsi.)<sup>59a</sup> ego wulfheh<sup>60</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego wullaf<sup>61</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego wulfgar<sup>62</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego wulfmær<sup>63</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego wulfnað<sup>64</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego odda<sup>65</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego wulfgar<sup>66</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego æðelstan<sup>67</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego ælfheah<sup>68</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego wulfsige<sup>69</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego wihtgar<sup>70</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego ælfhere<sup>71</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego eadric<sup>72</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego æðelwold<sup>73</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego eadwald<sup>74</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego ælfric<sup>75</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego eadmund<sup>76</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego wulfric<sup>77</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego hun<sup>78</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego æðelberht<sup>79</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego wynsige<sup>80</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego æðelferð<sup>81</sup> minister consensi et

subscripsi. ego ælfstan<sup>82</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego æðelmund<sup>83</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego æðelnoð<sup>84</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego eadnoð<sup>85</sup> (minister consensi et subscripsi.)<sup>59a</sup> ego aðulf<sup>86</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego hæðred<sup>87</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego sigered<sup>87a</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego æðered<sup>87b</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego eadwald<sup>88</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego sigeferð<sup>89</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego eadweard<sup>90</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego æðelsige<sup>91</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego ælfstan<sup>92</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego wulfriç<sup>93</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego ælfsige<sup>94</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego biorhstan<sup>95</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego ælfsige<sup>96</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego biorhtelm<sup>97</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego eadsige<sup>98</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego tiobcon<sup>99</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego wulfsige<sup>100</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego ealhelm<sup>101</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego wulfstan<sup>102</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi. ego berhtric<sup>103</sup> minister consensi et subscripsi.

The wanton fortune of this fallible world, not lovable with the milk-white radiance of unfading lilies, but odious with the gall-ridden bitterness of woeful corruption, tears up the sons of stinking flesh in the valley of tears; which, ridiculous though it may be, can be descended by the unfaithful with speed and shamelessness to the bottom of the all-embracing Acheron and Cocytus, unless the seed of the Mighty Voice on high comes to our aid. And therefore, because this ruinous fortune slips by and disappears in such a way, one ought above all to hurry to the fields of indescribable joy, where the angelic notes of joyful hymns and the sweet odour of blooming roses are taken in their inestimable sweetness by the noses of the good and the blessed, and are heard endlessly by their ears in the harmony of (instruments). Led on by love of this happiness, the lower regions are now distasteful and the upper regions sweet, and to obtain these, and enjoy them as one of a

sinful race, I, Æthelstan, king of the English, raised to the soil of the whole kingdom of Britain by the right hand of the Almighty, do give to my faithful thegn Ælwald a certain small piece of land, that is, of 12 hides subject to the church of Christ of the city of Canterbury in the place which the yokels call Durrington, so that he may have it without the yoke of hateful servitude with meadows, pastures, woods, streams, and all advantages properly pertaining to it, as long as he has power of the breathable air with his nostrils, and of the visible surroundings of his eyes. And after the common death which, inevitable but unpredictable, is general to all men, he may leave it freely, passing it over in perpetuity, to whatever heir of succession he wishes. This land is clearly surrounded by these bounds. Firstly at Æscwold's barrow, thence at the meeting-place hill, thence to the thorn by a dwelling, thence to the little hill, thence to the goat farm, thence to Æthelgith's valley, thence to the wide clearing, thence to the wolves' hill, thence between the two hills, thence to Pæbbel's hollow, thence to the boundary hill, thence to (?) Cissbury; and these are the detached pastures that belong by right to this land; the pigsty valley, the peasants' valley, the enclosed wood, the *prentsan* barrow, the rough barrow, Ecgweald's valley, the water thorn, the boar's wallowing-place, the dry mere, Biohha's hill, the willow farm, Goringlee, the shed of Hudela's people, the soldier's farm, the badgers' wood, the *burh* fold, the fortress fold, the clearing of Hæca's people. If anyone (God forbid), inspired by a devilish spirit, attempts to erase or infringe this little note of my arrangement and confirmation, know he that in the last great day of judgement, with the trumpet of the archangel resounding, the tombs opening of their own accord and giving up the now-revived corpses, he will perish in eternal confusion by the all-consuming flames of ineffable torments, with Judas the traitor, who by the holy Son of the Creator is called 'the son of perdition' and with his accomplices, the Jews, blaspheming Christ. And the record of our intention, inspired and revealed by God and our Lord

Jesus Christ, was written in the well-reputed city which is called Winchester, with the whole mass of the people applauding under the wings of the royal bounty, in the year of the Lord's incarnation 934, of the reign entrusted to me 10, of the indiction 7, epact 3, concurrent 2, the 5th of the kalends of June, the 11th day of the moon; and it stands corroborated by those whose names are noted below, set out in writing. I, Æthelstan, king, possessed of the monarchy of supreme privilege, have corroborated and signed this subtle document with the sign of the eternal and adorable Cross. I, Wulfhelm, archbishop of the church of Canterbury, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfstan, archbishop of the church of York, have agreed and signed. I, Howel, underking, have agreed and signed. I, Idwal, underking, have agreed and signed. I, (Morgan), underking, have agreed and signed. I, Tudor, underking, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfwine, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Eadwulf, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Cynewald, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Biornstan, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Theodred, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfhun, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Wynsige, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfred, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Burhric, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfred, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Conan, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfhelm, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Cynsige, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Wigred, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Sæxhelm, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfric, abbot, have agreed and signed. I, Eadwine, abbot, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelnoth, abbot, have agreed and signed. I, Beorhtsige, abbot, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfwald, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Osferth, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelstan, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Urm, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Inhwær, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Halfdene, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Oswulf, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Uhtred, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Æsberht, alder-

man, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfstan, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Scule, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Hadd, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Ordheah, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfgar, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelhelm, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelwold, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Eadstan, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelred, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfheah, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulflaf, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfgar, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfmær, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfnoth, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Odda, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfgar, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelstan, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfheah, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfsige, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wihtgar, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfhere, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Eadric, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelwold, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Eadwald, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfric, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Eadmund, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfric, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Hun, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelberht, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wynsige, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelfrith, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelmund, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelnoth, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Eadnoth, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelwulf, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Hæthred, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Sigered, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelred, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Eadwald, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Sigferth, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Eadward, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelsige, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfstan, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfric, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfsige, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Biorhstan, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfsige, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Biorht-helm, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Eadsige, thegn,

have agreed and signed. I, Tiobcon, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfsige, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Ealhhelm, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfstan, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Beorhtric, thegn, have agreed and signed.

1. BCS 702, KCD 364, from the original charter in the British Museum, Cotton MS. Augustus II, 65. There is a facsimile in *Ancient Charters in the British Museum*, part iii, Pl. 5.

2. This lengthy preamble occurs in other charters of 933 and 934, CS 703, 704, 716, 718, 719, 745. It was also used at Malmesbury to fake a charter of 680, CS 54. From 931 to 933 a formula beginning *Flebilis fortiter detestanda* was used (CS 677, &c.).

3. Cf. *Aeneid*, vi. 295-7.

4. Meaning unknown. The *suavia clivipparum* clearly refers to the song of the angels. Perhaps *clivippa*, therefore, means some kind of musical instrument.

5. See No. XXVI, n. 2.

6. Ælfwald signs a few charters from 931 to 935 (CS 677, 689, 690, 692, 707). Care must be taken not to confuse him with his contemporary, Ælfwold the alderman.

7. Durrington, now part of the borough of Worthing. The editors of *P. N. Sx.* (p. 195 f.) were not prepared to accept this identification. They pointed out (1) that the place-names in the boundaries were completely unidentified; and (2) that the identification of *Derantun* with Durrington depends upon 'the assumption that the *e* of that name represents OE. *y*', a variation characteristic of Kentish dialect. There are four other examples of OE. *y* in the charter and in no case has *e* been substituted. But other documents show that the two vowels were sometimes used quite indiscriminately, and there is sometimes only one example of one form as against several of the other. So in a charter of 871-89 (Harmer, *English Historical Documents*, x) *-stede* occurs once, *-stýde* three times. The confusion could occur both ways; a document of 859-70 (*ibid.* vii) has, on the one hand, *yfter* for more normal *æfter*, and, on the other, *Sigefreð* (twice), *Herefreð* for more normal *-frið*; it also preserves original *y* in several places.

For *Derantun* to be the only example of *e* for *y* is therefore not unprecedented; and the charter contains other features of Kentish dialect, which help to support the suggestion that *Derantun* represents West Saxon *Dyrantun*. For an explanation of these characteristics see Harmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-9, or Wright, *Old English Grammar*, ed. 2, pp. 84-90:

(a) Predominance of *io* over *eo* and sometimes over *e*:

(i) *biorh* five times in boundaries, against *berh* once.

(ii) *dionu* twice, against *deno* once.

(iii) *Biorstan*, *Diodred*, *Biorhtsige*, *Biorhstan*, *Biorhtelm* for

-eo-, later -e- in each case; against *Æsberht* (twice), *Æpelberht*, *Berhtic*.

These examples make a total of 12 examples of *io* against 6 of *eo* and *o*.

- (b) Confusion of *æ* and *e*; this test cannot be completely applied, as the OE. of the charter is late; contracted forms of names like *Æpered*, *Apulf*, *Wullaf*, *Æpelelm* occur, and under these circumstances the vowels were often confused in any case. But there is a noticeable tendency to have *æ* or *e* for *ea*, as in *Sæxelm*, *Wulfheh*, *Ordheh*, *Ælfhæh*.

Certain of the boundary marks seem to coincide with corresponding geographical features near Durrington; and the identity of the swine-pasture *Biohhan dun* with *Biohchandune* of No. XVII, which, wherever it was, was almost certainly in Sussex, seems to have escaped the notice of the editors of *P. N. Sx.* See nn. 9-15, below.

There is the further point that this land is described as belonging to Christ Church, Canterbury, in a phrase which is ungrammatical (*subiacens* agrees with nothing) and is written over an erasure. The insertion is in a hand of the late eleventh or early twelfth century and extends from *anglorum* to *subiacens*: the king's name *Æpelstan* has been latinized to *Æpelstanus* by the addition of the sign (?) in the same late hand. Birch notes the erasure but apparently failed to observe that the insertion is in a much later hand. The original hand is very sparing in abbreviations. The scribe even went to the length of writing *consensi et subscripsi* in full to each attestation. On the other hand, the insertion has twelve abbreviations in less than a line of the manuscript. In its original form it runs thus: *angloꝝ p omni-patrantis dexterā toti? britannię regni solio sublimat? quandā telluris particulā meo fideli ministro ælfwaldo. id ē xii. cassatorū ecclē xpī cantuarie civitatis subiacens*. This looks as if the original text (which probably extended as far as *cassatorum*) had been compressed to make room for the additional words, and as if the monks at a later date wished to make it clear that the land referred to was Durrington, which was part of the Canterbury peculiar of West Tarring, and inserted the clause, which implicitly contradicts the right of *Æthelstan* to make a grant of it.

8. For this clause, and the 'sanction' clause at the end, cf. the corresponding passages in No. XXVI.

9. *twæm biorgum* might refer to Harrow and Blackpatch Hills. Alternatively there were *twæm biorgum* near Findon in the bounds of No. XXXV, q.v.

10. A mile or so south of Harrow and Blackpatch Hills (O.S. 1 in. Sheet 133 E 10) there is a deep valley, the ground falling to 150 ft.

11. A hill near the above point and on the parish boundaries of Durrington and Findon is marked 457 ft. on the O.S. map.

12. Might this be Cissbury? The etymology of *pis berh* is obscure; it might be connected with OE. *pise*, 'pea'; perhaps because this vegetable was grown near the place. The present name may be an

antiquarian creation as it is not attested before 1586 (*P. N. Devon*, I, p. lv). If the boundary-points are as suggested above, the land includes the present parishes of Durrington and Clapham.

13. Identical in form with Swandean, within Durrington parish itself; but swine-pastures are not found on the chalk and there is probably no actual identity of place.

14. *Biohchandune*, from which No. XVII (*S.A.C.* LXXXVI, 100) was issued in 791. This increases the likelihood that all the swine-pastures are in Sussex, since No. XVII was the charter of a duke of Sussex.

15. Goringlee, in Shipley; 'the clearing of Gara's people'. It is significant that Gara's people also gave their name to Goring, adjacent to Durrington.

16. See No. XXVI, n. 10.

17. See No. XXV, n. 13.

18. Howel the Good, the famous Welsh legislator. According to *ASC.* he submitted to Eadward the Elder in 922 and to Æthelstan in 926. He signs a number of charters from 928 (CS 663) to 937 (CS 721), and also CS 812, 815 (944-6). The interval is significant. The accession of the young king Eadmund in 939 was followed by a general uprising of the subject peoples, in which the Five Boroughs were overrun by the Danes. The evidence of the charters suggests that it was not till near the end of Eadmund's reign that the Danes and the Welsh again made their submission.

19. Idwal submitted with Howel in 922 and signs a few charters from 928 (CS 663) to 935 (CS 719).

20. Birch suggested that the missing name should be Morcant, who signs most regularly with the others. There is a defect in the MS., but it is clear that the name has no down-stroked letters.

21. Tewdwr does not appear again in Anglo-Saxon documents.

22. See No. XXVI, n. 12.

23. See No. XXVI, n. 18.

24. See No. XXVI, n. 14.

25. Beornstan was consecrated bishop of Winchester on 29 May 931 (*ASC.*) and signs charters from 20 June 931 (CS 675) onwards. According to *ASC.* he was bishop for 2½ years and died on 1 Nov. 933. The evidence of this charter, of Florence of Worcester, and of the late *ASC.* MS. 'F', however, assign his death to 934. Although the 933 entry comes from the oldest MS. of the *ASC.*, it is in one of the least reliable parts, being written not earlier than 956.

26. See No. XXVI, n. 16.

27. Wulfhun succeeded Beornheah (No. XXVI, n. 3) as bishop of Selsey, before 21 June 931. His last signature is in 940 (CS 758); the first of his successor Ælfred, in 944 (CS 791).

28. Wynsige was bishop of Dorchester, and signed charters from 925 (CS 642) to 935 (CS 719).

29. Ælfred was bishop of Sherborne in succession to Sigehelm (No. XXVI, n. 19). He died in 943, signing CS 789; while his



successor Wulfsige II signed CS 783, 784, and 788 in the same year.

30. Tidhelm succeeded Eadgar (No. XXVI, n. 13) in 930. His last signature was to CS 716 (21 Dec. 935) with his successor Wulfhelm.

31. Burhric was bishop of Rochester; this is his first signature. He signs regularly until 946 (CS 813).

32. Ælfred was probably bishop of Elmham. He signs a few charters of 933 and 934, CS 697, 703, 705. Care must be taken not to confuse him with his contemporary and namesake of Sherborne (n. 29 above).

33. Conan was bishop of Cornwall, and signs charters from 931 (CS 674) to 935 (CS 716).

34. Wulfhelm's see is unknown, and he may have been a suffragan bishop; he signs two other charters, CS 665 (929) and CS 675 (931).

35. Cynsige was bishop of Berkshire, and signs charters from 931 (CS 674). In 949 he was translated to Lichfield, and survived at least till 963, when he signed CS 1121.

36. Wigred was bishop of Chester-le-Street 928-44 (Sym. Durham).

37. Seaxhelm was suffragan bishop of York, and signs CS 716 (935). Previously he had been abbot, signing charters in 931 and 932 (CS 674, 689, 690). In 944 he was translated to Chester-le-Street, and died soon after.

38. Æscterht was suffragan bishop of York; he signs a few charters from 928 (CS 663) to here.

39. Ælfric may have been abbot of Glastonbury, although Armitage Robinson (*Somerset Historical Essays*, p. 43) did not accept the identification. He was one of a party which visited St. Gall in 929 (ibid.) and signs several charters from 931 (CS 674) to here.

40. Eadwine was abbot of Evesham (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ed. 1817, II, p. 2). He signs several charters from 931 (CS 674) to here. His predecessor Cynath appears from 916 to 930 (Robinson, *Times of St. Dunstan*, pp. 36-40).

41. Æthelnoth was probably identical with the *Alfnodus*, abbot of Westminster, who, according to Dugdale (op. cit. I. 267), died in 939. He signs a few charters from 931 (CS 674) to here.

42. Beorhtsige signs several charters from 931 (CS 674) to here.

43. Ælfwald signs regularly from 926 (CS 659) to 938 (CS 731).

44. Osferth signs regularly from 926 (CS 659) to here.

45. Æthelstan was the 'Half-King' and alderman of East Anglia. He signs regularly from 928 (CS 663) to 956 (CS 919). After 940 his signature has to be carefully distinguished from that of Æthelstan of Somerset (No. XXVI, n. 27).

46. Urm signs from 929 (CS 665) to 935 (CS 716), and again from 946 to 949 (CS 815, 882-3). For an explanation of the break in sequence, see n. 18 above.

47. Halfdene signs charters of 934 (CS 700, 701, 703) as well as one in 946 (CS 812). Cf. n. 18.

48. Oswulf signs occasionally from 934 (CS 700) to 938 (CS 722).
49. Uhtred signs regularly from 931 (CS 670) to 949 (CS 882).
50. Æsclerht signs several charters from 929 (CS 665) to here.
51. Ælfstan signs charters from 931 (CS 683) to here.
52. Scule signs charters from 931 (CS 674) to here, and also from 946 (CS 779, 812) to 949 (CS 882). Cf. n. 18.
53. Hadd signs three other charters, CS 674–5, 703 (931–4).
54. Ordheah signs regularly from 931 (CS 670) to 941 (CS 770).
55. Ælfgar signs a charter of 930, CS 667.
56. Æthelhelm signs two charters, CS 659, 677 (926–31).
57. Æthelwold signs charters regularly as *minister* from 931 (CS 677) to 940 (CS 762) and as *dux* from 940 (CS 748) onwards. A charter of 939 (CS 740) also named him as *dux*, but it is from the untrustworthy Winchester chartulary. His will (No. XXXIV) was addressed to King Eadred (946–55); one of his bequests was made effective in 947 (No. XXXV); he must, therefore, have died in 946 or 947.
58. Eadstan may be identical with the Ealstan who signs CS 689 (932), a late transcript; otherwise he does not appear again.
59. The name Æthelred is so common that it is difficult to identify an individual bearer of it with certainty. An Æthelred is mentioned in CS 591 (before 924) as having been the victim of theft; another signs three charters, CS 730, 770, 776 (938–42). The *Ædelred dux* of CS 689 (932) is probably an error for Ealdred.
- 59a. The manuscript is defective and cut at these points.
60. A Wulfheah signs three charters from 940 to 950, CS 753, 785, 901.
61. Wulfaf signs regularly from 931 (CS 677) to 944 (CS 801).
62. See No. XXVI, n. 28.
63. Wulfmær signs regularly from 931 (CS 677) to 939 (CS 742).
64. Wulfnoth signs regularly from 931 (CS 677) to 940 (CS 753).
65. See No. XXVI, n. 24.
66. Wulfgar signs regularly as *minister* from 931 (CS 670) to 944 (CS 802) and as *dux* from c. 946 (CS 779) to 948 (CS 871). He can be distinguished from his namesake (n. 62) by the name occurring twice in charters between 931 and 937, and by the title between 937 and 944.
67. See No. XXVI, n. 27.
68. See No. XXVI, n. 30.
69. See No. XXVI, n. 38.
70. See No. XXVI, n. 33.
71. Ælfhere signs regularly as *minister* from 929 (CS 665) to 935 (CS 707) and as *dux* from 937 (CS 714) to 941 (CS 765).
72. See No. XXVI, n. 34.
73. Cf. n. 57 *supra*. Two *ministri* named Æthelwold attest a charter of 932, CS 689.
74. Eadwald signs CS 701, a charter dated 930 perhaps for 934.
75. Ælfric signs regularly from 929 (CS 665) to 949 (CS 877).

76. Eadmund signs regularly as *minister* from 929 (CS 665) to 946 (CS 813) and as *dux* from 946 (CS 779, 814) to 963 (No. XLIII).
77. Wulfric signs regularly from 931 (CS 677) to 953 (CS 895).
78. Hun signs one undated charter of Æthelstan (CS 648); he may be identical with the Hunlaf who signs CS 665, 689 (929-32).
79. Æthelberht signs CS 689 (932).
80. Wynsige signs four charters between 931 and 941.
81. Æthelfrith signs six charters between 931 and 941.
82. Ælfstan signs CS 675, 677, 689 (931-2); another Ælfstan signs from 940 to 948.
83. See No. XXVI, n. 37.
84. Æthelnoth signs CS 675, 677, 701, 703 (931-4).
85. Eadnoth signs CS 675, 700-1 (931-4).
86. Athulf signs CS 677, 707 (931-5).
87. Hæthred does not appear again.
- 87a. See No. XXVI, n. 29.
- 87b. Cf. n. 59 *supra*. CS 770 (942) has two *ministri* named Æthelred among its witnesses.
88. Eadwald does not appear again.
89. Sigeferth signs a charter of 931, CS 674.
90. Eadward signs CS 674.
91. Æthelsige signs a few charters from 931 (CS 677) to 938 (CS 722).
92. Ælfstan signs CS 689 (932).
93. Wulfric signs CS 677, 689 (931-2).
94. Ælfsige signs regularly from 931 (CS 677) to 957 (CS 1001).
95. Biorhstan does not appear again.
96. Ælfsige (cf. n. 94 *supra*) signs regularly from 931 (CS 677) to 944 (CS 801).
97. See No. XXVI, n. 42.
98. Eadsige signs CS 674 (931).
99. Tiobcon does not appear again.
100. Wulfsige signs a few charters from 931 (CS 677) to 935 (CS 707).
101. See No. XXVI, n. 39.
102. Wulfstan signs CS 742 (939).
103. See No. XXVI, n. 41.

## ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA TO PART I

S.A.C. LXXXVI, p. 49, l. 13. Totta's existence is also attested by his signature to the proceedings of the Legatine Synod of 787 (BCS 250).

p. 50. *Check List of Bishops.* Amend as follows:

	<i>Acc.</i>	<i>Death or trans.</i>
7. Gislhere . . . . .	772 × 780	781 × 787
8. Totta . . . . .	781 × 787	787 × 789
9. Wihthun . . . . .	787 × 789	..

p. 51, l. 5. For *donationis* read *dominationis*.

l. 11. For *regnet fides catholica* read *fides catholica regnet*.

l. 21. For *unninglonde* read *unninglande*.

l. 26. For *super hoc* read *super hæc*.

l. 30. For *pertinentibus* read *pertinentes*.

l. 35. For *screaf* read *scræf*.

p. 52, l. 10. For *regia* read *regis*.

l. 16. For *præpes* read *perpes*.

l. 19. Note that the sentence after *nutibus* is an endorsement.

p. 56, n. 23. Mr. Lindsay Fleming points out that the name of Loxley is now lost and its site not precisely known (cf. *P. N. Sx.*, p. 94). He also suggests that 'Inufes ford' (note 20) may be identical with Forbridge, with the descent Ufa's ford—The Ford—and, when a bridge was built to replace the ford, Fordbridge. This would certainly come in the right place among the boundary marks.

p. 59, l. 21. For *potestate* read *potestatem*.

p. 62, n. 8. I am informed by Miss F. E. Harmer that *heie* is a vocalized form of OE. *hege* and not of *hecge*.

p. 68, n. 11. For *frece* read *frecen*.

p. 74, l. 6 from bottom. After *sene* omit the first *se*.

p. 98, l. 11 from bottom. Omit the full stop after *unicuique*. For *meritis* read *mentis*.