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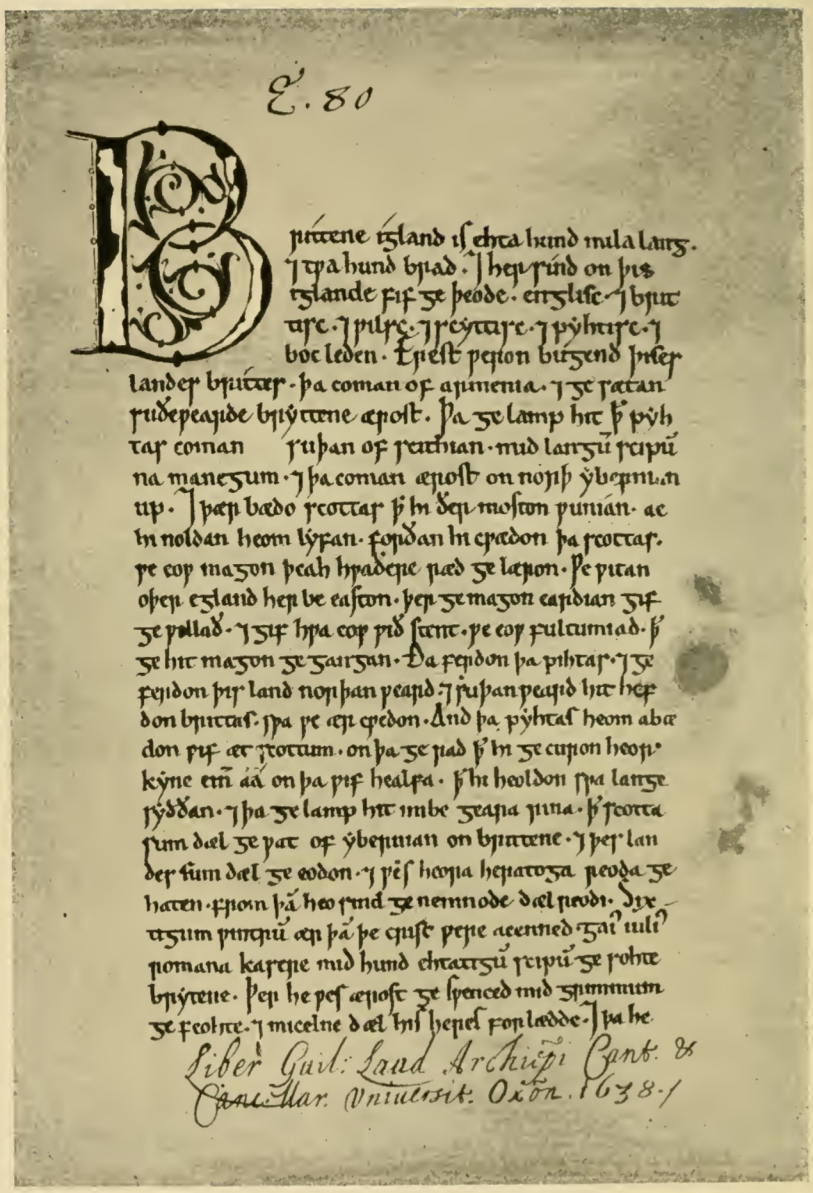

Liber Guil: Laud Archiepi Cant. &
Canc. Mar. Vniuersit. Oxon. 1638.

FACSIMILE OF THE FIRST PAGE OF THE LAUD MS. FROM THORPE'S EDITION.
(Scale ⅔ of the original.)

THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE

EDITED, FROM THE TRANSLATION IN MONUMENTA HISTORICA BRITANNICA AND OTHER VERSIONS, BY THE LATE

J. A. GILES D.C.L.



NEW EDITION

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PREFACE

THE work which is commonly known as the Saxon or Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is a chronological record of important events, chiefly relating to the English race, from the earliest period of the Christian era to the XII. century. It is of a composite character, and has been preserved to the present day in the form of six more or less complete ancient MSS., some of which appear to be independent of each other though traceable to some common original, whilst others are apparently more nearly related by obvious similarities. Four of these are in the British Museum, one in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and another in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. In addition to these, there is, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, a copy made in 1563–4, by William Lambard, of a MS. which now exists only in the shape of three disfigured leaves. It is one of the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum, some of which were damaged or destroyed by a fire in Little Dean's Yard, Westminster, in the year 1731. Before its destruction this MS. was printed by Abraham Wheloc in 1633–4; and it is evident that, as far as it goes, it is a copy of the Cambridge MS. These seven MSS., including the

one which is represented by the Dublin copy and Wheloc's printed edition, have been distinguished as follows:—

		Ending at	
1.	At Cambridge	1070	A
2.	In the British Museum . .	977	B
3.	„ „ „ . . .	1066	C
4.	„ „ „ . . .	1079	D
5.	„ Bodleian Library (imperfect)	1154	E
6.	„ British Museum (imperfect)	1058	F
7.	The Dublin MS. copy / Wheloc's printed copy . .	1001	G (or W)*

MS. A (CCCC 173) is part of the bequest of Archbishop Parker (died 1575) to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and is now generally known as the Parker MS. It is written in many different hands, but as the entries down to 891 are all in one script, consistent with that date, it is not unreasonable to assume that this copy dates from the days of Alfred the Great, to whom the initiation of this national chronicle is without doubt to be ascribed. It is also obvious from the entries that it was written at his royal city of Winchester, though it was at a later date supplemented by contemporary scribes at Canterbury. There are, moreover, many interpolations by later hands, and notes by Joscelin, Archbishop Parker's secretary. It is generally regarded as the standard text.

MS. B, in the British Museum (Cott. Tib. A vi.) is all

* In Mr. Charles Plummer's edition of "Two Saxon Chronicles parallel" the text of G is indicated by the letter A as being a copy of the Cambridge MS., which he distinguishes by the symbol Ā. To his introduction to these parallel texts Ā and E (Clarendon Press, 1899) every student who requires an exhaustive description, analysis and comparison of all the existing texts is referred.

in one hand, and is supposed to have been copied about the year 1000, which is not remote from the year 977, at which it ends. The chronicle from which it was directly or indirectly copied was associated with the monastery of Abingdon.

MS. C, in the British Museum (Cott. Tib. B i.), is also connected with the same monastery, and has been called the Abingdon Chronicle. It is written in several hands, but from the regularity of its pages it seems to have been transcribed as a whole. It has many annotations of the XVI. century. A peculiarity of both B and C, showing a close connexion, is that they interpolate bodily a number of annals (from 902 to 924) dealing mainly with the deeds of Æthelfled, a Lady of the Mercians, generally designated as the Mercian Register.

MS. D, in the British Museum (Cott. Tib. B iv.) is written in several hands, and brings the chronicle down to 1079, but a considerable portion, comprising the years 262 to 693, is missing. The lacuna has been filled by insertions made by Joscelin from monastic records in other versions of the Chronicle. The original MS., though by seven or eight different hands, was all compiled in the latter half of the XI. century, with the exception of one late entry of 1130.* It agrees mostly with MS. C.

MS. E, in the Bodleian Library (Laud Misc. 636), was formerly in the possession of Archbishop Laud. It extends to the year 1154, though the last leaf is missing. The greater part of it, to 1121, is apparently in one hand, but the latest entries are probably contemporary with the

* This date, in the MS., is 1080. Mr. Plummer has pointed out that MLXXX. has been erroneously written for MCXXX.

events described. Owing to the numerous entries relating to Peterborough, it evidently came into the possession of that monastery. Its pedigree, as traceable from the original chronicle, diverges more than any other from that of MS. A, with which it has therefore a considerable complementary importance, for which reason Messrs. Earle and Plummer made these two texts the groundwork of their editions.

MS. F, in the British Museum (Cott. Dom. A viii.), extends to 1058, but is mutilated at the end. It is a compilation from other transcripts, and has little original value, its most remarkable feature being that it is bi-lingual, each entry being written in Latin as well as English.

MS. G, the few remains of which are in the British Museum (Cott. Otho B xi), is now only known by the Dublin copy and by Wheloc's printed version. It is practically a copy of A.

The minute and exhaustive investigation of the subject by Mr. Plummer, from whom some of these particulars are derived, has proved that the original chronicle established by Alfred the Great, or any direct copy of it, is no longer extant. MSS. A, B and C, which are practically identical to the year 892, doubtless represent its substance to that date, but it will be noticed by the student that in all of these, from the middle of the eighth century to the middle of the ninth, the events are misdated by two or three years. This has arisen from the fact that a date left blank in the original copy has occasionally been inadvertently filled by the transcriber with the next entry, and so caused a general ante-dating of the succeeding

annals. But the later portions of MSS. A, C, D and E may all be regarded as contemporary chronicles, and not open to suspicion on chronological grounds. A complete analytical edition in modern English, with corrected dates, is still, and must perhaps remain, a desideratum.

The first printed edition of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was that by Abraham Wheelock, or Wheloc, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. His text was compiled from MS. G (not then destroyed), with additions from A, and was accompanied by a Latin translation.

Forty-nine years later a more complete edition, with a Latin translation, was published by Edmund Gibson, of Queen's College, Oxford, afterwards Bishop of London.

The first translation into modern English, based on Gibson's version, was made by Miss Anna Gurney, and privately printed at Norwich in 1819. It was a work of great ability, but its publication was prevented by the appearance in 1823 of a text and English translation by Dr. James Ingram, President of Trinity College, Oxford, who had the advantage of his predecessors in collating all the extant MSS.

The following translation by Dr. Giles appeared in 1847. It was based on the materials prepared under the superintendence of Henry Petrie, formerly Keeper of the Records in the Tower. Dr. Giles also acknowledged his obligations to Miss Gurney's translation, which he used to complete the chronicle, and to Dr. Ingram's account of the various MSS. Mr. Petrie's materials were, in the meantime, used in the compilation of the first volume of Monumenta Historica Britannica, which was published in 1848, and gives a composite text and

translation as far as 1066. It was not carried further, as the projected continuation of the work was merged in the well-known series of records issued under the authority of the Master of the Rolls. In this series was afterwards (in 1861) included Mr. Thorpe's six-text edition with a translation.

A good translation, which was based on, and completed that given in Monumenta Historica Britannica, by the Rev. J. Stevenson, of Durham University, appeared in 1853.

In an edition of the Chronicle there is no satisfactory compromise between a complete collation and what is called a conflation of the various texts. Mr. Plummer has, with the assistance of Mr. Thorpe's six-text edition, brought the former plan to as near perfection as possible, and thereby, with his remarkably discerning introduction and notes, earned the gratitude of all succeeding historians and workers in the same field. For the ordinary inquirer, a cheap and handy amalgamation of the texts such as that which follows may still, it is hoped, have its more commonplace uses. It appeared originally in the same volume as the translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History; but as this has now been superseded by Miss A. M. Sellar's version it has been found convenient to re-issue the Chronicle as an independent volume, and to introduce some improvements in its form. E. B.

THE

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE.*

THE

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE.*

[THE island† of Britain is eight hundred miles long and two hundred miles broad: and here in this island are five tongues; English, British, Scottish, Pictish, and Latin. The first inhabitants of this land were Britons; they came from Armenia,‡ and first settled in the south of Britain. Then befell it that Picts came from the south from Scythia, with long ships, not many, and first landed in North Hibernia, and there entreated the Scots that they might there abide. But they would not permit them, for they said that they could not all abide there together. And then the Scots said, 'We may nevertheless give you counsel. We know another island eastward of this, where ye may dwell if ye will, and if any one withstand you, we will assist you, so that you may subdue it.' Then went the Picts and subdued this land northwards; the southern part the Britons had, as we before have said. And the Picts obtained wives for themselves of the Scots, on this condition, that they should always choose their royal lineage on the woman's side; which they have held ever since. And then befell it in the course of years

* The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is apparently the work of many successive hands, and extends in different copies from the time of Cæsar's invasion to the middle of the twelfth century. As it has been repeatedly printed, it may suffice here to repeat, that, with the exception of the insertions placed within brackets, the text to the year 975 is mostly taken from the MS. designated by the letter *A.*; from that period to 1079 from MSS. *A. C. D. E. F.* and *G.*, and from thence to the conclusion from MS. *E.*: and that such portions of the different MSS. as are concurrent with the text, but will not conveniently admit of collation, are given separately in a smaller type. These variations will sometimes convey the same information two or three times over: but it has been deemed advisable to retain all of them that the reader may have a more ample means of judging of the authority of this invaluable national record.

† This description of Britain is taken from Bede's Ecclesiastical History.—L. i. c. 1

‡ Armorica.

that some part of the Scots departed from Hibernia into Britain, and conquered some portion of the land. And their leader was called Reoda; from whom they are named Dalreodi.*]

Sixty years before Christ was born, Gaius Julius, emperor of the Romans, with eighty ships, sought Britain. There he was at first distressed by a fierce battle, and a large portion of his army was dispersed. And then he left his army to abide among the Scots,† and went south into Gaul, and there collected six hundred ships, with which he came again into Britain. And as they first rushed together, the emperor's 'gerrefa'‡ was slain: he was called Labienus. Then the Welsh took large and sharp stakes and drove them into the fording place of a certain river under water; this river was called Thames. When the Romans discovered this, then would they not go over the ford. Then fled the Britons to the wood-wastes, and the emperor conquered very many of their chief cities after a great struggle, and departed again into Gaul.

Before the incarnation of Christ sixty years, Gaius Julius the emperor, first of the Romans, sought the land of Britain; and he crushed the Britons in battle, and overcame them: and nevertheless he was unable to gain any empire there.

A. D. 1. Octavianus reigned fifty-six years; and in the forty-second year of his reign Christ was born.

A. 2. The three astrologers came from the eastern parts in order that they might worship Christ. And the children were slain at Bethlehem, in persecution of Christ by Herod.

A. 3. This year died Herod, having stabbed himself, and Archelaus his son succeeded to the government. And the child Christ was brought back again from Egypt.

A. 4. 5. §

* Dal signifies a division or part.—Cf. Bede l. i. c. 1.

† "This is an error, arising from the inaccurately written MSS. of Orosius and Bede; where *in Hybernia* and *in Hiberniam* occur for *in hiberna*. The error is retained in Wheloc's Bede."—INGRAM.

‡ "Tribune."—INGRAM.

§ These blank dates are found in the MSS. of the Saxon Chronicle, and are retained in this volume, for the sake of references which occur between the MSS. where the date happens to be blank, and others in which facts are assigned to them.

A. 6. From the beginning of the world to this year, five thousand and two hundred years were gone by.

A. 7.—10.

A. 11. This year Herod the son of Antipater obtained the government of Judea.

A. 12. Philip and Herod divided Lysia (between them), and Judea they divided into tetrarchies.

A. 12. This year Judea was divided into four tetrarchies.

A. 13.—15.

A. 16. This year Tiberius succeeded to the empire.

A. 17.—25.

A. 26. This year Pilate began to rule over the Jews.

A. 27.—29.

A. 30. This year Christ was baptized; and he converted Peter and Andrew, and James and John and Philip, and the twelve apostles.

A. 31. 32.

A. 33. This year Christ was crucified; being from the beginning of the world about five thousand two hundred and twenty-six years.

A. 34. This year St. Paul was converted, and St. Stephen stoned.

A. 35. This year the blessed apostle Peter established a bishop's see in the city of Antioch.

A. 36. 37.

A. 38. This year Pilate slew himself with his own hand.

A. 39. This year Caius obtained the empire.

A. 40. Matthew, in Judea, began to write his gospel.

A. 41.—44.

A. 45. This year the blessed apostle Peter established a bishop's see in Rome. This year James, the brother of John, was slain by Herod.

A. 46. This year Herod died; he who slew James, one year before his own death.

A. 46. This year the emperor Claudius came to Britain, and subdued a large part of the island; and he also added the island of Orkney to the dominion of the Romans.

A. 47. This year Claudius, second of the Roman kings, sought the land of Britain, and brought under his power the greater part of the island, and also subjected the Orkney Islands to the dominion of the Romans. This war he

effected in the fourth year of his reign: and in the same year was the great famine in Syria, which was foretold in the Acts of the Apostles through Agabus the prophet. Then Nero succeeded to the empire after Claudius: he nearly lost the island of Britain through his cowardice. Mark the Evangelist begins to write the gospel in Egypt.

A. 47. This was in the fourth year of his reign, and in this same year was the great famine in Syria which Luke speaks of in the book called 'Actus Apostolorum.'

A. 47. This year Claudius, king of the Romans, went with an army into Britain, and subdued the island, and subjected all the Picts and Welsh to the rule of the Romans.

A. 48. In this year there was a very severe famine.

A. 49. This year Nero began to reign.

A. 50. This year Paul was sent in bonds to Rome.

A. 51.—61

A. 62. This year James, the brother of our Lord, suffered martyrdom.

A. 63. This year Mark the Evangelist died.

A. 64.—68.

A. 69. This year Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom.

A. 69. This year Peter suffered on the cross, and Paul was slain

A. 70. This year Vespasian obtained the empire.

A. 71. This year Titus, the son of Vespasian, slew one hundred and eleven thousand Jews in Jerusalem.

A. 72.—80.

A. 81. This year Titus succeeded to the empire, after Vespasian; he who said that he had lost the day on which he had done no good.

A. 82. 83.

A. 84. This year Domitian, the brother of Titus, succeeded to the empire.

A. 84. This year John the Apostle wrote the book which is called Apocalypse.

A. 85. 86.

A. 87. This year John the Evangelist wrote the book of the Apocalypse in the island of Patmos.

A. 88.—99.

A. 100. This year Simon the apostle, the kinsman of Christ, was crucified, and John the Evangelist rested in death on that day at Ephesus.

A. 101. This year pope Clement died.

A. 102.—109.

A. 110. This year Ignatius the bishop suffered martyrdom

A. 111.—115.

A. 116. This year Adrian the emperor began to reign.

A. 117.—136.

A. 137. This year Antoninus began to reign.

A. 138.—144.

A. 145. This year Marcus Antoninus and Aurelius his brother succeeded to the empire.

A. 146.—166.

A. 167. This year Eleutherius obtained the bishopric of Rome, and held it in great glory for twelve years.* To him Lucius, king of Britain. sent letters praying that he might be made a Christian: and he fulfilled that he requested. And they afterwards continued in the right faith till the reign of Diocletian.

A. 167. This year Eleutherius succeeded to the popedom, and held it fifteen years; and in the same year Lucius, king of the Britons, sent and begged baptism of him. And he soon sent it him; and they continued in the true faith until the time of Diocletian.

A. 168.—187.

A. 188. This year Severus succeeded to the empire, and went with an army into Britain, and subdued a great part of the island by battle; and then, for the protection of the Britons, he built a rampart of turf, and a broad wall thereon, from sea to sea. He reigned seventeen years, and then ended his days at York. His son Bassianus succeeded to the empire: another son of his was called Geta; he died.

A. 190.—198.

A. 199. In this year the Holy-rood† was found.

A. 200. Two hundred years.

A. 201.—285.

A. 286. This year St. Alban the martyr suffered.

* According to Muratori, Eleutherius presided from A. 170 to A. 185.

† "Those writers who mention this grand discovery of the holy cross, by Helena the mother of Constantine, disagree so much in their chronology, that it is a vain attempt to reconcile them to truth or to each other. This and the other notices of ecclesiastical matters, whether Latin or Saxon, from the year 190 to the year 380 of the Laud MS. and 381 of the printed Chronicle, may be safely considered as interpolations, probably posterior to the Norman Conquest."—INGRAM.

A. 287.—299.

A. 300. Three hundred years.

A. 301.—342.

A. 343. This year S. Nicolas died.

A. 344.—378.

A. 379. This year Gratian succeeded to the empire.

A. 380.

A. 381. This year Maximus the emperor obtained the empire; he was born in the land of Britain, and went thence into Gaul. And he there slew the emperor Gratian, and drove his brother, who was called Valentinian, out of the country. And Valentinian afterwards gathered an army and slew Maximus, and obtained the empire. In these days the heresy of Pelagius arose throughout the world.

A. 382.—408.

A. 409. This year the Goths took the city of Rome by storm, and after this the Romans never ruled in Britain; and this was about eleven hundred and ten years after it had been built. Altogether they ruled in Britain four hundred and seventy years since Caius Julius first sought the land.

A. 410.—417.

A. 418. This year the Romans collected all the treasures that were in Britain, and some they hid in the earth, so that no one has since been able to find them; and some they carried with them into Gaul.

A. 419.—422.

A. 423. This year Theodosius the younger succeeded to the empire.

A. 424.—429.

A. 430. This year Palladius * the bishop was sent to the Scots by pope Celestinus, that he might confirm their faith.

A. 430. This year Patrick was sent by pope Celestine to preach baptism to the Scots.

A. 431.—442.

A. 443. This year the Britons sent over sea to Rome, and begged for help against the Picts; but they had none, because they were themselves warring against Attila, king of the

* "Palladius and Patricius have been sometimes confounded together: so that it is difficult to assign to each his respective share of merit in the conversion of the Scots of Ireland."—INGRAM.

Huns. And then they sent to the Angles, and entreated the like of the ethelings of the Angles.

A. 444. This year St. Martin died.

A. 445.—447.

A. 448. This year John the Baptist revealed his head to two monks, who came from the east to offer up their prayers at Jerusalem, on the spot which was formerly Herod's residence.

A. 449. This year Martianus and Valentinus succeeded to the empire, and reigned seven years. And in their days Hengist and Horsa, invited by Vortigern king of the Britons, landed in Britain on the shore which is called Wippidsfleet ; at first in aid of the Britons, but afterwards they fought against them. King Vortigern gave them land in the south-east of this country, on condition that they should fight against the Picts. Then they fought against the Picts, and had the victory wheresoever they came. They then sent to the Angles ; desired a larger force to be sent, and caused them to be told the worthlessness of the Britons, and the excellencies of the land. Then they soon sent thither a larger force in aid of the others. At that time there came men from three tribes in Germany ; from the Old-Saxons, from the Angles, from the Jutes. From the Jutes came the Kentish-men and the Wightwarians, that is, the tribe which now dwells in Wight, and that race among the West-Saxons which is still called the race of Jutes. From the Old-Saxons came the men of Essex and Sussex and Wessex. From Anglia, which has ever since remained waste betwixt the Jutes and Saxons, came the men of East Anglia, Middle Anglia, Mercia, and all North-humbria. Their leaders were two brothers, Hengist and Horsa : they were the sons of Wihtgils ; Wihtgils son of Witta, Witta of Wecta, Wecta of Woden : from this Woden sprang all our royal families, and those of the South-humbrians also.

A. 449. And in their days Vortigern invited the Angles thither, and they came to Britain in three ceols, at the place called Wippidsfleet:

A. 450.—454.

A. 455. This year Hengist and Horsa fought against king Vortigern at the place which is called Ægels-threp, [Aylesford,] and his brother Horsa was there slain, and after that Hengist obtained the kingdom, and Æsc his son.

A. 456. This year Hengist and Æsc slew four troops of Britons with the edge of the sword, in the place which is named Creccanford, [Crayford].*

A. 457. This year Hengist and Æsc his son fought against the Britons at the place which is called Crecganford, [Crayford,] and there slew four thousand men; and the Britons then forsook Kent, and in great terror fled to London.

A. 458.—464.

A. 465. This year Hengist and Æsc fought against the Welsh near Wippidsfleet, [Ebbsfleet?] and there slew twelve Welsh ealdormen, and one of their own thanes was slain there, whose name was Wipped.

A. 466.—472.

A. 473. This year Hengist and Æsc fought against the Welsh, and took spoils innumerable; and the Welsh fled from the Angles like fire.

A. 474.—476.

A. 477. This year Ælla, and his three sons, Cymen, and Wlencing, and Cissa, came to the land of Britain with three ships, at a place which is named Cymenes-ora, and there slew many Welsh, and some they drove in flight into the wood that is named Andreds-lea.

A. 478.—481.

A. 482. This year the blessed abbat Benedict, by the glory of his miracles, shone in this world, as the blessed Gregory relates in his book of Dialogues.

A. 483. 484.

A. 485. This year Ælla fought against the Welsh near the bank of Mearcrædsburn.

A. 486. 487.

A. 488. This year Æsc succeeded to the kingdom, and was king of the Kentish-men twenty-four years.

A. 489. 490.

A. 491. This year Ælla and Cissa besieged Andredscester, and slew all that dwelt therein, so that not a single Briton was there left.

* The positions usually assigned to various places mentioned in the earlier portion of the Chronicle, are often very uncertain, depending chiefly on a supposed or real similarity of names. Where these, however, appear sufficiently probable, they are placed between brackets if otherwise, a quære is added.

A. 492.—494.

A. 495. This year two ealdormen came to Britain, Cerdic and Cynric his son, with five ships, at the place which is called Cerdics-ore, and the same day they fought against the Welsh.*

A. 496.—500.

A. 501. This year Port, and his two sons Bieda and Mægla, came to Britain with two ships, at a place which is called Portsmouth, and they soon effected a landing, and they there slew a young British man of high nobility.

A. 502.—507.

A. 508. This year Cerdic and Cynric slew a British king, whose name was Natan-leod, and five thousand men with him. After that the country was named Natan-lea, as far Cerdicsford, [Charford.]

A. 509. This year† St. Benedict the abbat, father of all monks, went to heaven.

A. 510.—513.

A. 514. This year the West-Saxons came to Britain with three ships, at the place which is called Cerdic's-ore, and Stuf and Whitgar fought against the Britons, and put them to flight.

A. 515.—518.

A. 519. This year Cerdic and Cynric obtained the kingdom of the West-Saxons; and the same year they fought against the Britons where it is now named Cerdicsford. And from that time forth the royal offspring of the West-Saxons reigned.

A. 520.—526.

A. 527. This year Cerdic and Cynric fought against the Britons at the place which is called Cerdic's-lea.

A. 528. 529.

A. 530. This year Cerdic and Cynric conquered the island of Wight, and slew many men at Whit-garas-byrg, [Carisbrooke, in Wight.]

A. 531.—533.

A. 534. This year Cerdic, the first king of the West Saxons, died, and Cynric his son succeeded to the kingdom,

* Gibson here introduced into the text a long genealogy, which, as Dr Ingram observes: "is not justified by a single MS."

† Benedict died, according to Mabillon, in 543

and reigned from that time twenty-six years; and they gave the whole island of Wight to their two nephews, Stuf and Wihtgar.

A. 535.—537.

A. 538. This year, fourteen days before the Kalends of March, the sun was eclipsed from early morning till nine in the forenoon.

A. 539.

A. 540. This year the sun was eclipsed on the twelfth before the Kalends of July, and the stars showed themselves full-nigh half an hour after nine in the forenoon.

A. 541.—543.

A. 544. This year Wihtgar died, and they buried him in Wiht-gara-byrg. [Carisbrooke.]

A. 545. 546.

A. 547. This year Ida began to reign, from whom arose the royal race of North-humbria; and he reigned twelve years, and built Bambrough, which was at first enclosed by a hedge, and afterwards by a wall. Ida was the son of Eoppa, Eoppa of Esa, Esa of Ingwi, Ingwi of Angenwit, Angenwit of Aloc, Aloc of Benoc, Benoc of Brond, Brond of Beldeg, Beldeg of Woden, Woden of Frithowald, Frithowald of Frithuwulf, Frithuwulf of Finn, Finn of Godwulf, Godwulf of Geat.

A. 548.—551.

A. 552. This year Cynric fought against the Britons at the place which is called Searo-byrig [Old Sarum], and he put the Britons to flight. Cerdic was Cynric's father; Cerdic was the son of Elesa, Elesa of Esla, Esla of Gewis, Gewis of Wig, Wig of Freawin, Freawin of Frithogar, Frithogar of Brond, Brond of Beldeg, Beldeg of Woden. And Ethelbert, the son of Ermenric was born; and in the thirtieth year of his reign he received baptism, the first of the kings in Britain.

A. 553.—555.

A. 556. This year Cynric and Ceawlin fought against the Britons at Berin-Byrig, [Banbury ?]

A. 557.—559.

A. 560. This year Ceawlin succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons, and Ida being dead, Alla succeeded to the kingdom of North-humbria, each of whom reigned thirty

years. Alla was the son of Iff, Iff of Usfrey, Usfrey of Wilgis, Wilgis of Westerfalcon, Westerfalcon of Seafowl, Seafowl of Sebbald, Sebbald of Sigeat, Sigeat of Swadd, Swadd of Sygar, Sygar of Waddy, Waddy of Woden, Woden of Frithuwulf.

A. 561—564.

A. 565. This year Ethelbert* succeeded to the kingdom of the Kentish-men, and held it fifty-three years. In his days the holy pope Gregory sent us baptism, that was in the two and thirtieth year of his reign: and Columba, a mass-priest, came to the Picts, and converted them to the faith of Christ: they are dwellers by the northern mountains. And their king gave him the island which is called Ii [Iona]: therein are five hides of land, as men say. There Columba built a monastery, and he was abbat there thirty-seven years, and there he died when he was seventy-two years old. His successors still have the place. The Southern Picts had been baptized long before: bishop Ninia, who had been instructed at Rome, had preached baptism to them, whose church and his monastery is at Whitherne, consecrated in the name of St. Martin: there he resteth, with many holy men. Now in Ii there must ever be an abbat, and not a bishop; and all the Scottish bishops ought to be subject to him, because Columba was an abbat and not a bishop.

A. 565. This year Columba the presbyter came from the Scots among the Britons, to instruct the Picts, and he built a monastery in the island of Hii.

A. 566. 567.

A. 568. This year Ceawlin, and Cutha, Ceawlin's brother, fought against Ethelbert, and drove him into Kent, and they killed two ealdormen at Wibban-dune [Wimbledon],† Oslaf and Cnebba.

A. 569. 570.

A. 571. This year Cuthulf fought against the Britons at Bedcanford [Bedford], and took four towns, Lygean-birg [Lenbury], and Ægeles-birg [Aylesbury], and Bænesington [Benson], and Egonesham [Eynsham]; and the same year he died. Cutha was Ceawlin's brother.

* Bede [ii. 5,] says Ethelbert died on February 23, A.D. 616, after a reign of fifty-six years. This would make it out that he succeeded to the throne in A.D. 560.

† Or Worplesdon, Surrey.

A. 572.—576.

A. 577. This year Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought against the Britons, and they slew three kings, Comail, and Condidan, and Farinmeail, at the place which is called Deorham [Derham ?], and took three cities from them, Gloucester and Cirencester, and Bath.

A. 578.—582.

A. 583. This year Mauricius succeeded to the empire of the Romans.

A. 584. This year Ceawlin and Cutha fought against the Britons at the place which is called Fethan-lea, [Frethern ?] and there was Cutha slain ; and Ceawlin took many towns, and spoils innumerable ; and wrathful he thence returned to his own.

A. 585.—587.

A. 588. This year King Ælle died, and Ethelric reigned after him five years.

A. 589.

590. At this period Ceol reigned five years.

591. This year in Britain was a great slaughter in battle at Woddesbeorg [Wemborow ?], and Ceawlin was expelled.

A. 592. This year Gregory succeeded to the popedom in Rome.

A. 593. This year Ceawlin, and Cwichelm, and Crida, perished ; and Ethelfrith succeeded to the kingdom of the North-humbrians ; he was the son of Æthelric, Æthelric of Ida.

A. 594. 595.

A. 596. This year Pope Gregory sent Augustine to Britain, with a great many monks, who preached the word of God to the nation of the Angles.

A. 597. This year Ceolwulf began to reign over the West-Saxons ; and he fought and contended incessantly against either the Angles, or the Welsh, or the Picts, or the Scots. He was the son of Cutha, Cutha of Cynric, Cynric of Cerdic, Cerdic of Elesa, Elesa of Esla, Esla of Gewis, Gewis of Wig, Wig of Freawine, Freawine of Frithogar, Frithogar of Brond, Brond of Beldeg Beldeg of Woden. This year Augustine and his companions came to the land of the Angles.

A. 598.—600.

A. 601. This year Pope Gregory sent a pall to Archbishop Augustine in Britain, and also a great many religious teachers to assist him, and amongst them was Paulinus the bishop, who afterwards converted Edwin. king of the North-humbrians, to baptism.

A. 602.

A. 603. This year there was a battle at Egesanstane.*

A. 603. This year Æthan, king of the Scots, fought against the Dalreods and against Ethelfrith king of the North-humbrians, at Dægsanstane [Dawston?], and they slew almost all his army. There Theodbald, Ethelfrith's brother, was slain with all his band. Since then no king of the Scots has dared to lead an army against this nation. Hering, the son of Hussa, led the enemy thither.

A. 604. This year the East-Saxons received the faith and baptism under King Sebert and Bishop Mellitus.

A. 604. This year Augustine consecrated two bishops, Mellitus and Justus. He sent Mellitus to preach baptism to the East-Saxons, whose king was called Sebert son of Ricole, the sister of Ethelbert, and whom Ethelbert had there appointed king. And Ethelbert gave Mellitus a bishop's see in London, and to Justus he gave Rochester, which is twenty-four miles from Canterbury.

A. 605.

A. 606. This year Pope Gregory died, about ten years after he had sent us baptism; his father was called Gordian, and his mother Silvia.

A. 607. This year Ceolwulf fought against the South-Saxons. And this year Ethelfrith led his army to Chester, and there slew numberless Welshmen: and so was fulfilled the prophecy of Augustine, wherein he saith, 'If the Welsh will not be at peace with us, they shall perish at the hands of the Saxons.' There also were slain two hundred priests, who came to pray for the army of the Welsh: their ealdor was called Scromail [Brocmail], who with some fifty escaped thence.

A. 608.—610.

A. 611. This year Cynegils succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons, and held it thirty-one years. Cynegils was the son of Ceol, Ceol of Cutha, Cutha of Cynric.

A. 612. 613.

A. 614. This year Cynegils and Cuichelm fought at

* See Bede's Eccl. Hist. lib. i. c. 34.

Beandune* [Bampton ?], and slew two thousand and sixty-five Welshmen.

A. 615

A. 616. This year Ethelbert, king of the Kentish-men, died; he was the first English king who received baptism, and he was the son of Eormenric; he reigned fifty-six years, and from the beginning of the world to this same year five thousand eight hundred years were gone by; and after him Eadbald his son succeeded to the kingdom; he forsook his baptismal vow, and lived after the manner of the heathens, so that he had his father's widow to wife. Then Laurentius, who was archbishop of Kent, was minded that he would go southwards over the sea, and leave it entirely. But the apostle Peter came to him by night and scourged him sorely, because he wished thus to forsake the flock of God, and commanded him to go to the king and preach the true faith to him; and he did so, and the king was converted and was baptized. In this king's days Laurentius who was archbishop of Kent after Augustine, died, and was buried beside Augustine on the 4th Non. Feb. After him Mellitus, who formerly had been bishop of London, succeeded to the archbishopric: then the men of London, where Mellitus had been formerly, became heathens (again). And in about five years, during the reign of Eadbald, Mellitus departed to Christ. Then after him Justus succeeded to the archbishopric; and he consecrated Romanus to Rochester, where formerly himself had been bishop.

A. 616. In that time Laurentius was archbishop, and for the sorrowfulness which he had on account of the king's unbelief he was minded to forsake this country entirely, and go over sea; but St. Peter the apostle scourged him sorely one night, because he wished thus to forsake the flock of God, and commanded him to teach boldly the true faith to the king; and he did so, and the king turned to the right (faith). In the days of this same king, Eadbald, this Laurentius died. The holy Augustine, while yet in sound health, ordained him bishop, in order that the community of Christ, which was yet new in England, should not after his decease be at any time without an archbishop. After him Mellitus, who had been previously bishop of London, succeeded to the archbishopric. And within five years of the decease of Laurentius, while Eadbald still reigned, Mellitus departed to Christ.

* This is more likely to be Bampton in Oxfordshire, than Bampton in Devonshire, which is by far too remote to admit the supposition that the battle in question was fought there.

A. 617. This year Ethelfrid king of the North-humbrians was slain by Redwald king of the East-Angles, and Edwin the son of Alla succeeded to the kingdom, and subdued all Britain, the Kentish-men alone excepted. And he drove out the ethelings, sons of Ethelfrid ; that is to say, first Eanfrid, Oswald, and Oswy, Oslac, Oswudu, Oslaf, and Offa.

A. 618.

A. 619. This year archbishop Laurentius died.

A. 620.—623.

A. 624. This year archbishop Mellitus died.

A. 625. This year Paulinus was ordained bishop of the North-humbrians by archbishop Justus on the XII. Kalends of August.

A. 625. This year archbishop Justus consecrated Paulinus bishop of the North-humbrians.

A. 626. This year Eumer came from Cuichelm king of the West-Saxons, thinking to stab king Edwin. But he stabbed Lilla his thane, and Forthhere, and wounded the king. And on the same night a daughter was born to Edwin : she was called Eanfled. Then the king made a vow to Paulinus that he would give his daughter to God, if he would obtain of God that he might kill his foe who had sent the assassin. And he then went with an army against the West-Saxons, and there killed five kings, and slew a great number of the people. And at Pentecost Paulinus baptized his daughter with twelve others. And within a twelvemonth the king and all his court were baptized at Easter ; that year Easter fell on the second before the Ides of April. This was done at York, where he first ordered a church to be built of wood, which was consecrated in the name of St. Peter. There the king gave Paulinus a bishop's see, and there he afterwards commanded a larger church to be built of stone. And this year Penda succeeded to the kingdom [Mercia], and reigned thirty years ; and he was fifty years (old) when he succeeded to the kingdom. Penda was the son of Pybba, Pybba of Creoda, Creoda of Cynewald, Cynewald of Cnebba, Cnebba of Icel, Icel of Eomær, Eomær of Angeltheow, Angeltheow of Offa, Offa of Wærmund, Wærmund of Wihtlæg, Wihtlæg of Woden.

A 627. This year king Edwin was baptized with his

people by Paulinus at Easter. And this Paulinus also preached baptism in Lindsey, where the first who believed was a certain great man called Blecca, with all his followers. And in this time Honorius, who sent Paulinus his pall, succeeded to the popedom after Boniface. And archbishop Justus died on the fourth before the Ides of November, and Honorius was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury by Paulinus at Lincoln. And to this Honorius the pope also sent a pall: and he sent a letter to the Scots, desiring that they should turn to the right Easter.

A. 627. This year, at Easter, Paulinus baptized Edwin king of the North-humbrians, with his people: and earlier within the same year, at Pentecost, he had baptized Eanfled daughter of the same king.

A. 628. This year Cynegils and Cuichelm fought against Penda at Cirencester; and then made a treaty.

A. 629.—631.

A. 632. This year Eorpwald was baptized.

A. 633. This year king Edwin was slain by Cadwalla and Penda at Heathfield [Hatfield Chase?] on the second before the Ides of October, and he reigned seventeen years; and his son Osfrid was also slain with him. And after that went Cadwalla and Penda and laid waste the whole country of the North-humbrians. When Paulinus saw that, he took Ethelberga, Edwin's widow, and departed in a ship to Kent. And Eadbald and Honorius received him very honourably, and gave him a bishop's see in Rochester; and he dwelt there till his end.

A. 634. This year Osric, whom Paulinus had formerly baptized, succeeded to the kingdom of Deira; he was the son of Elfric, Edwin's uncle. And Eanfrid the son of Ethelfrid succeeded to Bernicia. And this year also bishop Birinus first preached baptism to the West-Saxons under king Cynegils. Birinus came thither by command of Honorius the pope, and he there was bishop until his life's end. And this year also Oswald succeeded to the kingdom of the North-humbrians, and he reigned nine years; the ninth being numbered to him because of the heathenism which they practised who reigned over them the one year between him and Edwin.

A. 635. This year king Cynegils was baptized by Birinus

the bishop, at Dorchester, and Oswald king of the North humbrians was his godfather.

A. 636. This year king Cuichelm was baptized at Dorchester, and the same year he died. And bishop Felix preached the faith of Christ to the East-Angles.

A. 637. 638

A. 639. This year Birinus baptized king Cuthred at Dorchester, and received him as his (god) son.

A. 640. This year Eadbald, king of the Kentish-men, died, and he reigned twenty-five years. He had two sons, Ermenred and Earconbert, and Earconbert reigned there after his father. He overthrew all idolatry in his kingdom, and was the first of the English kings who established the Easter-fast. His daughter was called Earcongota, a holy woman and a wondrous person, whose mother was Sexberga, daughter of Anna, king of the East-Angles. And Ermenred begot two sons, who afterwards were martyred by Thunner.

A. 641.

A. 642. This year Oswald, king of the North-humbrians, was slain by Penda and the South-humbrians at Maserfeld on the Nones of August,* and his body was buried at Bardney. His sanctity and his miracles were afterwards manifested in various ways beyond this island, and his hands are at Bambrough, uncorrupted. And the same year that Oswald was slain, Oswy his brother succeeded to the kingdom of the North-humbrians, and he reigned two less (than) thirty years.

A. 643. This year Kenwalk succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons, and held it thirty-one years; and Kenwalk commanded the old church at Winchester to be built in the name of St. Peter: and he was the son of Cynegils.

A. 644. This year Paulinus died, on the sixth before the Ides of October;† he was first archbishop of York, and afterwards at Rochester. He was bishop one less (than) twenty years, and two months and twenty-one days. And this year Oswin's uncle's son,‡ the son of Osric, succeeded to the kingdom of Deira, and reigned seven years.

* The 5th of August. † The 10th of October.

‡ This is apparently corrupt, and should be read 'Oswin, the son of Osric, Edwin's uncle's son.' See Bede, iii. 1, and above An. 634.

A. 645. This year king Kenwalk was driven out of his kingdom by king Penda.

A. 646. This year king Kenwalk was baptized.

A. 647.

A. 648. This year Kenwalk gave Cuthred, his kinsman three thousand hides of land by Ashdown, [Aston ?] Cuthred was the son of Cuichelm, Cuichelm of Cynegils. This year the minster was built at Winchester, which king Kenwalk caused to be made, and hallowed in the name of St. Peter.

A. 649.

A. 650. This year Agilbert, a native of Gaul, obtained the bishopric of the West-Saxons after Birinus the Romish bishop.

A. 650. This year Birinus the bishop died, and Agilbert the Frenchman was ordained.

A. 650. This year king Oswy ordered king Oswin to be slain, on the thirteenth before the Kal. of September ; and about twelve days after this bishop Aidan died, on the second before the Kal. of September.

A. 651.

A. 652. This year Kenwalk fought at Bradford on the Avon.

A. 653. This year the Middle-Saxons, under Peada the ealdorman, received the true faith.

A. 654. This year king Anna was slain, and Botolph began to build a minster at Ycean-ho [Boston ?]. And this year archbishop Honorius died, on the second before the Kalends of October.

A. 655. This year king Oswy slew king Penda at Winwidfield, and thirty men of royal race with him, and some of them were kings, among whom was Ethelhere, brother of Anna, king of the East Angles. And the Mercians became Christians. From the beginning of the world to this time five thousand eight hundred and fifty years were agone ; and Peada the son of Penda succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians.

*In his time he and Oswy the brother of king Oswald came together, and agreed that they would rear a monastery to the glory of Christ and the honour of St. Peter. And they did so, and named it 'Medeshamstede' [Peterborough], because

* This is the first of many late additions to the Chronicle concerning the monastery of Peterborough. They occur in only one of the MSS.

there is a whirpool at this place, which is called Meadswell. And they began the foundations and wrought thereon, and then committed it to a monk who was called Sexwulf. He was greatly God's friend, and all the country loved him, and he was very nobly born, and rich in a worldly sense ; but he is now much richer, being with Christ. And king Peada reigned no long time, for he was betrayed by his own wife at Easter.

This year Ithamar bishop of Rochester consecrated Deus-dedit to the see of Canterbury on the seventh before the Kalends of April.

A. 656.

A. 657. This year Peada died, and Wulfhere the son of Penda succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians.

In his time the abbacy of Medeshamstede, which his brother had begun, waxed very rich. The king favoured it much for the love of his brother Peada, and for the love of Oswy his brother by baptism, and for the love of abbat Sexwulf. And he said that he would dignify and honour it, and this by the counsel of Ethelred and Merwal his brothers, and Kyneburg and Kyneswith his sisters, and by the counsel of the archbishop, who was called Deus-dedit, and by the counsel of all his witan, both clergy and laity, who were in his kingdom ; and he did so.

Then the king sent after the abbat that he should come to him with all speed ; and he did so. Then the king said to the abbat, 'Lo ! I have sent for thee, beloved Sexwulf, for the behoof of my soul, and I will plainly tell thee for why. My brother Peada and my dear friend Oswy began a monastery to the glory of Christ and St. Peter. But my brother, as it has pleased Christ, is departed this life, and lo ! my prayer to thee is, beloved friend, that they work diligently on the work, and I will find thee gold and silver, land and possessions, and all that behoveth thereto.' Then the abbat went home and began to build ; and he so sped, by the grace of Christ, that in a few years the monastery was ready When the king heard that said, he was very glad : he bade send throughout the nation after all his thanes, after the archbishop, and after the bishops, and after his earls, and after all who loved God, that they should come to him : and he set a day on which the monastery should be hallowed.

At the hallowing of the monastery king Wulfhere was present, and his brother Ethelred, and his sisters Kyneburg and Kyneswith. And Deus-dedit archbishop of Canterbury hallowed the monastery, and Ithamar bishop of Rochester, and the bishop of London, who was called Wini, and the bishop of the Mercians, who was called Jaruman, and bishop Tuda. And there was Wilfrid the priest, who was afterwards a bishop: and all his thanes who were within his kingdom were there.

When the monastery had been hallowed in the name of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew, then the king stood up before all his thanes, and said with a clear voice, 'Thanked be the high Almighty God for the worthy deed which here is done, and I will this day do honour to Christ and St. Peter; and I desire that ye all assent to my words: I, Wulfhere, do this day give to St. Peter and abbat Sexwulf, and the monks of the monastery, these lands, and these waters, and meres, and fens, and wears, and all the lands which lie thereabout, which are of my kingdom, freely, so that none but the abbat and the monks shall have any claim upon them. This is the grant. From Medeshamstede to North-borough, and thence to the place which is called Foleys, and thence all the fen straight to Esendic, and from Esendic to the place which is called Fethermouth, and thence along the straight way ten miles to Ugdike, and thence to Ragwell, and from Ragwell five miles to the straight stream which goeth to Elm and to Wisbeach, and thence about three miles to Trokenholt, and from Trokenholt straight through all the fen to Derworth which is twenty miles long, and thence to Great Cross, and from Great Cross through a clear water called Bradney, and thence six miles to Paxlade, and thence onward through all the meres and fens which lie toward Huntingdon-port, and these meres and lakes, Shelfermere and Wittleseymere, and all the others which lie thereabout, with the land and the houses which are on the east-half of Shelfermere, and from thence all the fens to Medeshamstede, and from Medeshamstede to Welmsford, and from Welmsford to Clive, and thence to Easton, and from Easton to Stamford, and from Stamford even as the water runneth to the aforesaid North-borough.' These are the lands and the fens which the king gave to St. Peter's monastery.

Then said the king, 'This gift is little; but it is my will that they shall hold it so royally and so freely that neither geld nor tribute be taken from it, except for the monks alone. And thus free I will make this minster, that it be subject to Rome alone; and here it is my will that all of us who are unable to go to Rome shall visit St. Peter.'

While he was saying these words, the abbat desired of him that he would grant him what he should desire of him: and the king granted it. 'I have here 'godefrihte'* monks who wish to spend their lives as anchorites, if they knew where. And there is an island here, which is called Anchorets-isle, and my desire is, that we might build a minster there to the glory of St. Mary, so that those may dwell therein who wish to lead a life of peace and rest.'

Then the king answered, and said thus: 'Behold, Sexwulf, lo! not only that one which thou hast desired, but all things which I know thee to desire on our Lord's behalf, I thus approve and grant. And I beg of thee, my brother Ethelred, and my sisters Kyneburg and Kyneswith, that ye be witnesses for your souls' redemption, and that ye write it with your fingers. And I beg all those who come after me, be they my sons, be they my brothers, or kings that come after me, that our gift may stand, even as they would be partakers of the life eternal, and would escape everlasting torment. Whosoever shall take from this our gift, or the gifts of other good men, may the heavenly gateward take from him in the kingdom of heaven; and whosoever will increase it, may the heavenly gateward increase (his state) in the kingdom of heaven.'

These are the witnesses who were there, who subscribed it with their fingers on the cross of Christ, and assented to it with their tongues. King Wulfhere was the first who confirmed it by word, and afterwards subscribed it with his fingers on the cross of Christ; and said thus: 'I, king Wulfhere, with the kings, and earls, and dukes, and thanes, the witnesses of my gift, do confirm it before the archbishop Deus-dedit with the cross of Christ. ✠' 'And I, Oswy king of the North-humbrians, the friend of this monastery and of abbat Sexwulf, approve of it with the cross of Christ. ✠'

* This word is rendered by Lye, "God-fearing," and by Ingram, simply good."

And I, king Sighere, grant it with the cross of Christ. ✠ 'And I, king Sibbi, subscribe it with the cross of Christ. ✠' 'And I, Ethelred, the king's brother, grant it with the cross of Christ. ✠' 'And we, the king's sisters, Kyneburg and Kyneswith, we approve it. ✠' 'And I, Deus-dedit archbishop of Canterbury, grant it. ✠' After that, all the others who were there assented to it with the cross of Christ. ✠ They were by name Ithamar bishop of Rochester, and Wini bishop of London, and Jaruman who was bishop of the Mercians, and bishop Tuda, and Wilfrid the priest, who was afterwards bishop, and Eappa the priest, whom king Wulfhere sent to preach Christianity in the Isle of Wight, and abbat Sexwulf, and Immine the ealdorman, and Edbert the ealdorman, and Herefrid the ealdorman, and Wilbert the ealdorman, and Abon the ealdorman, Ethelbald, Brordan, Wilbert, Elmund, Frethegis. These, and many others who were there, servants of the king, all assented to it. This writing was written six hundred and sixty-four years after the birth of our Lord, (in) the seventh year of king Wulfhere; the ninth year of archbishop Deus-dedit. They then laid the curse of God, and the curse of all saints, and of all Christian people (upon him) who should undo any thing which there was done. 'So be it,' say all, 'Amen.'

When these things were done, the king sent to Rome to Vitalian who then was pope, and desired that he should grant by his rescript, and with his blessing, all the beforementioned things. And the pope sent this rescript, thus saying, 'I, pope Vitalian, concede to thee king Wulfhere, and archbishop Deus-dedit, and abbat Sexwulf, all the things which ye desire, and I forbid that any king or any man have any claim thereon, except the abbat alone; nor let him obey any man except the pope of Rome, and the archbishop of Canterbury. If any one break this in any thing, may St. Peter exterminate him with his sword: if any one observe it, may St. Peter, with the keys of heaven, undo for him the kingdom of heaven.' Thus the monastery at Medeshamstede was begun, which since has been called Burh [Peterborough].

After that, another archbishop came to Canterbury, who was called Theodore, a very good and a wise man, and he held his synod with his bishops and with the clergy. There was Winfred bishop of the Mercians deposed from his

bishopric, and abbat Saxulf was there chosen to be bishop, and Cuthbald, a monk of the same monastery, was chosen abbat. This synod was held six hundred and seventy-three years after the birth of our Lord.

A. 658. This year Kenwalk fought against the Welsh at Peonna [Pen]; and he drove them as far as Pedrida, [Petherton ?] this was fought after he came from East-Anglia; he was there three years in exile. Thither had Penda driven him. and deprived him of his kingdom, because he had forsaken his sister.

A. 659.

A. 660. This year Bishop Agilbert departed from Kenwalk, and Wini held the bishopric* three years, and Agilbert obtained the bishopric of Paris in France by the Seine.

A. 661. This year, during Easter, Kenwalk fought at Pontesbury, and Wulfhere, the son of Penda, laid the country waste as far as Ashdown. And Cuthred the son of Cuichelm and king Cenbert† died in one year. And Wulfhere the son of Penda laid waste Wight, and gave the people of Wight to Ethelwald king of the South-Saxons, because Wulfhere had been his sponsor at baptism. And Eappa the mass-priest, by the command of Wilfrid and King Wulfhere, was the first of men who brought baptism to the people of the Isle of Wight.

A. 662. 663.

A. 664. This year the sun was eclipsed on the 5th before the Nones of May;‡ and Earconbert king of the Kentish-men died, and Egbert his son succeeded to the kingdom; and Colman,§ with his companions, went to his country. The same year there was a great pestilence in the island of Britain, and bishop‖ Tuda died of the pestilence, and was buried at Wagele.¶ And Chad and Wilfrid were ordained; and the same year archbishop Deus-dedit died.

A. 665. 666.

A. 667. This year Oswy and Egbert sent Wighard

* Of Wessex, at Winchester.

† "Father of Cædwalla, king of Wessex. See A. 685."—*Petrie.*

‡ May 3. "This happened on the 1st of May; but the error is Bede's."—*Petrie.*

§ Bishop of Lindisfarne. ‖ Of Lindisfarne. ¶ Cf. Bede l. iii. c. 27.

the priest to Rome, that he might there be consecrated archbishop of Canterbury; but he died soon after he came thither.

A. 667. This year Wighard went to Rome, even as King Oswy and Egbert had sent him.

A. 668. This year Theodore was ordained an archbishop, and sent to Britain.

A. 669. This year king Egbert gave Reculver to Bass the mass-priest, that he might build a minster thereon.

A. 670. This year Oswy king of the North-humbrian died, on the 15th before the Kalends of March;* and Egfric his son reigned after him; and Hlothere,† the nephew of bishop Agilbert, obtained the bishopric over the West-Saxons, and held it seven years. Bishop Theodore consecrated him. And Oswy was the son of Ethelfrid, Ethelfrid of Ethelric, Ethelric of Ida, Ida of Eoppa.

A. 671. This year was the great destruction among the birds.

A. 672. This year king Kenwalk died, and Sexburga his queen reigned one year after him.

A. 673. This year Egbert, king of the Kentish-men died; and the same year there was a Synod at Hertford, and Saint Etheldrida began the minster at Ely.

A. 674. This year Escwin succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons; he was the son of Cenfus, Cenfus of Cenferth, Cenferth of Cuthgils, Cuthgils of Ceolwulf, Ceolwulf of Cynric, Cynric of Cerdic.

A. 675. This year Wulfhere, the son of Penda, and Escwin, the son of Cenfus, fought at Beadan-head; and the same year Wulfhere died, and Ethelred succeeded to the kingdom.

Now in his time he sent bishop Wilfrid to Rome to the pope that then was, he was called Agatho, and showed him by letter and by message how his brothers Peada and Wulfhere, and Sexwulf the abbat, had built a minster, which was called Medeshamstede, and that they had freed it against king and against bishop of all services; and he besought him that he would assent to it with his rescript and with his blessing. And then the pope sent his rescript to England, thus saying:

* February 15th † Eleutherius, bishop of Winchester.

"I, Agatho, pope of Rome, greet well the worshipful Ethelred, king of the Mercians, and the archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, and the bishop of the Mercians Sexwulf, who was formerly abbat, and all the abbats who are in England, with the greeting of God and my blessing. I have heard the desire of king Ethelred, and of archbishop Theodore, and of bishop Sexwulf, and of abbat Cuthbald; and it is my will that it be in all wise even as you have spoken. And I ordain, on behalf of God and St. Peter, and of all saints, and of every person in orders, that neither king, nor bishop, nor earl, nor any man have any claim, nor any tribute, geld, or military service; neither let any man exact any kind of service from the abbacy of Medeshamstede. I also ordain that the shire-bishop be not so bold that he perform any ordination or consecration within the abbacy unless the abbat beseech it of him, nor have any claim there for proxies, or synodals, or for any kind of thing. And it is my will that the abbat be holden as legate of Rome over all the island, and that whatsoever abbat shall be there chosen by the monks, he be consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury. I will and concede that whatever man shall have made a vow to go to Rome, which he may be unable to fulfil, either from sickness or his Lord's need (of him), or from poverty, or be unable to come there from any other kind of need, be he of England, or of whatever other island he be, let him come to the minster at Medeshamstede, and have the same forgiveness of Christ and St. Peter, and of the abbat and of the monks, that he should have if he went to Rome. Now I beseech thee, brother Theodore, that thou cause to be commanded throughout all England, that a synod be gathered, and this decree, be read and observed. In like manner I command thee bishop Sexwulf, that even as thou didst desire that the minster be free, so I forbid thee and all the bishops that shall come after thee, from Christ and all his saints, that ye have any claim upon the minster, except so far as the abbat shall be willing. Now will I say in a word, that whoso observeth this rescript and this decree, let him be ever dwelling with God Almighty in the kingdom of heaven; and whoso breaketh through it, let him be excommunicated, and thrust down with Judas and with all the devils in hell unless he turn to repentance. Amen!"

This rescript Pope Agatho and one hundred and twenty-five bishops sent to England by Wilfrid archbishop of York. This was done six hundred and eighty years after the birth of our Lord, and in the sixth year of king Ethelred.

The king then commanded the archbishop Theodore that he should appoint a meeting of all the witan at the place which is called Heathfield.* When they were there assembled, he caused the rescript to be read, which the pope had sent thither, and they all assented to and fully confirmed it.

Then said the king: "All those things which my brother Peada, and my brother Wulfhere, and my sisters Kyneburg and Kyneswith, gave and granted to St. Peter and the abbat, it is my will shall stand; and I will in my day increase it for the good of their souls and of my own. Now to-day I give St. Peter at his minster, Medeshamstede, these lands and all that lieth there adjoining; that is to say, Bredon, Repings, Cadney, Swineshead, Hanbury, Lodeshall, Scuffanhall, Cosford, Stratford, Wattleburn, Lushgard, Ethelhunisland, Bardney. These lands I give St. Peter all as freely as I myself possessed them, and so that none of my successors take anything therefrom. If any one shall do so, let him have the curse of the pope of Rome, and the curse of all bishops, and of all those who are here witnesses, and this I confirm with Christ's token.✠" "I, Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, am witness to this charter of Medeshamstede, and I confirm it with my signature, and I excommunicate all those who shall break any part thereof, and I bless all those who shall observe it.✠" "I, Wilfrid, archbishop of York, I am witness to this charter, and I assent to the same curse.✠" "I, Sexwulf, who was first abbat and am now bishop, I give those my curse, and that of all my successors, who shall break through this." "I, Ostritha, wife of Ethelred, grant it." "I, Adrian, legate, assent to it." "I, Putta, bishop of Rochester, I subscribe it." "I, Waldhere, bishop of London, confirm it." "I, Cuthbald, abbat, assent to it. so that whoso shall break it, let him have the cursing of all bishops and of all Christian folk. Amen!"

A. 676. This year, in which Hedda succeeded to his bishopric;† Escwin died, and Kentwin succeeded to the kingdom

* Bishop's Hatfield. † Of Wessex, or Winchester.

of the West-Saxons: and Kentwin was the son of Cynegils, Cynegils of Ceolwulf. And Ethelred, king of the Mercians, laid waste Kent.

A. 677.

A. 678. This year the star (called) a comet appeared in August, and shone like a sunbeam every morning for three months; and bishop Wilfrid was driven from his bishopric by King Egfrid; and two bishops were consecrated in his stead; Bosa to Deira. and Eata to Bernicia. And Eadhed was consecrated bishop over the men of Lindsey; he was the first of the bishops of Lindsey.

A. 679. This year Elfwin was slain near the Trent, where Egfrid and Ethelred fought; and Saint Etheldrida died. And Coldingham was burned by fire from heaven.

A. 680. This year archbishop Theodore appointed a synod at Heathfield, because he wished to set forth aright the Christian faith. And the same year Hilda, abbess of Whitby, died.

A. 681. This year Tumbert was consecrated bishop of Hexham, and Trumwine of the Picts,* for at that time they were subject to this country.

A. 682. In this year Kentwin drove the Britons to the sea.

A. 683.

A. 684. Here in this year Egfrid sent an army against the Scots, and Beort his ealdorman with it, and miserably they plundered and burned the churches of God.

A. 685. This year king Egfrid commanded that Cuthbert should be consecrated a bishop; and on the first day of Easter, at York, archbishop Theodore consecrated him bishop of Hexham; because Tumbert had been deposed from his bishopric. This year Cædwalla began to contend for the kingdom. Cædwalla was the son of Cenbert, Cenbert of Cadda, Cadda of Cutha, Cutha of Ceawlin, Ceawlin of Cynric, Cynric of Cerdic. And Mul was the brother of Cædwalla, and he was afterwards burned in Kent. And the same year, on the 13th before the Kalends of June, king Egfrid was slain near the North-sea, and a great army with him He was king fifteen years, and Alfrid his brother succeeded to

* Whithern.

the kingdom after him. Egfrid was the son of Oswy, Oswy of Ethelfrid, Ethelfrid of Ethelric, Ethelric of Ida, Ida of Eoppa. And Lothere, king of the Kentish-men, died the same year. And John was consecrated bishop of Hexham, and he was there until Wilfrid returned. Afterwards John succeeded to the bishopric of York, for bishop Bosa was dead. Then, after that, Wilfrid* his priest was consecrated bishop of York, and John retired to his minster at Derewood.† This year it rained blood in Britain, and milk and butter were turned into blood.

A. 685. And in this same year Cuthbert was consecrated bishop of Hexham by archbishop Theodore at York, because bishop Tumbert had been driven from the bishopric.

A. 686. This year Cædwalla and Mul his brother laid waste Kent and Wight. This Cædwalla gave to St. Peter's minster at Medeshamstede, Hook, which is in an island called Egborough; the then abbat of the monastery was called Egbald. He was the third abbat after Sexwulf. At that time Theodore was archbishop in Kent.

A. 687. This year Mul was burned in Kent, and twelve other men with him; and the same year Cædwalla again laid waste Kent.

A. 688. This year Ina succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons, and held it thirty-seven years; and he built the minster at Glastonbury; and he afterwards went to Rome, and there dwelt to the end of his days: and the same year Cædwalla went to Rome, and received baptism from the pope,‡ and the pope named him Peter; and in about seven days he died. Now Ina was the son of Cenred, Cenred of Ceolwald, Ceolwald was Cynegil's brother, and they were sons of Cuthwine the son of Ceawlin, Ceawlin of Cynric, Cynric of Cerdic.

A. 688. This year king Cædwalla went to Rome, and received baptism of Pope Sergius, and he gave him the name of Peter, and in about seven days afterwards, on the twelfth before the Kalends of May, while he was yet in his baptismal garments, he died; and he was buried in St. Peter's church. And Ina succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons after him, and he reigned twenty-seven years.

A. 689.

A. 690. This year archbishop Theodore died; he was

* Wilfrid II. † Beverley. ‡ Sergius.

bishop twenty-two years, and he was buried at Canterbury; and Berthwald succeeded to the bishopric. Before this the bishops had been Romans, but from this time they were English.

A. 691.

A. 692. This year Berthwald was chosen archbishop on the Kalends of July; he was before that abbat of Reculver. There were then two kings in Kent, Withred and Webherd [Suebhard].

A. 693. This year Berthwald was consecrated archbishop by Guodun, bishop of the Gauls, on the 5th before the Nones of July.* At this time Gebmund, bishop of Rochester, died, and archbishop Berthwald consecrated Tobias in his place; and Drithelm departed this life.

A. 694. This year the Kentish-men compounded with Ina, and gave him thirty thousand pounds† for his friendship, because they had formerly burned Mul. And Withred succeeded to the kingdom of the Kentish-men, and held it thirty-three years. Withred was the son of Egbert, Egbert of Earconbert, Earconbert of Eadbald, Eadbald of Ethelbert.

As soon as he was king, he commanded a great council to be assembled at the place which is called Baccancelde,‡ in which sat Withred, king of the Kentish-men, and Berthwald, the archbishop of Canterbury, and Tobias, bishop of Rochester, and with them were assembled abbats and abbesses, and many wise men, all to consult about the bettering of God's churches in Kent. Now began the king to speak, and said, "It is my will that all the minsters and the churches that were given and bequeathed to the glory of God in the days of faithful kings my predecessors, and in the days of my kinsmen, of King Ethelbert and those who followed after him,

* The 29th of June.

† "The reading of MSS. *B* and *F*, however excessive the sum may appear, has been placed in the text, because, unlike the 'thirty men' of *A.G*, or the 'thirty thousand' of *D.E*, it is intelligible without having recourse to conjecture. The payment, whatever its amount may have been, was probably the legal compensation for the death of Mul . . . Of the early Latin writers, Ethelwald says, it was 30,000 solidi, 'per singulos constanti numero sexdecim nummis;' Florence, of Worcester, 3750 pounds; and Malmesbury, 30,000 mancuses, which, at eight to the pound, would agree with Florence."—*Petrie*.

‡ Beckenham, Kent.

do so remain to the glory of God, and firmly continue so to all eternity for evermore. For I, Withred, an earthly king, instigated by the King of heaven, and burning with the zeal of righteousness, have learned from the institutes of our forefathers, that no layman has a right to possess himself of a church, nor of any of the things which belong to a church. And hence strictly and faithfully do we appoint and decree, and in the name of the Almighty God and of all his saints we forbid to all kings our successors, and to ealdormen, and all laymen any lordship whatever over the churches, and over all their possessions, which I, or my elders of olden days, have given as an everlasting inheritance to the glory of Christ and of our lady St. Mary, and of the holy apostles. And observe, when it shall happen that a bishop, or an abbat, or an abbess, shall depart this life, let it be made known to the archbishop, and by his counsel and advice, let such an one be chosen as shall be worthy. And let the archbishop inquire into the life and purity of him who is chosen to such a duty, and in nowise let any one be chosen to such a duty without the counsel of the archbishop. It is the duty of kings to appoint earls and ealdormen, shire-reeves and doomsmen, and of the archbishop to instruct and advise the community of God, and bishops, and abbats, and abbesses, priests and deacons, to choose and appoint, and consecrate and stablish them by good precepts and example, lest any of God's flock stray and be lost.

A. 695. 696.

A. 697. This year the South-humbrians slew Ostritha, Ethelred's queen, Egfrid's sister.

A. 698.

A. 699. This year the Picts slew Beort the ealdorman.

A. 700. 701.

A. 702. This year Kenred succeeded to the kingdom of the South-humbrians.

A. 703. This year bishop Hedda died, and he held the bishopric at Winchester twenty-seven years.

A. 704. This year Ethelred the son of Penda, king of the Mercians, became a monk, and he had held the kingdom twenty-nine years; then Kenred succeeded to it.

A. 705. This year Alfrid king of the North-humbrians died at Driffield on the nineteenth before the Kalends of

January: and bishop Sexwulf.* Then Osred his son succeeded to the kingdom.

A. 706.—708.

A. 709. This year bishop Aldhelm died, he was bishop† on the west of Selwood; and in the early days of Daniel the land of the West-Saxons was divided into two bishop-shires, and before that it had been one; the one‡ Daniel held, the other§ Aldhelm. After Aldhelm, Forthhere succeeded to it. And king Ceolred succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians; and Kenred went to Rome, and Offa with him. And Kenred was there till the end of his life. And the same year bishop Wilfrid‖ died at Oundle, and his body was carried to Ripon; he was bishop forty-five years; him king Egfrid had formerly driven away to Rome.

A. 710. This year Acca, Wilfrid's priest, succeeded to the bishopric¶ which before he had held; and the same year Bertfrid the ealdorman fought against the Picts between Heugh and Carau. And Ina and Nun his kinsman fought against Gerent king of the Welsh; and the same year Higbald was slain.

A. 711.—713.

A. 714. This year Saint Guthlac died, and king Pepin.

A. 715. This year Ina and Ceolred fought at Wanborough. This year died king Dagobert.

A. 716. This year Osred king of the North-humbrians was slain on the southern border; he had the kingdom seven years after Alfrid; then Kenred succeeded to the kingdom, and held it two years, then Osric, who held it eleven years; and the same year Ceolred king of the Mercians died, and his body lies at Lichfield, and Ethelred's the son of Penda at Bardney. Then Ethelbald succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians, and held it forty-one years. Ethelbald was the son of Alwy, Alwy of Eawa, Eawa of Pybba, whose genealogy is written before.** And that pious man Egbert converted the monks in the island of Hii to the right faith, so that they observed Easter duly, and the ecclesiastical tonsure.

A. 717.

A. 718. This year Ingild the brother of Ina died, and their sisters were Cwenburga and Cuthburga. And Cuthburga

* Of Lichfield. † Of Sherborne. ‡ Winchester.
§ Sherborne. ‖ Of Hexham. ¶ Hexham. **A. 626.

built the monastery at Wimburn; and she was given in marriage to Alfrid king of the North-humbrians; but they separated during his life-time.

A. 719. 720.

A. 721. This year bishop Daniel* went to Rome; and the same year Ina slew Cynewulf the etheling. And this year the holy bishop John† died; he was bishop thirty-three years, eight months, and thirteen days; and his body rests at Beverley.

A. 722. This year queen Ethelburga razed Taunton, which Ina had previously built; and Ealdbert the exile departed into Surry and Sussex, and Ina fought against the South-Saxons.

A. 723. 724.

A. 725. This year Withred king of the Kentish-men died on the ninth before the Kalends of May; he reigned thirty-four years; his genealogy is above: and Egbert succeeded to the kingdom of Kent; and Ina fought against the South-Saxons, and there slew Ealdbert the etheling, whom he before had driven into exile.

A. 726.

A. 727. This year Tobias bishop of Rochester died, and in his place archbishop Berthwald consecrated Aldwulf bishop.

A. 728. This year Ina went to Rome, and there gave (up) his life, and Ethelard his kinsman succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons, and held it fourteen years. And the same year Ethelard and Oswald the etheling fought; and Oswald was the son of Ethelbald, Ethelbald of Cynebald, Cynebald of Cuthwin, Cuthwin of Ceawlin.

A. 729. This year the star (called) a comet appeared, and Saint Egbert died in Ii.

A. 729. And the same year Osric died; he was king eleven years: then Ceolwulf succeeded to the kingdom, and held it eight years.

A. 730. This year Oswald the etheling died.

A. 731. This year Osric king of the North-humbrians was slain, and Ceolwulf succeeded to the kingdom, and held it eight years,‡ and Ceolwulf was the son of Cutha, Cutha of Cuthwin, Cuthwin of Leodwald, Leodwald of Egwald,

* Of Winton. † Of York.

‡ Osric's death is rightly placed by another MS. in 729.

Egwald of Aldhelm, Aldhelm of Ocga, Ocga of Ida, Ida of Eoppa. And archbishop Berthwald died on the Ides of January ;* he was bishop thirty-seven years six months and fourteen days. And the same year Tatwine was consecrated archbishop ;† he had been before a priest at Bredon among the Mercians. Daniel bishop of Winchester, and Ingwald bishop of London, and Aldwin bishop of Lichfield, and Aldwulf bishop of Rochester consecrated him on the tenth of June : he had the archbishopric three years.

A. 732.

A. 733. This year Ethelbald conquered Somerton ; and the sun was eclipsed, and the whole disc of the sun was like a black shield. And Acca was driven from his bishopric.‡

A. 734 This year the moon was as if it had been sprinkled with blood ; and archbishop Tatwine and Bede died, and Egbert was consecrated bishop.§

A. 735. This year bishop Egbert received his pall at Rome.

A. 736. This year archbishop Nothelm received his pall from the bishop of the Romans.‖

A. 737. This year bishop Forthere,¶ and queen Frithogitha** went to Rome. And king Ceolwulf†† received Peter's tonsure, and gave his kingdom to Eadbert, his uncle's son ; he reigned twenty-one years ; and bishop Ethelwald‡‡ and Acca died, and Conwulf was consecrated bishop.§§ And the same year king Ethelbald laid waste the land of the North-humbrians.

A. 738. This year Eadbert the son of Eata, Eata being the son of Leodwald, succeeded to the kingdom of the North-humbrians, and held it twenty-one years. His brother was archbishop§ Egbert the son of Eata ; and they both rest in one porch in the city of York.

A. 739. 740.

A. 741. This year king Ethelard died, and Cuthred his kinsman succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons, and held it sixteen years ; and he contended strenuously against Ethelbald king of the Mercians. And archbishop

* The 13th of January.
† Of Canterbury.
‡ Hexham.
§ Of York.
‖ Greg. III.
¶ Of Winton.
** Of Wessex.
†† Of Northumbria.
‡‡ Of Lindisfarne.
§§ Of York.

Nothelm* died, and Cuthbert was consecrated archbishop; and Dun bishop to Rochester. This year York was burnt.

A. 742. This year a great synod was held at Cloveshou; and there was Ethelbald king of the Mercians, and archbishop Cuthbert, and many other wise men.

A. 743. This year Ethelbald king of the Mercians, and Cuthred king of the West-Saxons, fought against the Welsh.

A. 744. This year Daniel gave up the see of Winchester, and Hunferth succeeded to the bishopric: and stars were seen to shoot rapidly: and Wilfrid the younger, † who was bishop of York, died on the third before the Kalends of May;‡ he was bishop thirty years.

A. 745. This year Daniel died: then forty-three years had elapsed since he obtained the bishopric.

A. 746. This year king Selred was slain.

A. 747.

A. 748. This year Cynric the etheling of the West-Saxons was slain: and Eadbert king of the Kentish-men died; and Ethelbert, the son of king Withred, succeeded to the kingdom.

A. 749.

A. 750. This year Cuthred, king of the West-Saxons, fought against Ethelhun, the proud ealdorman.

A. 751.

A. 752. This year Cuthred, king of the West-Saxons, in the twelfth year of his reign, fought at Burford against Ethelbald king of the Mercians, and put him to flight.

A. 753. This year Cuthred, king of the West-Saxons, fought against the Welsh.

A. 754. This year Cuthred, king of the West-Saxons, died; and Kineward obtained the bishopric of Winchester, after Hunferth: and the same year Canterbury was burned: and Sigebert his kinsman succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons, and held it one year.

A. 755. This year Cynewulf, and the West-Saxon 'witan'

* Of Canterbury.

† Wilfrid the second, archbishop of York, is apparently confounded with the bishop of Worcester of the same name. The former was succeeded by Egbert in 734. See A. 734 and 776, and Bede, p. 299.

‡ The 29th of April.

deprived his kinsman Sigebert of his kingdom, except Hampshire, for his unjust doings; and that he held until he slew the ealdorman who longest abode by him. And then Cynewulf drove him into Andred, and he abode there until a swine-herd stabbed him at Privets-flood [Privett, Hampshire], and avenged the ealdorman Cumbra.

And Cynewulf fought very many battles against the Welsh; and after he had held the kingdom about one and thirty years, he purposed to expel an etheling, who was named Cyneard: and Cyneard was Sigebert's brother. And he then learned that the king with a small band was gone to Merton to visit a woman; and he there beset him and surrounded the chamber on every side, before the men who were with the king discovered him. And when the king perceived this, he went to the door, and there manfully defended himself, until he beheld the etheling, and then he rushed out upon him and sorely wounded him; and they all continued fighting against the king until they had slain him.

And upon this, the king's thanes having discovered the affray by the woman's cries, each, as he was ready, and with his utmost speed ran to the spot. And the etheling offered money and life to each of them, and not one of them would accept it; but they continued fighting till they all fell, except one, a British hostage, and he was sorely wounded.

Then upon the morrow, the king's thanes, whom he had left behind him, heard that the king was slain, then rode they thither, and Osric his ealdorman, and Wiferth his thane, and the men whom he had previously left behind. And at the town wherein the king lay slain they found the etheling, and those within had closed the gates against them; but they then went onward And he then offered them their own choice of land and money if they would grant him the kingdom, and showed them that their kinsman were with him, men who would not desert him. And they then said, that no kinsman was dearer to them than their lord, and that they never would follow his murderer. And they then bade their kinsmen that they should go away from him in safety; but they said that the same had been bidden their companions who before that had been with the king; then they said, that they no more minded it 'than your companions who were

slain with the king.' And then they continued fighting around the gates until they made their way in, and slew the etheling, and all the men who were with him, except one who was the ealdorman's godson; and he escaped with life, though he was wounded in several places.

And Cynewulf reigned thirty-one years, and his body lies at Winchester, and the etheling's at Axminster; and their right paternal kin reaches to Cerdic.

And the same year Ethelbald king of the Mercians was slain at Seckington, and his body lies at Repton, and he reigned forty-one years; and Bernred obtained the kingdom, and held it a little while and unhappily. And the same year Offa drove out Bernred and obtained the kingdom, and held it thirty-nine years; and his son Egfert held it one hundred and forty-one days. Offa was the son of Thingferth, Thingferth of Enwulf, Enwulf of Osmod, Osmod of Eawa, Eawa of Pybba, Pybba of Creoda. Creoda of Cynewald, Cynewald of Cnebba, Cnebba of Icel, Icel of Eomær, Eomær of Angeltheow, Angeltheow of Offa, Offa of Wærmund, Wærmund of Wihtlæg, Wihtlæg of Woden.

A. 755. This year Cynewulf deprived king Sigebert of his kingdom; and Sigebert's brother, Cynehard by name, slew Cynewulf at Merton; and he reigned thirty-one years. And in the same year Ethelbald king of the Mercians was slain at Repton. And Offa succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians, Bernred being driven out.

A. 756.

A. 757. This year Eadbert king of the North-humbrians was shorn, and his son Oswulph succeeded to the kingdom, and reigned one year; and he was slain by his household on the eighth before the Kal. of August.*

A. 758. This year archbishop Cuthbert died; and he held the archbishopric eighteen years.†

A. 759. This year Bregowin was ordained archbishop at St. Michael's-tide, and held the see four years. And Moll Ethelwald succeeded to the kingdom of the Northhumbrians, and reigned six years, and then resigned it.

A. 760. This year Ethelbert king of the Kentish-men died; he was the son of king Withred: and Ceolwulf also died.

A. 761. This year was the severe winter; and Moll king

* The 25th of July † Of Canterbury.

of the North-humbrians slew Oswin at Edwin's Cliff on the eighth before the Ides of August.

A. 762. This year archbishop * Bregowin died.

A. 763. This year Lambert was ordained archbishop on the fortieth day after mid-winter,† and held the see twenty-six years. And Frithwald bishop of Whitherne died on the Nones of May.‡ He was consecrated at York on the eighteenth before the Kal. of September,§ in the sixth year of Ceolwulf's reign, and he was bishop twenty-nine years. Then Petwin was consecrated bishop of Whitherne at Adlingfleet, on the sixteenth before the Kalends of August.‖

A. 764. This year archbishop Lambert received his pall.

A. 765. This year Alcred succeeded to the kingdom of the North-humbrians, and reigned nine years.

A. 766. This year died archbishop Egbert at York on the 13th before the Kalends of December; he was bishop thirty-seven years; and Frithbert at Hexham; he was bishop thirty-three years; and Ethelbert was consecrated to York, and Alhmund to Hexham.

A. 767.

A. 768. This year king Eadbert the son of Eata, died on the thirteenth before the Kalends of September.

A. 769.—771.

A. 772. This year bishop Milred ¶ died.

A. 773. This year a fiery crucifix appeared in the heavens after sunset: and the same year the Mercians and the Kentish-men fought at Otford; and wondrous adders were seen in the land of the South-Saxons.

A. 774. This year at Easter-tide, the North-humbrians drove their king Alcred from York, and took Ethelred, the son of Moll, to be their lord; he reigned four years.

A. 775.

A. 776. This year bishop Petwin ** died on the thirteenth before the Kalends of October; he was bishop fourteen years.

A. 777. This year Cynewolf and Offa fought about Bensington, and Offa took the town; and the same year, on

* Canterbury.
‡ The 7th of May.
‖ The 17th of July.
** Of Whitherne.
† The 2nd of February.
§ The 15th of August.
¶ Of Worcester.

the seventeenth before the Kalends of July, Ethelbert was consecrated at York bishop of Whitherne.

In the days of king Offa there was an abbat of Medeshamstede called Beonna. The same Beonna, by the consent of all the monks of the minster, let to Cuthbert the ealdorman ten copy-lands at Swineshead, with lease, and with meadow, and with all that lay thereto, and on this condition: that Cuthbert should give the abbat therefore fifty pounds, and each year one day's entertainment, or thirty shillings in money; and furthermore, that after his decease the land should return to the minster. The witnesses of this were king Offa, and king Egfert, and archbishop Higbert,* and bishop Ceolwulf, and bishop Inwona, and abbat Beonna, and many other bishops and abbats, and many other great men. In the days of this same Offa there was an ealdorman who was called Brorda. He desired of the king that for love of him he would free a minster of his called Woking, because he wished to give it to Medeshamstede, and St. Peter, and the abbat that then was, who was called Pusa. Pusa succeeded Beonna, and the king loved him greatly. And the king then freed the minster Woking, against king, and against bishop, and against earl, and against all men, so that no one should have any claim there except St. Peter and the abbat. This was done in the king's town called Free-Richburn.

A. 778. This year Ethelbald and Herbert slew three high-reeves; Edulf, the son of Bosa, at Kings-cliff, and Cynewolf and Egga at Helathyrn, on the eleventh before the Kalends of April: and then Alfwold obtained the kingdom,† and drove Ethelred out of the country; and he reigned ten years.

A. 779.

A. 780. This year the Old-Saxons and the Franks fought; and the high-reeves of the North-humbrians burned Bern the ealdorman at Silton, on the eighth before the Kalends of January: and archbishop Ethelbert died at York, in whose place Eanbald was consecrated; and bishop Cynewolf gave up the bishopric of Lindisfarne. This year Alhmund, bishop of Hexham, died on the seventh before the Ides of September, and Tilbert was consecrated in his place on the

* Of Lichfield! † Northumbria.

sixth before the Nones of October; and Higbald was consecrated at Sockbury bishop of Lindisfarne; and king Alfwold sent to Rome for a pall, and invested Banbald as archbishop.

A. 781.

A. 782. This year died Werburh, Ceolred's queen, and Cynewolf, bishop of Lindisfarne; and there was a synod at Acley.

A. 783.

A. 784. This year Cyneard slew king Cynewolf, and was himself there slain, and eighty-four men with him; and then Bertric obtained the kingdom of the West-Saxons, and he reigned sixteen years, and his body lies at Wareham; and his right paternal kin reaches to Cerdic. At this time king Elmund reigned in Kent. This king Elmund was the father of Egbert, and Egbert was father of Athulf.

A. 785. This year abbat Bothwin died at Ripon; and this year there was a contentious synod at Chalk-hythe, and archbishop Lambert gave up some portion of his bishopric, and Higbert was elected by king Offa; and Egfert was consecrated king. And at this time messengers were sent from Rome by pope Adrian to England, to renew the faith and the peace which St. Gregory had sent us by Augustine the bishop; and they were worshipfully received, and sent away in peace.

A. 786.

A. 787. This year king Bertric took to wife Eadburga, king Offa's daughter; and in his days first came three ships of Northmen, out of Hæretha-land [Denmark]. And then the reve* rode to the place, and would have driven them to the king's town, because he knew not who they were: and they there slew him. These were the first ships of Danish-men which sought the land of the English nation.

A. 788. This year a synod was assembled in the land of the North-humbrians at Fingall, on the 4th before the Nones of September; and abbat Albert died at Ripon.

A. 789. This year Alfwold, king of the Northumbrians, was slain by Siga on the 8th before the Kalends of October; and a heavenly light was frequently seen at the place where he was slain; and he was buried at Hexham within the church; and Osred, the son of Alcred succeeded to the

* Since called sheriff; *i. e.* the *reve*, or steward of the shire.—INGRAM.

kingdom after him: he was his nephew. And a synod was assembled at Acley.

A. 790. This year archbishop Lambert died, and the same year abbat Athelard was chosen archbishop.* And Osred, king of the North-humbrians, was betrayed, and driven from the kingdom; and Ethelred, the son of Ethelwald, again obtained the government.

A. 791. This year Baldulf was consecrated bishop of Whitherne, on the 16th before the Kalends of August, by archbishop Eanbald,† and by bishop Ethelbert.‡

A. 792. This year Offa, king of the Mercians, commanded the head of king Ethelbert§ to be struck off. And Osred, who had been king of the Northumbrians, having come home after his exile, was seized and slain on the 18th before the Kalends of October; and his body lies at Tinemouth. And king Ethelred took a new wife, who was called Elfleda, on the 3rd before the Kalends of October.

A. 793. This year dire forwarnings came over the land of the North-humbrians, and miserably terrified the people; these were excessive whirlwinds, and lightnings; and fiery dragons were seen flying in the air. A great famine soon followed these tokens; and a little after that, in the same year, on the 6th before the Ides of January, the ravaging of heathen men lamentably destroyed God's church at Lindisfarne through rapine and slaughter. And Siga died on the 8th before the Kalends of March.

A. 794. This year Pope Adrian‖ and king Offa died; and Ethelred, king of the North-humbrians, was slain by his own people on the 13th before the Kalends of May; and bishop Ceolwulf¶ and bishop Eadbald went away from the land. And Egfert succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians and died the same year. And Eadbert, who by a second name was named Pren, obtained the kingdom of Kent. And Ethelherd the ealdorman died on the Kalends of August; and the heathens ravaged among the North-humbrians, and plundered Egfert's monastery at the mouth of the Wear; and there one of their leaders was slain, and also some of their ships were wrecked by a tempest; and many of them

* Of Canterbury.
† Of York.
‡ Of Hexham.
§ Of East Anglia.
‖ Pope Adrian died December 25th, 795.
¶ Of Lindsey.

were there drowned, and some came on shore alive, and they were soon slain at the river's mouth.

A. 795. This year the moon was eclipsed between cock-crowing and dawn, on the 5th before the Kalends of April; and Eardulf succeeded to the kingdom of the North-humbrians on the 2nd before the Ides of May; and he was afterwards consecrated king, and raised to his throne on the 8th before the Kalends of June, at York, by archbishop Eanbald, and bishop Ethelbert,* and Higbald,† and Badulf,‡ bishops.

A. 796. This year Kenulf, king of the Mercians, laid waste Kent as far as the marshes, and took Pren their king, and led him bound into Mercia, and let his eyes be picked out and his hands be cut off. And Athelard, archbishop of Canterbury, appointed a synod, and confirmed and ratified, by the command of Pope Leo, all the things respecting God's ministers which were appointed in Withgar's days, and in other kings' days, and thus sayeth:

"I, Athelard, the humble archbishop of Canterbury, by the unanimous counsel of the whole synod, and with . . . of all . . . to the congregation of all the ministers to which in old days immunity was given by faithful men, in the name of God, and by his awful dóom, I command, as I have command of Pope Leo, that henceforth none dare to choose for themselves lords over God's heritage from amongst laymen. But even as it stands in the rescript which the pope has given, or those holy men have appointed who are our fathers and instructors concerning holy minsters, thus let them continue inviolate, without any kind of gainsaying. If there be any man who will not observe this ordinance of God, and of our pope, and ours, and who despiseth and holdeth it for nought, let him know that he shall give account before the judgment-seat of God. And I, Athelard, archbishop, with twelve bishops, and three and twenty abbats, do confirm and ratify this same with Christ's rood-token."

And archbishop Eanbald died on the 4th before the Ides of August of the same year, and his body lies at York; and the same year died bishop Ceolwulf;§ and a second Ean-

* Of Hexham.
† Lindisfarne.
‡ Whitherne.
§ Of Lindsey.

bald was consecrated in the place of the other on the 19th before the Kalends of September.

A. 796. This year Offa, king of the Mercians, died on the 4th before the Kalends of August; he reigned forty years.

A. 797. This year the Romans cut out the tongue of Pope [illegible]o, and put out his eyes, and drove him from his see; and soon afterwards, God helping, he was able to see and speak, and again was pope as he before was. And Eanbald received his pall on the 6th before the Ides of September; and bishop Ethelbert* died on the 17th before the Kalends of November; and Heandred was consecrated bishop in his place on the 3rd before the Kalends of November; and bishop Alfun died at Sudbury, and he was buried in Dunwich, and Tidfrith was chosen after him; and Siric, king of the East Saxons, went to Rome. In this same year the body of Witburga was found at Dereham, all whole and uncorrupted, five and fifty years after she had departed from this life.

A. 798. This year there was a great fight at Whalley in the land of the North-humbrians, during Lent, on the 4th before the Nones of April, and there Alric, the son of Herbert, was slain, and many others with him.

A. 799. This year archbishop Athelard† and Kenebert bishop of the West-Saxons,‡ went to Rome.

A. 800. This year, on the 17th before the Kalends of February, the moon was eclipsed at the second hour of the night. And king Bertric and Worr the ealdorman died, and Egbert succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons. And the same day Ethelmund, ealdorman, rode over from the Wiccians, at Cynemæresford [Kempsford]. Then Woxtan the ealdorman with the men of Wiltshire met him. There was a great fight, and both the ealdormen were slain, and the men of Wiltshire got the victory.

A. 801.

A. 801. This year Beornmod was ordained bishop of Rochester.

A. 802. This year on the 13th before the Kalends of January the moon was eclipsed at dawn; and Beornmod was ordained bishop of Rochester.§

* Of Hexham. † Of Canterbury ‡ Winchester.
§ Placed in 801 by another MS.

A. 803. This year died Higbald bishop of Lindisfarne on the 8th before the Kalends of July, and Egbert II. was consecrated in his stead on the 3d before the Ides of June; and this year archbishop Athelard died in Kent, and Wulfred was ordained archbishop; and abbat Forthred died.

A. 804. This year archbishop Wulfred received his pall.

A. 805. This year king Cuthred died among the Kentishmen, and Colburga abbess,* and Herbert the ealdorman.

A. 806. This year the moon was eclipsed on the Kalends of September: and Eardulf king of the North-humbrians was driven from his kingdom; and Eanbert bishop of Hexham died. Also in the same year, on the 2d before the Nones of June, a cross appeared in the moon on a Wednesday at dawn; and afterwards in this year, on the third before the Kalends of September, a wonderful circle was seen about the sun.

A. 807. 808.

A. 809. This year the sun was eclipsed at the beginning of the fifth hour of the day on the 17th before the Kalends of August, the 2d day of the week, the 29th of the moon.

A. 810. 811.

A. 812. This year king Charlemagne died, and he reigned five and forty years; and archbishop Wulfred and Wigbert bishop of the West-Saxons† both went to Rome.

A. 813. This year archbishop Wulfred, with the blessing of pope Leo, returned to his own bishopric; and the same year king Egbert laid waste West-Wales from eastward to westward.

A. 814. This year the noble and holy pope ‡Leo died, and after him Stephen succeeded to the popedom.

A. 815.

A. 816. This year pope Stephen died, and after him Paschal was ordained pope; and the same year the English school at Rome§ was burned.

A. 817. 818.

A. 819. This year Kenulf king of the Mercians died,

* Of Berkeley. † Sherborne.

‡ Leo III. died 11th June 816. *Eginhard, Ann.* Stephen IV. was consecrated on the 22d of the same month.

§ The Angle-School was a quarter near St. Peter's, where the English pilgrims at Rome resided. According to Anastasius, they called it their Borough,' (burgus). *V. Anastas. Bibliothecar. de Vita Stephani IV.*

and Ceolwulf succeeded to the kingdom; and Eadbert the ealdorman died.

A. 820.

A. 821. This year Ceolwulf was deprived of his kingdom.*

A. 822. This year two ealdormen, Burhelm and Mucca, were slain; and there was a synod at Cloveshoo.

A. 823. This year there was a battle between the Welsh and the men of Devon at Camelford:† and the same year Egbert king of the West-Saxons and Bernulf king of the Mercians fought at Wilton, and Egbert got the victory, and there was great slaughter made. He then sent from the army his son Ethelwulf, and Ealstan his bishop,‡ and Wulfherd his ealdorman, into Kent with a large force, and they drove Baldred the king northwards over the Thames. And the men of Kent, and the men of Surrey, and the South-Saxons, and the East-Saxons, submitted to him; for formerly they had been unjustly forced from his kin. And the same year the king of the East-Angles and the people sought the alliance and protection of king Egbert for dread of the Mercians; and the same year the East-Angles slew Bernulf king of Mercia.

A. 824.

A. 825. This year Ludecan king of the Mercians was slain, and his five ealdormen with him; and Withlaf succeeded to the kingdom.

A. 826.

A. 827. This year the moon was eclipsed § on the mass-night of midwinter. And the same year king Egbert conquered the kingdom of the Mercians, and all that was south of the Humber; and he was the eighth king who was Bretwalda. Ælla king of the South-Saxons was the first who had thus much dominion; the second was Ceawlin king of the West-Saxons; the third was Ethelbert king of the Kentish-men; the fourth was Redwald king of the East-Angles; the fifth was Edwin king of the North-humbrians; the sixth was Oswald who reigned after him; the seventh was Oswy, Oswald's brother; the eighth was Egbert king of the West-Saxons. And Egbert led an army to Dore

* Mercia. † In Cornwall. ‡ Sherborne.

§ The eclipse happened on the 25th of December, 828.

against the North-humbrians, and they there offered him obedience and allegiance, and with that they separated.

A. 828. This year Withlaf again obtained the kingdom of the Mercians, and bishop Ethelwald* died; and the same year king Egbert led an army against the North-Welsh, and he forced them to obedient subjection.

A. 829. This year archbishop Wulfred died, and after him abbat Theologild was chosen to the archbishopric,† on the 7th before the Kalends of May; and he was consecrated upon a Sunday, the 5th before the Ides of June: and he died on the 3rd before the Kalends of September.

A. 830. This year Ceolnoth was chosen bishop,‡ and ordained; and abbat Theologild died.

A. 831. This year archbishop Ceolnoth received his pall.

A. 832. This year the heathen men ravaged Sheppey.

A. 833. This year king Egbert fought against the men of thirty-five ships at Charmouth, and there was great slaughter made, and the Danish-men maintained possession of the field. And Herefrith§ and Wigthun,‖ two bishops, died; and Dudda and Osmod, two ealdormen, died.

A. 834.

A. 835. This year a great hostile fleet came to the West-Welsh,¶ and they united together, and made war upon Egbert king of the West-Saxons. As soon as he heard of it he went thither with an army, and fought against them at Hengeston, and there he put to flight both the Welsh and the Danish-men.

A. 836. This year king Egbert died; before he was king, Offa king of the Mercians, and Bertric, king of the West-Saxons, drove him out of England into France for three years; and Bertric assisted Offa, because he had his daughter for his queen. And Egbert reigned thirty-seven years and seven months: and Ethelwulf the son of Egbert succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons; and he gave his son Athelstan the kingdoms of the Kentish-men, and of the East-Saxons, and of the men of Surrey, and of the South-Saxons.

A. 836. And Ethelstan his other son succeeded to the kingdom of the Kentish-men, and to Surrey, and to the kingdom of the South-Saxons.

* Of Lichfield. † Of Canterbury. ‡ Of Canterbury
§ Of Selsey. ‖ Of Winchester. ¶ Cornwall.

A. 837. This year Wulfherd the ealdorman fought at Hamtun [Southampton], against the forces of thirty-five ships, and there made great slaughter, and got the victory: and the same year Wulfherd died. And the same year Ethelhelm the ealdorman fought against the Danish army at Portland-isle with the men of Dorset, and for a good while he put the enemy to flight; but the Danish-men had possession of the field, and slew the ealdorman.

A. 838. This year Herebert the ealdorman was slain by the heathen men, and many with him among the Marsh-men; and afterwards, the same year, in Lindsey, and in East-Anglia, and in Kent, many men were slain by the enemy.

A. 839. This year there was great slaughter at London, and at Canterbury, and at Rochester.

A. 840. This year king Ethelwulf fought at Charmouth against the crews of thirty-five ships, and the Danish-men maintained possession of the field. And Louis the emperor died.

A. 841.—844.

A. 845. This year Eanwulf the ealdorman, with the men of Somerset, and bishop Ealstan,* and Osric the ealdorman, with the men of Dorset, fought at the mouth of the Parret against the Danish army, and there made great slaughter, and got the victory.

A. 846.—850.

A. 851. This year Ceorl the ealdorman, with the men of Devonshire, fought against the heathen men at Wembury,† and there made great slaughter and got the victory. And the same year king Athelstan and Elchere the ealdormen fought on shipboard, and slew a great number of the enemy at Sandwich in Kent, and took nine ships, and put the others to flight; and the heathen men, for the first time, remained over winter in Thanet. And the same year came three hundred and fifty ships to the mouth of the Thames, and the crews landed and took Canterbury and London by storm, and put to flight Berthwulf, king of the Mercians, with his army, and then went south over the Thames into Surrey; and there king Ethelwulf and his son Ethelbald, with the army of the West-Saxons, fought against them at Ockley,

* Of Sherborne. † Near Plymouth.

and there made the greatest slaughter among the heathen army that we have heard reported to the present day, and there got the victory.

A. 852. At this time Ceolred, abbat of Medeshamstede and the monks let to Wulfred the land of Sempringham, on this condition, that after his decease the land should return to the minster, and that Wulfred should give the land of Sleaford to Medeshamstede, and each year should deliver into the minster sixty loads of wood, and twelve of coal and six of faggots, and two tuns full of pure ale, and two beasts fit for slaughter, and six hundred loaves, and ten measures of Welsh ale, and each year a horse, and thirty shillings, and one day's entertainment. At this agreement were present king Burhred, and archbishop Ceolred, and bishop Tunbert, and bishop Cenred, and bishop Aldhun, and abbat Witred, and abbat Werthcrd, and Ethelherd, the ealdorman, and Hunbert, the ealdorman, and many others.

A. 853. This year Burhred, king of the Mercians, and his council, begged of king Ethelwulf that he would assist him so that he might make the North-Welsh obedient to him. He then did so; and went with an army across Mercia among the North-Welsh, and made them all obedient to him. And the same year king Ethelwulf sent his son Alfred to Rome. Leo [IV.] was then pope of Rome; and he consecrated him king, and took him for his son at confirmation. Then, in the same year, Ealhere, with the men of Kent, and Huda, with the men of Surry, fought in Thanet, against the heathen army; and at first they were victorious; and many there were slain, and drowned on either hand, and both the ealdormen were killed. And upon this after Easter Ethelwulf, king of the West-Saxons, gave his daughter to Burhred king of the Mercians.

A. 854.

A. 855. This year the heathen men, for the first time, remained over winter in Sheppey: and the same year king Ethelwulf gave by charter the tenth part of his land throughout his realm for the glory of God and his own eternal salvation. And the same year he went to Rome in great state, and dwelt there twelve months, and then returned homewards. And then Charles, king of the Franks

gave him his daughter to wife; and after that he came to his people, and they were glad of it. And about two years after he came from France he died, and his body lies at Winchester. And he reigned eighteen years and a half. And Ethelwulf was the son of Egbert, Egbert of Elmund, Elmund of Eafa, Eafa of Eoppa, Eoppa of Ingild; Ingild was Ina's brother, king of the West-Saxons, he who held the kingdom thirty-seven years, and afterwards went to St. Peter, and there resigned his life; and they were the sons of Kenred, Kenred of Ceolwald, Ceolwald of Cutha, Cutha of Cuthwin, Cuthwin of Ceawlin, Ceawlin of Cynric, Cynric of Cerdic, Cerdic of Elesa, Elesa of Esla, Esla of Gewis, Gewis of Wig, Wig of Freawin, Freawin of Frithogar, Frithogar of Brond, Brond of Beldeg, Beldeg of Woden, Woden of Frithowald, Frithowald of Frealaf, Frealaf of Frithuwulf, Frithuwulf of Finn, Finn of Godwulf, Godwulf of Geat, Geat of Tætwa, Tætwa of Beaw, Beaw of Sceldi, Sceldi of Heremod, Heremod of Itermon, Itermon of Hathra, Hathra of Guala, Guala of Bedwig, Bedwig of Sceaf, that is, the son of Noah, he was born in Noah's ark; Lamech, Methusalem, Enoh, Jared, Malalahel, Cainion, Enos, Seth, Adam the first man, and our Father, that is, Christ. Amen. Then Ethelwulf's two sons succeeded to the kingdom; Ethelbald succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons; and Ethelbert to the kingdom of the Kentish-men, and to the kingdom of the East-Saxons, and to Surry, and to the kingdom of the South-Saxons; and then Ethelbald reigned five years. Alfred his third son he had sent to Rome: and when Pope Leo [IV.] heard say that Ethelwulf was dead, he consecrated Alfred king, and held him as his spiritual son at confirmation, even as his father Ethelwulf had requested on sending him thither.

A. 855. And on his return homewards he took to (wife) the daughter of Charles, king of the French, whose name was Judith, and he came home safe. And then in about two years he died, and his body lies at Winchester; and he reigned eighteen years and a half, and he was the son of Egbert. And then his two sons succeeded to the kingdom; Ethelbald to the kingdom of the West-Saxons, and Ethelbert to the kingdom of the Kentish-men, and of the East-Saxons, and of Surry, and of the South-Saxons. And he reigned five years.

A. 856.—859.

A. 860. This year died king Ethelbald, and his body lies

at Sherborne; and Ethelbert succeeded to all the realm of his brother, and he held it in goodly concord and in great tranquillity. And in his days a large fleet came to land, and the crews stormed Winchester. And Osric the ealdorman, with the men of Hampshire, Ethelwulf the ealdorman, with the men of Berkshire, fought against the army, and put them to flight, and had possession of the place of carnage. And Ethelbert reigned five years, and his body lies at Sherborne.

A. 861. This year died St. Swithun the bishop.*

A. 862.—864.

A. 865. This year the heathen army sat down in Thanet, and made peace with the men of Kent, and the men of Kent promised them money for the peace; and during the peace and the promise of money the army stole away by night, and ravaged all Kent to the eastward.

A. 866. This year Ethelred, Ethelbert's brother, succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons: and the same year a great heathen army came to the land of the English nation, and took up their winter quarters among the East-Angles, and there they were horsed; and the East-Angles made peace with them.

A. 867. This year the army went from East-Anglia over the mouth of the Humber to York in North-humbria. And there was much dissension among that people, and they had cast out their king Osbert, and had taken to themselves a king, Ælla, not of royal blood; but late in the year they resolved that they would fight against the army; and therefore they gathered a large force, and sought the army at the town of York, and stormed the town, and some of them got within, and there was an excessive slaughter made of the North-humbrians, some within, some without, and the kings were both slain: and the remainder made peace with the army. And the same year bishop Ealstan died; and he had the bishopric of Sherborne fifty years, and his body lies in the town.

A. 868. This year the same army went into Mercia to Nottingham, and there took up their winter quarters. And Burhred king of the Mercians, and his 'witan,' begged of Ethelred king of the West-Saxons, and of Alfred his brother,

* Winchester.

that they would help them, that they might fight against the army. And then they went with the West-Saxon power into Mercia as far as Nottingham, and there met with the army within the fortress; and besieged them therein: but there was no great battle; and the Mercians made peace with the army.

A. 869. This year the army again went to York, and sat there one year.

A. 870. This year the army rode across Mercia into East-Anglia, and took up their winter quarters at Thetford: and the same winter king Edmund fought against them, and the Danes got the victory, and slew the king, and subdued all the land, and destroyed all the minsters which they came to. The names of their chiefs who slew the king were Hingwar and Hubba. At that same time they came to Medeshamstede, and burned and beat it down, slew abbat and monks, and all that they found there. And that place, which before was full rich, they reduced to nothing. And the same year died archbishop Ceolnoth. Then went Ethelred and Alfred his brother, and took Athelred bishop of Wiltshire, and appointed him archbishop of Canterbury, because formerly he had been a monk of the same minster of Canterbury. As soon as he came to Canterbury, and he was stablished in his archbishopric, he then thought how he might expel the clerks who (were) there within, whom archbishop the Ceolnoth had (before) placed there for such need . . . as we shall relate. The first year that he was made archbishop there was so great a mortality, that of all the monks whom he found there within, no more than five monks surv'ved. Then for the . . . . he (commanded) his chaplains, and also some priests of his vills, that they should help the few monks who there survived to do Christ's service, because he could not so readily find monks who might of themselves do the service; and for this reason he commanded that the priests, the while, until God should give peace in this land, should help the monks. In that same time was this land much distressed by frequent battles, and hence the archbishop could not there effect it, for there was warfare and sorrow all his time over England; and hence the clerks remained with the monks. Nor was there ever a time that monks were not there within, and they ever had lordship over the priests. Again the archbishop

Ceolnoth thought, and also said to those who were with him, 'As soon as God shall give peace in this land, either these priests shall be monks, or from elsewhere I will place within the minister as many monks as may do the service of themselves: for God knows that I . . . . .)*

A. 871. This year the army came to Reading in Wessex; and three days after this, two of their earls rode forth Then Ethelwulf the ealdorman met them at Englefield, and there fought against them, and got the victory: and there one of them, whose name was Sidrac, was slain. About three days after this, king Ethelred and Alfred his brother led a large force to Reading, and fought against the army, and there was great slaughter made on either hand. And Ethelwulf the ealdorman was slain, and the Danish-men had possession of the place of carnage. And about four days after this, king Ethelred and Alfred his brother fought against the whole army at Ashdown; and they were in two bodies: in the one were Bagsac and Halfdene the heathen kings, and in the other were the earls. And then king Ethelred fought against the division under the kings, and there king Bagsac was slain; and Alfred his brother against the division under the earls, and there earl Sidrac the elder was slain, earl Sidrac the younger, and earl Osbern, and earl Frene, and earl Harold; and both divisions of the army were put to flight, and many thousands slain: and they continued fighting until night. And about fourteen days after this, king Ethelred and Alfred his brother fought

* As this portion of the text is slightly defective, the Latin narrative is subjoined: Cum autem venisset Cantuariam, statim cogitare cœpit quomodo possit ejicere clericos de ecclesia Christi, quos Ceolnothus pro tali necessitate compulsus ibi posuit. Primo igitur anno ordinationis suæ tanta mortalitas facta est in ecclesia Christi, ut de tota congregatione monachorum non remanerent nisi quinque. Qua de causa quia ita subito non potuit invenire tot monachos qui ibi servitium Dei facere possent, ex simplicitate cordis præcepit capellanis clericis suis, ut essent cum eis usque quod Deus pacificaret terram, quæ tunc nimis erat turbata propter nimias tempestates bellorum. Accepit etiam de villis suis presbyteros, ut essent cum monachis, ita tamen ut monachi semper haberent dominatum super clericos. Cogitavit idem archiepiscopus et sæpe suis dixit, quia statim cum Deus pacem nobis dederit, aut isti clerici monachi fiant, aut ego ubicumque monachos inveniam quos reponam. Scit enim Deus, inquit quod aliter facero non possum. Sed nunquam temporibus suis pax fuit in Anglia, et ideo remanserunt clerici cum monachis, nec ullo tempore fuit ecclesia sine monachis Sed nec iste Æthelredus archiepiscopus potuit facere.

against the army at Basing, and there the Danes obtained the victory. And about two months after this, king Ethelred and Alfred his brother fought against the army at Marden; and they were in two bodies, and they put both to flight, and during a great part of the day were victorious; and there was great slaughter on either hand; but the Danes had possession of the place of carnage: and there bishop Heahmund* was slain, and many good men: and after this battle there came a great army in the summer to Reading. And after this, over Easter, king Ethelred died; and he reigned five years and his body lies at Winburn-minster.

Then Alfred the son of Ethelwulf, his brother, succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons. And about one month after this, king Alfred with a small band fought against the whole army at Wilton, and put them to flight for a good part of the day; but the Danes had possession of the place of carnage. And this year nine general battles were fought against the army in the kingdom south of the Thames, besides which, Alfred the king's brother, and single ealdormen, and king's thanes, oftentimes made incursions on them, which were not counted: and within the year nine earls and one king were slain. And that year the West-Saxons made peace with the army.

A. 871. And the Danish-men were overcome: and they had two heathen kings, Bagsac and Halfdene, and many earls; and there was king Bagsac slain, and these earls; Sidrac the elder, and also Sidrac the younger, Osbern, Frene, and Harold; and the army was put to flight.

A. 872. This year the army went from Reading to London, and there took up their winter-quarters: and then the Mercians made peace with the army.

A. 873. This year the army went into North-humbria, and took up their winter-quarters at Torksey in Lindsey: and then the Mercians made peace with the army.

A. 874. This year the army went from Lindsey to Repton, and there took up their winter-quarters, and drove king Burhred over sea about twenty-two years after he had obtained the kingdom; and subdued the whole country: and Burhred went to Rome, and there remained; and his body lies in St. Mary's church at the English school. And that same year they committed the kingdom of the Mercians to

* Of Sherborne.

the keeping of Ceolwulf, an unwise king's-thane; and he swore oaths to them, and delivered hostages that it should be ready for them on whatever day they would have it, and that he would be ready both in his own person and with all who would follow him, for the behoof of the army.

A. 875. This year the army went from Repton: and Halfdene went with some of the army into North-humbria, and took up winter-quarters by the river Tyne. And the army subdued the land, and oft-times spoiled the Picts, and the Strathclyde Britons. And the three kings, Gothrun, and Oskytel, and Anwind, went with a large army from Repton to Cambridge, and sat down there one year. And that summer king Alfred went out to sea with a fleet, and fought against the forces of seven ships, and one of them he took, and put the rest to flight.

A. 876. This year the army stole away to Wareham, a fortress of the West-Saxons. And afterwards the king made peace with the army; and they delivered to the king hostages from among the most distinguished men of the army; and then they swore oaths to him on the holy ring, which they never before would do to any nation, that they would speedily depart his kingdom. And notwithstanding this, that part of the army which was horsed stole away by night from the fortress to Exeter. And that year Halfdene apportioned the lands of North-humbria: and they thenceforth continued ploughing and tilling them. This year Rolla overran Normandy with his army, and he reigned fifty years.

A. 876. And in this same year the army of the Danes in England swore oaths to king Alfred upon the holy ring, which before they would not do to any nation; and they delivered to the king hostages from among the most distinguished men of the army, that they would speedily depart from his kingdom; and that by night they broke.

A. 877. This year the army came to Exeter from Wareham; and the fleet sailed round westwards: and then a great storm overtook them at sea, and there one hundred and twenty ships were wrecked at Swanwich. And king Alfred with his forces rode after the army which was mounted, as far as Exeter; and they were unable to overtake them before they were within the fortress, where they could not be come at. And they there delivered to him hostages

as many as he would have, and swore many oaths: and then they observed the peace well. And afterwards, during harvest, the army went into Mercia, and some part of it they apportioned, and some they delivered to Ceolwulf.

A. 878. This year, during midwinter, after twelfth night, the army stole away to Chippenham, and overran the land of the West-Saxons, and sat down there; and many of the people they drove beyond sea, and of the remainder the greater part they subdued and forced to obey them, except king Alfred: and he, with a small band, with difficulty retreated to the woods and to the fastnesses of the moors. And the same winter the brother of Hingwar and of Halfdene came with twenty-three ships to Devonshire in Wessex; and he was there slain, and with him eight hundred and forty men of his army: and there was taken the war-flag which they called the RAVEN. After this, at Easter king Alfred with a small band constructed a fortress at Athelney; and from this fortress, with that part of the men of Somerset which was nearest to it, from time to time they fought against the army. Then in the seventh week after Easter he rode to Brixton, on the east side of Selwood; and there came to meet him all the men of Somerset, and the men of Wiltshire, and that portion of the men of Hampshire which was on this side of the sea; and they were joyful at his presence. On the following day he went from that station to Iglea [Iley], and on the day after this to Heddington, and there fought against the whole army, put them to flight, and pursued them as far as their fortress: and there he sat down fourteen days. And then the army delivered to him hostages, with many oaths, that they would leave his kingdom, and also promised him that their king should receive baptism: and this they accordingly fulfilled. And about three weeks after this king Gothrun came to him, with some thirty men who were of the most distinguished in the army, at Aller, which is near Athelney: and the king was his godfather at baptism; and his chrism-loosing* was at Wedmore: and he was twelve days with the king; and he greatly honoured him and his companions with gifts.

A. 879. This year the army went to Cirencester from

* Apparently the removal of the fillet which, covering the chrism on the forehead, was bound round the head at confirmation.

Chippenham, and sat there one year. And that year a body of pirates drew together, and sat down at Fulham on the Thames. And that same year the sun was eclipsed during one hour of the day.*

A. 880. This year the army went from Cirencester to East Anglia, and settled in the land, and apportioned it. And that same year the army, which previously had sat down at Fulham, went over sea to Ghent in France, and sat there one year.

A. 881. This year the army went further into France, and the French fought against them: and then was the army there horsed after the battle.

A. 882. This year the army went up along the banks of the Maese far into France, and there sat one year. And that same year king Alfred went out to sea with his ships, and fought against the forces of four ships of Danish men, and took two of the ships, and the men were slain that were in them; and the forces of two ships surrendered to him, and they were sorely distressed and wounded before they surrendered to him.

A. 883. This year the army went up the Scheldt to Condé, and sat there one year. And Marinus the pope then sent 'lignum Domini' to king Alfred; and that same year Sighelm and Athelstan carried to Rome the alms which the king had vowed to send thither, and also to India, to St. Thomas and to St. Bartholomew, when they sat down against the army at London; and there, thanks be to God, they largely obtained the object of their prayer after the vow.

A. 884. This year the army went up the Somme to Amiens, and there sat one year. This year† the benevolent bishop Ethelwold died.

A. 885. ‡This year the fore-mentioned army divided itself into two; the one part went eastward, the other part

* The eclipse happened on the 14th of March, 880.

† The account of the death of Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, here inserted in MS. *F.*, is anticipated a century by the carelessness of the scribe: the name of his successor in the Latin puts this beyond all doubt. See A. 984

‡ Asser omits the events of A. 884 of the Chronicle, and places those of 885 under that year. At any rate the foreign transactions are rightly so placed.

to Rochester, and besieged the city, and wrought another fortress about themselves. And, notwithstanding this, the townsmen defended the city till king Alfred came out with his forces. Then went the army to their ships, and abandoned their fortress; and they were there deprived of their horses, and soon after, in that same manner, departed over sea. And that same year king Alfred sent a fleet from Kent to East-Anglia. So soon as they came to the mouth of the Saour, there met them sixteen ships of pirates; and they fought against them, and captured all the ships and killed the men. As they afterwards returned homeward with the booty, a large fleet of pirates met them, and then fought against them that same day, and the Danish-men had the victory. That same year, before mid-winter, *Charles king of the French died; he was killed by a wild boar; and one year before this, his brother† died: he too had the western kingdom: and they were both sons of Louis, who likewise had the western kingdom, and died that year when the sun was eclipsed: he was son of Charles‡ whose daughter Ethelwulf, king of the West-Saxons, had for his queen. And that same year a large fleet drew together against the Old Saxons; and there was a great battle twice in that year, and the Saxons had the victory, and the Frisians were there with them. That same year Charles§ succeeded to the western kingdom, and to all the kingdom on this side the Wendel-sea [Tuscan Sea], and beyond this sea, in like manner as his great-grandfather had it, with the exception of the Lid-wiccas [Bretons]. Charles was Louis's son; Louis was Charles's brother, who was father of Judith, whom king Ethelwulf had; and they were sons of Louis, Louis was son of the elder Charles, Charles was Pepin's son. And that same year died the good Pope Marinus, who, at the prayer of Alfred king of the West-Saxons, freed the English school; and he sent him great gifts, and part of the rood on which Christ suffered. And that same year the army in East-Anglia broke the peace with king Alfred.

A. 886. This year the army which before had drawn eastward, went westward again, and thence up the Seine, and there took up their winter quarters near the town of Paris. That same year king Alfred repaired London; and

* Carloman. † Louis II. ‡ The Bald § The Fat.

all the English submitted to him, except those who were under the bondage of the Danish-men; and then he committed the town to the keeping of Ethered the ealdorman.

A. 887. This year the army went up through the bridge at Paris, and thence up along the Seine as far as the Marne, and thence up the Marne to Chezy, and then sat down, there, and on the Yonne, two winters in the two places. And that same year Charles* king of the French died; and six weeks before he died, Arnulf his brother's son bereaved him of the kingdom. And then was that kingdom divided into five, and five kings were consecrated thereto. This, however, was done by permission of Arnulf: and they said that they would hold it from his hand, because none of them on the father's side was born thereto except him alone. Arnulf then dwelt in the land east of the Rhine: and Rodulf then succeeded to the middle kingdom,† and Oda to the western part, and Beorngar and Witha‡ to the land of the Lombards and to the lands on that side of the mountain: and that they held in great discord, and fought two general battles, and oft and many times laid waste the land, and each repeatedly drove out the other. And that same year that the army went up beyond the bridge at Paris, Ethelhelm the ealdorman§ carried the alms of the West-Saxons and of king Alfred to Rome.

A. 888. This year Beeke the ealdorman carried the alms of the West-Saxons and of king Alfred to Rome; and queen Ethelswith, who was king Alfred's sister, died on the way to Rome, and her body lies at Pavia. And that same year Athelred archbishop of Canterbury, and Ethelwold the ealdorman died in the same month.

A. 889. In this year there was no journey to Rome, except that king Alfred sent two couriers with letters.

A. 890. This year abbat Bernhelm carried the alms of the West-Saxons and of king Alfred to Rome. And Gothrun the Northern king died, whose baptismal name was Athelstan; he was king Alfred's godson, and he abode in East-Anglia, and first settled that country. And that same year the army went from the Seine to St. Lo, which is between Brittany and France; and the Bretons fought against them, and had the victory, and drove them out into a river.

* The Fat. † Burgundy ‡ Guido. § Of Wilts.

and drowned many of them. This year Plegmund was chosen of God and of all the people to be archbishop of Canterbury.

A. 891. This year the army went eastward; and king Arnulf, with the East-Franks and Saxons and Bavarians, fought against that part which was mounted before the ships came up, and put them to flight. And three Scots came to king Alfred in a boat without any oars from Ireland, whence they had stolen away, because they desired for the love of God to be in a state of pilgrimage, they recked not where. The boat in which they came was made of two hides and a half; and they took with them provisions sufficient for seven days; and then about the seventh day they came on shore in Cornwall, and soon after went to king Alfred. Thus they were named: Dubslane, and Macbeth, and Maelinmun. And Swinney, the best teacher among the Scots, died.

A. 892. And that same year after Easter, about Rogation week or before, the star appeared which in Latin is called *cometa;* some men say in English that it is a hairy star, because a long radiance streams from it, sometimes on the one side, and sometimes on each side.

A. 893. In this year the great army, about which we formerly spoke,* came again from the eastern kingdom westward to Boulogne, and there was shipped; so that they came over in one passage, horses and all; and they came to land at Limne-mouth with two hundred and fifty ships. This port is in the eastern part of Kent, at the east end of the great wood which we call Andred; the wood is in length from east to west one hundred and twenty miles, or longer, and thirty miles broad: the river of which we before spoke flows out of the weald. On this river they towed up their ships as far as the weald, four miles from the outward harbour, and there stormed a fortress: within the fortress a few churls were stationed, and it was in part only constructed. Then soon after that Hasten with eighty ships landed at the mouth of the Thames, and wrought himself a fortress at Milton; and the other army did the like at Appledore.

A. 894. In this year, that was about a twelve-month after these had wrought the fortress in the eastern district, the North-humbrians and the East-Angles had given oaths to

* See back at A.D. 891.

king Alfred, and the East-Angles six hostages; and nevertheless, contrary to their plighted troth, as oft as the other armies went out with all their force, they also went out, either with them or on their own part. On this king Alfred gathered together his forces, and proceeded until he encamped between the two armies, as near as he could for the wood fastnesses, and for the water fastnesses, so that he might be able to reach either of them in case they should seek any open country. From this time the enemy always went out along the weald in bands and troops, by whichever border was at the time without forces: and they also were sought out by other bands, almost every day, either by day or night, as well from the king's force as also from the towns. The king had divided his forces into two, so that one half was constantly at home, the other half in the field; besides those men whose duty it was to defend the towns. The army did not come out of their stations with their whole force oftener than twice: once when they first came to land, before the forces were assembled; a second time when they would go away from their stations. Then had they taken much booty, and would at that time go northward over the Thames into Essex towards their ships. Then the king's forces outrode and got before them, and fought against them at Farnham, and put the army to flight, and retook the booty; and they fled over the Thames, where there was no ford; then up along the Colne into an island. Then the forces there beset them about so long as they there had any provisions: but at length they had stayed their term of service, and had consumed their provisions; and the king was then on his way thitherwards with the division which warred under him. While he was on his way thither, and the other force was gone homewards, and the Danish-men remained there behind, because their king had been wounded in the battle, so that they could not carry him away, then those who dwell among the North-humbrians and among the East-Anglians gathered some hundred ships and went about south; and some forty ships about to the north, and besieged a fortress in Devonshire by the north sea; and those who went about to the south besieged Exeter. When the king heard that, then turned he westward towards Exeter with all his force, except a very small body of the people

eastward. These went onwards until they came to London; and then with the townsmen, and the aid which came to them from the west, they went east to Bamfleet. Hasten was then come there with his band which before sat at Milton; and the great army was also come thereto, which before sat at Appledore near Limne-mouth. The fortress at Bamfleet had been ere this constructed by Hasten, and he was at that time gone out to plunder; and the great army was therein. Then came they thereto, and put the army to flight, and stormed the fortress, and took all that was within it, as well the property, as the women, and the children also, and brought the whole to London; and all the ships they either broke in pieces or burned, or brought to London or to Rochester; and they brought the wife of Hasten and his two sons to the king: and he afterwards gave them up to him again, because one of them was his godson, and the other Ethered, the ealdorman's. They had become their godfathers before Hasten came to Bamfleet, and at that time Hasten had delivered to him hostages and taken oaths: and the king had also given him many gifts; and so likewise when he gave up the youth and the woman. But as soon as they came to Bamfleet, and the fortress was constructed, then plundered he that very part of the king's realm which was in the keeping of Ethered his compeer; and again, this second time, he had gone out to plunder that very same district when his fortress was stormed. Now the king with his forces had turned westward towards Exeter, as I said before, and the army had beset the city; but when he arrived there, then went they to their ships. While the king was thus busied with the army there, in the west, and both the other armies had drawn together at Shoebury in Essex, and there had constructed a fortress, then both together went up along the Thames, and a great addition came to them, as well from the East-Anglians as from the North-humbrians. They then went up along the Thames till they reached the Severn; then up along the Severn. Then Ethered the ealdorman, and Ethelm the ealdorman, and Ethelnoth the ealdorman, and the king's thanes who were then at home in the fortified places, gathered forces from every town east of the Parret, and as well west as east of Selwood, and also north of the Thames and west of the

Severn, and also some part of the North-Welsh people. When they had all drawn together, then they came up with the army at Buttington on the banks of the Severn, and there beset them about, on either side, in a fastness. When they had now sat there many weeks on both sides of the river, and the king was in the west in Devon, against the fleet, then were the enemy distressed for want of food; and having eaten a great part of their horses, the others being starved with hunger, then went they out against the men who were encamped on the east bank of the river, and fought against them: and the Christians had the victory. And Ordhelm a king's thane was there slain. and also many other king's thanes were slain; and of the Danish-men there was very great slaughter made; and that part which got away thence was saved by flight. When they had come into Essex to their fortress and to their ships, then the survivors again gathered a great army from among the East-Angles and the North-humbrians before winter, and committed their wives and their ships and their wealth to the East-Angles, and went at one stretch, day and night, until they arrived at a western city in Wirall, which is called Lega-ceaster [Chester]. Then were the forces unable to come up with them before they were within the fortress: nevertheless they beset the fortress about for some two days, and took all the cattle that was there without, and slew the men whom they were able to overtake without the fortress, and burned all the corn, and with their horses ate it every evening. And this was about a twelve-month after they first came hither over sea.

A. 895. And then soon after that, in this year, the army from Wirall went among the North-Welsh, for they were unable to stay there: this was because they had been deprived both of the cattle and of the corn which they had plundered. When they had turned again out of North-Wales, with the booty which they had there taken, then went they over Northumberland and East-Anglia, in such wise that the forces could not overtake them before they came to the eastern parts of the land of Essex, to an island that is out on the sea, which is called Mersey. And as the army which had beset Exeter again turned homewards, then spoiled they the South-Saxons near Chichester; and

the townsmen put them to flight, and slew many hundreds of them, and took some of their ships. Then that same year, before winter, the Danish-men who had sat down in Mersey, towed their ships up the Thames, and thence up the Lea. This was about two years after they had come hither over sea.

A. 896. In that same year the fore-mentioned army constructed a fortress on the Lea, twenty miles above London. After this, in summer, a great body of the townsmen, and also of other people, went onwards until they arrived at the Danish fortress; and there they were put to flight, and some four king's thanes were slain. Then after this, during harvest, the king encamped near to the town, while the people reaped the corn, so that the Danish-men might not deprive them of the crop. Then on a certain day the king rode up along the river, and observed where the river might be obstructed, so that they would be unable to bring out their ships. And they then did thus: they constructed two fortresses on the two sides of the river. When they had already begun the work, and had encamped before it, then perceived the army that they should not be able to bring out their ships. They then abandoned them, and went across the country till they arrived at Bridgenorth by the Severn; and there they constructed a fortress. Then the forces rode westwards after the army: and the men of London took possession of the ships; but all which they could not bring away, they broke up, and those which were worthy of capture they brought to London: moreover the Danish-men had committed their wives to the keeping of the East-Angles before they went out from their fortress. Then sat they down for the winter at Bridgenorth. This was about three years after they had come hither over sea to Limne-mouth.

A. 897. After this, in the summer of this year, the army broke up, some for East-Anglia, some for North-humbria; and they who were moneyless procured themselves ships there, and went southwards over sea to the Seine. Thanks be to God, the army had not utterly broken down the English nation; but during the three years it was much more broken down by the mortality among cattle and among men, and most of all by this, that many of the most eminent

king's thanes in the land died during the three years; some of whom were, Swithulf, bishop of Rochester, and Ceolmund, ealdorman of Kent, and Bertulf, ealdorman of Essex, and Wulfred, ealdorman of Hampshire, and Ealhard, bishop of Dorchester, and Eadulf, the king's thane in Sussex, and Bernwulf, the governor of Winchester, and Eadulf, the king's horse-thane, and many also besides these, though I have named the most distinguished. That same year the armies from among the East-Anglians and from among the North-humbrians harassed the land of the West-Saxons, chiefly on the south coast, by prædatory bands; most of all by their esks, which they had built many years before. Then king Alfred commanded long ships to be built to oppose the esks; they were full-nigh twice as long as the others; some had sixty oars, and some had more; they were both swifter and steadier, and also higher than the others. They were shapen neither like the Frisian nor the Danish, but so as it seemed to him they would be most efficient. Then some time in the same year, there came six ships to the Isle of Wight, and there did much harm, as well as in Devon, and elsewhere on the sea-coast. Then the king commanded nine of the new ships to go thither, and they obstructed their passage from the port towards the outer sea. Then went they with three of their ships out against them; and three lay in the upper part of the port in the dry; for the men were gone ashore. Then took they two of the three ships at the outer part of the port, and killed the men, and the other ship escaped; in that also the men were killed except five: they got away because the other ships were aground. They also were aground very disadvantageously: three lay aground on that side of the deep on which the Danish ships were aground, and all the rest upon the other side, so that no one of them could get to the others. But when the water had ebbed many furlongs from the ships, then the Danish-men went from their three ships to the other three which were left by the tide on their side, and then they there fought against them. There was slain Lucumon, the king's reeve, and Wulfheard, the Frisian, and Ebb, the Frisian, and Ethelere, the Frisian, and Ethelferth, the king's neat-herd, and of all the men, Frisians and English, seventy-two; and of the Danish-men, one hundred and

twenty. Then, however, the flood-tide came to the Danish ships before the Christians could shove theirs off, and they therefore rowed them out: nevertheless, they were damaged to such a degree that they could not row round the Sussex land; and there the sea cast two of them on shore, and the men were led to the king at Winchester; and he commanded them to be there hanged: and the men who were in the single ship came to East-Anglia, sorely wounded. That same summer no less than twenty ships, with their crews, wholly perished upon the south coast. That same year died Wulfric, the king's horse-thane; he was also "Wealh-reeve."

A. 898. In this year died Ethelm, ealdorman of Wiltshire, nine days before midsummer; and this year died Elstan, who was bishop of London.

A. 899. 900.

A. 901. This year died ALFRED, the son of Ethelwulf, six days before the mass of All Saints. He was king over the whole English nation, except that part which was under the dominion of the Danes; and he held the kingdom one year and a half less than thirty years. And then Edward his son succeeded to the kingdom. Then Ethelwald, the etheling, his uncle's son, seized the castle at Wimborne* and that at Twineham,† without leave of the king and of his "witan." Then rode the king with his forces until he encamped at Badbury, near Wimborne; and Ethelwald sat within the vill, with the men who had submitted to him; and he had obstructed all the approaches towards him, and said that he would do one of two things—or there live, or there lie. But notwithstanding that, he stole away by night, and sought the army in North-humbria; and they received him for their king, and became obedient to him. And the king commanded that he should be ridden after; but they were unable to overtake him. They then beset the woman whom he had before taken, without the king's leave, and against the bishop's command; for she had previously been consecrated a nun. And in this same year Ethelred, who was ealdorman of Devonshire, died, four weeks before king Alfred.

* Dorsetshire.
† Christchurch, New Forest division of Southampton.

A. 902. And that same year was the battle at the Holme, between the Kentish-men and the Danish-men.

A. 902. This year Elswitha died.

A. 903. This year died Athulf, the ealdorman, brother of Elswitha, king Edward's mother; and Virgilius, abbat of the Scots; and Grimbald, the mass-priest, on the 8th before the Ides of July. And this same year was the consecration of the New-minster at Winchester, and St. Judoc's advent.

A. 904. This year Ethelwald came hither over sea with the ships that he was able to get, and he was submitted to in Essex. This year the moon was eclipsed.

A. 905. This year Ethelwald enticed the army in East-Anglia to break the peace, so that they ravaged over all the land of Mercia until they came to Cricklade, and there they went over the Thames, and took, as well in Bradon as thereabout, all that they could lay hands on, and then turned homewards again. Then king Edward went after them, as speedily as he could gather his forces, and overran all their land between the dikes and the Ouse, all as far north as the fens. When, after this, he would return thence, then commanded he it to be proclaimed through his whole force, that they should all return together. Then the Kentish-men remained there behind, notwithstanding his orders, and seven messengers whom he had sent to them. Then the army there came up to them, and there fought them: and there Siwulf the ealdorman, and Sigelm the ealdorman, and Eadwold the king's thane, and Kenwulf the abbat, and Sigebright son of Siwulf, and Eadwold son of Acca, were slain, and likewise many with them, though I have named the most distinguished. And on the Danish side were slain Eohric their king, and Ethelwald the etheling, who had enticed him to break the peace, and Byrtsige son of Brithnoth the etheling, and Ysopk the 'hold' [governor?], and Oskytel the hold, and very many with them, whom we are now unable to name. And there was great slaughter made on either hand; and of the Danish-men there were more slain, though they had possession of the place of carnage. And Elhswitha died that same year. This year a comet appeared on the thirteenth before the Kalends of November.

A. 906. In this year died Alfred, who was governor of

Bath. And in the same year peace was concluded at Hitchingford, even as king Edward ordained, as well with the East-Angles as with the North-humbrians.

A. 906. This year king Edward, from necessity, concluded a peace both with the army of East-Anglia and of North-humbria.

A. 907. This year Chester was repaired.

A. 908. This year died Denewulf, who was bishop at Winchester.

A. 909. This year St. Oswald's body was removed from Bardney into Mercia. In this year the Angles and the Danes fought at Tootenhall on the eighth before the Ides of August, and the Angles obtained the victory. And that same year Ethelfled built the fortress at Bramsbury.

A. 910. This year Frithstan succeeded to the bishopric at Winchester: and, after that, bishop Asser died; he was bishop at Sherborne. And that same year king Edward sent out a force both of West-Saxons and of Mercians, and they greatly spoiled the army of the north, as well of men as of every kind of cattle, and slew many of the Danishmen: and they were therein five weeks.

A. 910. This year the army of the Angles and of the Danes fought at Tootenhall. And Ethelred ealdor of the Mercians died; and king Edward took possession of London, and of Oxford, and of all the lands which owed obedience thereto. And a great fleet came hither from the south, from the Lidwiccas, [Brittany,] and greatly ravaged by the Severn; but they there, afterwards, almost all perished.

A. 911. This year the army among the North-humbrians broke the peace, and despised whatever peace king Edward and his 'witan' offered them, and overran the land of Mercia. And the king had gathered together some hundred ships, and was then in Kent, and the ships went south-east along the sea-coast towards him. Then thought the army that the greatest part of his force was in the ships, and that they should be able to go, unfought, wheresoever they chose When the king learned that, that they were gone out to plunder, then sent he his forces after them, both of the West-Saxons and of the Mercians; and they overtook the army as they were on their way homewards, and then fought against them, and put them to flight, and slew many thousands of them: and there were slain king Ecwils, and king Halfdene and Ohter the earl, and Scurf the earl, and Othulf the hold,

and Benesing the hold, and Anlaf the black, and Thurferth the hold, and Osferth the collector and Guthferth the hold, and Agmund the hold, and Guthferth.

A. 911. Then the next year after this died Ethelred lord of the Mercians.

A. 912. This year died Ethered ealdorman of the Mercians; and king Edward took possession of London and of Oxford, and of all the lands which owed obedience thereto. This year Ethelfled lady of the Mercians came to Scærgate on the holy eve, 'Invention of the Holy Cross,' and there built the fortress; and the same year, that at Bridgenorth.

A. 913. In this year, about Martinmas,* king Edward commanded the northern fortress to be built at Hertford, between the Memer, the Benewic, and the Lea. And then after that, during the summer, between Rogation-days and midsummer, king Edward went with some of his forces to Maldon in Essex, and there encamped, whilst the fortress at Witham was wrought and built; and a good part of the people who were before under the dominion of the Danishmen submitted to him: and in the meanwhile some part of his force constructed the fortress at Hertford, on the south side of the Lea. This year, by the help of God, Ethelfled lady of the Mercians went with all the Mercians to Tamworth, and there built the fortress early in the summer; and after this before Lammas, that at Stafford.

A. 914. Then after this, in the next year, that at Eddesbury, early in the summer; and afterwards, in the same year, late in harvest, that at Warwick.

A. 915. Then after this, in the next year, after midwinter, that at Chirk, and that at Warburton; and that same year, before mid-winter, that at Runcorn.

A. 915. This year was Warwick built.

A. 916. This year abbat Egbert was guiltlessly slain, before midsummer, on the sixteenth before the Kalends of July: the same day was the feast of the martyr St. Ciricius and his fellows. And about three days after this, Ethelfled sent her forces among the Welsh, and stormed Brecknock,

* Florence of Worcester seems to understand this as relating to the festival of St. Martin of Tours, 11 Nov. and places Maldon, &c. as well as the events of 917 of the text, under the year 914.

and there took the king's wife, and some four and thirty persons.

A. 917. In this year, after Easter, the army rode forth from Northampton and Leicester, and broke the peace, and slew many men at Hockerton, and there about. And then very speedily after that, when the one came home, then they got ready another troop which rode out against Leighton: and then the inhabitants were aware of them, and fought against them, and put them to full flight, and retook all which they had seized, and also a great portion of their horses and of their weapons. This year, before Lammas, Ethelfled, lady of the Mercians, God helping her, got possession of the fortress which is called Derby, with all that owed obedience thereto; and there also were slain, within the gates, four of her thanes, which to her was a cause of sorrow.

A. 918. This year, in the early part of the year, by God's help, she got into her power, by treaty, the fortress at Leicester, and the greater part of the army which owed obedience thereto became subject to her; and the people of York had also covenanted with her, some having given a pledge, and some having bound themselves by oath, that they would be at her command. In this year a great fleet came over hither from the south, from the Lidwiccas, [Brittany,] and with it two earls, Ohtor and Rhoald: and they went west about till they arrived within the mouth of the Severn, and they spoiled the North-Welsh everywhere by the sea-coast where they then pleased. And in Archenfield they took bishop* Cameleac, and led him with them to their ships; and then king Edward ransomed him afterwards with forty pounds. Then after that, the whole army landed, and would have gone once more to plunder about Archenfield. Then met them the men of Hereford and of Gloucester, and of the nearest towns, and fought against them and put them to flight, and slew the earl Rhoald, and a brother of Ohter the other earl, and many of the army, and drove them into an inclosure, and there beset them about, until they delivered hostages to them that they would depart from king Edward's dominion. And the king had so ordered it that his forces sat down against them on the south side of Severn-mouth, from the Welsh coast westward, to the mouth of the Avon eastward; so that on

* Of Llandaff.

that side they durst not anywhere attempt the land. Then, nevertheless, they stole away by night on some two occasions; once, to the east of Watchet, and another time to Porlock. But they were beaten on either occasion, so that few of them got away, except those alone who there swam out to the ships. And then they sat down, out on the island of Bradanrelice, [Flat-holms,] until such time as they were quite destitute of food; and many men died of hunger, because they could not obtain any food. Then they went thence to Deomod, [S. Wales,] and then out to Ireland: and this was during harvest. And then after that, in the same year, before Martinmas, king Edward went with his forces to Buckingham, and there sat down four weeks; and, ere he went thence, he erected both the forts on either side of the river. And Thurkytel the earl sought to him to be his lord, and all the captains, and almost all the chief men who owed obedience to Bedford, and also many of those who owed obedience to Northampton.

A. 918. But very shortly after they had become so, she died at Tamworth, twelve days before midsummer, the eighth year of her having rule and right lordship over the Mercians; and her body lies at Gloucester, within the east porch of St. Peter's church. [See end of A.D. 922.]

A. 918. This year died Ethelfled the lady of the Mercians.

A. 919. In this year, before Martinmas, king Edward went with his forces to Bedford, and gained the town; and almost all the townsmen who formerly dwelt there submitted to him: and he sat down there four weeks, and commanded the town to be built on the south side of the river before he went thence.

A. 919. This year also the daughter of Ethelred, lord of the Mercians, was deprived of all dominion over the Mercians, and carried into Wessex, three weeks before mid-winter: she was called Elfwina.

A. 920. In this year, before midsummer, king Edward went to Maldon, and built the town, and fortified it before he departed thence. And that same year Thurkytel the earl went over sea into France, together with such men as would follow him, with the peace and aid of king Edward.

A. 921. In this year, before Easter, king Edward gave orders to take possession of the town at Towcester, and to fortify it. And again, after that, in the same year, during Rogation days, he commanded the town at Wigmore to

be built. That same summer, between Lammas and mid-summer, the army from Northampton and from Leicester, and thence north, broke the peace, and went to Towcester, and fought against the town the whole day; and they thought that they should be able to take it by storm. But, nevertheless, the people who were within defended it until a larger force came to them: and then they departed from the town and went away. Then, again very soon after that, they went out once more by night with a predatory band, and came upon men who were unprepared, and took no small number as well of men as of cattle between Burnham wood and Aylesbury. At that same time went out the army from Huntingdon and from the East-Angles, and constructed the fortress at Tempsford, and abode, and built there; and forsook the other at Huntingdon, and thought that from thence they could, by warfare and hostility, get more of the land again. And they went forth until they arrived at Bedford: and then the men who were there within went out against them, and fought with them and put them to flight, and slew a good part of them. Then again, after that, a large army once more drew together from East-Anglia and from Mercia, and went to the town at Wigmore, and beset it round about, and fought against it the greater part of the day, and took the cattle thereabout. And nevertheless, the men who were within the town defended it; and then the army left the town and went away. Then, after that, in the same summer, much people, within king Edward's dominion, drew together out of the nearest towns, who could go thither, and went to Tempsford, and beset the town, and fought against it till they took it by storm, and slew the king, and Toglos the earl, and Mann the earl, his son, and his brother, and all those who were there within and would defend themselves; and took the others, and all that was therein. Then, very soon after this, much people drew together during harvest, as well from Kent as from Surrey and from Essex, and from each of the nearest towns, and went to Colchester, and beset the town, and fought against it until they mastered it, and slew all the people there within, and took all that was there, except the men who fled away over the wall. Then after that, once again during the same harvest, a large army drew together out of East-Anglia,

as well of the land-force as of the pirates whom they had enticed to their aid: and they thought that they should be able to avenge their wrongs. And they went to Maldon, and beset the town, and fought against it until more aid came to the help of the townsmen from without; and then the army left the town and went away. And then the men from the town went out after them, and those also who came from without to their aid; and they put the army to flight, and slew many hundreds of them, as well of the pirates as of the others. Then, very shortly after, during the same harvest, king Edward went with the forces of the West-Saxons to Passoham, and sat down there while they encompassed the town at Towcester with a stone wall. And Thurferth the earl, and the captains, and all the army which owed obedience to Northampton, as far north as the Welland, submitted to him, and sought to him to be their lord and protector. And when one division of the forces went home, then another went out, and took possession of the town of Huntingdon, and repaired and rebuilt it, by command of king Edward, where it had been previously demolished; and all who were left of the inhabitants of that country submitted to king Edward, and sought his peace and his protection. And after this, still in the same year, before Martinmas, king Edward went with the forces of the West-Saxons to Colchester, and repaired the town, and rebuilt it where it had been before broken down; and much people submitted to him, as well among the East-Anglians as among the East Saxons, who before were under the dominion of the Danes. And all the army among the East-Anglians swore union with him, that they would all that he would, and would observe peace towards all to which the king should grant his peace, both by sea and by land. And the army which owed obedience to Cambridge chose him specially to be their lord and protector; and confirmed it with oaths, even as he then decreed it. This year king Edward built the town at Gladmouth. This year king Sihtric slew Neil his brother.

A. 922. In this year, between Rogation days and midsummer, king Edward went with his forces to Stamford, and commanded the town to be built upon the south side of the river: and all the people which owed obedience to the northern town submitted to him, and sought to him to be

their lord. And then, during the sojourn which he there made, Ethelfled his sister died there, at Tamworth, twelve days before midsummer. And then he took possession of the town at Tamworth; and all the people of the land of Mercia, who before were subject to Ethelfled, submitted to him; and the kings of the North-Welsh, Howel, and Cledauc, and Jothwel, and all the North-Welsh race, sought to him to be their lord. Then went he thence to Nottingham and took possession of the town, and commanded it to be repaired and occupied as well by English as by Danes. And all the people who were settled in Mercia, as well Danish as English, submitted to him.

A. 923. In this year, after harvest, king Edward went with his forces to Thelwall, and commanded the town to be built, and occupied, and manned; and commanded another force also of Mercians, the while that he sat there, to take possession of Manchester in North-humbria, and repair and man it. This year died archbishop Plegmund. This year king Reginald won York.

A. 924. In this year, before midsummer, king Edward went with his forces to Nottingham, and commanded the town to be built on the south side of the river, over against the other, and the bridge over the Trent, between the two towns: and then he went thence into Peakland, to Bakewell, and commanded a town to be built nigh thereunto, and manned. And then chose him for father and for lord, the king of the Scots and the whole nation of the Scots, and Reginald and the son of Eadulf and all those who dwell in North-humbria, as well English as Danes, and North-men and others, and also the king of the Strath-clyde Britons, and all the Strath-clyde Britons.

A. 924. This year Edward was chosen for father and for lord by the king of the Scots, and by the Scots, and king Reginald, and by all the North-humbrians, and also the king of the Strath-clyde Britons, and by all the Strath-clyde Britons.

A. 924. This year king Edward died among the Mercians at Farndon; and very shortly, about sixteen days after this, Elward his son died at Oxford; and their bodies lie at Winchester. And Athelstan was chosen king by the Mercians, and consecrated at Kingston. And he gave his sister to Ofsæ [Otho], son of the king of the Old-Saxons.

A. 925. This year king Edward died, and Athelstan his son succeeded to the kingdom. And St. Dunstan was born

and Wulfhelm succeeded to the archbishopric of Canterbury This year king Athelstan and Sihtric king of the North-humbrians came together at Tamworth, on the 3d before the Kalends of February; and Athelstan gave him his sister.

A. 925. This year Bishop Wulfhelm was consecrated. And that same year king Edward died.

A. 926. This year fiery lights appeared in the north part of the heavens. And Sihtric perished: and king Athelstan obtained the kingdom of the North-humbrians. And he ruled all the kings who were in this island: first, Howel king of the West-Welsh; and Constantine king of the Scots; and Owen king of the Monmouth people; and Aldred, son of Ealdulf, of Bambrough: and they confirmed the peace by pledge, and by oaths, at the place which is called Eamot, on the 4th before the Ides of July; and they renounced all idolatry, and after that submitted to him in peace.

A. 927. This year king Athelstan expelled king Guthfrith. And this year Archbishop Wulfhelm went to Rome.

A. 928. William succeeded to Normandy, and held it fifteen years.

A. 929. 930.

A. 931. This year Brinstan was ordained bishop of Winchester on the 4th before the Kalends of June; and he held the bishopric two years and a half.

A. 931. This year died Frithstan bishop of Winchester, and Brinstan was blessed in his place.

A. 932. This year died bishop Frithstan.

A. 933. This year Edwin the etheling was drowned at sea. This year king Athelstan went into Scotland, as well with a land army as with a fleet, and ravaged a great part of it. And bishop Brinstan died at Winchester on the feast of All-Hallows.

A. 934. This year bishop Elphege succeeded to the bishopric of Winchester.

A. 935. 936.

A. 937.

Here Athelstan, king, | and his brother eke,
of earls the lord, | Edmund etheling,
of heroes the bracelet-giver, | life-long-glory

in battle won
with edges of swords
near Brumby.
The board-walls they clove,
they hewed the war-lindens,
Hamora lafan'
offspring of Edward,
such was their noble nature
from their ancestors,
that they in battle oft
'gainst every foe
the land defended,
hoards and homes.
The foe they crushed,
the Scottish people
and the shipmen
fated fell.
The field 'dæniede'
with warriors' blood,
since the sun up
at morning-tide,
mighty planet,
glided o'er grounds,
God's candle bright,
the eternal Lord's,
till the noble creature
sank to her settle.
There lay many a warrior
by javelins strewed,
northern man
over shield shot;
so the Scots eke,
weary, war-sad.
West-Saxons onwards
throughout the day,
in bands,
pursued the footsteps
of the loathed nations.
They hewed the fugitives
behind, amain,
with swords mill-sharp.
Mercians refused not
the hard hand-play
to any heroes
who with Anlaf,
over the ocean,
in the ship's bosom,
this land sought
fated to the fight.
Five lay
on the battle-stead,
youthful kings,
by swords in slumber laid:
so seven eke
of Anlaf's earls;
of the army countless,
shipmen and Scots.
There was made flee
the North-men's chieftain,
by need constrained,
to the ship's prow
with a little band.
The bark drove afloat:
the king departed
on the fallow flood,
his life preserved.
So there eke the sage
came by flight
to his country north,
Constantine,
hoary warrior.
He had no cause to exult
in the communion of swords.
Here was his kindred band
of friends o'erthrown
on the folk-stead,
in battle slain;
and his son he left
on the slaughter-place,
mangled with wounds,
young in the fight:
he had no cause to boast,

hero grizzly-haired,
of the bill-clashing,
the old deceiver;
nor Anlaf the moor, [mies;
with the remnant of their ar-
they had no cause to laugh
that they in war's works
the better men were
in the battle-stead,
at the conflict of banners,
meeting of spears,
concourse of men,
traffic of weapons; [field
that they on the slaughter-
with Edward's
offspring played.
The North-men departed
in their nailed barks;
bloody relic of darts,
on roaring ocean
o'er the deep water
Dublin to seek,
again Ireland,
shamed in mind.
So too the brothers,
both together,
king and etheling,
their country sought,
West-Saxons' land,
in the war exulting.
They left behind them,
the corse to devour,
the sallowy kite
and the swarthy raven
with horned nib,
and the dusky 'pada,'
erne white-tailed,
the corse to enjoy,
greedy war-hawk,
and the grey beast,
wolf of the wood.
Carnage greater has not been
in this island
ever yet
of people slain,
before this,
by edges of swords,
as books us say,
old writers,
since from the east hither,
Angles and Saxons
came to land,
o'er the broad seas
Britain sought,
mighty war-smiths,
the Welsh o'ercame,
earls most bold,
this earth obtained.

A. 937. This year king Athelstan and Edmund his brother led a force to Brumby, and there fought against Anlaf; and, Christ helping, had the victory: and they there slew five kings and seven earls.

A. 938. 939.

A. 940. This year king Athelstan died at Gloucester on the 6th before the Kalends of November, about forty-one years, except one day, after king Alfred died. And Edmund the etheling, his brother, succeeded to the kingdom, and he was then eighteen years of age: and king Athelstan reigned fourteen years and ten weeks. Then was Wulfhelm archbishop in Kent.

A. 941. This year the North-humbrians were false to

their plighted troth, and chose Anlaf of Ireland to be their king.

Here Edmund king,
ruler of Angles,
protector of men,
Mercia obtained,
dear deed-doer,
as the Dor flows,
course of the white-well,
and Humber's river,
broad sea-stream.
Five towns,
Leicester,
and Lincoln,
and Nottingham,
so Stamford eke,
and Derby,
to Danes were erewhile,
under North-men,
by need constrained,
of heathen men
in captive chains,
a long time;
until again redeemed them,
for his worthiness,
the bulwark of warriors,
offspring of Edward,
Edmund king.

A. 941. This year king Edmund received king Anlaf at baptism; and that same year, a good long space after, he received king Reginald at the bishop's hands.

A. 942. This year king *Anlaf died.

A. 943. This year Anlaf stormed Tamworth, and great carnage was on either hand; and the Danes had the victory, and much booty they led away with them: there during the pillage was Wulfrun taken. This year king Edmund besieged king Anlaf and archbishop Wulfstan in Leicester; and he would have taken them, were it not that they broke out by night from the town. And, after that, Anlaf acquired king Edmund's friendship; and king Edmund then received king Anlaf at baptism, and he royally gifted him. And that same year, after a good long time, he received king Reginald at the bishop's hands. This year king Edmund delivered Glastonbury to St. Dunstan, where he afterwards became the first abbat.

A. 944. This year king Edmund subdued all Northumberland under his power, and expelled two kings, Anlaf son of Sihtric, and Reginald, son of Guthferth.

A. 945. This year king Edmund ravaged all Cumberland, and granted it all to Malcolm king of the Scots, on the

* See Hen. Huntingdon and Simeon of Durham. A. 941. There were several chiefs of that name at this period: Anlaf the son of Guthferth, Anlaf the son of Sihtric, and Anlaf Curran, mentioned A. 949.

condition, that he should be his fellow-worker as well by sea as by land.

A. 946. This year king Edmund died on St. Augustine's mass-day. That was widely known how he his days ended: that Leofa stabbed him at Puckle-church. And Aelfleda at Damerham, Elgar's daughter, the ealdorman, was then his queen: and he had the kingdom six years and a half. And then after him his brother Edred the etheling succeeded to the kingdom, and subdued all Northumberland under his power: and the Scots gave him oaths, that they would all that he would.

A. 947. This year king Edred came to Tadden's-cliff, and there Wulfstan the archbishop and all the North-humbrian "witan" plighted their troth to the king: and within a little while they belied it all, both pledge and also oaths.

A. 948. This year king Edred ravaged all Northumberland, because they had taken Eric to be their king: and then, during the pillage, was the great minster burned at Ripon that St. Wilfrid built. And as the king went homewards, then the army of York overtook him: the rear of the king's forces was at Chesterford; and there they made great slaughter. Then was the king so wroth that he would have marched his forces in again and wholly destroyed the land. When the North-humbrian "witan" understood that, then forsook they Eric, and made compensation for the deed with king Edred.

A. 949. This year Anlaf Curran came to Northumberland.

A. 950.

A. 951. This year died Elphege bishop of Winchester, on St. Gregory's mass-day. This same blessed St. Dunstan. . . .

A. 952. In this year king Edred commanded archbishop Wulfstan to be brought into the fastness at Jedburgh, because he had been oft accused to the king: and in this year also the king commanded great slaughter to be made in the town of Thetford, in revenge of the abbat Edelm, whom they had before slain. This year the North-humbrians expelled king Anlaf, and received Eric, Harold's son.

A. 953.

A. 954. This year the North-humbrians expelled Eric, and Edred obtained the kingdom of the North-humbrians.

This year archbishop Wulfstan again obtained a bishopric at Dorchester.

A. 955. This year died king Edred on St. Clement's mass-day, at Frome, and he rests in the Old-minster [Winchester]; and he reigned nine years and a half. And then Edwy succeeded to the kingdom, king Edmund's and St. Elfgiva's son. And he banished St. Dunstan out of the land.

A. 955. And Edwy succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons, and Edgar his brother succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians: and they were the sons of King Edmund and of S. Elfgiva.

A. 956.

A. 957. This year died Wulfstan archbishop of York, on the 17th before the Kalends of January, and he was buried at Oundle. And in the same year abbat Dunstan was driven away over sea. This year Edgar the etheling succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians.

A. 958. In this year archbishop Odo* separated king Edwy and Elfgiva, because they were too nearly related. This year died king Edwy on the Kalends of October; and Edgar his brother succeeded to the kingdom, as well of the West-Saxons as of the Mercians, and of the North-humbrians; and he was then sixteen years of age.

In his days
it prospered well,
and God him granted
that he dwelt in peace
the while that he lived;
and he did as behoved him,
diligently he earned it.
He upreared God's glory wide,
and loved God's law,
and bettered the public peace,
most of the kings
who were before him
in man's memory.
And God him eke so helped,
that kings and earls
gladly to him bowed,
and were submissive
to that that he willed;
and without war
he ruled all
that himself would.
He was wide
throughout nations
greatly honoured,
because he honoured
God's name earnestly,
and God's law pondered
much and oft,
and God's glory reared
wide and far,
and wisely counselled,
most oft, and ever,
for God and for the world,
of all his people.

* Of Canterbury.

One misdeed he did
all too much
that he foreign
vices loved,
and heathen customs
within this land
brought too oft,
and outlandish men
hither enticed,
and harmful people
allured to this land.
But God grant him
that his good deeds
be more availing
than his misdeeds,
for his soul's protection
on the longsome course.

A. 959. This year Edgar sent after St. Dunstan, and gave him the bishopric at Worcester; and afterwards the bishopric at London.

A. 960.

A. 961. This year departed Odo the Good, archbishop; and St. Dunstan succeeded to the archbishopric.

A. 962. This year died Elfgar, the king's kinsman, in Devonshire, and his body rests at Wilton. And king Sifferth killed himself, and his body lies at Wimborne. And then, within the year, there was a great mortality, and the great fever was in London; and Paul's minster was burnt, and that same year was again built up. In this same year Athelmod the mass-priest went to Rome, and there died, on the 18th before the Kalends of September.

A. 963. This year died Wulfstan the deacon, on Childermass-day, and after that died Gyric the mass-priest. In this same year abbat Ethelwold* succeeded to the bishopric at Winchester, and he was consecrated on the vigil of St. Andrew: it was Sunday that day. In the year after he was consecrated, then made he many minsters, and drove the clerks out of the bishopric, because they would not observe any rule, and he set monks there. He made there two abbacies; one of monks, one of nuns; all which was within Winchester. Afterwards, then came he to the king, Edgar, and begged of him that he would give him all the minsters which heathen men had formerly broken down, because he would restore them: and the king cheerfully granted it. And then the bishop came first to Ely, where St. Etheldrida lies, and caused the minster to be made: then he gave it to one of his monks, who was named Britnoth. He then consecrated him abbat, and there set monks to serve God where

* Of Abingdon.

previously had been nuns: he bought then many villages of the king, and made it very rich. After that came bishop Ethelwold to the minster which was called Medeshamstede, which formerly had been destroyed by heathen men: he found nothing there but old walls and wild woods. There found he, hidden in the old walls, writings that abbat Hedda had erewhile written, how king Wulfhere and Ethelred his brother had built it, and how they had freed it against king and against bishop, and against all secular services, and how the pope Agatho had confirmed the same by his rescript, and the archbishop Deus-dedit. Then caused he the minster to be built; and set there an abbat, who was called Adulf, and caused monks to be there where before was nothing. Then came he to the king, and caused him to look at the writings which before were found; and the king answered then and said:

"I, Edgar, grant and give to-day, before God and before the archbishop Dunstan, freedom to St. Peter's minster, Medeshamstede, from king and from bishop: and all the villages which lie thereto; that is to say, Eastfield, and Dodthorp, and Eye, and Paston. And thus I free it, that no bishop have there any command, without the abbat of the minster. And I give the town which is called Oundle, with all which thereto lieth, that is to say, that which is called 'the Eight-hundreds,' and market and toll, so freely, that neither king, nor bishop, nor earl, nor sheriff, have there any command, nor any man except the abbat alone, and him whom he thereto appointeth. And I give to Christ and St. Peter, and through the prayer of bishop Ethelwold, these lands; that is to say, Barro, Warmington, Ashton, Kettering, Castor, Eylesworth, Walton, Witherington, Eye, Thorp; and one moneyer in Stamford. These lands, and all the others that belong to the minster, them declare I free: that is, with sack and soc, toll and team, and infangthief; these rights, and all others, them declare I the shire of Christ and St. Peter. And I give the two parts of Whittlesey-mere, with the waters and with the wears and fens, and so through Meerlade straight to the water which is called Nen, and so eastward to King's-delf. And I will that a market be in the same town, and that no other be between Stamford and Huntingdon. And I will that the toll be thus given: first, from

Whittlesey-mere all as far as the king's toll of Norman-cross-hundred, and then back again from Whittlesey-mere, through Meerlade, straight to the Nen, and so as the water runneth to Crowland, and from Crowland to Must, and from Must to King's-delf, and to Whittlesey-mere. And I will that all liberties, and all the remissions that my predecessors have given, that they stand; and I sign and confirm it with Christ's rood-token." ✠

Then Dunstan the archbishop of Canterbury answered, and said: "I grant that all the things which here are given and spoken of, and all the things which thy predecessors and mine have conceded, those will I that they stand; and whosoever this breaketh, then give I him the curse of God, and of all saints, and of all ordained heads, and of myself, unless he come to repentance. And I give, in acknowledgment, to St. Peter, my mass-hackel, and my stole, and my 'reef,' for the service of Christ." "I, Oswald, archbishop of York, assent to all these words by the holy rood which Christ suffered on." ✠ "I, Ethelwold, bishop, bless all who shall observe this; and I excommunicate all who shall break this, unless he come to repentance." Here was Elfstan bishop, Athulf bishop, and Eskwi abbat, and Osgar abbat, and Ethelgar abbat, and Elfere the ealdorman, Ethelwin the ealdorman, Britnoth; Oslac the ealdorman, and many other great men: and all assented to it, and all signed it with Christ's cross. ✠ This was done after the birth of our Lord nine hundred and seventy-two years, of the king's reign the sixteenth year.

Then the abbat Aldulf bought lands, numerous and many, then greatly enriched the minster withal; and then was he there so long as until the archbishop Oswald of York was dead, and then he was chosen archbishop. And then, soon, another abbat was chosen of the self-same minster, who was called Kenulf: he was afterwards bishop at Winchester. And he first made the wall about the minster: then gave he that to name Peterborough, which before was called Medeshamstede: he was there until he was appointed bishop at Winchester. Then another abbat was chosen of the self-same minster, who was called Elfsy: Elfsy was then abbat, from that time, fifty years. He took up St. Kyneburg and St. Kyneswith, who lay at Castor, and St. Tibba, who lay at

Ryhall, and brought them to Peterborough, and made an offering of them all to St. Peter in one day; and preserved them all the while he was there.

A. 963. This year, by king Edgar, St. Ethelwold was chosen to the bishoprick at Winchester. And the archbishop of Canterbury, St. Dunstan, consecrated him bishop on the first Sunday of Advent; that was on the 3rd before the Kalends of December.

A. 964. This year king Edgar expelled the priests at Winchester from the Old-minster and from the New-minster, and from Chertsey, and from Milton, and filled them with monks; and he appointed abbat Ethelgar abbat to the New-minster, and Ordbert to Chertsey, and Cyneward to Milton.

A. 964. This year were the canons driven out of the Old-minster by king Edgar, and also from the New-minster, and from Chertsey and from Milton; and he appointed thereto monks and abbats: to the New-minster Ethelgar, to Chertsey Ordbert, to Milton Cyneward.

A. 965. In this year king Edgar took Elfrida for his queen; she was daughter of Ordgar the ealdorman.

A. 966. This year Thored, Gunner's son, ravaged Westmoreland. And that same year Oslac obtained an ealdordom.

A. 967.

A. 968. In this year king Edgar ordered all Thanet-land to be ravaged.

A. 969. 970.

A. 971. This year died archbishop Oskytel: he was first consecrated bishop of Dorchester, and afterwards of York; by favour of king Edred, and of all his 'witan,' he was consecrated archbishop; and he was a bishop twenty two years; and he died on the mass-night of All-Hallows, ten days before Martin-mass, at Thame. And abbat Thurkytel his kinsman, carried the bishop's body to Bedford, because he was then, at that time, abbat there.

A. 972. This year died Edmund the etheling, and his body lies at Rumsey.

A. 972. This year Edgar the etheling was consecrated king at Bath, on Pentecost's mass-day, on the 5th before the Ides of May, the thirteenth year since he had obtained the kingdom; and he was then one less than thirty years of age. And soon after that, the king led all his ship-forces to Chester; and there came to meet him six kings, and they all plighted their troth to him, that they would be his fellow-workers by sea and by land.

A. 973.
Here was Edgar,
ruler of Angles,
in full assembly,
hallowed king,
at the old city
Akemanscester;
but it the islanders,
beorns, by another word,
name Bath.
There was much bliss
on that blessed day
to all occasioned,
which children of men
name and call
Pentecost's day.
There was a heap of priests;
of monks a large band,
as I have heard,
of sage ones, gathered:
and then agone was
ten hundred years,
told in numbers,
from the birth-tide
of the glorious King,
Pastor of light.
but that there remaining
then still was,
of yearly-tale,
as writings say,
seven and twenty:
so nigh had to the Victor-lord
a thousand run out
when this befel.
And himself, Edmund's
offspring, had
nine and twenty,
guardian 'gainst evil works,
years in the world
when this was done,
and then in the thirtieth, was
hallowed ruler.

A. 974.

A. 975.
Here, ended
the joys of earth,
Edgar, of Angles king
chose him another light,
beauteous and winsome
and left this frail,
this barren life.
Children of men name,
men on the earth,
every where, that month,
in this land,
those who erewhile were
in the art of numbers
rightly taught,
July month,
when the youth departed,
on the eighth day,
Edgar, from life,
bracelet giver to heroes.
And then his son succeeded
to the kingdom,
a child un-waxen,
of earls the prince.
to whom was Edward name.
And him, a glorious chief.
ten days before,
departed from Britain,
the good bishop,*
through nature's course.
to whom was Cyneward name.
Then was in Mercia,
as I have heard,
widely and every where,
the glory of the Lord
laid low on earth:
many were expelled.

* Of Wells.

sage servants of God ;
that was much grief
to him who in his breast bore
a burning love
of the Creator, in his mind.
Then was the Source of wonders
too oft contemned ;
the Victor-lord,
heaven's Ruler. [through
Then men his law broke
and then was eke driven out,
beloved hero,
Oslac from this land,
o'er rolling waters,
o'er the ganet's-bath ;
hoary-haired hero,
wise and word-skilled,
o'er the water's throng,
o'er the whale's domain,
of home bereaved.
And then was seen,
high in the heavens,
a star in the firmament,
which lofty-souled
men, sage minded,
call widely,
cometa by name ;
men skilled in arts,
wise truth-bearers.
Throughout mankind was
the Lord's vengeance
widely known,
famine o'er earth.
That again heaven's Guardian,
bettered, Lord of angels,
gave again bliss
to each isle-dweller,
through earth's fruits.

A. 975. The 8th before the Ides of July.
Here Edgar died,
ruler of Angles,
West-Saxons' joy,
and Mercians' protector.
Known was it widely
throughout many nations.
'Thæt' offspring of Edmund,
o'er the ganet's-bath.
honoured far,
Kings him widely
bowed to the king,
as was his due by kind.
No fleet was so daring,
nor army so strong,
that 'mid the English nation
took from him aught,
the while that the noble king
ruled on his throne.

And this year Edward, Edgar's son, succeeded to the kingdom ; and then soon, in the same year, during harvest, appeared 'cometa' the star ; and then came in the following year a very great famine, and very manifold commotions among the English people.

In his days,
for his youth,
God's gainsayers
God's law broke ;
Eldfere, ealdorman,
and others many ;
and rule monastic quashed,
and minsters dissolved,
and monks drove out,
and God's servants put down,
whom Edgar, king, ordered erewhile
the holy bishop
Ethelwold to stablish ;
and widows they plundered,
many times and oft :
and many unrighteousnesses,
and evil unjust-deeds
arose up afterwards .
and ever after that
it greatly grew in evil.

And at that time also, was Oslac the great earl banished from England.

A. 976. This year was the great famine among the English nation.

A. 977. This year, after Easter, was the great council at Kirtlington; and there died bishop Sideman, by a sudden death, on the 2d before the Kalends of May. He was bishop in Devonshire, and he desired that the resting-place of his body should be at Crediton, at his episcopal seat. Then commanded king Edward and archbishop Dunstan that he should be borne to St. Mary's minster, which is at Abingdon: and so too was it done: and he is moreover honourably buried on the north side, in St. Paul's chapel.

A. 978. In this year all the chief 'witan' of the English nation fell at Calne from an upper chamber, except the holy archbishop Dunstan, who alone supported himself upon a beam; and there some were grievously maimed, and some did not escape with life. In this year was King Edward martyred; and Ethelred the etheling, his brother, succeeded to the kingdom, and he was in the same year consecrated king. In that year died Alfwold; he was bishop of Dorset, and his body lies in the minster at Sherborne.

A. 979. In this year was Ethelred consecrated king at Kingston, on the Sunday, fourteen days after Easter; and there were at his consecration two archbishops, and ten suffragan-bishops. That same year was seen a bloody cloud, oftentimes, in the likeness of fire; and it was mostly apparent at midnight, and so in various beams was coloured: when it began to dawn, then it glided away.

A. 979. This year was king Edward slain at even-tide, at Corfe-gate, on the 15th before the Kalends of April, and then was he buried at Wareham, without any kind of kingly honours.

There has not been 'mid Angles
a worse deed done
than this was,
since they first
Britain-land sought.
Men him murdered,
but God him glorified.
He was in life
an earthly king;
he is now after death
a heavenly saint.
Him would not his earthly
kinsmen avenge,
but him hath his heavenly Father
greatly avenged.
The earthly murderers
would his memory
on earth blot out,
but the lofty Avenger
hath his memory
in the heavens
and on earth wide-spread.
They who would not erewhile
to his living
body bow down,
they now humbly
on knees bend
to his dead bones.

Now we may understand | and their councils,
that men's wisdom | are like nought
and their devices, | 'gainst God's resolves.

This year Ethelred succeeded to the kingdom ; and he was very quickly after that, with much joy of the English witan, consecrated king at Kingston.

A. 980. In this year abbat Ethelgar* was consecrated bishop on the 6th before the Nones of May, to the episcopal seat at Selsey. And in the same year was Southampton ravaged by a ship-force, and the most part of the townsmen slain, and led captive. And that same year was Thanet-land ravaged by a ship force, and the most part of the townsmen slain, and led captive. And that same year was Legecester-shire [Chester] ravaged by a northern ship-force. In this year St. Dunstan and Alfere the ealdorman fetched the holy king's body, St. Edward's, from Wareham, and bore it with much solemnity to Shaftsbury.

A. 981. In this year St. Petroc's-stowe [Padstow] was ravaged ; and that same year was much harm done everywhere by the sea-coast, as well among the men of Devon as among the Welsh. And in the same year died Elfstan bishop of Wiltshire, and his body lies in the minster at Abingdon ; and Wulfgar then succeeded to the bishopric. And in the same year died abbat Womare† at Ghent.

A. 981. This year came first the seven ships, and ravaged Southampton.

A. 982. In this year landed among the men of Dorset three ships of pirates ; and they ravaged in Portland. That same year London was burnt ; and in the same year died two ealdormen, Ethelmer in Hampshire, and Edwin in Sussex ; and Ethelmer's body lies at Winchester, in the New-minster, and Edwin's in the minster at Abingdon. This same year died two abbesses in Dorset, Herelufu at Shaftesbury, and Wulfwina at Wareham. And that same year went Otho the Roman emperor to Greek-land [Calabria], and there met he a large force of Saracens, coming up from the sea, and they would then go plundering the Christian people. And then the Emperor fought against them, and there was great slaughter made on either hand ; and the emperor had possession of the place of carnage : and nevertheless he was there much harassed before he turned thence : and as he homeward went, then died

* Of New-minster. † Of St. Peter's.

his brother's son, who was named Otho, and he was Leo dulf the etheling's son, and Leodulf was the elder Otho's son and king Edward's daughter's son.

A. 983. This year died Alfere the ealdorman, and Alfric succeeded to the same ealdorman-ship.* And Pope Benedict [VII.] died.

A. 984. This year died the benevolent bishop of Winchester, Ethelwold, father of monks, on the Kalends of August; and the consecration of the succeeding bishop, Elphege [II.], who by another name was called Godwin, was on the 14th before the Kalends of November; and he took the episcopal seat at Winchester, on the day of the two apostles Simon and Jude.

A. 985. This year was Alfric the eoldorman banished the land. And in the same year was Edwin consecrated abbat of the minster at Abingdon.

A. 986. This year the king laid waste the bishopric of Rochester. This year first came the great murrain among cattle in the English nation.

A. 987.

A. 988. This year was Watchet ravaged, and Goda, the Devonshire thane, slain, and with him much slaughter made. And this year departed the holy archbishop Dunstan, and passed to the heavenly life: and bishop Ethelgar† succeeded, after him, to the archbishopric ;‡ and little while after that he lived, but one year and three months.

A. 989.

A. 990. This year Siric was consecrated archbishop.§ and afterwards went to Rome for his pall. And abbat Eadwin‖ died; and abbat Wulfgar succeeded to the abbacy.

A. 991. This year was Ipswich ravaged; and after that, very shortly, was Britnoth the ealdorman slain at Maldon. And in that year it was decreed that tribute, for the first time, should be given to the Danish-men, on account of the great terror which they caused by the sea-coast; that was at first ten thousand pounds: this counsel was first given by archbishop Siric.

A. 992. This year Oswald the holy archbishop¶ left this, and passed to the heavenly life: and Ethelwin the ealdor-

* Mercia. † Of Selsey. ‡ Of Canterbury
§ Of Canterbury. ‖ Of Abingdon. ¶ Of York.

man* died in the same year. Then decreed the king and all his witan that all the ships which were worth anything should be gathered together at London. And the king then committed the forces to the leading of Elfric the ealdorman, and of Thorod the earl, and of bishop Elfstan,† and of bishop Escwy;‡ and they were to try if they could any where betrap the army about. Then sent the ealdorman Elfric and directed the army to be warned; and then during the night of which they should have joined battle by day, then fled he by night from the forces, to his great disgrace: and the army then escaped, except one ship, whose crew was there slain. And then the ships from East-Anglia, and from London met the army, and there they made great slaughter of them; and took the ship, all armed and equipped, in which the ealdorman was. And then after the decease of archbishop Oswald, abbat Aldulf, of Peterborough, succeeded to the bishopric of York, and of Worcester; and Kenulf to the abbacy of Peterborough.

A. 992. This year Oswald the blessed archbishop died, and Abbat Eadulf succeeded to York and to Worcester. And this year the king and all his witan decreed that all the ships which were worth anything should be gathered together at London, in order that they might try if they could any where betrap the army from without. But Ælfric the ealdorman, one of those in whom the king had most confidence, directed the army to be warned; and in the night, as they should on the morrow have joined battle, the self-same Ælfric fled from the forces; and then the army escaped.

A. 993. In this year was Bambrough entered by storm, and much booty there taken. And after that the army came to the mouth of the Humber, and there wrought much evil, as well in Lindsey as in Northumbria. Then a very large force was gathered together; and as they should have joined battle, then the leaders, first of all, began the flight; that was Frene, and Godwin, and Frithgist. In this year the king ordered Elfgar, son of Elfric the ealdorman, to be blinded.

A. 993. In this year came Olave with ninety-three ships to Staines, and ravaged there about, and then went thence to Sandwich, and so thence to Ipswich, and that all over-ran; and so to Maldon. And there Britnoth the ealdorman came against them with his forces, and fought against them: and they there slew the ealdorman, and had possession of the place of

* Of E. Anglia. † Of London. ‡ Of Dorchester.

carnage. And after that peace was made with them; and him [Anlaf] the king afterwards received at the bishop's hands, through the instruction of Siric bishop of the Kentish-men, and of Ælphege [II.] of Winchester.

A. 994. In this year came Olave and Sweyn to London, on the nativity of St. Mary, with ninety-four ships; and they then continued fighting stoutly against the city, and would also have set fire to it. But they there sustained more harm and evil than they ever supposed that any citizens would be able to do unto them. But the holy mother of God, on that day, shewed her mercy to the citizens and delivered them from their foes. And they then went thence, and wrought the utmost evil that ever any army could do, by burning, and plundering, and by man-slaying, both by the sea-coast and among the East-Saxons, and in the land of Kent, and in Sussex, and in Hampshire. And at last they took to themselves horses, and rode as far as they would, and continued doing unspeakable evil. Then the king and his witan decreed that they should be sent to, and promised tribute and food, on condition that they should cease from their plundering: which terms they accepted. And then all the army came to Southampton, and there took up their winter-quarters: and there they were victualled from all the realm of the West-Saxons, and they were paid sixteen thousand pounds of money. Then the king sent bishop Elphege [II.]* and Ethelwerd the ealdorman after king Olave, and the while, hostages were delivered to the ships; and they then led Olave with much worship to the king at Andover. And king Ethelred received him at the bishop's hands, and royally gifted him. And then Olave made a covenant with him, even as he also fulfilled, that he never again would come hostilely to the English nation.

A. 995. In this year appeared 'cometa,' the star, and archbishop Sigic died: and Alfric bishop of Wiltshire† was chosen‡ on Easter-day, at Amesbury, by king Ethelred and by all his witan. This Alfric was a very wise man, so that there was no sager man in England. Then went Alfric to his archiepiscopal seat; and when he came thither he was received by those men in orders who were most unacceptable to him, that was, by clerks. And soon (he sent for) all the wisest men he anywhere knew of, and also the old men who

* Of Winchester. † Afterwards Salisbury. ‡ To Canterbury.

were able to say the soothest how each thing had been in this land in the days of their elders; in addition to what himself had learned from books and from wise men. Him told the very old men, as well clergy as laity, that their elders had told them how it had been established by law soon after St. Augustine came to this land. When Augustine had obtained the bishopric in the city,* then was he archbishop over all king Ethelbert's kingdom, as it is related in Historia Anglorum† ..... make (a bishop's) see by the king's aid in .... was begun by the old Romans ... and to sprout forth. In that company the foremost were Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, Rufinianus. By these sent the blessed pope the pall, and therewith a letter, and instruction how he should consecrate bishops, and in which place in Britain he should seat them. And to the king (also) he sent letters and many worldly gifts of divers things. And the churches which they had got ready he commanded to be consecrated in the name of our Lord and Saviour Christ and St. Mary; and for himself there fix a dwelling-place, and for all his after-followers; and that he (should) place therein men of the same order that he had sent thither, and of which he himself was, and also that each ..... monks who should fill the archiepiscopal seat at Canterbury, and that be ever observed by God's leave and blessing and by St. Peter's, and by all who came after him. When this embassy came again to king Egelbert and to Augustine, they were very pleased with such instruction. And the archbishop then consecrated the minster in Christ's name and St. Mary's, (on) the day which is called the mass-day of the two martyrs, Primus et Felicianus, and there within placed monks all as St. Gregory commanded: and they God's service continently performed; and from the same monks bishops were taken for each..... as thou mayst read in Historia Anglorum.‡ Then was archbishop Alfric very blithe, that he had so many witnesses (who) stood best at that time with the king. Still more, the same witan who were with the archhishop said: Thus also we .... monks have continued at Christ-Church during Augustine's days, and during Laurentius', Mellitus', Justus', Honorius', Deusdedit, Theodore's, Berthwold's, Tatwine's, Nothelm's, Cuthbert's, Bregwine's, Lambert's, ...

Canterbury. † Bede, b. i. c. 25. ‡ Bede, b. i. c. 33.

Athelard's, Wulfred's, Theologild's. But the (first) year when Ceolnoth came to the archbishopric, there was such a mortality that there remained no more than five monks within Christ-Church. During all his time there was war and sorrow in this land, so that no man could think of anything else but . . . . . Now, God be thanked, it is in the king's power and thine, whether they may be longer there within, because they (might) never better be brought thereout than now may be done, if it is the king's will and thine. The archbishop then, without any staying, with all (these) men, went anon to the king and showed him all, so as we here before have related. Then was the king very glad (at these) tidings, and said to the archbishop and to the others, 'It seemeth advisable to me that thou shouldst go first of all to Rome after thy (pall, and that) thou show to the pope all this, and, after that, act by his counsel:' And they all answered, that that was the best counsel. When (the priests) heard this, then resolved they that they should take two from among themselves and send to the pope; and they should offer him great gifts and silver, on condition that he should give them the arch(-pall). But when they came to Rome, then would not the pope do that, because they brought him no letter either from the king or from the people, and commanded them to go, lo! where they would. (So soon as) the priests had gone thence, came archbishop Alfric to Rome, and the pope received him with much worship, and commanded him on the morrow to perform mass at St. Peter's altar, and the pope himself put on him his own pall, and greatly honoured him. When this was done, the archbishop began telling the pope all about the clerks, how it had happened, and how they were within the minster at his archbishopric. And the pope related to him again how the priests had come to him, and offered great gifts, in order that he should give them the pall. And the pope said, 'Go now to England again with God's blessing, and St. Peter's and mine; and as thou comest home, place in thy minster men of that order which St. Gregorius commanded Augustine therein to place, by God's command, and St. Peter's and mine.' Then the archbishop with this returned to England. As soon as he came home, he entered his archiepiscopal seat, and after that went to the (king) and the king and all his people thanked

God for his return, and that he so had succeeded as was pleasing to them all. He then went again to Canterbury, and drove the clerks out of the minster, and there within placed monks, all as the pope commanded him.

A. 996. In this year was Alfric consecrated archbishop to Christ-Church.* This year was Wulstan ordained bishop of London.

A. 997. In this year the army went about Devonshire into Severn-mouth, and there ravaged, as well among the Cornish-men as among the North-Welsh, and among the men of Devon; and then landed at Watchet, and there wrought much evil by burning and by man-slaying. And after that they again went about Penwithstert, on the south side, and went then into the mouth of the Tamar, and then went up until they came to Liddyford, and burned and destroyed every thing which they met with; and they burned Ordulf's minster at Tavistock, and brought unspeakable booty with them to their ships. This year archbishop Alfric went to Rome after his arch-pall.

A. 998. This year the army went again eastward into Frome-mouth, and everywhere there they went up as far as they would into Dorset. And forces were often gathered against them; but, as soon as they should have joined battle, then was there ever, through some cause, flight begun; and in the end they ever had the victory. And then at another time they sat down in the Isle of Wight, and got their food the while from Hampshire and from Sussex.

A. 999. This year the army again came about into Thames, and went then up along the Medway, and to Rochester. And then the Kentish forces came there to meet them, and they there stoutly joined battle: but alas! that they too quickly yielded and fled; for they had not the support which they should have had. And the Danish-men had possession of the place of carnage; and then they took horse and rode wheresoever they themselves would, and full nigh all the West-Kentish men they ruined and plundered. Then the king, with his witan, decreed that, with a ship force and also with a land force, they should be attacked. But when the ships were ready, then the miserable crew delayed from day to day, and distressed the poor people who lay in

* Canterbury.

the ships: and ever as it should have been forwarder, so was it later from one time to another; and ever they let their enemies' forces increase, and ever the people retired from the sea, and they ever went forth after them. And then in the end, these expeditions both by sea and land effected nothing, except the people's distress and waste of money, and the emboldening of their foes.

A. 1000. In this year the king went into Cumberland, and ravaged it well nigh all. And his ships went out about Chester, and should have come to meet him, but they were not able. then ravaged they Anglesey. And the hostile fleet went this summer to Richard's dominions.*

A. 1001. In this year was much hostility in the land of the English through the ship-force, and well nigh every where they ravaged and burned, so that they advanced in one course until they came to the town of Alton; and then there came against them the men of Hampshire, and fought against them. And there was Ethelwerd the king's high-steward slain, and Leofric at Whitchurch, and Leofwin the king's high-steward, and Wulfhere the bishop's thane, and Godwin at Worthy, bishop Elfsy's son,† and of all men, one and eighty; and there were of the Danish-men many more slain, though they had possession of the place of carnage. And they went thence west until they came to Devon; and there Paley came to meet them, with the ships which he could gather, because he had fled from king Ethelred, contrary to all the plighted troth that he had given him; and the king had also well gifted him with houses, and with gold and with silver. And they burned Teignton, and also many other good towns which we are unable to name; and there, afterwards, peace was made with them. And they then went thence to Exmouth, so that they proceeded upwards in one course until they came to Pen: and there Cole the king's high-reve, and Edsy the king's-reve, went against them with the forces which they were able to gather together; and they there were put to flight, and there were many slain: and the Danish-men had possession of the place of carnage. And the morning after, they burned the village of Pen and at Clifton, and also many goodly towns which we are unable to name, and then went again east until they

* Normandy.

† See A. 1032 below.

came to the Isle of Wight; and on the morning after, they burned the town at Waltham, and many other small towns and soon after a treaty was entered into with them, and they made peace.

A. 1001. This year the army came to Exmouth, and then went up to the town, and there continued fighting stoutly; but they were very strenuously resisted. Then went they through the land, and did all as was their wont; destroyed and burnt. Then was collected a vast force of the people of Devon and of the people of Somerset, and they then came together at Pen. And so soon as they joined battle, then the people gave way: and there they made great slaughter, and then they rode over the land, and their last incursion was ever worse than the one before: and then they brought much booty with them to their ships. And thence they went into the Isle of Wight, and there they roved about, even as they themselves would, and nothing withstood them: nor any fleet by sea durst meet them; nor land force either, went they ever so far up. Then was it in every wise a heavy time, because they never ceased from their evil doings.

A. 1002. In this year the king decreed, and his witan, that tribute should be paid to the fleet, and peace made with them, on condition that they should cease from their evil-doings. Then sent the king to the fleet Leofsy the ealdorman; and he then settled a truce with them by the king's word, and his witan's, and that they should receive food and tribute. And that they then accepted: and then were they paid twenty-four thousand pounds. Then during this, Leofsy the ealdorman slew Eafy the king's high-steward; and the king then banished him the land. And then in the same Lent came the lady, Richard's * daughter, Emma Elfgive, hither to land: and in the same summer archbishop Aldulf † died. And in that year the king ordered all the Danish-men who were in England to be slain. This was done on St. Brice's mass-day; because it was made known to the king that they would treacherously bereave him of his life, and afterwards all his witan; and after that have his kingdom without any gainsaying.

A. 1003. This year was Exeter entered by storm, through the French churl Hugh, whom the ‡ lady had appointed her steward: and then the army entirely ruined the town, and there took much booty. And in the same year the army went up into Wiltshire. Then was gathered a very large force from Wiltshire and from Hampshire, and very

* Duke of Normandy. † Of York ‡ Emma.

resolutely they came in presence of the army. Then should the ealdorman Elfric have led the forces, but he then had recourse to his old devices: as soon as they were so near that either army could look on the other, then feigned he himself sick, and began by retching to spew, and said that he was grievously ill: and thus deceived the people whom he should have led; as it is said: When the leader groweth feeble, then is all the army greatly hindered. When Sweyn saw that they were not unanimous, and that they all separated, then led he his army into Wilton; and they spoiled the town, and burned it; and he went then to Salisbury, and thence went to the sea again, where he knew that his sea-horses were.

A. 1004. This year came Sweyn with his fleet to Norwich, and entirely spoiled and burned the town. Then decreed Ulfkytel, with the witan of East-Anglia, that it were better that they should purchase peace of the army before they did very much harm in the land; because they had come unawares, and he had not time that he might gather his forces. Then during the truce which ought to have been between them, then stole the army up from their ships, and went their way to Thetford. When Ulfkytel understood that, then sent he word that the ships should be hewed in pieces, but they in whom he trusted failed to do it, and he then gathered his forces secretly, as he best might. And the army then came to Thetford, within three weeks of their having before plundered Norwich, and were one day there within, and plundered and burned the town. And then on the morrow, as they would have gone to their ships, then came Ulfkytel with his band, in order that they might there join battle with them. And they there stoutly joined battle, and much slaughter was there made on either hand. There were the chief among the East-Anglian people slain; but if the full force there had been, they never again had gone to their ships; inasmuch as they themselves said, that they never had met a worse hand-play among the English nation than Ulfkytel had brought to them.

A. 1005. In this year was the great famine throughout the English nation; such, that no man ever before recollected one so grim. And the fleet in this year went from this land to Denmark; and staid but a little space ere it came again.

A. 1006 This year died archbishop Alfric, and after him bishop Elphege [II.] succeeded to the archbishopric:* and bishop Brithwin succeeded to the bishopric of Wiltshire.† And in the same year was Wulfgeat deprived of all his possessions, and Wulfeah and Ufgeat were blinded, and Elfelm the ealdorman was slain; and bishop Kenulf‡ died. And then, after mid-summer, then came the great fleet to Sandwich, and did all as they had been before wont; they ravaged, and burned, and destroyed, wherever they went. Then the king commanded all the people of Wessex and of Mercia to be called out; and then they lay out all the harvest in the field against the army. But it availed nothing the more than it oft before had done: but for all this the army went wheresoever itself would, and the forces did every kind of harm to the inhabitants; so that neither profited them, nor the home army nor the foreign army. When it became winter, then went the forces home; and the army then came, over St. Martin's-mass, to their quarters in the Isle of Wight, and procured themselves there from all parts that which they needed. And then, at mid-winter, they went to their ready store, throughout Hampshire into Berkshire, to Reading: and they did their old wont; they lighted their war-beacons as they went. Then went they to Wallingford, and that all burned, and were then one day in Cholsey: and they went then along Ashdown to Cuckamsley-hill, and there abode, as a daring boast; for it had been often said, if they should reach Cuckamsley-hill, that they would never again get to the sea: then they went homewards another way. Then were forces assembled at Kennet, and they there joined battle: and they soon brought that band to flight, and afterwards carried their booty to the sea. But there might the Winchester-men see an army daring and fearless, as they went by their gates towards the sea, and fetched themselves food and treasures over fifty miles from the sea. Then had the king gone over Thames into Shropshire, and there took his abode during the mid-winter's tide. Then became the dread of the army so great, that no man could think or discover how they could be driven out of the land, or this land maintained against them; for they had every shire in

* Of Canterbury. † Afterwards the diocese of Salisbury.
‡ Of Winchester.

Wessex sadly marked, by burning and by plundering. Then the king began earnestly with his witan to consider what might seem most advisable to them all, so that this land might be saved, before it was utterly destroyed. Then the king and his witan decreed, for the behoof of the whole nation, though it was hateful to them all, that they needs must pay tribute to the army. Then the king sent to the army, and directed it to be made known to them, that he would that there should be a truce between them, and that tribute should be paid, and food given them. And then all that they accepted: and then were they victualled from throughout the English nation.

A. 1006. This year Elphege [II.] was consecrated archbishop.*

A. 1007. In this year was the tribute delivered to the army, that was thirty-six thousand pounds. In this year also was Edric appointed ealdorman over the kingdom of Mercia. This year bishop Elphege went to Rome after his pall.

A. 1008. This year the king commanded that ships should be speedily built throughout the English nation: that is then, from three hundred hides and from ten hides, one vessel; and from eight hides, a helmet and a coat of mail.

A. 1009. In this year were the ships ready about which we before spake; and there were so many of them as never before, according as books say unto us, had been among the English nation in any king's days. And they were all brought together to Sandwich, and there they were to lie and defend this land against every foreign army. But still we had not the good fortune nor the worthiness, that the ship-force could be of any use to this land, any more than it oft before had been. Then befell it at this same time, or a little before, that Brihtric, Edric the ealdorman's brother, accused [of treason] to the king Wulfnoth the "child" of the South-Saxons, father of Godwin the earl. He then went out, and enticed ships unto him, until he had twenty; and he then ravaged every where by the south coast, and wrought every kind of evil. Then it was told unto the ship-forces that they might be easily taken, if they would go about it. Then Brihtric took with him eighty ships, and thought that he should acquire great fame if he could seize Wulfnoth alive

* Of Canterbury.

or dead. But as they were on their way thither, then came such a wind against them as no man before remembered, and the ships it then utterly beat, and smashed to pieces, and cast upon the land; and soon came Wulfnoth, and burned the ships. When this was thus known in the other ships where the king was, how the others had fared, then was it as if it had been all hopeless; and the king went his way home, and the ealdormen and the nobility, and thus lightly left the ships; and then afterwards, the people who were in the ships brought them to London: and they let the whole nation's toil thus lightly pass away; and no better was that victory on which the whole English nation had fixed their hopes. When this ship-expedition had thus ended, then came, soon after Lammas, the vast hostile army, which we have called Thurkill's army, to Sandwich; and they soon went their way to Canterbury, and the city would soon have subdued, if the citizens had not first desired peace of them: and all the people of East-Kent made peace with the army, and gave them three thousand pounds. And then, soon after that, the army went forth till they came to the Isle of Wight; and thence every where in Sussex, and in Hampshire, and also in Berkshire, they ravaged and plundered *as their wont is.** Then the king commanded the whole nation to be called out; so that they should be opposed on every side: but lo! nevertheless, they marched as they pleased. Then, upon a certain occasion, the king had got before them with all his forces, as they would go to their ships; and all the people were ready to attack them. But it was then prevented through Edric the ealdorman, *as it ever is still.** Then, after St. Martin's-mass, they went once more into Kent, and took up their winter-quarters on the Thames, and obtained their food from Essex, and from the shires which were there nearest, on both sides of the Thames. And oft they fought against the city of London: but praise be to God that it yet stands sound, and they there ever met with ill fare. And then, after mid-winter, took they their way upwards through Chiltern, and so to Oxford, and burned the city; and betook themselves then, on both sides of the

* These expressions in the present tense afford a strong proof that the original records of these transactions are nearly coeval with the transactions themselves. Later MSS. use the past tense.—INGRAM.

Thames, towards their ships. Then were they warned that there were forces gathered at London against them: then went they over at Staines. And thus they went the whole winter; and during Lent they were in Kent, and repaired their ships.

A. 1010. This year, after Easter, came the fore-mentioned army into East-Anglia, and landed at Ipswich, and went forthwith where they understood Ulfkytel was with his forces. This was on the day, called the first of the ascension of our Lord. The East Angles soon fled. Then stood Cambridge-shire firmly against them. There was slain Athelstan the king's son-in-law, and Oswy and his son, and Wulfric, Leofwin's son, and Eadwy, Efy's brother, and many other good thanes, and numberless of the people: the flight first began at Thurkytel Myrehead. And the Danes had possession of the place of carnage: and there were they horsed; and afterwards had dominion over East-Anglia, and the land three months ravaged and burned; and they even went into the wild fens, and they destroyed men and cattle, and burned throughout the fens: and Thetford they burned, and Cambridge. And after that they went southward again to the Thames, and the men who were horsed rode towards the ships; and after that, very speedily, they went westward into Oxfordshire, and thence into Buckinghamshire, and so along the Ouse until they came to Bedford, and so onwards to Temsford; and ever burning as they went. Then went they again to their ships with their booty. And when they went to their ships, then ought the forces again to have gone out against them, until they should land; but then the forces went home: and when they were eastwards, then were the forces kept westwards; and when they were southwards, then were our forces northwards. Then were all the witan summoned to the king, and they were then to counsel how this land might be defended. But although something might be then counselled, it did not stand even one month: at last there was no chief who would assemble forces, but each fled as he best might; nor, at the last, would even one shire assist another. Then before St. Andrew's mass-day, came the enemy to Northampton, and they soon burned the town and took there-about as much as they themselves would; and thence they went over Thames into Wessex, and so by

Cannings-marsh, burning all the way. When they had gone so far as they then would, then came they at mid-winter to their ships.

A. 1011. In this year sent the king and his witan to the army, and desired peace, and promised them tribute and food, on condition that they would cease from their plundering. They had then over-run, 1st, East-Anglia, and 2d, Essex, and 3d, Middlesex, and 4th, Oxfordshire, and 5th, Cambridgeshire, and 6th, Hertfordshire, and 7th, Buckinghamshire, and 8th, Bedfordshire, and 9th, half of Huntingdonshire, and 10th, much of Northamptonshire; and south of Thames, all Kent, and Sussex, and Hastings, and Surry, and Berkshire, and Hampshire, and much of Wiltshire. All these misfortunes befel us through unwise counsel, that they were not in time offered tribute, or fought against; but when they had done the most evil, then peace and truce were made with them. And nevertheless, for all the truce and tribute, they went everywhere in bands, and plundered our miserable people, and robbed and slew them. And then in this year, between the Nativity of St. Mary and St. Michael's-mass, they besieged Canterbury, and got into it through treachery, because Elfmar betrayed it, whose life the archbishop Elphege had before saved. And there they took the archbishop Elphege, and Elfward the king's steward, and the abbess Leofruna,* and bishop Godwin.† And abbat Elfmar‡ they let go away. And they took there within all the men in orders, and men and women: it is not to be told to any man how many there were. And they remained within the city afterwards as long as they would. And when they had thoroughly searched the city, then went they to their ships, and led the archbishop with them.

Was then captive | erewhile saw bliss,
he who erewhile was | in that hapless city,
head of the English race | whence to us came first
and Christendom. | Christendom and bliss,
There might then be seen | 'fore God, and 'fore the world.
misery, where men oft

And they kept the archbishop with them so long as until the time that they martyred him.

A. 1012. In this year came Edric the ealdorman, and all

* Of S. Mildred's. † Godwin III. of Rochester. ‡ Of St. Augustine's.

the chief witan, clergy and laity, of the English people to London, before Easter; Easter-day was then on the Ides of April; and they were there then so long as until all the tribute was paid, after Easter; that was eight and forty thousand pounds. Then on the Saturday was the army greatly excited against the bishop, because he would not promise them any money: but he forbade that any thing should be given for him. They had also drunk deeply, for wine had been brought there from the south. Then took they the bishop, led him to their hustings on the eve of Sunday, the octaves of Easter, which was on the 13th before the Kalends of May; and there they then shamefully slaughtered him: they cast upon him bones and the horns of oxen, and then one of them struck him with an axe-iron on the head, so that with the blow he sank down; and his holy blood fell on the earth, and his holy soul he sent forth to God's kingdom. And on the morrow the body was carried to London, and the bishops Ednoth* and Elfhun,† and the townsmen, received it with all reverence, and buried it in St. Paul's minster; and there God now manifesteth the miraculous powers of the holy martyr. When the tribute was paid, and oaths of peace were sworn, then the army separated widely, in like manner as before it had been gathered together. Then became subject to the king five and forty ships of the army, and covenanted with him that they would defend this country, and that he should feed and clothe them.

A. 1013. In the year after that in which the archbishop Elphege was martyred, the king appointed bishop Living to be archbishop of Canterbury. And in this same year, before the month of August, came king Sweyn with his fleet to Sandwich, and went then, very soon, about East-Anglia into the mouth of the Humber, and so upward along Trent, until he came to Gainsborough. And then, soon, Utred the earl and all the North-humbrians submitted to him, and all the people in Lindsey, and afterwards the people in the Five Boroughs,‡ and soon after, all the army north of Watling-street; and hostages were delivered to him from every shire. After he had learned that all the people were

* Of Dorchester. † Of London.

‡ Namely, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, and Derby. See 942, 1015.

obedient to him, then bade he that his army should be victualled and horsed; and he then afterwards went southward with all the forces, and committed the ships and the hostages to his son Canute. And after he came over Watling-street, they wrought the most evil that any army could do. Then went he to Oxford, and the townsmen soon submitted, and delivered hostages; and thence to Winchester, and they did the like. Then went he thence eastward to London, and much of his people was drowned in the Thames, because they kept not to any bridge. When he came to the city, then would not the townsmen submit, but held out against him with all their might, because king Ethelred was therein, and Thurkill with him. Then went king Sweyn thence to Wallingford, and so over the Thames westward to Bath, and sat down there with his forces. And Ethelmar the ealdorman came thither, and the western thanes with him, and they all submitted to Sweyn, and delivered hostages for themselves. And when he had thus succeeded, then went he northward to his ships; and then all the people held him for full king. And after that the townsmen of London submitted, and delivered hostages, because they dreaded lest he should utterly undo them. Then Sweyn ordered a full-tribute and provisions for his army during the winter; and Thurkill ordered the like for the army which lay at Greenwich: and for all that, they plundered as oft as they would. Then was this people nothing benefited either from the south or from the north. Then was king Ethelred some while with the fleet which lay in the Thames; and the lady* then departed over sea to her brother Richard,† and Elfsy, abbat of Peterborough, with her. And the king sent bishop Elfhun with the ethelings, Edward and Alfred, over sea, that he might have charge of them. Then departed the king from the fleet at mid-winter into the Isle of Wight, and was there during that tide; and after that tide he went over the sea to Richard, and was there with him until such time as Sweyn was dead. And the while that the lady was with her brother beyond sea, Elfsy, abbat of Peterborough, who was there with her, went to the minster which is called Boneval, where St. Florentine's body lay. There found he a poor place, a poor abbat, and poor monks; for they had been plundered. Then

* Emma. † Duke of Normandy.

sought he there of the abbat and of the monks St. Florentine's body, all except the head, for five hundred pounds; and then when he came home again, then made he an offering of it to Christ and St. Peter.

A. 1014. In this year king Sweyn ended his days, at Candlemas, on the third before the Nones of February. And that same year Alwy was consecrated bishop of London, at York, on St. Juliana's mass-day. And all the fleet then chose Canute for king. Then counselled all the witan who were in England, clergy and laity, that they should send after king Ethelred; and they declared that no lord were dearer to them than their natural lord, if he would rule them better than he had before done. Then sent the king his son Edward hither with his messengers, and ordered them to greet all his people; and said that he would be to them a loving lord, and amend all those things which they all abhorred, and each of those things should be forgiven which had been done or said to him, on condition that they all, with one consent, would be obedient to him, without deceit. And they then established full friendship, by word and by pledge, on either half, and declared every Danish king an outlaw from England for ever. Then, during Lent, king Ethelred came home to his own people; and he was gladly received by them all. Then, after Sweyn was dead, Canute sat with his army at Gainsborough until Easter; and it was agreed between him and the people of Lindsey that they should find him horses, and that afterwards they should all go out together, and plunder. Then came king Ethelred thither, to Lindsey, with his full force, before they were ready: and then they plundered, and burned, and slew all the people whom they could reach. And Canute went away out with his fleet, and thus the poor people were deceived through him, and then he went southward until he came to Sandwich; and there he caused the hostages to be put on shore who had been delivered to his father, and cut off their hands, and ears, and noses. And besides all these evils, the king ordered the army which lay at Greenwich to be paid twenty-one thousand pounds. And in this year, on the eve of St. Michael's mass, came the great sea-flood wide throughout this land, and ran so far up as it never before had done, and washed away many towns, and a countless number of people

A. 1015. In this year was the great council at Oxford; and there Edric the ealdorman betrayed Sigeferth and Morcar, the chief thanes in the Seven Boroughs. He allured them into his chamber, and there within they were cruelly slain. And the king then took all their possessions, and ordered Sigeferth's relict to be taken, and to be brought to Malmesbury. Then, after a little space, Edmund the etheling went there and took the woman, contrary to the king's will, and had her for his wife. Then, before the Nativity of St. Mary, the etheling went thence, from the west, north to the Five Boroughs, and soon took possession of all Sigeferth's property, and Morcar's; and the people all submitted to him. And then, during the same time, came king Canute to Sandwich; and soon after went about Kent into Wessex, until he came to the mouth of the Frome: and then he ravaged in Dorset, and in Wiltshire, and in Somerset. Then lay the king sick at Corsham. Then gathered Edric the ealdorman forces, and the etheling Edmund in the north. When they came together, then would the ealdorman betray the etheling, but he was not able: and they then parted without a battle on that account, and gave way to their foes. And Edric the ealdorman then enticed forty ships from the king, and then went over to Canute. And the men of Wessex submitted, and delivered hostages, and horsed the army; and then was it there until mid-winter.

A. 1016. In this year came Canute with his army, and Edric the ealdorman with him, over Thames into Mercia at Cricklade. And then they went to Warwickshire, during the midwinter's tide, and ravaged, and burned, and slew all that they could come at. Then began the etheling Edmund to gather his forces. When the forces were assembled, then would it not content them except it so were that the king were there with them, and they might have the help of the citizens of London: then gave they up the expedition, and each man went him away home. Then after that tide, the forces were again called out, so that each man, who was able to go, should come forth, under full penalties; and they sent to the king at London, and prayed him that he would come to meet the forces with such help as he could gather. When they all had come together, then it availed them nothing more than it oft before had done

Then was it made known to the king that they would betray him; they who ought to have been of aid to him. Then left he the forces and returned to London. Then rode the etheling Edmund into North-humbria to Utred the earl, and every man thought that they would assemble forces against king Canute. Then marched they into Staffordshire, and into Shropshire, and to Chester; and they plundered on their part, and Canute on his part. He went out through Buckinghamshire into Bedfordshire, and thence to Huntingdonshire, and so into Northamptonshire along the fens to Stamford, and then into Lincolnshire; then thence to Nottinghamshire, and so to North-humbria towards York. When Utred heard this, then left he off his plundering, and hastened northwards, and then submitted, from need, and all the North-humbrians with him; and he delivered hostages: and, notwithstanding, they slew him, through the counsel of Edric the ealdorman, and Thurkytel, son of Nafan, with him. And then, after that, king Canute appointed Eric to be his earl in North-humbria, in like manner as Utred had been; and afterwards went southward, by another way, all to the west: and then before Easter, came all the army to their ships. And the etheling Edmund went to London to his father. And then, after Easter, went king Canute with all his ships towards London. Then befell it that king Ethelred died, before the ships arrived. He ended his days on St. George's mass day, and he held his kingdom with great toil and under great difficulties the while that his life lasted. And then, after his end, all the peers who were in London, and the citizens, chose Edmund to be king: and he strenuously defended his kingdom the while that his time lasted. Then came the ships to Greenwich at Rogation days. And within a little space they went to London, and they dug a great ditch on the south side, and dragged their ships to the west side of the bridge; and then afterwards they ditched the city around, so that no one could go either in or out: and they repeatedly fought against the city; but the citizens strenuously withstood them. Then had the king Edmund, before that, gone out; and then he over-ran Wessex, and all the people submitted to him. And soon after that he fought against the army at Pen, near Gillingham. And a second battle he fought, after mid-summer, at Sherston; and ther

much slaughter was made on either side, and the armies of themselves separated. In that battle was Edric the ealdorman, and Ælmer darling, helping the army against king Edmund. And then gathered he his forces for the third time, and went to London, all north of Thames, and so out through Clayhanger; and relieved the citizens, and drove the army in flight to their ships. And then, two days after, the king went over at Brentford, and there fought against the army, and put them to flight: and there many of the English people were drowned, from their own carelessness; they who went before the forces, and would take booty. And after that the king went into Wessex, and collected his forces. Then went the army, soon, to London, and beset the city around, and strongly fought against it, as well by water as by land. But the Almighty God delivered it.

The enemy went then, after that, from London, with their ships, into the Orwell, and there went up, and proceeded into Mercia, and destroyed and burned whatsoever they over-ran, as is their wont, and provided themselves with food: and they conducted, as well their ships as their droves, into the Medway. Then king Edmund assembled, for the fourth time, all his forces, and went over the Thames at Brentford, and went into Kent; and the army fled before him, with their horses, into Sheppey: and the king slew as many of them as he could overtake. And Edric the ealdorman went then to meet the king at Aylesford: than which no measure could be more ill-advised.

The army then went again up into Essex, and passed into Mercia, and destroyed whatever it over-ran.

When the king learned that the army was upward, then assembled he, for the fifth time, all the English nation, and followed after them, and overtook them in Essex, at the down which is called Assingdon: and there they strenuously joined battle. Then did Edric the ealdorman, as he had oft before done, begin the flight first with the Maisevethians, and so betrayed his royal lord and the whole people of the English race. There Canute had the victory; and all the English nation fought against him. There was slain bishop Ednoth,* and abbat Wulsy, and Elfric the ealdorman,

* Of Dorchester

and Godwin the ealdorman of Lindsey, and Ulfkytel of East-Anglia, and Ethelward, son of Ethelwine* the ealdorman; and all the nobility of the English race was there destroyed.

Then, after this battle, went king Canute up with his army into Gloucestershire, where he learned that king Edmund was.

Then advised Edric the ealdorman, and the counsellors who were there, that the kings should be mutually reconciled. And they delivered hostages mutually; and the kings came together at Olney near Deerhurst, and then confirmed their friendship as well by pledge as by oath, and settled the tribute for the army. And they then separated with this reconcilement: and Edmund obtained Wessex, and Canute Mercia and the northern district. The army then went to their ships with the things they had taken. And the men of London made a truce with the army, and bought themselves peace: and the army brought their ships to London, and took up their winter-quarters therein. Then, at St. Andrew's mass, died king Edmund; and his body lies at Glastonbury, with his grandfather Edgar. And in the same year died Wulfgar, abbat of Abingdon; and Ethelsy succeeded to the abbacy.

A. 1017. In this year king Canute obtained the whole realm of the English race, and divided it into four parts: Wessex to himself, and East-Anglia to Thurkill, and Mercia to Edric, and North-humbria to Eric. And in this year was Edric the ealdorman slain in London, very justly, and Norman, son of Leofwin the ealdorman, and Ethelward, son of Ethelmar the great, and Britric, son of Elphege, in Devonshire. And king Canute banished Edwy the etheling, and afterwards commanded him to be slain, and Edwy king of the churls. And then, before the Kalends of August, the king commanded the relict of king Ethelred, Richard's daughter, to be fetched for his wife; that was Elfgive in English, Emma in French.

A. 1017. This year Canute was chosen king.

A. 1018. In this year the tribute was delivered throughout the whole English nation; that was altogether, two and

* Called Ethelsy in some MSS

seventy thousand pounds, besides that which the townsmen of London paid, which was ten and a half thousand pounds. And then some of the army went to Denmark, and forty ships remained with king Canute. And the Danes and the Angles agreed, at Oxford, to live under Edgar's law. And this year abbat Ethelsy died at Abingdon, and Ethelwine succeeded him.

A. 1019. This year king Canute went with forty ships to Denmark, and there abode all the winter.

A. 1019. And this winter died archbishop Elfstan:* he was named Living; and he was a very provident man, both as to God and as to the world.

A. 1020. In this year died archbishop Living: and king Canute came again to England. And then, at Easter, there was a great council at Cirencester: then was outlawed Ethelward the ealdorman, and Edwy, king of the churls. And in this year went the king to Assingdon, and archbishop Wulstan [II.],† and Thurkyl the earl, and many bishops and also abbats, and many monks with them, and consecrated the minster at Assingdon. And Ethelnoth the monk, who was dean at Christ-Church, was in the same year, on the Ides of November, consecrated bishop at Christ-Church,‡ by archbishop Wulfstan.

A. 1020. And caused to be built there a minster of stone and lime, for the souls of the men who there were slain, and gave it to one of his priests, whose name was Stigand.

A. 1021. In this year, at Martin-mass, king Canute outlawed Thurkyl the earl. And bishop Elfgar,§ the almsgiver, died on Christmas-morn.

A. 1022. This year king Canute went out with his ships to the Isle of Wight. Archbishop Ethelnoth went to Rome, and was there received by Benedict, the honourable pope, with much worship; and he, with his own hands, put his pall upon him, and very honourably consecrated him archbishop, and blessed him, on the Nones of October. And the archbishop soon after, on the self-same day, sang mass therewith: and then thereafter was honourably entertained by the same pope, and also himself took the pall from St. Peter's altar;

* Of Canterbury.
† Of York.
‡ Canterbury.
§ Of Elmham.

and then afterwards he blithely went home to his country. And abbat Leofwine, who had been unjustly driven out from Ely, was his companion; and he cleared himself of everything that was said against him, as the pope instructed him, in the presence of the archbishop, and of all the fellowship which was with him.

A. 1022. And afterwards with the pall he there performed mass as the pope instructed him: and he feasted after that with the pope; and afterwards went home with a full blessing.

A. 1023. This year king Canute came again to England, and Thurkyl and he were reconciled; and he committed Denmark and his son to the keeping of Thurkyl; and the king took Thurkyl's son with him to England. This year died archbishop Wulfstan:* and Elfric succeeded him; and archbishop Ethelnoth blessed him at Canterbury. This year king Canute, within London, in St. Paul's minster, gave full leave to archbishop Ethelnoth and Bishop Brithwine,† and to all the servants of God who were with them, that they might take up from the tomb the archbishop St. Elphege. And they then did so, on the sixth before the Ides of June. And the illustrious king, and the archbishop and suffragan bishops, and earls, and very many clergy, and also laity, carried, in a ship, his holy body over the Thames to Southwark, and there delivered the holy martyr to the archbishop and his companions; and they then, with a worshipful band and sprightly joy, bore him to Rochester. Then, on the third day, came Emma the lady, with her royal child Harda-Canute: and then they all, with much state and bliss, and songs of praise, bore the holy archbishop into Canterbury; and then worshipfully brought him into Christ's Church, on the third before the Ides of June. Again, after that, on the eighth day, the seventeenth before the Kalends of July, archbishop Ethelnoth, and bishop Elfsy,‡ and bishop Brithwine, and all those who were with them, deposited St. Elphege's holy body on the north side of Christ's altar, to the glory of God, and the honour of the holy archbishop, and the eternal health of all who there daily seek to his holy body with a devout heart and with all humility. God Almighty have mercy on all Christian men, through St Elphege's holy merits.

* Of York. † Of Sherborne. ‡ Of Winchester

A. 1023. And he caused St. Elphege's remains to be borne from London to Canterbury.

A. 1023. And the same year archbishop Ethelnoth bore St. Elphege's, the archbishop's, remains to Canterbury, from London.

A. 1024.

A. 1025. This year king Canute went to Denmark, with his ships, to the holm by the holy river. And there came against him Ulf and Eglaf, and a very great army, as well a land-army as a fleet from Sweden. And there very many men were destroyed on king Canute's side, as well of Danish-men as of English: and the Swedes had possession of the place of carnage.

A. 1026. This year bishop Elfric* went to Rome, and received his pall of Pope John, on the 2d before the Ides of November.

A. 1027

A. 1028. This year king Canute went from England, with fifty ships of English thanes, to Norway, and drove king Olave out of the land, and possessed himself of all that land.

A. 1029. This year king Canute came home again to England. And so soon as he came to England, he gave to Christ-Church at Canterbury the haven at Sandwich, and all the dues that arise thereof. on either side of the haven: so that, lo! when the flood is all at the highest, and all at the fullest, if a ship be floating so nigh the land as it nighest may, and there be a man standing in the ship, and he have a taper ax in his . . . .

A. 1030. This year was king Olave slain in Norway by his own people; and afterwards was sainted. And in this year, before that, died Hacon, the doughty earl, at sea.

A. 1030. This year came king Olave again into Norway, and the people gathered against him, and fought against him; and he was there slain.

A. 1031. This year king Canute went to Rome. And so soon as he came home then went he into Scotland: and the king of the Scots, Malcolm [II.], submitted to him, and became his man, but that he held only a little while, and two other kings, Macbeth and Jehmar. And Robert, earl of Normandy, went to Jerusalem, and there died; and William, who was afterwards king in England, succeeded to Normandy, though he was a child.

* Of York.

A. 1032. In this year appeared the wild fire, such as no man before remembered; and moreover on all sides it did harm, in many places. And in the same year died Elfsy,* bishop at Winchester; and Alwyn, the king's priest, succeeded thereto.

A. 1033. This year died bishop Leofsy, and his body rests at Worcester: and Brihtege was raised to his see.† In this year died Merewith bishop of Somerset;‡ and he is buried at Glastonbury.

A. 1034. This year died bishop Etheric,§ and he lies at Ramsey. This same year died Malcolm [II.], king in Scotland.

A. 1035. This year died king Canute; and Harold, his son, succeeded to the kingdom. He departed at Shaftesbury, on the 2d before the Ides of November; and they bore him thence to Winchester, and there they buried him. And Elfgive, Emma, the lady, then sat there within: and Harold, who said that he was son of Canute and of the other Elfgive, though it was not true; he sent thither, and caused to be taken from her all the best treasures, which she could not withhold, that king Canute had possessed; and nevertheless she still sat there within, as long as she could.

A. 1036. This year Alfred the innocent etheling, son of king Ethelred, came in hither, and would go to his mother, who sat at Winchester; but that neither Godwin the earl, nor the other men who had much power, would allow him because the cry was then greatly in favour of Harold, though that was unjust.

But Godwin him then let,
and him in bonds set;
and his companions he dispersed;
and some divers ways slew;
some they for money sold,
some cruelly slaughtered,
some did they bind,
some did they blind,
some did they mutilate,
some did they scalp:
nor was a bloodier deed
done in this land
since the Danes came,
and here accepted peace.
Now is our trust in
the beloved God,
that they are in bliss,
blithely with Christ,
who were without guilt
so miserably slain.
The etheling still lived,
every ill they him vowed,
until it was decreed
that he should be led

* Godwin and Dugdale make Elfsy or Elsinus to be translated to Canterbury, 1038. † Worcester. ‡ Wells. § Of Dorchester.

to Ely-bury,
thus bound.
Soon as he came to land,
in the ship he was blinded;
and him thus blind
they brought to the monks:
and he there abode
the while that he lived.
After that him they buried,
as well was his due
full worthily,
as he worthy was,
at the west end,
the steeple well-nigh,
in the south aisle.
His soul is with Christ.

A. 1036. This year died king Canute at Shaftesbury, and he is buried at Winchester in the Old-minster: and he was king over all England very nigh twenty years. And soon after his decease there was a meeting of all the witan at Oxford; and Leofric the earl, and almost all the thanes north of the Thames, and the 'lithsmen' at London, chose Harold for chief of all England, him and his brother Hardecanute who was in Denmark. And Godwin the earl and all the chief men of Wessex withstood it as long as they could; but they were unable to effect any thing in opposition to it. And then it was decreed that Elfgive, Hardecanute's mother, should dwell at Winchester with the king's, her son's, household, and hold all Wessex in his power; and Godwin the earl was their man. Some men said of Harold that he was son of king Canute and of Elfgive daughter of Elfelm the ealdorman, but it seemed quite incredible to many men; and he was nevertheless full king over all England.

A. 1037. This year was Harold chosen king over all, and Hardecanute forsaken, because he stayed too long in Denmark; and then they drove out his mother Elfgive, the queen, without any kind of mercy, against the stormy winter: and she came then to Bruges beyond sea; and Baldwin the earl* there well received her, and there kept her the while she had need. And before, in this year, died Eafy the noble dean at Evesham.

A. 1037. This year was driven out Elfgive, king Canute's relict; she was king Hardecanute's mother; and she then sought the protection of Baldwin south of the sea, and he gave her a dwelling in Bruges, and protected and kept her, the while that she there was.

A. 1038. This year died Ethelnoth the good archbishop,† and bishop Ethelric in Sussex,‡ who desired of God that he would not let him live, any while, after his beloved father Ethelnoth; and accordingly, within seven days after, he departed, and bishop Elfric in East-Anglia,§ and bishop Briteagus in Worcestershire on the 13th before the Kalends of January. And then bishop Eadsine succeeded to the arch-

* Of Flanders. † Of Canterbury. ‡ Selsey. § Elmham.

bishopric, and Grinketel to the bishopric in Sussex, and bishop Living to Worcestershire and to Gloucestershire.

A. 1038. This year died Ethelnoth, the good archbishop, on the Kalends of November, and a little after, Ethelric bishop in Sussex, and then before Christmas, Briteagus bishop in Worcestershire, and soon after, Elfric bishop in East-Anglia.

A. 1039. This year was the great wind: and bishop Brithmar died at Lichfield. And the Welsh slew Edwin brother of Leofric the earl, and Thurkil, and Elfget, and very many good men with them. And this year also came Hardecanute to Bruges, where his mother was.

A. 1039. This year king Harold died at Oxford, on the 16th before the Kalends of April, and he was buried at Westminster. And he ruled England four years and sixteen weeks; and in his days sixteen ships were retained in pay, at the rate of eight marks for each rower, in like manner as had been before done in the days of king Canute. And in this same year came king Hardecanute to Sandwich, seven days before midsummer. And he was soon acknowledged as well by English as by Danes; though his advisers afterwards grievously requited it, when they decreed that seventy-two ships should be retained in pay, at the rate of eight marks for each rower. And in this same year the sester of wheat went up to fifty-five pence, and even further.

A. 1040. This year died king Harold. Then sent they after Hardecanute to Bruges; thinking that they did well. And he then came hither with sixty ships before midsummer, and then imposed a very heavy tribute, so that it could hardly be levied; that was eight marks for each rower, and all were then averse to him who before had desired him; and moreover he did nothing royal during his whole reign. He caused the dead Harold to be taken up, and had him cast into a fen. This year archbishop Eadsine went to Rome.

A. 1040. This year was the tribute paid; that was twenty-one thousand pounds and ninety-nine pounds. And after that they paid to thirty-two ships, eleven thousand and forty-eight pounds. And, in this same year, came Edward, son of king Ethelred, hither to land from Weal-land; he was brother of king Hardecanute: they were both sons of Elfgive; Emma, who was daughter of earl Richard.

A. 1041. This year Hardecanute caused all Worcestershire to be ravaged, on account of his two household servants, who demanded the heavy impost; when the people slew them in the town within the minster. This year, soon after, came from beyond sea Edward, his brother on the mother's side, king

Ethelred's son, who before for many years had been driven from his country; and yet was he sworn king: and he then abode thus in his brother's family while he lived. And in this year also Hardecanute betrayed Eadulf the earl.* while under his protection: and he became then a heher of his "wed." And this year bishop Egelric† was ordained at York, on the 3rd before the Ides of January.

A. 1041. This year died king Hardecanute at Lambeth, on the 6th before the Ides of June: and he was king over all England two years wanting ten days; and he is buried in the Old-minster at Winchester with king Canute his father. And his mother, for his soul, gave to the New-minster the head of St. Valentine the martyr. And before he was buried, all people chose Edward for king at London: may he hold it the while that God shall grant it to him! And all that year was a very heavy time, in many things and divers, as well in respect to ill seasons as to the fruits of the earth. And so much cattle perished in the year as no man before remembered, as well through various diseases as through tempests. And in this same time died Elsinus abbat of Peterborough; and then Arnwius the monk was chosen abbat, because he was a very good man, and of great simplicity.

A. 1042. This year died king Hardecanute as he stood at his drink, and he suddenly fell to the earth with a terrible convulsion: and then they who were there nigh took hold of him; and he after that spake not one word: and he died on the 6th before the Ides of June. And all people then acknowledged Edward for king, as was his true natural right.

A. 1043. This year was Edward consecrated king at Winchester, on the first day of Easter, with much pomp; and then was Easter on the third before the Nones of April. Archbishop Eadsine consecrated him, and before all the people well instructed him; and for his own need, and all the people's, well admonished him. And Stigand the priest was blessed bishop of the East-Angles.‡ And soon after, the king caused all the lands which his mother possessed to be seized into his hands, and took from her all that she possessed in gold, and in silver, and in things unspeakable, because she had before held it too closely with him. And soon after, Stigand was deposed from his bishopric, and all that he possessed was seized into the king's hands, because he was nearest to his mother's counsel, and she went just as he advised her, as people thought.

* Of Northumbria. † Of Durham. ‡ Elmham.

A. 1043. This year was Edward consecrated king at Winchester on the first day of Easter. And this year, fourteen days before Andrew's-mass, the king was advised to ride from Gloucester, and Leofric the earl, and Godwin the earl, and Sigwarth [Siward] the earl, with their followers, to Winchester, unawares upon the lady [Emma]; and they bereaved her of all the treasures which she possessed, they were not to be told, because before that she had been very hard with the king her son; inasmuch as she had done less for him than he would, before he was king, and also since: and they suffered her after that to remain therein.

This year king Edward took the daughter [Edgitha] of Godwin the earl for his wife. And in this same year died bishop Brithwin, and he held the bishopric thirty-eight years, that was the bishopric of Sherborne, and Herman the king's priest succeeded to the bishopric. And in this year Wulfric was hallowed abbat of St. Augustine's at Christmas, on Stephen's mass-day, by leave of the king, and, on account of his great infirmity, of abbat Elfstan.

A. 1044. This year archbishop Eadsine* gave up the bishopric by reason of his infirmity, and he blessed thereto Siward abbat of Abingdon, as bishop, by the king's leave and counsel, and Godwin's the earl's: it was known to few men else before it was done, because the archbishop thought that some other man would obtain or buy it whom he could less trust in, and be pleased with, if more men should know of it. And in this year was a very great famine over all England, and corn was so dear as no man before remembered; so that the sester of wheat went up to sixty pence, and even further. And in the same year the king went out to Sandwich with thirty-five ships: and Athelstan the churchwarden obtained the abbacy at Abingdon. And Stigand re-obtained his bishopric. And in the same year king Edward took Edgitha, daughter of Godwin the earl, to wife, ten days before Candlemas.

A. 1044. This year died Living bishop in Devonshire, and Leofric succeeded thereto: he was the king's priest. And in this same year died Elfstan abbat of St. Augustine's, on the third before the Nones of July And in this same year was outlawed Osgod Clapa.

A. 1045. In this year died bishop Brithwin† on the 10th before the Kalends of May; and king Edward gave the bishopric to Herman his priest. And in the same summer king Edward went out with his ships to Sandwich; and there so great a force was gathered, that no man had

* Of Canterbury.

† Of Ramsbury, afterwards removed to Salisbury.

seen a greater fleet in this land. And in this same year died bishop Living* on the 13th before the Kalends of April; and the king gave the bishopric to Leofric his priest. This year died Elfward bishop of London, on the 8th before the Kalends of August. He was first abbat of Evesham, and greatly advanced the minster whilst he was there. He went then to Ramsey, and there gave up his life. And Manni was chosen abbat,† and ordained on the 4th before the Ides of August. And in this year was driven out Gunnilde, the noble woman, king Canute's niece; and she, after that, stayed at Bruges a long while, and afterwards went to Denmark.

A. 1045. This year died Grimkytel bishop in Sussex, and Heca the king's priest succeeded thereto. And in this year died Alwyn, bishop of Winchester, on the 4th before the Kalends of September; and Stigand, bishop to the north,‡ succeeded thereto. And in the same year Sweyn the earl went out to Baldwin's land§ to Bruges and abode there all the winter; and then in summer he went out.

A. 1046. In this year Sweyn the earl went into Wales, and Griffin the Northern king‖ went with him; and they delivered hostages to him. As he was on his way homewards, then commanded he to be brought unto him the abbess of Leominster: and he had her as long as he listed; and after that he let her go home. And in this same year Osgod Clapa was outlawed before mid-winter. And in this same year, after Candlemas, came the severe winter, with frost and with snow, and with all kinds of tempestuous weather, so that there was no man then alive who could remember so severe a winter as this was, as well through mortality of men as murrain of cattle; even birds and fishes perished through the great cold and famine.

A. 1046. This year died Brithwin, bishop in Wiltshire, and Herman was appointed to his see. In that year king Edward gathered a large shipforce at Sandwich, on account of the threatening of Magnus in Norway: but his and Sweyn's contention in Denmark hindered his coming here.

A. 1046. This year died Athelstan, abbat of Abingdon, and Sparhawk, monk of St. Edmund's-bury, succeeded him. And in this same year died bishop Siward, and archbishop Eadsine again obtained the whole bishopric.¶ And in this same year Lothen and Irling came with twenty-five ships to Sandwich, and there took unspeakable booty, in men, and in

* Of Crediton. † Of Evesham. ‡ Of Elmham.
§ Flanders. ‖ Of North Wales. ¶ Of Canterbury.

gold, and in silver, so that no man knew how much it all was. And they then went about Thanet, and would there do the like; but the land's folk strenuously withstood them, and denied them as well landing as water; and thence utterly put them to flight. And they betook themselves then into Essex, and there they ravaged, and took men, and property, and whatsoever they might find. And they betook themselves then east to Baldwine's land, and there they sold what they had plundered; and after that went their way east, whence they before had come.

A. 1046. In this year was the great synod at St. Remi's [Rheims]. Thereat was Leo the pope, and the archbishop of Burgundy [Lyons], and the archbishop of Besançon, and the archbishop of Treves, and the archbishop of Rheims; and many men besides, both clergy and laity. And king Edward sent thither bishop Dudoc,* and Wulfric abbat of St. Augustine's, and abbat Elfwin,† that they might make known to the king what should be there resolved on for Christendom. And in this same year king Edward went out to Sandwich with a great fleet. And Sweyn the earl, son of Godwin the earl, came in to Bosham with seven ships; and he obtained the king's protection, and he was promised that he should be held worthy of every thing which he before possessed. Then Harold the earl, his brother, and Beorn the earl contended that he should not be held worthy of any of the things which the king had granted to them: but a protection of four days was appointed him to go to his ships. Then befell it during this, that word came to the king that hostile ships lay westward, and were ravaging. Then went Godwin the earl west about with two of the king's ships; the one commanded Harold the earl, and the other Tosty his brother; and forty-two of the people's ships. Then Harold the earl was removed from the king's ship which Harold the earl before had commanded. Then went they west to Pevensey, and lay there weather-bound. Upon this, after two days, then came Sweyn the earl thither, and spoke with his father, and with Beorn the earl, and begged of Beorn that he would go with him to the king at Sandwich, and help him to the king's friendship: and he granted it. Then went they as if they would go to the king. Then whilst they were riding, then begged Sweyn of him that he would go with him to his ships: saying that his seamen would depart from him unless he should at the soonest come thither. Then went they both where his ships lay. When they came thither, then begged Sweyn the earl of him that he would go with him on ship-board. He strenuously refused, so long as until his seamen seized him, and threw him into the boat, and bound him, and rowed to the ship, and put him there aboard. Then they hoisted up their sails and ran west to Exmouth, and had him with them until they slew him: and they took the body and buried it in a church. And then his friends and litsmen came from London, and took him up, and bore him to Winchester to the Old-minster: and he is there buried with king Canute his uncle. And Sweyn went then east to Baldwin's land, and sat down there all the winter at Bruges, with his full protection. And in the same year died Eadnoth [II.] bishop‡ of the north and Ulf was made bishop.

A. 1047. In this year died bishop Grinketel; he was

* Of Wells. † Of Ramsey. ‡ Of Dorchester.

bishop* in Sussex, and he lies in Christ-Church, at Canterbury; and king Edward gave the bishopric to Heca his priest. And in this same year died bishop Alwyn† on the 4th before the Kalends of September; and king Edward gave the bishopric to bishop Stigand. And Athelstan abbat of Abingdon died in the same year, on the 4th before the Kalends of April: then was Easter-day on the 3rd before the Nones of April. And there was over all England a very great mortality in the same year.

A. 1047. This year died Living the eloquent bishop, on the 10th before the Kalends of April, and he had three bishoprics; one in Devonshire, and in Cornwall, and in Worcester. Then Leofric‡ succeeded to Devonshire and to Cornwall, and bishop Aldred to Worcester. And in this year Osgod, the master of the horse, was outlawed: and Magnus§ won Denmark.

A. 1047. In this year there was a great council in London at Mid-lent, and nine ships of lightermen were discharged, and five remained behind. In this same year came Sweyn the earl into England. And in this same year was the great synod at Rome, and king Edward sent thither bishop Heroman and bishop Aldred; and they came thither on Easter eve. And afterwards the pope held a synod at Verceili, and bishop Ulf came thereto; and well nigh would they have broken his staff, if he had not given very great gifts; because he knew not how to do his duty so well as he should. And in this year died archbishop Eadsine, on the 4th before the Kalends of November.

A. 1048. In this year was a great earthquake wide throughout England. In the same year Sandwich and the Isle of Wight were ravaged, and the chief men that were there slain. And after that king Edward and the earls went out with their ships. And in the same year bishop Siward resigned the bishopric on account of his infirmity, and went to Abingdon, and archbishop Eadsine again received the bishopric:‖ and he [Siward] died within eight weeks after, on the 10th before the Kalends of November.

A. 1048. This year was the severe winter: and this year died Alwyn, bishop of Winchester, and bishop Stigand was raised to his see. And before that, in the same year, died Grinketel, bishop in Sussex, and Heca the priest succeeded to the bishopric. And Sweyn also sent hither, begging assistance against Magnus, king of Norway; that fifty ships should be sent to his aid. But it seemed unadvisable to all people: and it was then hindered by reason that Magnus had a great ship force. And he then drove out Sweyn, and with much man-slaying won the land: and the

* Of Selsey. † Of Winchester.
‡ Leofric removed the see to Exeter.
§ King of Norway. ‖ Of Canterbury.

Danes paid him much money and acknowledged him as king. And that same year Magnus died.

A. 1048. In this year king Edward appointed Robert, of London, archbishop of Canterbury, during Lent. And in the same Lent he went to Rome after his pall: and the king gave the bishopric of London to Sparhafoc abbat of Abingdon; and the king gave the abbacy of Abingdon to bishop Rodulf, his kinsman. Then came the archbishop from Rome one day before St. Peter's-mass-eve, and entered on his archiepiscopal see at Christ's Church on St. Peter's mass-day; and soon after went to the king. Then came abbat Sparhafoc to him with the king's writ and seal, in order that he should consecrate him bishop of London. Then the archbishop refused, and said that the pope had forbidden it him. Then went the abbat to the archbishop again for that purpose, and there desired episcopal ordination; and the archbishop constantly refused him, and said that the pope had forbidden it him. Then went the abbat to London, and occupied the bishopric which the king before had granted him, with his full leave, all the summer and the harvest. And then came Eustace* from beyond sea soon after the bishop, and went to the king, and spoke with him that which he then would, and went then homeward. When he came to Canterbury, east, then took he refreshment there, and his men, and went to Dover. When he was some mile or more on this side of Dover, then he put on his breast-plate, and so did all his companions, and went to Dover. When they came thither, then would they lodge themselves where they chose. Then came one of his men, and would abide in the house of a householder against his will, and wounded the householder; and the householder slew the other. Then Eustace got upon his horse, and his companions upon theirs; and they went to the householder, and slew him within his own dwelling; and they went up towards the town, and slew, as well within as without, more than twenty men. And the townsmen slew nineteen men on the other side, and wounded they knew not how many. And Eustace escaped with a few men, and went again to the king, and made known to him, in part, how they had fared. And the king became very wroth with the townsmen. And the king sent off Godwin the earl, and bade him go into Kent in a hostile manner to Dover: for Eustace had made it appear to the king, that it had been more the fault of the townsmen than his: but it was not so. And the earl would not consent to the inroad, because he was loath to injure his own people. Then the king sent after all his council, and bade them come to Gloucester, nigh the aftermass of St. Mary. Then had the Welshmen erected a castle in Herefordshire among the people of Sweyn the earl, and wrought every kind of harm and disgrace to the king's men there about which they could. Then came Godwin the earl, and Sweyn the earl, and Harold the earl, together at Beverstone, and many men with them, in order that they might go to their royal lord, and to all the peers who were assembled with him, in order that they might have the advice of the king and his aid, and of all this council, how they might avenge the king's disgrace, and the whole nation's. Then were the Welshmen with the king beforehand, and accused the earls, so that they might not come within his eyes' sight; because they said that they were coming thither in order to betray the king. Thither had come

* Earl of Boulogne.

Siward the earl * and Leofric the earl,† and much people with them, from the north, to the king; and it was made known to the earl Godwin and his sons, that the king and the men who were with him, were taking counsel concerning them: and they arrayed themselves on the other hand resolutely, though it were loathful to them that they should stand against their royal lord. Then the peers on either side decreed that every kind of evil should cease: and the king gave the peace of God and his full friendship to either side. Then the king and his peers decreed that a council of all the nobles should be held for the second time in London at the harvest equinox; and the king directed the army to be called out, as well south of the Thames as north, all that was in any way most eminent. Then declared they Sweyn the earl an outlaw, and summoned Godwin the earl and Harold the earl, to the council, as quickly as they could effect it. When they had come thither, then were they summoned into the council. Then required he safe conduct and hostages, so that he might come, unbetrayed, into the council and out of the council. Then the king demanded all the thanes whom the earls before had; and they granted them all into his hands. Then the king sent again to them, and commanded them that they should come with twelve men to the king's council. Then the earl again required safe conduct and hostages, that he might defend himself against each of those things which were laid to him. Then were the hostages refused him; and he was allowed a safe conduct for five nights to go out of the land. And then Godwin the earl and Sweyn the earl went to Bosham, and shoved out their ships, and betook themselves beyond sea, and sought Baldwin's protection, and abode there all the winter. And Harold the earl went west to Ireland, and was there all the winter within the king's protection. And soon after this happened, then put away the king the lady who had been consecrated his queen,‡ and caused to be taken from her all which she possessed, in land, and in gold, and in silver, and in all things, and delivered her to his sister at Wherwell. And abbat Sparhafoc was then driven out of the bishopric of London, and William the king's priest was ordained thereto. And then Odda was appointed earl over Devonshire, and over Somerset, and over Dorset, and over the Welsh. And Algar, the son of Leofric the earl, was appointed to the earldom which Harold before held.

A. 1049. In this year the emperor gathered a countless force against Baldwin§ of Bruges: by reason that he had destroyed the palace at Nimeguen, and also, that he had done many other injuries to him: the force was not to be told which he had gathered. There was Leo [IX.] the pope of Rome, and many great men of many nations. He sent also to king Edward, and begged the aid of his ships, in order that he should not suffer him to escape from him by water. And he went then to Sandwich, and there continued lying with a great fleet, until the emperor obtained of Bald-

* Of Northumbria. † Of Mercia.
‡ Editha. § Earl of Flanders.

win all that he would. Thither came back again Sweyn the earl to king Edward, and requested land of him, from which he might maintain himself. But Harold his brother contended, and Beorn the earl, that they should not give up to him any thing which the king had given to them. He came hither with false pretences; saying that he would be his man, and begged of Beorn the earl that he would aid him: but the king refused him every thing. Then went Sweyn to his ships at Bosham; and Godwin the earl went from Sandwich with forty-two ships to Pevensey, and Beorn the earl went forth with him; and then the king gave leave to all the Mercians to go home: and they did so. Then was it made known to the king, that Osgod lay at Ulps with thirty-nine ships. Then the king sent after the ships which lay at the Nore, that he might send after him. But Osgod fetched his wife from Bruges, and went back again with six ships; and the others landed in Essex, at Eadulfness, and there did harm, and went again to their ships. Then lay Godwin the earl and Beorn the earl at Pevensey with their ships. Then came Sweyn the earl with fraud, and begged of Beorn the earl that he would be his companion to the king at Sandwich; saying that he would swear oaths to him, and be faithful to him. Then Beorn concluded that, on account of their kindred, he would not deceive him. Then took he three companions with him, and they then rode to Bosham, as if they would go to Sandwich, where Sweyn's ships lay. And they soon bound him, and led him on shipboard; and then went to Dartmouth, and there caused him to be slain and deeply buried. But him his kinsman Harold thence fetched and bore to Winchester, and there buried with king Canute his uncle. And then the king and all the army declared Sweyn an outlaw. Eight ships he had before he murdered Beorn; after that, all forsook him except two: and then he went to Bruges, and there abode with Baldwin. And in this year died Eadnoth, the good bishop, in Oxfordshire,* and Oswy abbat of Thorney, and Wulfnoth abbat of Westminster: and king Edward gave the bishopric to Ulf his priest, and unworthily bestowed it. And in this same year king Edward discharged nine ships from pay; and they went away, ships and all; and five ships remained be-

* Dorchester.

hind, and the king promised them twelve months' pay. And in the same year went bishop Heroman* and bishop Aldred† to Rome, to the pope, on the king's errand.

A. 1049. This year Sweyn came again to Denmark, and Harold, uncle of Magnus, went to Norway after Magnus was dead; and the Normans acknowledged him: and he sent hither to land concerning peace. And Sweyn also sent from Denmark, and begged of king Edward the aid of his ships. They were to be at least fifty ships: but all people opposed it. And this year also there was an earthquake, on the Kalends of May, in many places in Worcester, and in Wick, and in Derby, and elsewhere; and also there was a great mortality among men, and murrain among cattle: and moreover, the wild-fire did much evil in Derbyshire and elsewhere.

A. 1050. In this year came the bishops home from Rome: and Sweyn the earl was inlawed. And in this same year died archbishop Eadsine, on the fourth before the Kalends of November; and also, in this same year, Alfric archbishop of York, on the eleventh before the Kalends of February; and his body lies at Peterborough. Then king Edward held a council in London at Mid-lent, and appointed Robert archbishop of Canterbury, and abbat Sparhafoc to London; and gave to bishop Rodulf, his kinsman, the abbacy at Abingdon. And the same year he discharged all the lightermen from pay.

A. 1050. Thither also came Sweyn the earl, who before had gone from this land to Denmark, and who there had ruined himself with the Danes. He came thither with false pretences; saying that he would again be obedient to the king. And Beorn the earl promised him that he would be of assistance to him. Then, after the reconciliation of the emperor and of Baldwin, many of the ships went home, and the king remained behind at Sandwich with a few ships; and Godwin the earl also went with forty-two ships from Sandwich to Pevensey, and Beorn the earl went with him. Then was it made known to the king that Osgod lay at Ulps with thirty-nine ships; and the king then sent after the ships which before had gone home, that he might send after him. And Osgod fetched his wife from Bruges, and they went back again with six ships. And the others landed in Sussex‡ at Eadulf-ness, and there did harm, and went again to their ships: and then a strong wind came against them, so that they were all destroyed, except four, whose crews were slain beyond sea. While Godwin the ear and Beorn the earl lay at Pevensey, then came Sweyn the earl, and begged Beorn the earl, with fraud, who was his uncle's son, that he would be his companion to the king at Sandwich, and better his affairs with him. He went then, on account of the relationship, with three companions, with him; and he led him then towards Bosham, where his ships lay: and then they bound him, and led him on ship-board. Then went he thence with

* Of Ramsbury. Heroman removed the see to Salisbury.
† Of Worcester. ‡ Essex.

him to Dartmouth, and there ordered him to be slain, and deeply buried. Afterwards he was found, and borne to Winchester, and buried with king Canute his uncle. A little before that, the men of Hastings and thereabout, fought two of his ships with their ships; and slew all the men, and brought the ships to Sandwich to the king. Eight ships he had before he betrayed Beorn; after that all forsook him except two. In the same year arrived in the Welsh Axa, from Ireland, thirty-six ships, and thereabout did harm, with the help of Griffin the Welsh king. The people were gathered together against them; bishop Aldred * was also there with them; but they had too little power. And they came unawares upon them at very early morn; and there they slew many good men, and the others escaped with the bishop: this was done on the fourth before the Kalends of August. This year died, in Oxfordshire, Oswy abbat of Thorney, and Wulfnoth abbat of Westminster; and Ulf the priest was appointed as pastor to the bishopric which Eadnoth had held; but he was after that driven away, because he did nothing bishop-like therein: so that it shameth us now to tell more about it. And bishop Siward died: he lieth at Abingdon. And this year was consecrated the great minster at Rheims: there was pope Leo [IX.] and the emperor;† and there they held a great synod concerning God's service. St. Leo the pope presided at the synod: it is difficult to have a knowledge of the bishops who came there, and how many abbats: and hence, from this land were sent two—from St. Augustine's and from Ramsey.

A. 1051. In this year came archbishop Robert hither over sea with his pall. And in this same year were banished Godwin, the earl, and all his sons from England; and he went to Bruges and his wife, and his three sons, Sweyn, and Tosty, and Grith: and Harold and Leofwine went to Ireland, and there dwelt during the winter. And in this same year died the old lady, king Edward's mother, and Hardecanute's, who was called Emma, on the second before the Ides of March; and her body lies in the Old-minster.‡ with king Canute.

A. 1051. In this year died Eadsine archbishop of Canterbury; and the king gave to Robert the Frenchman, who before had been bishop of London, the archbishopric. And Sparhafoc abbat of Abingdon succeeded to the bishopric of London; and it was afterwards taken from him before he was consecrated. And bishop Heroman and bishop Aldred went to Rome.

A. 1052. This year came Harold, the earl, from Ireland, with his ships to the mouth of the Severn, nigh the boundaries of Somerset and Devonshire, and there greatly ravaged; and the people of the land drew together against him, as well from Somerset as from Devonshire; and he put them to flight, and there slew more than thirty good thanes, besides

* Of Worcester. † Hen. III. ‡ Wincheste.

other people: and soon after that he went about Penwithstert. And then king Edward caused forty vessels to be fitted out. They lay at Sandwich many weeks; they were to lie in wait for Godwin, the earl, who had been at Bruges during the winter; and, notwithstanding, he came hither to land first, so that they knew it not. And during the time that he was here in the land, he enticed to him all the men of Kent, and all the boatmen from Hastings and everywhere there by the sea-coast, and all the East-end, and Sussex, and Surrey, and much else in addition thereto. Then all declared that they with him would die and live. When the fleet which lay at Sandwich, learned this concerning Godwin's voyage, then set they out after him. And he escaped them, and concealed himself wherever he then could; and the fleet went again to Sandwich, and so homeward to London. Then when Godwin learned that the fleet which lay at Sandwich was gone home, then went he once more to the Isle of Wight, and lay thereabout by the sea-coast so long as until they came together, he and his son earl Harold. And they did not much harm after they came together, except that they seized provisions: but they enticed to them all the land-folk by the sea-coast and also up the country; and they went towards Sandwich, and collected ever forth with them all the boatmen which they met with, and then came to Sandwich, with an overflowing army. When king Edward learned that, then sent he up after more help; but they came very late. And Godwin advanced ever towards London with his fleet until he came to Southwark, and there abode some time until the flood-tide came up. During that time he also treated with the townsmen, that they should do almost all that he would. When he had mustered all his host, then came the flood-tide; and they then soon drew their anchors, and held their way through the bridge by the south shore, and the land-force came from above, and arrayed themselves along the strand: and they then inclined with the ships towards the north shore, as if they would hem the king's ships about. The king also had a great land-force on his side, in addition to his shipmen; but it was loathful to almost all of them that they should fight against men of their own race; for there was little else there which was of much account except Englishmen, on either side; and more-

over they were unwilling that this land should be still more exposed to outlandish men, by reason that they themselves destroyed each other. Then decreed they that wise men should be sent between them; and they settled a truce on either side. And Godwin landed, and Harold his son, and from their fleet as many as to them seemed fitting. Then there was a general council: and they gave his earldom clean to Godwin, as full and as free as he before possessed it, and to his sons also all that they before possessed, and to his wife and his daughter as full and as free as they before possessed it. And they then established between them full friendship, and to all the people they promised good law. And then they outlawed all the Frenchmen who before had instituted unjust law, and judged unjust judgments, and counselled ill counsel in this land; except so many as they agreed upon, whom the king liked to have with him, who were true to him and to all his people. And bishop Robert,* and bishop William,† and bishop Ulf,‡ with difficulty escaped, with the Frenchmen who were with them, and thus got over sea. And Godwin, the earl, and Harold, and the queen,§ sat down in their possessions. Sweyn had gone before this to Jerusalem from Bruges; and he died on his way home at Constantinople on Michael's-mass. It was on the Monday after St. Mary's-mass that Godwin with his ships came to Southwark; and the morning after, on the Tuesday, they were reconciled, as it here before stands. Godwin then grew sick soon after he landed; and he afterwards departed: but he did all too little penance for the property of God which he held belonging to many holy places. And the same year came the strong wind, on Thomas's-mass-night, and did much harm in many parts. Moreover Rees, the Welsh king's‖ brother, was slain.

A. 1052. This year died Alfric, archbishop of York, a very pious man, and wise. And in the same year king Edward abolished the tribute, which king Ethelred had before imposed: that was in the nine-and-thirtieth year after he had begun it. That tax distressed all the English nation during so long a time, as it here above is written; that was ever before other taxes which were variously paid, and wherewith the people were manifestly distressed. In the same year Eustace¶ landed at Dover: he

* Of Canterbury. † Of London. ‡ Or Dorchester.
§ Editha. ‖ Of South Wales. ¶ Earl of Boulogne.

had king Edward's sister to wife. Then went his men inconsiderately after quarters, and a certain man of the town they slew; and another man of the town their companion; so that there lay seven of his companions. And much harm was there done on either side, by horse and also by weapons, until the people gathered together: and then they fled away until they came to the king at Gloucester; and he gave them protection. When Godwin, the earl, understood that such things should have happened in his earldom, then began he to gather together people over all his earldom,* and Sweyn, the earl, his son, over his, and Harold, his other son, over his earldom; and they all drew together in Gloucestershire, at Langtree, a great force and countless, all ready for battle against the king, unless Eustace were given up, and his men placed in their hands, and also the Frenchmen who were in the castle. This was done seven days before the latter mass of St. Mary. Then was king Edward sitting at Gloucester. Then sent he after Leofric, the earl,† and north after Siward the earl,‡ and begged their forces. And then they came to him; first with a moderate aid, but after they knew how it was there, in the south, then sent they north over all their earldoms, and caused to be ordered out a large force for the help of their lord; and Ralph, also, over his earldom: and then came they all to Gloucester to help the king, though it might be late. Then were they all so united in opinion with the king that they would have sought out Godwin's forces if the king had so willed. Then thought some of them that it would be a great folly that they should join battle; because there was nearly all that was most noble in England in the two armies, and they thought that they should expose the land to our foes, and cause great destruction among ourselves. Then counselled they that hostages should be given mutually; and they appointed a term at London, and thither the people were ordered out over all this north end, in Siward's earldom, and in Leofric's, and also elsewhere; and Godwin, the earl, and his sons were to come there with their defence. Then came they to Southwark, and a great multitude with them, from Wessex; but his band continually diminished the longer he stayed. And they exacted pledges for the king from all the thanes who were under Harold, the earl, his son; and then they outlawed Sweyn, the earl, his other son. Then did it not suit him to come with a defence to meet the king, and to meet the army which was with him. Then went he by night away; and the king on the morrow held a council, and, together with all the army, declared him an outlaw, him and all his sons. And he went south to Thorney, and his wife, and Sweyn his son, and Tosty and his wife, Baldwin's relation of Bruges, and Grith his son. And Harold, the earl, and Leofwine, went to Bristol in the ship which Sweyn, the earl, had before got ready for himself, and provisioned. And the king sent bishop Aldred§ to London with a force; and they were to overtake him ere he came on ship-board: but they could not or they would not. And he went out from Avonmouth, and met with such heavy weather that he with difficulty got away; and there he sustained much damage. Then went he forth to Ireland when fit weather came. And Godwin,

* Godwin's earldom consisted of Wessex, Sussex, and Kent: Sweyn's of Oxford, Gloucester, Hereford, Somerset, and Berkshire: and Harold's of Essex, East-Anglia, Huntingdon, and Cambridgeshire.

† Of Mercia. ‡ Of Northumbria. § Of Worcester

and those who were with him, went from Thorney to Bruges, to Baldwin's land, in one ship, with as much treasure as they might therein best stow for each man. It would have seemed wondrous to every man who was in England if any one before that had said that it should end thus; for he had been erewhile to that degree exalted, as if he ruled the king and all England; and his sons were earls and the king's darlings, and his daughter wedded and united to the king: she was brought to Wherwell, and they delivered her to the abbess. Then, soon, came William, the earl,* from beyond sea, with a great band of Frenchmen; and the king received him, and as many of his companions as it pleased him; and let him away again. This same year was given to William, the priest, the bishopric of London, which before had been given to Sparhafoc.

A. 1052. This year died Elfgive, the lady, relict of king Ethelred and of king Canute, on the second before the Nones of March. In the same year Griffin, the Welsh king, plundered in Herefordshire, until he came very nigh to Leominster; and they gathered against him, as well the landsmen as the Frenchmen of the castle, and there were slain of the English very many good men, and also of the Frenchmen; that was on the same day, on which, thirteen years before, Eadwine had been slain by his companions.

A. 1052. In this year died Elfgive Emma, king Edward's mother and king Hardecanute's. And in this same year, the king decreed, and his council, that ships should proceed to Sandwich; and they set Ralph, the earl, and Odda, the earl,† as head-men thereto. Then Godwin, the earl, went out from Bruges with his ships to Ysendyck, and left it one day before Midsummer's-mass eve, so that he came to Ness, which is south of Romney. Then came it to the knowledge of the earls out at Sandwich; and they then went out after the other ships, and a land-force was ordered out against the ships. Then during this, Godwin, the earl, was warned, and then he went to Pevensey; and the weather was very severe, so that the earls could not learn what was become of Godwin, the earl. And then Godwin, the earl, went out again, until he came once more to Bruges; and the other ships returned again to Sandwich. And then it was decreed that the ships should return once more to London, and that other earls and commanders should be appointed to the ships. Then was it delayed so long that the ship-force all departed, and all of them went home. When Godwin, the earl, learned that, then drew he up his sail, and his fleet, and then went west direct to the Isle of Wight, and there landed and ravaged so long there, until the people yielded them so much as they laid on them. And then they went westward until they came to Portland, and there they landed, and did whatsoever harm they were able to do. Then was Harold come out from Ireland with nine ships; and then landed at Porlock, and there much people was gathered against him; but he failed not to procure himself provisions. He proceeded further, and slew there a great number of the people, and took of cattle, and of men, and of property as it suited him. He then went eastward to his father: and then they both went eastward until they came to the Isle of Wight, and there took that which was yet remaining for them. And then they went thence to Pevensey, and got away thence as many ships as were there fit for service, and so on vards

† Of Devon.

until he came to Ness, and got all the ships which were in Romney, and in Hythe, and in Folkstone. And then they went east to Dover, and there landed, and there took ships and hostages, as many as they would, and so went to Sandwich and did "hand" the same; and everywhere hostages were given them, and provisions wherever they desired. And then they went to North-mouth, and so toward London; and some of the ships went within Sheppey, and there did much harm, and went their way to King's Milton, and that they all burned, and betook themselves then toward London after the earls. When they came to London, there lay the king and all the earls there against them, with fifty ships. Then the earls sent to the king, and required of him, that they might be held worthy of each of those things which had been unjustly taken from them. Then the king, however, resisted some while; so long as until the people who were with the earl were much stirred against the king and against his people, so that the earl himself with difficulty stilled the people. Then bishop Stigand interposed with God's help, and the wise men as well within the town as without; and they decreed that hostages should be set forth on either side: and thus was it done. When archbishop Robert and the Frenchmen learned that, they took their horses and went, some west to Pentecost's castle, some north to Robert's castle. And archbishop Robert and bishop Ulf went out at East-gate, and their companions, and slew and otherwise injured many young men, and went their way direct to Eadulf's-ness; and he there put himself in a crazy ship, and went direct over sea, and left his hall and all Christendom here on land, so as God would have it, inasmuch as he had before obtained the dignity so as God would not have it. Then there was a great council proclaimed without London: and all the earls and the chief men who were in this land were at the council. There Godwin bore forth his defence, and justified himself, before king Edward his lord, and before all people of the land, that he was guiltless of that which was laid against him, and against Harold his son, and all his children. And the king gave to the earl and his children his full friendship, and full earldom, and all that he before possessed, and to all the men who were with him. And the king gave to the lady* all that she before possessed. And they declared archbishop Robert utterly an outlaw, and all the Frenchmen, because they had made most of the difference between Godwin, the earl, and the king. And bishop Stigand obtained the archbishopric of Canterbury. In this same time Arnwy, abbat of Peterborough, left the abbacy, in sound health, and gave it to Leofric the monk, by leave of the king and of the monks; and abbat Arnwy lived afterwards eight years. And abbat Leofric then (enriched) the minster, so that it was called the Golden-borough. Then it waxed greatly, in land, and in gold, and in silver.

A. 1052. And went so to the Isle of Wight, and there took all the ships which could be of any service, and hostages, and betook himself so eastward. And Harold had landed with nine ships at Porlock, and slew there much people, and took cattle, and men, and property, and went his way eastward to his father, and they both went to Romney, to Hythe, to Folkstone, to Dover, to Sandwich, and ever they took all the ships which they found, which could be of any service, and hostages, all as they proceeded; and went then to London.

* Editha.

A. 1053. In this year was the king at Winchester at Easter, and Godwin, the earl, with him, and Harold, the earl, his son, and Tosty. Then, on the second day of Easter, sat he with the king at the feast: then suddenly sank he down by the footstool, deprived of speech, and of all his power, and he was then carried into the king's chamber, and they thought it would pass over: but it did not so; but he continued on, thus speechless and powerless, until the Thursday, and then resigned his life: and he lies there within the Old-minster. And his son Harold succeeded to his earldom, and resigned that which he before held; and Elgar succeeded thereto. This same year died Wulfsy, bishop of Lichfield, and Leofwine, abbat of Coventry succeeded to the bishopric; and Egelward, abbat of Glastonbury, died, and Godwin, abbat of Winchcomb. Moreover, the Welshmen slew a great number of the English people, of the wardmen, near Westbury. In this year there was no archbishop in this land; but bishop Stigand held the bishopric of Canterbury at Christchurch, and Kynsey of York; and Leofwine and Wulfwy went over sea, and caused themselves to be there ordained bishops; Wulfwy obtained the bishopric which Ulf had,* he being yet living and driven from it.

A. 1053. This year was the great wind on Thomas's-mass-night, and also the whole midwinter there was much wind; and it was decreed that Rees, the Welsh king's brother, should be slain, because he had done harm and his head was brought to Gloucester on Twelfth-day eve. And the same year, before All Hallows-mass, died Wulfsy, bishop of Lichfield, and Godwin, abbat of Winchcomb, and Egelward, abbat of Glastonbury, all within one month, and Leofwine succeeded to the bishopric of Lichfield, and bishop Aldred† took the abbacy at Winchcomb, and Egelnoth succeeded to the abbacy at Glastonbury. And the same year died Elfric, Odda's brother at Deorhurst; and his body resteth at Pershore And the same year died Godwin the earl; and he fell ill as he sat with the king at Winchester. And Harold his son succeeded to the earldom which his father before held; and Elgar, the earl, succeeded to the earldom which Harold before held.

A. 1053. In this year died Godwin, the earl, on the 17th before the Kalends of May, and he is buried at Winchester, in the Old-minster; and Harold, the earl, his son, succeeded to the earldom, and to all that which his father had held: and Elgar, the earl, succeeded to the earldom which Harold before held.

A. 1054. This year went Siward the earl‡ with a great army into Scotland, and made much slaughter of the Scots

* Dorchester. † Of Worcester. ‡ Of Northumbria.

and put them to flight: and the king escaped. Moreover, many fell on his side, as well Danish-men as English, and also his own son.* The same year was consecrated the minster at Evesham, on the 6th before the Ides of October. In the same year bishop Aldred† went south over sea into Saxony, and was there received with much reverence. That same year died Osgod Clapa suddenly, even as he lay on his bed. In this year died Leo [IX.] the holy pope of Rome. And in this year there was so great a murrain among cattle, as no man remembered for many years before. And Victor [II.] was chosen pope.

1054. This year went Siward the earl with a great army into Scotland, both with a ship-force and with a land-force, and fought against the Scots, and put to flight king Macbeth, and slew all who were the chief men in the land, and led thence much booty, such as no man before had obtained. But his son Osborn, and his sister's son Siward, and some of his house-carls, and also of the king's, were there slain, on the day of the Seven Sleepers. The same year went bishop Aldred to Cologne, over sea, on the king's errand; and he was there received with much worship by the emperor,‡ and there he dwelt well nigh a year; and either gave him entertainment, both the bishop of Cologne and the emperor. And he gave leave to bishop Leofwine§ to consecrate the minster at Evesham on the 6th before the Ides of October. In this year died Osgod suddenly in his bed. And this year died St. Leo the pope; and Victor was chosen pope in his stead.

A. 1055. In this year died Siward the earl at York, and his body lies within the minster at Galmanho,‖ which himself had before built, to the glory of God and of all his saints. Then, within a little time after, was a general council in London, and Elgar the earl, Leofric the earl's son, was outlawed without any kind of guilt; and he went then to Ireland, and there procured himself a fleet, which was of eighteen ships, besides his own: and they went then to Wales, to king Griffin,¶ with that force; and he received him into his protection. And then, with the Irishmen and with Welshmen, they gathered a great force: and Ralph the earl gathered a great force on the other hand at Hereford-port. And they sought them out there: but before there was any spear thrown, the English people fled because they were on horses;

* Osborn.
† Of Worcester.
‡ Henry III.
§ Of Lichfield.
‖ A Saxon abbey, merged afterwards in St. Mary's at York.
¶ Of North Wales.

and there great slaughter was made, about four hundred men or five; and they made none on the other side. And they then betook themselves to the town, and that they burned; and the great minster which Athelstan the venerable bishop before caused to be built, that they plundered and bereaved of relics and of vestments, and of all things, and slew the people, and some they led away. Then a force was gathered from well nigh throughout all England, and they came to Gloucester, and so went out, not far, among the Welsh; and there they lay some while: and Harold the earl caused the ditch to be dug about the port* the while. Then, during this, then spoke they concerning peace; and Harold the earl, and those who were with him, came to Bilsley: and there peace and friendship was established between them. And then they inlawed Elgar the earl, and gave him all that before had been taken from him; and the fleet went to Chester, and there awaited their pay, which Elgar had promised them. The man-slaying was on the ninth before the Kalends of November. In the same year died Tremerin the Welsh bishop,† soon after that ravaging; he was bishop Athelstan's coadjutor from the time that he had become infirm.

A. 1055. In this year died Siward the earl at York, and he lies at Galmanho, in the minster which himself caused to be built, and consecrated in God's and Olave's name. And Tosty succeeded to the earldom which he had held. And archbishop Kynsey‡ fetched his pall from pope Victor. And soon thereafter was outlawed Elgar the earl, son of Leofric the earl, well-nigh without guilt. But he went to Ireland and to Wales, and procured himself there a great force, and so went to Hereford: but there came against him Ralph the earl, with a large army. And with a slight conflict he put them to flight, and much people slew in the flight: and they went then into Hereford-port, and that they ravaged, and burned the great minster which bishop Athelstan had built, and slew the priests within the minster, and many in addition thereto, and took all the treasures therein, and carried them away with them. And when they had done the utmost evil, this counsel was counselled: that Elgar the earl should be inlawed, and be given his earldom, and all that had been taken from him. This ravaging happened on the 9th before the Kalends of November. In the same year died Tremerin the Welsh bishop,§ soon after that ravaging: and he was bishop Athelstan's coadjutor from the time that he had become infirm.

A. 1055. In this year died Siward the earl: and then was summoned a general council, seven days before Mid-lent; and they outlawed Elgar the earl, because it was cast upon him that he was a traitor to the king and to

* Hereford. † Of St. David's. ‡ Of York. § Of St. David's

all the people of the land. And he made a confession of it before all the men who were there gathered; though the word escaped him unintentionally. And the king gave the earldom to Tosty, son of earl Godwin, which Siward the earl before held. And Elgar the earl sought Griffin's protection in North-Wales. And in this year Griffin and Elgar burned St. Ethelbert's minster, and all the town of Hereford.

A. 1056. This year bishop Egelric gave up his bishopric at Durham, and went to St. Peter's minster, Peterborough; and his brother Egelwine succeeded thereto. This year died Athelstan the venerable bishop, on the 4th before the Ides of February, and his body lies at Hereford-port; and Leofgar was appointed bishop; he was the mass-priest of Harold the earl. He wore his knapsack during his priesthood until he was a bishop. He forsook his chrism and his rood, his ghostly weapons, and took to his spear and his sword, after his bishophood; and so went to the field against Griffin the Welsh king: and there was he slain, and his priests with him, and Elnoth the sheriff and many good men with them; and the others fled away. This was eight days before midsummer. It is difficult to tell the distress, and all the marching, and the camping, and the travail and destruction of men, and also of horses, which all the English army endured, until Leofric the earl* came thither, and Harold the earl, and bishop Aldred,† and made a reconciliation there between them; so that Griffin swore oaths that he would be to king Edward a faithful and unbetraying underking. And bishop Aldred succeeded to the bishopric which Leofgar had before held eleven weeks and four days. In the same year died Cona‡ the emperor. This year died Odda the earl,§ and his body lies at Pershore, and he was ordained a monk before his end; a good man he was and pure, and right noble. And he died on the 2nd before the Kalends of September.

A. 1057.

Here came Edward etheling to Angle-land; he was king Edward's brother's son, Edmund king, who Ironside was called for his valour. This etheling Canute king had sent away to Unger-land‖ to be betrayed: but he there grew up to a good man,

* Of Mercia. † Of Worcester. ‡ Hen. III. § Of Devon. ‖ Hungary.

as God him granted.
and him well became;
so that he obtained [wife,
the emperor's kinswoman to
and by her, fair
offspring he begot:
she was Agatha hight.
Nor wist we
for which cause
that done was,
that he might not
his kinsman Edward
king behold.
Alas! that was a rueful case
and harmful
for all this nation
that he so soon
his life did end [came
after that he to Angle-land
for the mishap
of this wretched nation.

In the same year died Leofric the earl,* on the second before the kalends of October; he was very wise for God and also for the world, which was a blessing to all this nation. He lies at Coventry; and his son Elgar succeeded to his government. And within the year died Ralph, the earl† on the 12th before the kalends of January; and he lies at Peterborough. Moreover, bishop Heca died in Sussex, and Agelric was raised to his see.‡ And this year pope Victor died, and Stephen [IX.] was chosen pope.

A. 1057. In this year Edward etheling, king Edmund's son, came nither to land, and soon after died: and his body is buried within St. Paul's minster at London. And pope Victor died, and Stephen [IX.] was chosen pope: he was abbat of Mont-Cassino. And Leofric the earl died, and Elgar his son succeeded to the earldom which the father before held.

A. 1058. This year Elgar, the earl,§ was banished; but he soon came in again, with violence, through Griffin's‖ aid. And this year came a fleet from Norway: it is tedious to tell how all these matters went. In the same year bishop Aldred¶ consecrated the minster at Gloucester, which himself had raised to the glory of God and of St. Peter; and so he went to Jerusalem with such splendour as none other had displayed before him, and there devoted himself to God: and a worthy gift he also offered at our Lord's tomb; that was a golden chalice of five marks of very wonderful work. In the same year died Pope Stephen [IX.], and Benedict [X.] was appointed pope: he sent a pall to bishop Stigand.

* Of Mercia.
† Of Hereford.
‡ Selsey.
§ Of Mercia.
‖ King of North Wales.
¶ Of Worcester.

Algeric was ordained bishop of Sussex* and abbat Siward of Rochester.

A. 1058. This year died Pope Stephen, and Benedict was consecrated pope: the same sent hither to land a pall to archbishop Stigand. And in this year died Heca, bishop of Sussex; and archbishop Stigand ordained Algeric, a monk at Christchurch, bishop of Sussex, and abbat Siward bishop of Rochester.

A. 1059. In this year was Nicholas [II.] chosen pope, he had before been bishop of the town of Florence; and Benedict was driven away, who had there before been pope. And in this year was the steeple consecrated at Peterborough, on the 16th before the Kalends of November.

A. 1060. In this year there was a great earthquake on the Translation of St. Martin: and king Henry died in France. And Kynsey, archbishop of York, departed on the 11th before the Kalends of January, and he lies at Peterborough; and bishop Aldred succeeded to the bishopric, and Walter succeeded to the bishopric of Herefordshire: and bishop Dudoc also died; he was bishop in Somerset;† and Giso the priest was appointed in his stead.

A. 1061. This year bishop Aldred went to Rome after his pall, and he received it from Pope Nicholas. And Tosty and his wife also went to Rome: and the bishop and the earl suffered much distress as they came homeward. And this year died Godwin, bishop of St. Martin's;‡ and Wulfric abbat of St. Augustine's, on the 14th before the Kalends of April [May?]. And Pope Nicholas died, and Alexander [II.] was chosen pope: he had been bishop of Lucca.

A. 1061. In this year died Dudoc, bishop of Somerset, and Giso succeeded. And in the same year died Godwin, bishop of St. Martin's, on the 7th before the Ides of March. And in the self-same year died Wulfric, abbat of St. Augustine's, within the Easter week, on the 14th before the Kalends of May. When word came to the king that abbat Wulfric was departed, then chose he Ethelsy the monk thereto, from the Old-Minster, who then followed archbishop Stigand, and was consecrated abbat at Windsor, on St. Augustine's mass-day.

A. 1062.

A. 1063. In this year, after midwinter, Harold, the earl, went from Gloucester to Rhyddlan, which was Griffin's, and burned the vill, and his ships, and all the stores which thereto belonged, and put him to flight. And then, at Roga-

* Selsey † Wells. ‡ At Canterbury

tion-tide, Harold went with his ships from Bristol about Wales; and the people made a truce and delivered hostages; and Tosty went with a land-force against them: and they subdued the land. But in this same year, during harvest, was king Griffin slain, on the Nones of August, by his own men, by reason of the war that he warred with Harold the earl. He was king over all the Welsh race: and his head was brought to Harold the earl, and Harold brought it to the king, and his ship's head, and the rigging therewith. And king Edward committed the land to his two brothers, Blethgent and Rigwatle; and they swore oaths, and delivered hostages to the king and to the earl, that they would be faithful to him in all things, and be everywhere ready for him, by water and by land, and make such renders from the land as had been done before to any other king.

A. 1063. This year went Harold the earl, and his brother Tosty the earl, as well with a land-force as a ship-force, into Wales, and they subdued the land; and the people delivered hostages to them, and submitted; and went afterwards and slew their king Griffin, and brought to Harold his head: and he appointed another king thereto.

A. 1064.

A. 1065. In this year, before Lammas, Harold the earl ordered a building to be erected in Wales at Portskeweth, after he had subdued it; and there he gathered much good; and thought to have king Edward there for the purpose of hunting. But when it was all ready, then went Caradoc, Griffin's son, with the whole force which he could procure, and slew almost all the people who there had been building; and they took the good which there was prepared. We wist not who first devised this ill counsel. This was done on St. Bartholomew's mass-day. And soon after this, all the thanes in Yorkshire and in Northumberland gathered themselves together, and outlawed their earl, Tosty, and slew his household men, all that they might come at, as well English as Danish: and they took all his weapons at York, and gold, and silver, and all his treasures which they might any where there hear of, and sent after Morkar, the son of Elgar the earl, and chose him to be their earl: and he went south with all the shire, and with Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire, and Lincolnshire, until he came to Northampton: and his brother Edwin came to meet him with the men who were

in his earldom, and also many Britons came with him. There came Harold, the earl, to meet them ; and they laid an errand upon him to king Edward, and also sent messengers with him, and begged that they might have Morkar for their earl. And the king granted it, and sent Harold again to them at Northampton, on the eve of St. Simon's and St. Jude's mass ; and he made known the same to them, and delivered a pledge thereof unto them : and he there renewed Canute's law. But the northern men did much harm about Northampton whilst he went on their errand, inasmuch as they slew men and burned houses and corn ; and took all the cattle which they might come at, that was many thousand : and many hundred men they took and led north with them ; so that that shire, and the other shires which there are nigh, were for many years the worse. And Tosty the earl, and his wife, and all those who would what he would, went south over sea with him to Baldwin, the earl, and he received them all ; and they were all the winter there. And king Edward came to Westminster at midwinter, and there caused to be consecrated the minster which himself had built to the glory of God and of St. Peter, and of all God's saints ; and the church-hallowing was on Childermass-day. And he died on Twelfth-day eve, and him they buried on Twelfth-day eve, in the same minster, as it hereafter sayeth.

Here Edward king,
of Angles lord,
sent his stedfast
soul to Christ,
in God's protection,
spirit holy.
He in the world here
dwelt awhile
in royal majesty
mighty in council.
Four-and-twenty,
lordly ruler !
of winters numbered,
he wealth dispensed ;
and he a prosperous tide
ruler of heroes,
distinguished governed,
Welsh and Scots,
and Britons also,
son of Ethelred,
Angles and Saxons,
chieftains bold.
Where'er embrace
cold ocean-waves,
there all to Edward,
noble king !
obeyed faithfully,
the warrior-men.
Aye was blithe-mind
the harmless king,
though he long erst
of land bereaved,

in exile dwelt
wide o'er the earth,
since Canute o'ercame
the race of Ethelred,
and Danes wielded
the dear realm
of Angle-land,
eight-and-twenty
of winters numbered,
wealth dispensed.
After forth-came,
in vestments lordly,
king with the chosen good,
chaste and mild,
Edward the noble:
the realm he guarded,
land and people,
until suddenly came
death the bitter,
and so dear a one seized.
This noble, from earth
angels carried,
stedfast soul,
into heaven's light.
And the sage ne'ertheless,
the realm committed
to a highly-born man,
Harold's self,
the noble earl!
He in all time
obeyed faithfully
his rightful lord
by words and deeds,
nor aught neglected
which needful was
to his sovereign-king.

And this year also was Harold consecrated king; and he with little quiet abode therein, the while that he wielded the realm.

A. 1065. And the man-slaying was on St. Bartholomew's mass-day. And then, after Michael's-mass, all the thanes in Yorkshire went to York, and there slew all earl Tosty's household servants whom they might hear of, and took his treasures: and Tosty was then at Britford with the king. And then, very soon thereafter, was a great council at Northampton; and then at Oxford on the day of Simon and Jude. And there was Harold the earl, and would work their reconciliation if he might, but he could not: but all his earldom him unanimously forsook and outlawed, and all who with him lawlessness upheld, because he robbed God first, and all those bereaved over whom he had power of life and of land. And they then took to themselves Morkar for earl; and Tosty went then over sea, and his wife with him, to Baldwin's land, and they took up their winter residence at St. Omer's.

A. 1066. In this year king Harold came from York to Westminster, at that Easter which was after the mid-winte in which the king died; and Easter was then on the day 16th before the Kalends of May. Then was, over all Eng land, such a token seen in the heavens, as no man ever before saw. Some men said that it was cometa the star, which some men call the haired star; and it appeared firs on the eve Litania Major, the 8th before the Kalends of May,

and so shone all the seven nights. And soon after came in Tosty the earl from beyond sea into the Isle of Wight, with so great a fleet as he might procure; and there they yielded him as well money as food. And king Harold, his brother, gathered so great a ship-force, and also a land-force, as no king here in the land had before done; because it was made known to him that William the bastard would come hither and win this land; all as it afterwards happened. And the while, came Tosty the earl into Humber with sixty ships; and Edwin the earl came with a land-force and drove him out. And the boatmen forsook him; and he went to Scotland with twelve vessels. And there met him Harold king of Norway with three hundred ships; and Tosty submitted to him and became his man. And they then went both into Humber, until they came to York; and there fought against them Edwin the earl, and Morkar the earl, his brother: but the Northmen had the victory. Then was it made known to Harold king of the Angles that this had thus happened: and this battle was on the vigil of St. Matthew. Then came Harold our king unawares on the Northmen, and met with them beyond York, at Stanford-bridge, with a great army of English people; and there during the day was a very severe fight on both sides. There was slain Harold the Fair-haired, and Tosty the earl; and the Northmen who were there remaining were put to flight; and the English from behind hotly smote them, until they came, some, to their ships, some were drowned, and some also burned; and thus in divers ways they perished, so that there were few left: and the English had possession of the place of carnage. The king then gave his protection to Olave, son of the king of the Norwegians, and to their bishop, and to the earl of Orkney, and to all those who were left in the ships: and they then went up to our king, and swore oaths that they ever would observe peace and friendship towards this land; and the king let them go home with twenty-four ships. These two general battles were fought within five days. Then came William earl of Normandy into Pevensey, on the eve of St. Michael's-mass: and soon after they were on their way, they constructed a castle at Hasting's-port. This was then made known to king Harold, and he then gathered a great force, and came to meet him at the estuary of Appledore; and William came

against him unawares, before his people were set in order. But the king nevertheless strenuously fought against him with those men who would follow him; and there was great slaughter made on either hand. There was slain king Harold, and Leofwin the earl, his brother, and Girth the earl, his brother, and many good men; and the Frenchmen had possession of the place of carnage, all as God granted them for the people's sins. Archbishop Aldred and the townsmen of London would then have child Edgar for king, all as was his true natural right: and Edwin and Morcar vowed to him that they would fight together with him. But in that degree that it ought ever to have been forwarder, so was it from day to day later and worse; so that at the end all passed away. This fight was done on the day of Calixtus the pope. And William the earl went afterwards again to Hastings, and there awaited to see whether the people would submit to him. But when he understood that they would not come to him, he went upwards with all his army which was left to him, and that which afterwards had come from over sea to him; and he plundered all that part which he over-ran, until he came to Berkhampstead. And there came to meet him archbishop Aldred,* and child Edgar, and Edwin the earl, and Morcar the earl, and all the chief men of London; and then submitted, for need, when the most harm had been done: and it was very unwise that they had not done so before; since God would not better it, for our sins: and they delivered hostages, and swore oaths to him; and he vowed to them that he would be a loving lord to them: and nevertheless, during this, they plundered all that they over-ran. Then, on mid-winter's day, archbishop Aldred consecrated him king at Westminster; and he gave him a pledge upon Christ's book, and also swore, before he would set the crown upon his head, that he would govern this nation as well as any king before him had at the best done, if they would be faithful to him. Nevertheless, he laid a tribute on the people, very heavy; and then went, during Lent, over sea to Normandy, and took with him archbishop Stigand, and Aylnoth, abbat of Glastonbury, and child Edgar, and Edwin the earl, and Morkar the earl, and Waltheof the earl, and many other good men of Eng-

* Of York.

land. And bishop Odo* and William the earl remained here behind, and they built castles wide throughout the nation, and poor people distressed; and ever after it greatly grew in evil. May the end be good when God will!

A. 1066. This year died king Edward, and Harold the earl succeeded to the kingdom, and held it forty weeks and one day. And this year came William, and won England. And in this year Christ-Church† was burned. And this year appeared a comet on the 14th before the Kalends of May.

A. 1066....‡And then he [Tosty] went thence, and did harm everywhere by the sea-coast where he could land, as far as Sandwich. Then was it made known to king Harold, who was in London, that Tosty his brother was come to Sandwich. Then gathered he so great a ship-force, and also a land force, as no king here in the land had before gathered, because it had been soothly said unto him, that William the earl from Normandy, king Edward's kinsman, would come hither and subdue this land: all as it afterwards happened. When Tosty learned that king Harold was on his way to Sandwich, then went he from Sandwich, and took some of the boatmen with him, some willingly and some unwillingly; and went then north into Humber, and there ravaged in Lindsey, and there slew many good men. When Edwin the earl and Morcar the earl understood that, then came they thither, and drove him out of the land. And he went then to Scotland: and the king of Scots protected him, and assisted him with provisions; and he there abode all the summer. Then came king Harold to Sandwich, and there awaited his fleet, because it was long before it could be gathered together. And when his fleet was gathered together, then went he into the Isle of Wight, and there lay all the summer and the harvest; and a land-force was kept every where by the sea, though in the end it was of no benefit. When it was the Nativity of St. Mary, then were the men's provisions gone, and no man could any longer keep them there. Then were the men allowed to go home, and the king rode up, and the ships were despatched to London; and many perished before they came thither. When the ships had reached home, then came king Harold from Norway, north into Tyne, and unawares, with a very large ship-force, and no small one; that might be, or more. And Tosty the earl came to him with all that he had gotten, all as they had before agreed; and then they went both, with all the fleet, along the Ouse, up towards York. Then was it made known to king Harold in the south, as he was come from on ship-board, that Harold king of Norway and Tosty the earl were landed near York. Then went he northward, day and night, as quickly as he could gather his forces. Then, before that king Harold could come thither, then gathered Edwin the earl and Morcar the earl from their earldom as great a force as they could get together; and they fought against the army, and made great slaughter: and there was much of the English people slain, and drowned, and driven away in flight; and the Northmen had possession of the place of carnage. And this fight was on the vigil of St. Matthew the apostle, and it was Wednesday. And then, after the fight, went Harold king of Norway, and Tosty the earl, into York, with as much people

* Odo, bishop of Bayeux, half brother of king William, and William Fitz Osbert, created earl of Hereford. † Canterbury.

‡ Continued after "money as food," in page 440.

as seemed meet to them. And they delivered hostages to them from the city, and also assisted them with provisions; and so they went thence to their ships, and they agreed upon a full peace, so that they should all go with him south, and this land subdue. Then, during this, came Harold king of the Angles, with all his forces, on the Sunday, to Tadcaster, and there drew up his force, and went then on Monday throughout York; and Harold king of Norway, and Tosty the earl, and their forces, were gone from their ships beyond York to Stanfordbridge, because it had been promised them for a certainty, that there, from all the shire, hostages should be brought to meet them. Then came Harold king of the English against them, unawares, beyond the bridge, and they there joined battle, and very strenuously, for a long time of the day, continued fighting: and there was Harold king of Norway and Tosty the earl slain, and numberless of the people with them, as well of the Northmen as of the English: and the Northmen fled from the English. Then was there one of the Norwegians who withstood the English people, so that they might not pass over the bridge, nor obtain the victory. Then an Englishman aimed at him with a javelin, but it availed nothing; and then came another under the bridge, and pierced him terribly inwards under the coat of mail. Then came Harold, king of the English, over the bridge, and his forces onward with him, and there made great slaughter, as well of Norwegians as of Flemings. And the king's son, Edmund, Harold let go home to Norway, with all the ships.

A. 1066. In this year was consecrated the minster at Westminster, on Childer-mass-day. And king Edward died, on the eve of Twelfth-day; and he was buried on Twelfth-day, within the newly consecrated church at Westminster. And Harold the earl succeeded to the kingdom of England, even as the king had granted it to him, and men also had chosen him thereto; and he was crowned as king on Twelfth-day. And that same year that he became king, he went out with a fleet against William;* and the while, came Tosty the earl into Humber with sixty ships. Edwin the earl came with a land-force and drove him out; and the boatmen forsook him. And he went to Scotland with twelve vessels; and Harold the king of Norway met him with three hundred ships, and Tosty submitted to him; and they both went into Humber, until they came to York. And Morcar the earl, and Edwin the earl, fought against them; and the king of the Norwegians had the victory. And it was made known to king Harold how it there was done, and had happened; and he came there with a great army of English men, and met him at Stanfordbridge, and slew him and the earl Tosty, and boldly overcame all the army. And the while, William the earl landed at Hastings, on St. Michael's-day: and Harold came from the north, and fought against him before all his army had come up: and there he fell, and his two brothers, Girth and Leofwin; and William subdued this land. And he came to Westminster, and archbishop Aldred consecrated him king, and men paid him tribute, and delivered him hostages, and afterwards bought their land. And then was Leofric abbat of Peterborough in that same expedition; and there he sickened, and came home, and was dead soon thereafter, on All-hallows-mass-night; God be merciful to his soul! In his day was all bliss and all good in Peterborough; and he was dear to all people, so that the king gave to St. Peter and to him the abbacy at Burton, and that of Coventry, which Leofric the earl, whe

* Earl of Normandy.

was his uncle, before had made, and that of Crowland, and that of Thorney. And he conferred so much of good upon the minster of Peterborough, in gold, and in silver, and in vestments, and in land, as never any other did before him, nor any after him. After, Golden-borough became a wretched borough. Then chose the monks for abbat Brand the provost, by reason that he was a very good man, and very wise, and sent him then to Edgar the etheling, by reason that the people of the land supposed that he should become king: and the etheling granted it him then gladly. When king William heard say that, then was he very wroth, and said that the abbat had despised him. Then went good men between them, and reconciled them, by reason that the abbat was a good man. Then gave he the king forty marks of gold for a reconciliation; and then thereafter, lived he a little while, but three years. After that came every tribulation and every evil to the minster. God have mercy on it!

A. 1067. This year the king came back to England on St. Nicolas's day, and on the same day Christ's Church, Canterbury, was consumed by fire. Bishop Wulfwy also died, and lies buried at his see of Dorchester. Child Edric and the Britons were unsettled this year, and fought with the men of the castle at Hereford, to whom they did much harm. The king this year imposed a heavy tax on the unfortunate people; but, notwithstanding, he let his men plunder all the country which they passed through: after which he marched to Devonshire and besieged Exeter eighteen days. Many of his army were slain there: but he had promised them well and performed ill: the citizens surrendered the city, because the thanes had betrayed them. This summer the child Edgar, with his mother Agatha, his sisters Margaret and Christina, Merlesweyne and several good men, went to Scotland under the protection of king Malcolm, who received them all. Then it was that king Malcolm desired to have Margaret to wife: but, the child Edgar and all his men refused for a long time; and she herself also was unwilling, saying that she would have neither him nor any other person, if God would allow her to serve him with her carnal heart, in strict continence, during this short life. But the king urged her brother until he said yes; and indeed he did not dare to refuse, for they were now in Malcolm's kingdom. So that the marriage was now fulfilled, as God had foreordained, and it could not be otherwise, as he says in the Gospel, that not a sparrow falls to the ground, without his foreshowing. The prescient Creator knew long before what he would do with her

namely that she should increase the glory of God in this land, lead the king out of the wrong into the right path, bring him and his people to a better way, and suppress all the bad customs which the nation formerly followed. These things she afterwards accomplished. The king therefore married her, though against her will, and was pleased with her manners, and thanked God who had given him such a wife. And being a prudent man he turned himself to God and forsook all impurity of conduct, as St. Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles, says: "*Salvabitur vir*," *&c.* which means in our language "Full oft the unbelieving husband is sanctified and healed through the believing wife, and so belike the wife through the believing husband." The queen above-named afterwards did many things in this land to promote the glory of God, and conducted herself well in her noble rank, as always was her custom. She was sprung from a noble line of ancestors, and her father was Edward Etheling, son of king Edmund. This Edmund was the son of Ethelred, who was the son of Edgar, the son of Edred; and so on in that royal line. Her maternal kindred traces up to the emperor Henry, who reigned at Rome.

This year Harold's mother, Githa, and the wives of many good men with her, went to the Steep Holmes, and there abode some time; and afterwards went from thence over sea to St. Omer's.

This Easter the king came to Winchester; and Easter was then on the tenth day before the Kalends of April. Soon after this the lady Matilda came to this country, and archbishop Eldred consecrated her queen at Westminster on Whitsunday. It was then told the king, that the people in the North had gathered together and would oppose him there. Upon this he went to Nottingham, and built a castle there, and then advanced to York, where he built two castles: he then did the same at Lincoln, and everywhere in those parts. Then earl Cospatric and all the best men went into Scotland. During these things one of Harold's sons came with a fleet from Ireland unexpectedly into the mouth of the river Avon, and soon plundered all that neighbourhood. They went to Bristol, and would have stormed the town, but the inhabitants opposed them bravely. Seeing they could get nothing from the town, they went to their ships with the

booty they had got by plundering, and went to Somersetshire, where they went up the country. Ednoth, master of the horse, fought with them, but he was slain there, and many good men on both sides; and those who were left departed thence.

A. 1068. This year king William gave the earldom of Northumberland to earl Robert, and the men of that country came against him, and slew him and 900 others with him. And then Edgar etheling marched with all the Northumbrians to York, and the townsmen treated with him; on which king William came from the south with all his troops, and sacked the town, and slew many hundred persons. He also profaned St. Peter's minster, and all other places, and the etheling went back to Scotland.

After this came Harold's sons from Ireland, about Mid summer, with sixty-four ships and entered the mouth of the Taff, where they incautiously landed. Earl Beorn came upon them unawares with a large army, and slew all their bravest men: the others escaped to their ships, and Harold's sons went back again to Ireland.

A. 1069. This year died Aldred archbishop of York, and he lies buried in his cathedral church. He died on the festival of Protus and Hyacinthus, having held the see with much honour ten years, all but fifteen weeks.

Soon after this, three of the sons of Sweyne came from Denmark with 240 ships, together with earl Osbern and earl Thorkill, into the Humber; where they were met by child Edgar and earl Waltheof, and Merle-Sweyne, and earl Cospatric with the men of Northumberland and all the landsmen, riding and marching joyfully with an immense army; and so they went to York, demolished the castle, and found there large treasures. They also slew many hundred Frenchmen, and carried off many prisoners to their ships; but, before the shipmen came thither, the Frenchmen had burned the city, and plundered and burnt St. Peter's minster. When the king heard of this, he went northward with all the troops he could collect, and laid waste all the shire; whilst the fleet lay all the winter in the Humber, where the king could not get at them. The king was at York on midwinter's day, remaining on land all the winter, and at Easter he came to Winchester.

This year bishop Egelric being at Peterborough, was accused and sent to Westminster; and his brother bishop Egelwin was outlawed. And the same year Brand abbat of Peterborough died on the fifth before the Kalends of December.

A. 1070. This year Lanfranc abbat of Caen came to England, and in a few days he was made archbishop of Canterbury. He was consecrated * at his metropolis on the

* In the second year after Lanfranc's consecration he went to Rome. pope Alexander so greatly honoured him, that contrary to his custom he rose to meet him, and gave him two palls in token of especial favour: Lanfranc received one of them from the altar after the Roman manner, and the pope, with his own hands, gave him the other, in which he himself had been accustomed to perform mass. In the presence of the pope, Thomas brought forwards a calumny touching the primacy of the see of Canterbury, and the subjection of certain bishops. Lanfranc briefly and clearly states the conclusion to which this affair was afterwards brought in England, in an epistle to the aforesaid pope Alexander. This year a general council was held at Winchester, in which he deposed Wulfric, abbat of the new monastery, and made many regulations touching Christian discipline. A few days afterwards, he consecrated Osbern at London as bishop of Exeter, and Scotland at Canterbury as abbat of St. Augustine's.

In his third year he consecrated Peter at Gloucester as bishop of Lichfield or Chester. This year also a great council was held at a place called Pennenden Heath [near Maidstone], in which Lanfranc proved that he and his church held their lands and their rights by sea and by land, as freely as the king held his: excepting in three cases: to wit, if the highway be dug up; if a tree be cut so as to fall upon it; and if murder be committed and blood spilt: when a man is taken in these misdeeds, the fine paid shall belong to the king; otherwise their vassals shall be free from regal exactions.

In his fourth year he consecrated Patrick at London as bishop of Dublin, in Ireland, from whom he received a profession of obedience, and he moreover gave him very memorable letters to the kings of Ireland.

In his fifth year a general council was held at London, the proceedings of which Lanfranc committed to writing, at the request of many.

In his sixth year he gave the bishopric of Rochester to Ernost, a monk of Christ church, whom he also consecrated at London. A council was held at Winchester: and the same year Ernost departed this life.

In his seventh year, he gave the bishopric of Rochester to Gundulph, whom he consecrated at Canterbury. This year Thomas archbishop of York sent letters to Lanfranc, requesting that he would send two bishops to consecrate a certain priest, who had come to him with letters from the Orkneys, to the intent that he might be made bishop of those islands. Lanfranc consenting to this, commanded Wolstan bishop of Worcester, and Peter bishop of Chester, to go to York, and to assist Thomas in completing the ceremony.

In his eighth year, a council was held at London, in which Lanfranc deposed Ailnoth abbat of Glastonbury.

fourt- before the Kalends of September, by eight bishops his suffragans; the rest who were absent signifying through messengers, and by writing, why they could not be

In his eleventh year, a council was held at Gloucester, wherein, by the king's order, and with the consent of Lanfranc, Thomas archbishop of York consecrated William to the bishopric of Durham; and because he could not be attended by the Scotch bishops his suffragans, the bishops Wolstan, Osbern, Giso, and Robert assisted at this ceremony by the command of Lanfranc. At this time Lanfranc sent letters rich in sacred lore to bishop Donald in Ireland.

In his sixteenth year Lanfranc consecrated Donatus, his monk at Canterbury, to the bishopric of Dublin, by the desire of the king, clergy, and people of Ireland. This year a council was held at Gloucester, wherein Lanfranc deposed Wulstcetel abbat of Croyland. He consecrated Robert to the bishopric of Chester, and William to that of Elmham, in one day, at Canterbury. At Winchester also he consecrated Maurice as bishop of London, who brought noble gifts to his mother church at Canterbury a few days afterwards.

In the eighteenth year of Lanfranc's prelacy, on the death of king William beyond sea, he acknowledged his son William, as he had done his father, and consecrated and crowned him in St. Peter's church, which is in the western part of London. The same year, and at his metropolitan city of Canterbury, he examined and consecrated Godfrey as bishop of Chichester, Wydo also as abbat of St. Augustine's and John as bishop of Wells. The next day Lanfranc on his own authority, and taking with him Odo bishop of Bayeux the king's brother, who was then at Canterbury, conducted the abbat Wydo to St. Augustine's and commanded the brothers of the order to receive him as their own abbat and pastor; but they, with one accord, answered that they would neither submit to him nor receive him. Thus Lanfranc came leading the abbat, and when he found that the monks were obstinate in resistance, and that they would not obey him, he commanded that all the refractory should come out one by one. When therefore nearly all had left the monastery, Lanfranc and his suite led in the abbat with much pomp, placed him in the chair, and delivered the church up to him. He also seized the prior, Elfrin by name, and as many others as he thought fit, and he put them forthwith into claustral imprisonment at Canterbury; but he sent those who had the greatest influence, and were the authors of this scandal, to the castle to be confined there. After he had returned home having finished all, he was informed that the monks who had left the monastery were assembled, near St. Mildred's church. Hereupon he sent to them, saying, that if they would, they might return to the church before the ninth hour, but that if they delayed longer, they would not be allowed free entrance, but he treated as renegadoes. Having heard this message they doubted whether to return or to remain, but at the hour of refection, when they became hungry, many repenting of their obstinacy sent to Lanfranc and promised submission. These he treated with lenity, and desired that they should return directly and confirm by oath their profession of obedience to the aforesaid abbat. Thus they returned and swore faithfulness and obedience to the abbat Wydo, upon

there. This year Thomas, who had been chosen as bishop of York, came to Canterbury, that he might be consecrated there after the old form, but when Lanfranc craved the

the relics of St. Augustine. Lanfranc seized those who remained behind and placed them in various monasteries of England, confining them till he brought them to profess their submission. About the same time, he seized one of them named Alfred, who had attempted to flee, and confined him loaded with irons at Canterbury, together with some of his fellows: and he exercised upon them the utmost severity of their order. But when these monks were thought to be sufficiently humbled and had promised amendment, Lanfranc taking pity on them, had them brought from the several places whither he had banished them, and reconciled them to their abbat.

The same year the dissensions were renewed, and the monks plotted the death of their abbat, but one of them, named Columban, being taken, Lanfranc caused him to be brought to him. As he stood there before him, Lanfranc asked if he desired to murder his abbat. And the monk forthwith replied, "Yes! if I could I would certainly kill him." Then Lanfranc commanded that he should be tied up naked by the gates of St. Augustine's and suffer flagellation before all the people, that his cowl should then be torn off, and that he should be driven out of the city. This order was executed, and thenceforth, during Lanfranc's life, sedition was repressed by the dread of his severity.

In the nineteenth year of his prelacy, died the venerable archbishop Lanfranc, and he was buried at his metropolitan see of Canterbury, of which he had been possessed eighteen years, nine months, and two days. His deeds, his buildings, alms, and labours, are only in part recounted in the writing which is read on his anniversary, for they were very numerous. After his death the monks of St. Augustine's, openly rebelling against their aforesaid abbat Wydo, stirred up the citizens of Canterbury, who, with an armed force, attempted to slay him in his house. But his family made resistance, and when many had been wounded, and some killed on both sides, the abbat with much difficulty escaped unhurt from amongst them, and fled for refuge to the mother church of Canterbury (Christ's church.) On the report of this disturbance Walkelin bishop of Winchester, and Gundolf bishop of Rochester, suffragans to the see of Canterbury, with some noblemen sent by the king, hastened to Canterbury, that they might take vengeance on the delinquents; and when they had inquired into the causes of the sedition, and had found the monks unable to clear themselves, they condemned them to suffer public punishment because they had transgressed openly. But the prior and monks of Christ's church, moved with piety, pleaded against the sentence, lest, if they were to receive their discipline before all the people, they should henceforth be accounted infamous, and so their profession and office come to be despised. Wherefore it was granted on their intercession, that the punishment should take place in the church, into which the populace should not be admitted, but those only who were appointed to see it executed. And two monks of Christ's church, Wydo and Norman, were called in, and they inflicted the punishment at the command of the bishops. Then the rebellious monks were dispersed into various monasteries of England; and twenty-four monks

confirmation of his subjection by oath, he refused, and said that he was not obliged to give it. Then was the archbishop Lanfranc wroth, and he commanded the bishops, who were there at his behest to assist at the ceremony, and all the monks, to unrobe themselves; and they did as he desired: so this time Thomas returned home without consecration. It happened soon after this, that the archbishop Lanfranc went to Rome, and Thomas with him: and when they were come thither, and had said all that they desired on other subjects, Thomas began his speech, saying how he had come to Canterbury, and how the archbishop had desired of him an oath of obedience, and that he had refused it. Then the archbishop Lanfranc began to make manifest with clear reasoning, that he had a right to demand that which he required: and he proved the same with strong arguments before the Pope Alexander, and before all the council then assembled: and thus they departed home. After this, Thomas came to Canterbury, and humbly performed all that the archbishop required, and thereupon he received the blessing. This year earl Waltheof made peace with the king. And during Lent in the same year the king caused all the monasteries in England to be despoiled of their treasures. The same year king Sweyn came from Denmark into the Humber, and the people of those parts came to meet him and made an alliance with him, for they believed that he would conquer the land. Then the Danish bishop Christien, and earl Osbern, and their Danish retainers, came into Ely, and all the people of the fens joined them, for they believed that they should conquer the whole country. Now the monks of Peterborough were told that some of their own men, namely,

of Christ's church were substituted in their place, together with the prior, named Anthony, who had been sub-prior at Christ's church. The townsmen who entered the abbat's hall in arms were seized, and those who were convicted of having struck him lost their eyes.

After the death of Lanfranc the see remained vacant four years, nine months, and nine days, during which time it suffered much adversity. At length, in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1093, and on the second before the Nones of March, the archbishopric of Canterbury was given to Anselm abbat of Bec, a good and an upright man, of great learning, and amongst the most noted of his time. He came to Canterbury on the seventh before the Kalends of October, his earlier arrival having been prevented by many sufficient causes, and he was consecrated on the second before the Nones of December.

Hereward and his train, would pillage the monastery, because they had heard that the king had given the abbacy to a French abbat named Turold, and that he was a very stern man, and that he was come into Stamford with all his French followers. There was, at that time, a church-warden named Ywar; who took all that he could by night, gospels, mass-robes, cassocks, and other garments, and such other small things as he could carry away, and he came before day to the abbat Turold, and told him that he sought his protection, and told how the outlaws were coming to Peterborough, and he said that he had done this at the desire of the monks. Then early in the morning all the outlaws came with many ships, and they endeavoured to enter the monastery, but the monks withstood them, so that they were not able to get in. Then they set fire to it, and burned all the monks' houses, and all those in the town, save one: and they broke in through the fire at Bolhithe-gate,* and the monks came before them and desired peace. However they gave no heed to them, but went into the monastery, and climbed up to the holy crucifix, took the crown from our Lord's head, which was all of the purest gold, and the footstool of red gold from under his feet. And they climbed up to the steeple, and brought down the table † which was hidden there; it was all of gold and silver. They also seized two gilt shrines, and nine of silver, and they carried off fifteen great crosses of gold and silver. And they took so much gold and silver, and so much treasure in money, robes, and books, that no man can compute the amount; saying they did this because of their allegiance to the monastery: and afterwards they betook themselves to their ships and went to Ely, where they secured their treasures. The Danes believed that they should overcome the Frenchmen, and they drove away all the monks, leaving only one named Leofwin the Long, and he lay sick in the hospital. Then came the abbat Turold, and eight score Frenchmen with him, all well armed; and when he arrived he found all burnt both within and without, excepting the church itself; and all the outlaws were then embarked, knowing that he would come thither. This happened on the fourth day before

* Bulldyke Gate.

† Ingram so translates the word, referring to a Gallo-Norman poem published by Sharpe. Gibson, Lye, and Miss Gurney read "cope."

the Nones of June. Then the two kings, William and Sweyn, made peace with each other, on which the Danes departed from Ely, carrying with them all the aforesaid treasure. When they were come into the midst of the sea, there arose a great storm, which dispersed all the ships in which the treasures were: some were driven to Norway, some to Ireland, and others to Denmark, and all the spoils that reached the latter country, being the table * and some of the shrines and crosses, and many of the other treasures, they brought to one of the king's towns called——, and laid it all up in the church. But one night, through their carelessness and drunkenness the church was burned, with all that was in it. Thus was the monastery of Peterborough burned and pillaged. May Almighty God have pity on it in his great mercy: and thus the abbat Turold came to Peterborough, and the monks returned thither and performed Christian worship in the church, which had stood a full week without service of any kind. When bishop Egelric† heard this, he excommunicated all the men who had done this evil. There was a great famine this year; and this summer the fleet from the Humber sailed into the Thames, and lay there two nights, and it afterwards held on its course to Denmark. And earl Baldwin died, and his son Arnulf succeeded him; and earl William‡ and the French king should have been his support: but earl Robert came and slew his kinsman Arnulf, and the earl; put the king to flight, and slew many thousands of his men.

A. 1071. This year earl Edwin and earl Morcar fled, and wandered through the woods and fields. Then earl Morcar took ship and went to Ely; and earl Edwin was slain treacherously by his own men: and bishop Egelwine,§ and Siward Barn, and many hundreds with them, came into Ely. And when king William heard this, he called out a fleet and army; and he surrounded that land, and he made a bridge and entered in, his fleet lying off the coast. Then all the outlaws surrendered; these were, bishop Egelwine and earl Morcar, and all who were with them, excepting only Hereward, and his followers whom he led off with great valour. And the king seized their ships, and arms, and much

* Or cope: see the last note.
† Of Selsey.
‡ Fitz-Osberne.
§ Of Durham.

treasure; and he disposed of the men as he would; and he sent bishop Egelwine to Abingdon, where he died early in the winter.

A. 1072. This year king William led an army and a fleet against Scotland, and he stationed the ships along the coast and crossed the Tweed with his army; but he found nothing to reward his pains. And king Malcolm came and treated with king William, and delivered hostages, and became his liege-man; and king William returned home with his forces. Bishop Egelric died this year; he had been consecrated to the archbishopric of York, of which he was unjustly deprived, and the see of Durham was given to him; this he held as long as he chose, and then resigned it and went to the monastery of Peterborough, and there he spent twelve years. Then after king William had conquered England, he removed Egelric from Peterborough, and sent him to Westminster, and he died on the Ides of October, and he is buried in the abbey, in the aisle of St. Nicholas.

A. 1073. This year king William carried an army of English and French over sea, and conquered the province of Maine: and the English did great damage, for they destroyed the vineyards and burned the towns, and they laid waste that province, the whole of which submitted to William; and they afterwards returned home to England.

A. 1074 This year king William went over sea to Normandy; and child Edgar came into Scotland from Flanders on St. Grimbald's mass-day. King Malcolm and Margaret his sister received him there with much pomp. Also Philip, king of France, sent him a letter inviting him to come, and offering to give him the castle of Montreuil, as a place to annoy his enemies from. After this, king Malcolm and his sister Margaret gave great presents and much treasure to him and his men, skins adorned with purple, sable-skin, grey-skin and ermine-skin-pelisses, mantles, gold and silver vessels, and escorted them out of his dominions with much ceremony. But evil befell them at sea; for they had hardly left the shore, when such rough weather came on, and the sea and wind drove them with such force upon the land, that their ships went to pieces and they saved their lives with much difficulty. They lost nearly all their riches and some of their men were taken by

the French: but the boldest of them escaped back to Scotland, some on foot and some mounted on wretched horses. King Malcolm advised Edgar to send to king William beyond the sea, and request his friendship. Edgar did so, and the king acceded to his request and sent to fetch him. Again, king Malcolm and his sister made them handsome presents, and escorted them with honour out of their dominions. The sheriff of York met him at Durham, and went all the way with him, ordering him to be provided with meat and fodder at all the castles which they came to, until they reached the king beyond the sea. There king William received him with much pomp, and he remained at the court, enjoying such privileges as the king granted him.

A. 1075. This year king William gave the daughter of William Fitz-Osberne in marriage to earl Ralph: the said Ralph was a Welchman on his mother's side, and his father was an Englishman named Ralph, and born in Norfolk. Then the king gave the earldom of Norfolk and Suffolk to his son, who brought his wife to Norwich, but

> There was that bride-ale
> The source of man's bale.

For earl Roger and earl Waltheof were there, and bishops and abbats, and they took counsel to depose the king of England. And this was soon reported to the king then in Normandy, and it was told him withal that earl Roger and earl Ralph were the heads of the conspiracy, and that they had brought over the Britons to their side, and had sent eastward to Denmark for a fleet to assist them. And earl Roger departed to his earldom in the west, and gathered his people together in rebellion against the king, but he was checked in his attempt. And earl Ralph also being in his earldom would have marched forth with his people; but the garrisons of the castles of England, and the inhabitants of the country came against him, and prevented his effecting any thing, on which he took ship at Norwich: and his wife remained in the castle, and held it till she had obtained terms, and then she departed from England with all her adherents. And after this the king came to England, and he took his kinsman earl Roger and put him in prison; and earl Waltheof went over the sea and betrayed himself but he

asked forgiveness and offered a ransom. The king let him off lightly until he came to England, when he had him seized. And soon afterwards two hundred ships arrived from Denmark, commanded by two chieftains, Canute the son of Sweyn, and earl Hacco, but they durst not risk a battle with king William, but chose rather to go to York, where they broke into St. Peter's minster, and having taken thence much treasure, went away again. They then crossed over the sea to Flanders, but all who had been concerned in the act perished, namely earl Hacco and many others with him. And the lady Edgitha died at Winchester seven nights before Christmas, and the king caused her to be brought to Westminster with great pomp, and to be laid by her lord king Edward. And the king was at Westminster during Christmas, and there all the Britons who had been at the bridal feast at Norwich were brought to justice; some were blinded, and others banished. Thus were the traitors to William subdued.

1076. This year Sweyn king of Denmark died, and Harold his son succeeded to the kingdom. And the king gave Westminster to Vitalis, who had before been abbat of Bernay.* Earl Waltheof was beheaded at Winchester on the mass-day of St. Petronilla,† and his body was carried to Croyland, where it now lies. And the king went over sea and led his army into Brittany, and besieged the castle of Dol, and the Britons defended it till the king of France came up, and then William departed, having lost both men and horses and much treasure.

* Or Berneges. A cell to the abbey of Fescamp, in Normandy.

† "II. Kal. Jun. or the 31st of May. This notice of St. Petronilla, whose name and existence seem scarcely to have been known to the Latin historians, we owe exclusively to the valuable MS. C. T. B. IV. Yet if ever female saint deserved to be commemorated as a conspicuous example of early piety and Christian zeal, it must be Petronilla. She was no less a person than the daughter of St. Peter himself; who, being solicited to marry a nobleman at Rome of the name of Flaccus, and on her refusal allowed three days to deliberate, after passing the whole time in fasting and prayer, and receiving the sacrament at the hands of Nicomedes the priest, expired on the third day! This is no Romish legend of modern growth, for her name appears in the martyrology of Bede, and in the most venerable records of primitive Christianity."—INGRAM. And yet, the reader, who shall receive even the existence of Petronilla in any other light than as a fable, must possess a credulity which will enable him to realize all the impostures with which ecclesiastical history abounds.

1077. This year a peace was made between the king of France and William king of England, but it lasted only a little while. And this year, one night before the assumption of St. Mary, there was a more dreadful fire in London than had ever happened since the town was built. And the moon was eclipsed, three nights before candlemas: the same year died Egelwig abbat of Evesham, on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of March, which was the mass-day of St. Juliana; and Walter became bishop in his stead. Bishop Herman also died on the tenth day before the Kalends of March. He was bishop in Berkshire, Wiltshire, and Dorsetshire. Also in this year king Malcolm won the mother of Malslaythe and all his best men and all his treasure and his oxen and himself hardly escaped .... There was also this year a dry summer, and wild-fire burned many towns, and many cities were ruined by it.

A. 1078.

A. 1079. This year king William's son Robert, fled from his father to his uncle Robert in Flanders, because his father would not let him govern his earldom in Normandy; which he himself, and with his consent Philip king of France, had given to him. The best men of that land had sworn allegiance to him and taken him for their lord. And the same year king William fought against his son Robert without the borders of Normandy near a castle called Gerberoy, and there king William was wounded, and the horse on which he sat was killed, and he that brought him another horse, namely, Tookie Wiggodson, was killed with a dart, and his son William was also wounded, and many men were slain, but Robert returned to Flanders. We will not say more at present of the harm that he did to his father.

This year, between the two festivals of St. Mary, king Malcolm invaded England with a large army, and laid waste Northumberland as far as the Tyne; and he slew many hundred men, and carried home much money and treasure and many prisoners.

A. 1080. This year Walcher bishop of Durham was slain at a gemot, and a hundred French and Flemings with him: Walcher himself was born in Lorraine. The Northumbrians perpetrated this in the month of May.

A. 1081. This year the king led an army into Wales, and there he set free many hundred persons.

A. 1082. This year the king arrested bishop Odo. And there was a great famine this year.

A. 1083. This year a quarrel arose in Glastonbury between the abbat Thurstan and his monks. It was first caused by the abbat's unwise conduct, in that he treated his monks ill in many respects, but the monks were lovingly-minded towards him, and begged him to govern them in right and in kindness, and they would be faithful and obedient to him. But the abbat would none of this, and wrought them evil, and threatened worse. One day the abbat went into the chapter-house, and spoke against the monks, and would have taught them amiss;* and he sent for laymen, and they came in all armed upon the monks in the chapter-house. Then the monks were greatly terrified and knew not what to do, and some ran for refuge into the church and locked the doors from within; but the others followed them, and would have dragged them forth when they durst not come out. Rueful things happened there on that day, for the French broke into the choir and threw darts towards the altar where the monks were collected, and some of their servants went upon the upper floor† and shot down arrows towards the chancel, so that many arrows stuck in the crucifix which stood above the altar, and the wretched monks lay around the altar, and some crept under it, and they called earnestly upon God and besought his mercy, since they could obtain no mercy at the hands of men. What can we say, but that they shot without ceasing, and others broke down the doors, and rushed in, and they slew some of the monks and wounded many, so that the blood ran down from the altar on the steps, and from the steps to the floor? Three were smitten to death and eighteen wounded. And the same year Matilda the wife of king William died on the day after the feast of All Saints. And the same year after Christmas the king caused a great and heavy tax to be raised throughout England, even seventy-two pence upon every hide of land.

* He wished to substitute the chant of William of Feschamp for that called the Gregorian.

† Probably along the open galleries in the upper story of the choir, commonly called the triforium.

A. 1084. This year Wulfwold abbat of Chertsey died on the 13th day before the Kalends of May.

A. 1085. This year men said and reported as certain, that Canute king of Denmark, the son of king Sweyn, was coming hither, and that he designed to conquer this land, with the assistance of Robert earl of Flanders, whose daughter he had married. When king William, who was then in Normandy, heard this, for England and Normandy were both his, he hastened hither with a larger army of horse and foot, from France and Brittany, than had ever arrived in this land, so that men wondered how the country could feed them all. But the king billeted the soldiers upon his subjects throughout the nation, and they provided for them, every man according to the land that he possessed. And the people suffered much distress this year: and the king caused the country near the sea to be laid waste, that if his enemies landed they might the less readily find any plunder. Afterwards when he had received certain information that they had been stopped,* and that they would not be able to proceed in this enterprise, he let part of his forces return to their own homes, and he kept part in this land through the winter. At midwinter the king was at Gloucester with his witan; and he held his court there five days; and afterwards the archbishop and clergy held a synod during three days; and Maurice was there chosen to the bishopric of London, William to that of Norfolk, and Robert to that of Cheshire; they were all clerks of the king. After this the king had a great consultation, and spoke very deeply with his witan concerning this land, how it was held and what were its tenantry. He then sent his men over all England, into every shire, and caused them to ascertain how many hundred hides of land it contained, and what lands the king possessed therein, what cattle there were in the several counties, and how much revenue he ought to receive yearly from each. He also caused them to write down how much land belonged to his archbishops, to his bishops, his abbats, and his earls, and, that I may be brief, what property every

* Because there was a mutiny in the Danish fleet; which was carried to such a height, that the king, after his return to Denmark, was slain by his own soldiers. Vide *Antiq. Celto-Scand.* p. 228. See also our Chronicle, A.D. 1087.—INGRAM.

inhabitant of all England possessed in land or in cattle, and how much money this was worth. So very narrowly did he cause the survey to be made, that there was not a single hide nor a rood of land, nor—it is shameful to relate that which he thought no shame to do—was there an ox, or a cow, or a pig passed by, and that was not set down in the accounts,* and then all these writings were brought to him.

A. 1086. This year the king wore his crown and held his court at Winchester at Easter, and he so journeyed forward that he was at Westminster during Pentecost, and there he dubbed his son Henry a knight. And afterwards he travelled about, so that he came to Salisbury at Lammas; and his witan, and all the land-holders of substance in England, whose vassals soever they were, repaired to him there, and they all submitted to him, and became his men, and swore oaths of allegiance, that they would be faithful to him against all others. Thence he proceeded to the Isle of Wight because he was to cross over to Normandy; and this he afterwards did; but first, according to his custom, he extorted immense sums from his subjects, upon every pretext he could find, whether just or otherwise. Then he went over to Normandy, and king Edward's kinsman Edgar etheling left him, because he received no great honour from him: may Almighty God give him glory hereafter. And the etheling's sister Christina went into the monastery of Romsey, and took the holy veil. And the same was a very heavy year, and very disastrous and sorrowful; for there was a pestilence among the cattle, and the corn and fruits were checked; and the weather was worse than may easily be conceived: so violent was the thunder and lightning, that many persons were killed: and things ever grew worse and worse with the people. May Almighty God mend them, when such is his will!

A. 1087. The year 1087 after the birth of Christ our Saviour, and the one and twentieth of king William's reign, during which he governed and disposed of the realm of England even as God permitted him, was a very grievous time of scarcity in this land. There was also so much illness,

* This is the famous Doomsday Book, or Rotulus Wintoniæ, called also Liber Wintoniæ. At the end of it is the date, *Anno millesimo octogesimo sexto ab incarnatione Dei, vigesimo vero regni Willelmi, &c.*

that almost every other man was afflicted with the worst of evils, that is, a fever; and this so severe, that many died of it. And afterwards, from the badness of the weather which we have mentioned before, there was so great a famine throughout England, that many hundreds died of hunger. Oh, how disastrous, how rueful were those times! when the wretched people were brought to the point of death by the fever, then the cruel famine came on and finished them. Who would not deplore such times, or who is so hard-hearted that he will not weep for so much misery? But such things are, on account of the sins of the people, and because they will not love God and righteousness. Even so was it in those days; there was little righteousness in this land amongst any, excepting the monks alone, who fared well. The king and the chief men loved much, and over much, to amass gold and silver, and cared not how sinfully it was gotten, so that it came into their hands. The king sold out his lands as dear as dearest he might, and then some other man came and bid more than the first had given, and the king granted them to him who offered the larger sum; then came a third and bid yet more, and the king made over the lands to him who offered most of all; and he cared not how iniquitously his sheriffs extorted money from the miserable people, nor how many unlawful things they did. And the more men spake of rightful laws, the more lawlessly did they act. They raised oppressive taxes, and so many were their unjust deeds, it were hard to number them. And the same year, before harvest, St. Paul's holy minster, the residence of the bishops of London, was burnt, together with many other monasteries, and the greater and handsomer part of the whole city. At the same time likewise almost all the principal towns of England were burnt down. Oh, how sad and deplorable was this year, which brought forth so many calamities!

The same year also, before the assumption of St. Mary, king William marched with an army out of Normandy into France, and made war upon his own lord king Philip, and slew a great number of his people, and burned the town of Mante, and all the holy monasteries in it, and two holy men who served God as anchorites were burned there. This done king William returned into Normandy. Rueful deeds

he did, and ruefully he suffered. Wherefore ruefully? He fell sick and became grievously ill. What can I say? The sharpness of death, that spareth neither rich nor poor, seized upon him. He died in Normandy the day after the nativity of St. Mary, and he was buried in Caen, at St. Stephen's monastery, which he had built and had richly endowed. Oh, how false, how unstable, is the good of this world! He, who had been a powerful king and the lord of many territories, possessed not then, of all his lands, more than seven feet of ground; and he, who was erewhile adorned with gold and with gems, lay then covered with mould. He left three sons: Robert the eldest was earl of Normandy after him; the second, named William, wore the crown of England after his father's death; and his third son was Henry, to whom he bequeathed immense treasures.

If any would know what manner of man king William was, the glory that he obtained, and of how many lands he was lord; then will we describe him as we have known him, we, who have looked upon him, and who once lived in his court.* This king William, of whom we are speaking, was a very wise and a great man, and more honoured and more powerful than any of his predecessors. He was mild to those good men who loved God, but severe beyond measure towards those who withstood his will. He founded a noble monastery on the spot where God permitted him to conquer England, and he established monks in it, and he made it very rich. In his days the great monastery at Canterbury was built, and many others also throughout England; moreover this land was filled with monks who lived after the rule of St. Benedict; and such was the state of religion in his days that all that would, might observe that which was prescribed by their respective orders. King William was also held in much reverence: he wore his crown three times every year when he was in England: at Easter he wore it at Winchester, at Pentecost at Westminster, and at Christmas at Gloucester. And at these times, all the men of England were with him, archbishops, bishops, abbats, and earls, thanes, and knights. So also, was he a very stern and a wrathful man, so that none durst do anything

* From this we learn that this part of the Chronicle was written by a contemporary and eye-witness of the facts which he relates.

against his will, and he kept in prison those earls who acted against his pleasure. He removed bishops from their sees, and abbats from their offices, and he imprisoned thanes, and at length he spared not his own brother Odo. This Odo was a very powerful bishop in Normandy, his see was that of Bayeux, and he was foremost to serve the king. He had an earldom in England, and when William was in Normandy he was the first man in this country, and him did he cast into prison. Amongst other things the good order that William established is not to be forgotten; it was such that any man, who was himself aught, might travel over the kingdom with a bosom-full of gold unmolested; and no man durst kill another, however great the injury he might have received from him. He reigned over England, and being sharp-sighted to his own interest, he surveyed the kingdom so thoroughly that there was not a single hide of land throughout the whole, of which he knew not the possessor, and how much it was worth, and this he afterwards entered in his register.* The land of the Britons † was under his sway, and he built castles therein; moreover he had full dominion over the Isle of Man (Anglesey): Scotland also was subject to him from his great strength; the land of Normandy was his by inheritance, and he possessed the earldom of Maine; and had he lived two years longer he would have subdued Ireland by his prowess, and that without a battle. Truly there was much trouble in these times, and very great distress; he caused castles to be built, and oppressed the poor. The king was also of great sternness, and he took from his subjects many marks of gold, and many hundred pounds of silver, and this, either with or without right, and with little need. He was given to avarice, and greedily loved gain. He made large forests for the deer, and enacted laws therewith, so that whoever killed a hart or a hind should be blinded. As he forbade killing the deer, so also the boars; and he loved the tall stags as if he were their father. He also appointed con-

* This is certainly an evident allusion to the compilation of Doomsday Book already described, A.D. 1085, as Gibson observes; and it is equally clear to me, that the composition of this part of the Chronicle is by a different hand.—INGRAM.

† Wales.

cerning the hares, that they should go free. The rich complained and the poor murmured, but he was so sturdy that he recked nought of them; they must will all that the king willed, if they would live; or would keep their lands; or would hold their possessions; or would be maintained in their rights. Alas! that any man should so exalt himself, and carry himself in his pride over all! May Almighty God show mercy to his soul, and grant him the forgiveness of his sins! We have written concerning him these things, both good and bad, that virtuous men might follow after the good, and wholly avoid the evil, and might go in the way that leadeth to the kingdom of heaven.

We may write of many events which happened during this year. In Denmark, the Danes who were formerly accounted the most loyal of people, turned to the greatest possible perfidy and treachery, for they chose king Canute, and submitted to him, and swore oaths of allegiance, and afterwards they shamefully murdered him in a church.* It also came to pass in Spain, that the heathen men went forth, and made war upon the Christians, and brought great part of the country into subjection to themselves. But the Christian king, whose name was Alphonso, sent to all countries and begged assistance. And allies flocked to him from every Christian land, and they went forth, and slew or drove away all the heathens, and they won their land again by the help of God. The same year also many great men died in this land: Stigand bishop of Chichester, and the abbat of St. Augustine's, and the abbats of Bath and of Pershore, and the lord of them all William king of England, concerning whom we have spoken above.

After his death, his son William, of the same name with his father, took to himself the government, and was consecrated king in Westminster by archbishop Lanfranc three days before Michælmas: and all the men of England acknowledged him, and swore oaths of allegiance to him. This done, the king went to Winchester and examined the treasury, and the hoards which his father had amassed; gold and silver, vessels of plate, palls, gems, and many other valu-

* A church at Odensee, dedicated to St. Alban, whose relics had been brought from England by this Canute.

ables that are hard to be numbered. The king did as his father before he died commanded him; he distributed treasures amongst all the monasteries of England, for the sake of his father's soul: to some he gave ten marks of gold, and to others six, and sixty pennies to every country church, and a hundred pounds of money was sent into every county to be divided among the poor for his soul's sake. And before he died he had also desired that all who had been imprisoned during his reign should be released. And the king was at London during midwinter.

A. 1088. This year the land was much disturbed, and filled with treason, so that the principal Frenchmen here would have betrayed their lord the king, and have had his brother Robert instead, who was earl of Normandy. Bishop Odo was the chief man in the conspiracy, together with bishop Gosfrith, and William bishop of Durham. The king esteemed the bishop so highly, that the affairs of all England were directed after his counsel, and according to his pleasure, but the bishop purposed to do by him as Judas Iscariot did by our Lord. And earl Roger was concerned in this conspiracy, and many others with him, all Frenchmen. This plot was concerted during Lent; and as soon as Easter came they marched forth, and plundered, and burned, and laid waste the lands of the crown; and they ruined the estates of those who remained firm in their allegiance. And each of the head conspirators went to his own castle, and manned and victualled it, as best he might. Bishop Gosfrith and Robert the peace-breaker went to Bristol, and having plundered the town, they brought the spoils into the castle; and afterwards they sallied forth and plundered Bath, and all the surrounding country, and they laid waste all the lordship of Berkeley. And the chief men of Hereford and all that county, and the men of Shropshire, with many from Wales, entered Worcestershire, and went on plundering and burning, till they approached the county town, and they were resolved to burn this also, and to plunder the cathedral, and to seize the king's castle for themselves. The worthy bishop Wulstan seeing this, was much distressed in mind, because the castle was committed to his keeping. Nevertheless his retainers, few as they were, marched out, and through the mercy of God, and the good desert of the bishop, they slew

or took captive five hundred men, and put all the rest to flight. The bishop of Durham did as much harm as he could in all the northern parts: one of the conspirators named Roger, threw himself into Norwich castle, and spread devastation throughout that country: Hugo also was in no respect less formidable to Leicestershire and Northampton. Bishop Odo, with whom these commotions originated, departed to his earldom of Kent, which he ravaged, and he wholly laid waste the lands of the king and the archbishop, and brought all the plunder into his castle at Rochester. When the king had heard all this, and with what treason they were acting towards him, he was greatly disturbed in mind; and he sent for the English, and laid his necessities before them, and entreated their assistance. He promised them better laws than had ever been in this land, and forbade all unjust taxes, and guaranteed to his subjects their woods and hunting. But these concessions were soon done away. Howbeit the English came to the aid of their lord the king, and they then marched towards Rochester, desiring to seize bishop Odo, for they thought that if they had him who was the head of the conspiracy in their power, they might with greater ease subdue the others. Then they came to Tunbridge castle, in which were the knights of bishop Odo and many others, who resolved to hold out against William. But the English came on, and stormed the castle, and the garrison capitulated. They then proceeded towards Rochester believing that the bishop was there: but the king was told that he was departed to his castle at Pevensey, and the king and his troops went after him, and he besieged that castle full six weeks with a very large army.

In the meantime Robert earl of Normandy, the king's brother, gathered together a great multitude, and thought that he should win England with the aid of the disaffected of this country. And he sent some of his troops to this land, intending to follow them himself. But the English who guarded the sea attacked these men, and slew and drowned more than any one can number. At length provisions became scarce in the castle, on which the insurgents prayed for a truce and surrendered the place to the king, and the bishop took an oath that he would depart from England, and never return unless the king sent for him, and that he would also

give up Rochester castle. After this the bishop proceeded thither that he might deliver up that fortress, and the king sent his men with him, but then the soldiers who were in the castle arose, and seized the bishop, and the king's men, whom they put into confinement. There were very good knights in this castle: Eustace the younger, the three sons of earl Roger, and all the best born of this land, and of Normandy. When the king knew this, he set forth with all the troops then with him, and he sent over all England and commanded that every man of mark, French or English, from town and from country, should come and join him. Many were those who flocked to him, and he marched to Rochester and besieged the castle till the garrison capitulated. Bishop Odo and those who were with him departed over sea, and thus the bishop lost the station he held in this land. The king afterwards sent an army to Durham, and besieged the castle, and the bishop capitulated, and surrendered it, and he gave up his bishopric and went to Normandy. Many Frenchmen also left their lands, and went over sea, and the king gave their estates to those who had held fast to him.

A. 1089. This year the venerable father and patron of monks, archbishop Lanfranc, departed this life, but we trust that he has entered into the kingdom of heaven. There was also a great earthquake throughout England on the 3rd day before the Ides of August.* And it was a very late year both as to the corn, and fruits of all kind, so that many men reaped their corn about Martinmas, and even later.

A. 1090. Things being in the state we have described, as regarding the king, his brother, and his people, William considered how he might take the surest vengeance on his brother Robert, harass him most, and win Normandy from him. To this end, he gained the castle and port of St. Valery by stratagem or bribery, and also Albemarle castle, and he placed his knights in them, and they did much harm, ravaging and burning the country. After this he got possession of more castles in that land, and in these also he stationed his knights. When Robert earl of Normandy found that his sworn liege-men revolted and gave up their castles to his great injury, he sent to his lord Philip king of France, who

* The 11th of August.

came into Normandy with a large army; and the king and the earl with an innumerable force besieged a castle defended by the king of England's soldiers: but king William of England sent to Philip king of France, and he, for love of William or for his great bribes, deserted his vassal earl Robert and his land, and returned to France, leaving things as they were. During all these transactions, England was greatly oppressed by unlawful taxes, and many other grievances.

A. 1091. This year king William held his court at Westminster at Christmas, and the following Candlemas he departed from England to Normandy, bent on his brother's ruin: but whilst he was in that country, peace was made between them, on condition that the earl should give up Feschamp, the earldom of Eu, and Cherbourg, to William, and withal that the king's men should be unmolested in those castles of which they had possessed themselves in the earl's despite. And the king, on his side, promised to reduce to their obedience the many castles conquered by their father, which had since revolted from the earl, and also to establish him in the possession of all their father's territories abroad, excepting those places which the earl had then given up to the king. Moreover all who had lost their lands in England on account of the earl were to regain them by this treaty, and the earl also was to receive certain estates in England then specified. It was also agreed that if the earl died leaving no legitimate son the king should be heir of all Normandy, and in like manner if the king died, that the earl should be heir of all England. Twelve of the chief men on the part of the king, and twelve on that of the earl, guaranteed this treaty by oath; yet it was observed but a short time. During this peace Edgar etheling was dispossessed of those lands which the earl had granted him, and he departed and went from Normandy into Scotland, to the king his brother-in-law, and his sister. Whilst king William was out of England, Malcolm king of Scotland invaded this country, and ravaged great part of it, till the good men to whom the keeping of the land was entrusted, sent their troops against him and drove him back. When king William heard this in Normandy, he hastened to return, and he came to England and his brother earl Robert with him. And they called out a fleet and army, but almost all the ships were lost, a few days before Michaelmas, ere they reached Scotland. And

the king and his brother proceeded with the army: and when king Malcolm heard that they sought to attack him, he marched with his array out of Scotland into Lothian in England, and remained there. And when king William approached, earl Robert and Edgar etheling mediated a peace between the kings, on condition that king Malcolm should repair to our king, and become his vassal, and in all the like subjection as to his father before him; and this he confirmed by oath. And king William promised him all the lands and possessions that he held under his father. By this peace Edgar etheling was reconciled to the king. And the kings separated in great friendship, but this lasted during a short time only. Earl Robert abode here with the king till Christmas drew near, and in this time he found little good faith as to the fulfilment of the treaty, and two days before the feast he took ship from the Isle of Wight and sailed to Normandy, and Edgar etheling with him.

A. 1092. This year king William went northward to Carlisle with a large army, and he repaired the city, and built the castle. And he drove out Dolfin, who had before governed that country; and having placed a garrison in the castle, he returned into the south, and sent a great number of rustic Englishmen thither, with their wives and cattle, that they might settle there and cultivate the land.

A. 1093. This year, in Lent, king William was very sick at Gloucester, insomuch that he was universally reported to be dead: and he made many good promises in his illness; that he would lead his future life in righteousness—that the churches of God he would guard and free—and never more sell them for money—and that he would have all just laws in his kingdom. And he gave the archbishopric of Canterbury, which he had hitherto kept in his own hands, to Anselm, who was before this abbat of Bec, and the bishopric of Lincoln to his chancellor Robert; and he granted lands to many monasteries, but afterwards, when recovered, he took them back, and he neglected all the good laws that he had promised us. After this the king of Scotland sent desiring that the stipulated conditions might be performed; and king William summoned him to Gloucester, and sent hostages to him in Scotland, and afterwards Edgar etheling and others met him, and brought him with much honour to the court.

But when he came there, he could neither obtain a conference with our king nor the performance of the conditions formerly promised him, and therefore they departed in great enmity: and king Malcolm returned home to Scotland, and as soon as he came thither, he assembled his troops and invaded England, ravaging the country with more fury than behoved him: and Robert, earl of Northumberland, with his men, lay in wait for him, and slew him unawares. He was killed by Morœl of Bambrough, the earl's steward, and king Malcolm's own godfather:* his son Edward, who, had he lived, would have been king after his father, was killed with him. When the good queen Margaret heard that her most beloved lord, and her son, were thus cut off, she was grieved in spirit unto death, and she went with her priest into the church, and having gone through all befitting rites, she prayed of God that she might give up the ghost. And then the Scots chose† Dufenal, the brother of Malcolm, for their king, and drove out all the English who had been with king Malcolm. When Duncan, the son of king Malcolm, heard all this, for he was in king William's court, and had remained here from the time that his father gave him as an hostage to our king's father, he came to the king, and did such homage as the king required; and thus, with his consent, he departed for Scotland, with the aid that he could muster, both English and French, and he deprived his kinsman Dufenal of the throne, and was received as king. But then some of the Scotch again gathered themselves together, and slew nearly all his men, and he himself escaped with few others. They were afterwards reconciled on this condition, that Duncan should never more bring English or Frenchmen into that country.

A. 1094. This year, at Christmas, king William held his

* Ingram translates the original "godsib" baptismal friend, and adds the following note, "literally a gossip; but such are the changes which words undergo in their meaning as well as in their form, that a title of honour, formerly implying a spiritual relationship in God, is now applied only to those whose conversation resembles the contemptible tittle-tattle of a christening:—Gibson translates it a 'susceptor,' i. e. an undertaker."

† "From this expression it is evident, that though preference was naturally and properly given to hereditary claims, the monarchy of Scotland, as well as of England, was in principle elective. The doctrine of hereditary, of divine, of indefeasible right, is of modern growth."—Ingram.

court at Gloucester; and there came messengers to him out of Normandy, from his brother Robert, and they said that his brother renounced all peace and compact if the king would not perform all that they had stipulated in the treaty; moreover they called him perjured and faithless unless he would perform the conditions, or would go to the place where the treaty had been concluded and sworn to, and there clear himself. Then at Candlemas the king went to Hastings, and whilst he waited there for a fair wind, he caused the monastery on the field of battle* to be consecrated; and he took the staff from Herbert Losange,† bishop of Thetford.—After this, in the middle of Lent, he went over sea to Normandy. When he came thither he and his brother, earl Robert, agreed that they would meet in peace, and they did so, to the end that they might be reconciled. But afterwards, when they met, attended by the same men who had brought about the treaty, and had sworn to see it executed, these charged all the breach of faith upon the king; he would not allow this, neither would he observe the treaty, on which they separated in great enmity. And the king then seized the castle of Bures, and took the earl's men who were in it, and he sent some of them over to this country. And on the other hand the earl, with the assistance of the king of France, took the castle of Argences, in which he seized Roger the Poitou and seven hundred of the king's soldiers; and he afterwards took the castle of Hulme; and frequently did each burn the towns and take captive the people of his rival. Then the king sent hither and ordered out 20,000 Englishmen to aid him in Normandy, but when they reached the sea they were desired to return, and to give to the king's treasury the money that they had received; this was half a pound for each man, and they did so. And in Normandy, after this, the earl, with the king of France, and all the troops that they could collect, marched towards Eu, where king William then was, purposing to besiege him therein, and thus they proceeded until they came to Lune-

* Battle Abbey.

† Commonly called Herbert de Losinga. His letters are of much historical interest: they were supposed to be lost, until they were recently discovered by Robert Anstruther in the Brussels library, and published 8vo, Bruxellis, apud Vandale, et Londini apud D. Nutt.

ville, and there the king of France turned off through treachery, and on this the whole army dispersed. In the meantime king William sent for his brother Henry, who was in the castle of Damfront, and because he could not pass through Normandy in security, he sent ships for him, with Hugo, earl of Chester. And when they should have made for Eu, where the king was, they directed their course instead to England, and landed at Hampton* on the eve of All Saints' day; and they then remained in this country, and were in London at Christmas.

The same year also the Welsh gathered themselves together, and made war upon the French in Wales, or in the neighbouring parts, where they had been before deprived of their lands, and they stormed many fortresses and castles, and slew the men, and afterwards their numbers increased so much, that they divided themselves into many bodies; Hugo, earl of Shropshire, fought with one division and put it to flight, but nevertheless the others abstained not, during the whole year, from committing every outrage in their power. This year also the Scots conspired against their king Duncan, and slew him, and they afterwards took his uncle Dufenal a second time for their king; through whose instructions and instigation Duncan had been betrayed to his death.

A. 1095. This year king William was at Whitsand during the first four days of Christmas, and after the fourth day he set sail and landed at Dover. And the king's brother Henry remained in this country till Lent, and then he went over sea to Normandy, with much treasure to be employed in the king's service against their brother, earl Robert: and he gained ground upon the earl continually, and did much damage to his lands and subjects. Then at Easter the king held his court at Winchester, and Robert earl of Northumberland would not repair thither; therefore the king's anger was greatly stirred up against him, and he sent to him, and sternly commanded that if he would remain in peace he should come to his court at Pentecost. This year Easter fell on the 8th before the Kalends of April, and after Easter,

* Now called Southampton, to distinguish it from Northampton; but the common people, in both neighbourhoods, generally say "Hampton" to this day.—INGRAM.

on the night of the feast of St. Ambrose, the 2nd before the Nones of April, there was seen all over the country a great multitude of stars falling from heaven during nearly the whole of the night, not one or two at a time, but so thickly that no man might number them. After this, at Pentecost, the king was at Windsor, and all his witan with him, excepting the earl of Northumberland, for the king would neither give hostages nor pledge his troth that he should come and go in security. On this the king called out an army, and marched against the earl into Northumberland, and as soon as he came thither he seized almost all the chief men of the earl's court in a certain fortress, and he put them in confinement. And he besieged Tinmouth castle until he took it, and there he seized the earl's brother, and all who were with him: thence he proceeded to Bambrough, and there he besieged the earl; and when the king found that he could not reduce him, he caused a castle to be built over against Bambrough, and called it in his speech, *Malveisin*, which is in English, "the evil neighbour," and he garrisoned it strongly, and afterwards he departed southward. Then one night, soon after the king's return into the south, the earl went out of Bambrough towards Tinmouth: but those in the new castle, being aware of his design, pursued and attacked him, and they wounded him, and afterwards took him prisoner, and some of his followers were slain, and some taken alive. In the meantime the king was told that the Welsh had stormed a certain castle in Wales, called Montgomery, and had slain earl Hugo's men who defended it; on this he commanded another army to be called out in haste, and after Michaelmas he proceeded into Wales. He divided his forces, and his troops made their way through all parts of the country, and met at Snowdon, on All Saints' day. But the Welsh ever fled before him to the mountains and moors, so that no man could get near them, and the king at length returned homewards, because he could do no more there that winter. When the king came back, he commanded his people to take Robert earl of Northumberland, and lead him to Bambrough, and to put out both his eyes, unless the besieged would surrender the castle, which was defended by his wife, and his steward Morel, who was also his kinsman. On this, the castle was given up, and Morel was received at William's court; and

through him many were discovered, both clergy and laity, who had aided this rebellion with their counsel. Then the king ordered some of them to be imprisoned before Christmas, and he straightly commanded throughout the kingdom, that all who held lands of him should be at his court, on that festival, as they would retain his protection. And the king had earl Robert brought to Windsor, and confined there in the castle. This year also, a little before Easter, the pope's legate came to England; this was Walter, bishop of Albano, a man of a very virtuous life, and at Pentecost he presented archbishop Anselm with his pall from pope Urban, and he received it at his metropolitan city of Canterbury. And bishop Walter remained here great part of this year and on his return the Romescot,* which had not been paid for many years before, was sent with him. This year also the weather was very unseasonable, so that the fruits of the earth were much injured over all the country.

A. 1096. This year king William held his Christmas court at Windsor; and William bishop of Durham died there on New Year's day. And the king and all his witan were at Salisbury on the octaves of the Epiphany. There Geoffry Bainard accused William of Eu, the king's relation, saying that he had been concerned in the conspiracy against the king, and for this cause he fought with him and overcame him in single combat, and after he was vanquished the king commanded that his eyes should be put out; and the king also caused his steward named William, who was his aunt's son, to be hanged on the gallows. Then also Eoda earl of Champagne, the king's uncle, and many others, were deprived of their lands, and some were brought to London, and there executed. At Easter, this year, there was a very great stir in this country and in many others also, through Urban who was called pope, though he was not in possession of the see of Rome; and an innumerable multitude of men, with their wives and children, departed to go and conquer the heathen nations. The king and his brother, earl Robert, were reconciled in consequence of this expedition, so that the king went over sea, and received from the earl all Normandy for a sum of money, according to contract. And thereupon the earl departed, and with him went the earls of

* Commonly called Peter's pence.

Flanders and of Boulogne, and many other headmen.* And earl Robert and those who accompanied him abode in Apulia that winter. But of those who went by Hungary, many thousands perished miserably there, or on the road, and many, rueful and hunger-bitten, toiled homewards against winter. These were very hard times to all the English, as well because of the manifold taxes, as of the very grievous famine which sorely afflicted the land. This year also the nobles who had charge of this country frequently sent forth armies into Wales, and thus they greatly oppressed many, and for no purpose, but with much loss of men and of money.

A. 1097. This year king William was in Normandy at Christmas, and before Easter he sailed for this land, intending to hold his court at Winchester, but he was kept at sea by bad weather till Easter eve; and Arundel was the first place to which he came, therefore he held his court at Windsor. After this, he marched into Wales with a large army, and his troops penetrated far into the country by means of some Welshmen who had come over to him, and were his guides. And William remained there from Midsummer till near August, to his great loss of men and horses and many other things.

When the Welsh had revolted from the king, they chose several leaders from among themselves, one of these was named Cadwgan, he was the most powerful of them all, and was the son of king Griffin's brother. The king, seeing that he could not effect his purpose, returned into England, and he forthwith caused castles to be built on the marches. Then at Michaelmas, on the 4th before the Nones of October, an uncommon star appeared shining in the evening, and soon going down: it was seen in the south-west, and the light which streamed from it seemed very long, shining towards the south-east; and it appeared after this manner nearly all the week. Many allowed that it was a comet. Soon after this, Anselm archbishop of Canterbury obtained permission from the king, though against his inclination, to leave this country and go over sea, because it seemed to him that in this nation little was done according to right, or after his desires. And at Martinmas the king went over sea to

* "Headmen or chiefs." The term is still retained with a slight variation in the north of Europe, as the *hetman* Platoff, of celebrated memory.' —INGRAM.

Normandy; but whilst he waited for a fair wind, his train did as much injury in the county in which they were detained, as any prince's retinue, or even an army could have committed in a peaceable land.

This year was in all respects a very heavy time, and the weather was singularly bad at the seasons when men should till their lands and gather in the harvest; and the people had nevertheless no respite from unjust taxes. Many shires, moreover, which are bound to duty in works at London, were greatly oppressed in making the wall around the tower, in repairing the bridge which had been almost washed away, and in building the king's hall at Westminster. These hardships fell upon many. This year also, at Michaelmas, Edgar etheling, with the king's aid, led an army into Scotland, and won that country by hard fighting, and drove out the king Dufnal, and established his kinsman Edgar the son of king Malcolm and queen Margaret, as king in fealty to William, and then he returned into England.

A. 1098. This year king William was in Normandy at Christmas; and Walkelin bishop of Winchester, and Baldwin abbat of St. Edmund's, both died during this festival. This year also died Turold abbat of Peterborough. Moreover in the summer of this year a spring of blood burst out at Finchamstead, in Berkshire, according to the declaration of many men of credit, who said that they had seen it. And earl Hugo was slain in Anglesey by foreign pirates; his brother Robert succeeded him, having obtained this of the king. Before Michaelmas-day the heaven appeared as it were on fire, almost all the night. This was a year of much distress, caused by the manifold oppressive taxes; nearly all the crops in the marsh lands failed also from the great rains, which ceased not the whole year.

A. 1099. This year king William was in Normandy at Christmas; and at Easter he came hither; and at Pentecost he held his court for the first time in the new building at Westminster, and there he gave the bishopric of Durham to his chaplain Ranulf, who had long been the chief manager and director of all the king's councils held in England. And soon afterwards William went over sea, and drove earl Elias from Maine, and brought that province into subjection; and at Michaelmas he returned to this land. This year also, on

St. Martin's day, there was so very high a tide, and the damage was so great in consequence, that men remembered not the like to have ever happened before, and the same day was the first of the new moon. And Osmond bishop of Salisbury died during Advent.

A. 1100. This year, at Christmas, king William held his court in Gloucester; and at Easter in Winchester; and at Pentecost in Westminster. And at Pentecost blood was observed gushing from the earth, at a certain town of Berkshire, even as many asserted who declared that they had seen it. And after this, on the morning after Lammas-day, king William was shot with an arrow by his own men, as he was hunting, and he was carried to Winchester and buried there.* This was in the thirteenth year from his accession. He was very powerful, and stern over his lands and subjects, and towards all his neighbours, and much to be dreaded, and through the counsels of evil men which were always pleasing to him, and through his own avarice, he was ever vexing the people with armies and with cruel taxes; for in his days all justice sank, and all unrighteousness arose, in the sight of God and the world. He trampled on the church of God, and as to the bishoprics and abbacies, the incumbents of which died in his reign, he either sold them outright, or kept them in his own hands, and set them out to renters; for he desired to be the heir of every one, churchman or layman, so that the day on which he was killed he had in his own hands the archbishopric of Canterbury, the bishoprics of Winchester and Salisbury, and eleven abbacies, all let out to farm, and in fine, however long I may delay mention of it,† all that was abominable to God and oppressive to men was common in this island in William's time: and therefore he was hated by almost all his people, and abhorred by God as his end showeth, in that he died in the midst of his unrighteousness, without repentance or any reparation made for his evil deeds. He was slain on a Thursday, and buried the next morning: and after he was buried, the witan who were then near at hand, chose his brother Henry as king,

* His monument is still to be seen there, a plain gravestone of black marble, of the common shape called "dos d'âne," such as are now frequently seen, though of inferior materials, in the church-yards of villages, and are only one remove from the grassy sod.—INGRAM.

† Ingram renders this, "though I may be tedious."

and he forthwith gave the bishopric of Winchester to William Giffard, and then went to London; and on the Sunday following he made a promise to God and all the people, before the altar at Westminster, that he would abolish the injustice which prevailed in his brother's time, and that he would observe the most equitable of the laws established in the days of any of the kings before him: and after this Maurice bishop of London consecrated him as king, and all the men of this land submitted to him, and swore oaths and became his liege-men. And soon afterwards, the king, by the advice of those about him, caused Ranulf bishop of Durham to be taken and brought into the Tower of London, and confined there. Then before Michaelmas Anselm archbishop of Canterbury came to this land; king Henry having sent for him by the advice of his witan, because he had left the country on account of the injustice done him by king William. And soon afterwards the king took for his wife Maud the daughter of Malcolm king of Scotland and of the good queen Margaret king Edward's kinswoman, of the true royal line of England; and on Martinmas day she was given to him with great pomp at Westminster, and archbishop Anselm wedded her to Henry, and afterwards consecrated her as queen. And soon after this Thomas archbishop of York died. This year also, in the autumn, earl Robert came home into Normandy, and Robert earl of Flanders and Eustace earl of Boulogne also returned from Jerusalem, and on earl Robert's arrival in Normandy he was joyfully received by all the people, excepting those in the castles which were garrisoned with king Henry's men, and against these he had many contests and struggles.

A. 1101. This year, at Christmas, king Henry held his court at Westminster, and at Easter at Winchester. And soon afterwards the chief men of this land entered into a league against the king, both from their own great treachery, and through Robert earl of Normandy who had hostile designs upon this land. And then the king sent out ships to annoy and hinder his brother; but some of them failed at time of need, and deserted from the king, and submitted to earl Robert. At Midsummer the king posted himself with all his troops at Pevensey to oppose his brother, and he waited for him there. And in the meantime earl Robert

landed at Portsmouth twelve nights before Lammas, and the king marched against him with all his forces; but the chief men interfered and made peace between them, on condition that the king should give up all those places in Normandy which he then detained from his brother by force of arms; and that all who had lost their lands in England on the earl's account should have them again, and that earl Eustace should also have his father's estates in this country, and that earl Robert should receive yearly 3000 marks of silver from England; and it was stipulated by this treaty that whichever of the brothers outlived the other, he should inherit all England together with Normandy, unless the deceased left legitimate issue. And twelve men of the highest rank on either side confirmed this treaty by oath: and the earl afterwards remained here till after Michaelmas; and his men did much harm wherever they went, whilst the earl stayed in this land. This year also, at Candlemas, bishop Ranulf escaped by night from the Tower of London, in which he was confined, and went to Normandy. It was at his suggestion chiefly, that earl Robert was incited to invade this land.

A. 1102. This year king Henry was at Westminster during the feast of the Nativity, and at Easter he was at Winchester. And soon afterwards a difference arose between the king and Robert of Belesme, who held the earldom of Shrewsbury in this country, which his father earl Roger had enjoyed before him, and who had other great possessions both here and abroad; and the king went and besieged Arundel Castle, and when he found that he should not be able to take it speedily, he caused castles to be built before it, and garrisoned with his men; and then he led all his troops to Bridgenorth, and remained there till he had reduced the castle, and deprived earl Robert of his lands, and he took from him all that he possessed in England; so the earl departed over sea, and the king's soldiers were disbanded and returned home. On the Michaelmas following the king was at Westminster, with all the head men of this land, both clergy and laity; and archbishop Anselm held a synod, at which many decrees were made touching the Christian religion; and many abbats, both French and English, lost their staffs and their abbacies, because they

had obtained them unlawfully, or had lived unrighteously therein. And the same year, in Pentecost week, there came robbers, some from Auvergne, some from France, and some from Flanders, and they brake into the monastery of Peterborough, and carried off much treasure of gold and silver: crosses, chalices, and candlesticks.

A. 1103. This year king Henry was at Westminster at Christmas. And soon afterwards the bishop William Giffard departed from this land, because he would not against right receive consecration from Gerard archbishop of York. And at Easter the king held his court at Winchester; and afterwards, Anselm archbishop of Canterbury journeyed to Rome, as he and the king had agreed. This year also earl Robert of Normandy came to this land, to speak with the king, and before he departed hence he gave up the 3000 marks which king Henry should have paid him yearly according to the treaty. This year blood was seen gushing out of the earth at Hampstead,* in Berkshire. This was a year of much distress from the manifold taxes, and also from a mortality among the cattle, and from the failure of the crops, both of the corn and all fruits of trees. In the morning also of St. Lawrence's day, the wind did so much damage to all the fruit of this land, that no man remembered the like to have ever happened before. The same year died Matthias abbat of Peterborough, who had not lived more than one year after he was made abbat. After Michaelmas, on the 12th before the Kalends of November, he was received in procession as abbat, and the same day the year following he died at Gloucester, and there he was buried.

A. 1104. This year, at Christmas, king Henry held his court at Westminster, at Easter at Winchester, at Pentecost again at Westminster. This year the first day of Pentecost was on the Nones of June, and on the Tuesday after, at midday, there appeared four circles of a white colour round the sun, one under the other as if they had been painted. All who saw it wondered, because they never remembered such before. An alliance was afterwards formed between Robert earl of Normandy and Robert of Belesme,† whom king Henry had deprived of his estates, and driven out of Eng-

* Finchamstead. † Hence the English name Bellamy.

land, and from this, the king of England and the earl of Normandy became at variance. And the king sent his people over sea into Normandy, and the head men of that country received them, and admitted them into their castles in treachery to their lord the earl, and they greatly annoyed the earl by plundering and burning his territories. This year also, William earl of Moreton (Mortaigne) departed to Normandy, and being there, he took arms against the king, on which the king confiscated all his possessions and estates in this country. It is not easy to describe the misery of this land, which it suffered at this time through the various and manifold oppressions and taxes that never ceased or slackened: moreover wherever the king went his train fell to plundering his wretched people, and withal there was much burning and manslaughter. By all this was the anger of God provoked, and this unhappy nation harassed.

A. 1105. This year, at Christmas, king Henry held his court at Windsor, and the following Lent he went over sea to Normandy against his brother earl Robert. And whilst he remained there he won Caen and Bayeux from his brother, and almost all the castles and chief men of that land became subject to him; and in the autumn he came again to this country. And all that he had conquered in Normandy remained to him afterwards in peace and subjection, excepting those places which lay in the neighbourhood of William earl of Moreton,* and which he harassed continually as much as harass he might, in revenge for the loss of his estates in England. Then before Christmas Robert de Belesme came hither to the king. This was a year of great distress from the failure of the fruits, and from the manifold taxes which never ceased, either before the king went abroad, while he was there, or again after his return.

A. 1106. This year at Christmas, king Henry was at Westminster, and there he held his court, and during this festival Robert de Belesme departed from the king in enmity, and left this country for Normandy. After this, and before Lent, the king was at Northampton, and his brother earl Robert of Normandy came to him there; and because the

* "De Moritonio" is the Latin title: the town of Mortaigne in Normandy is the place from which it is taken.

king would not give up that which he had won from the earl in Normandy, they separated in enmity, and the earl soon went again over sea. In the first week of Lent, on the evening of Friday, the 14th before the Kalends of March, a strange star appeared, and it was seen a while every evening for a long time afterwards. This star appeared in the south-west, it seemed small and dim, but the light that stood from it was very bright, and like an exceedingly long beam shining to the north-east ; and one evening it seemed as if a beam from over against the star darted directly into it. Some persons said that they observed more unknown stars at this time, but we do not write this as a certainty because we saw them not ourselves. One night, the morrow being the day of our Lord's supper, that is, the Thursday before Easter, two moons appeared before day in the heavens, the one in the east and the other in the west, both full ; and the same day was the 14th of the moon. At Easter the king was at Bath, and at Pentecost at Salisbury, because he would not hold his court over sea during his absence from this country. After this before August, the king went into Normandy, and almost all the inhabitants bowed to his will, excepting Robert de Belesme, and the earl of Mortaigne, and a few other chiefs who yet held with the earl of Normandy : the king therefore came with an army, and besieged a castle of the earl of Mortaigne called Tinchebrai. Whilst the king was besieging this castle, Robert earl of Normandy and his army came upon him on Michaelmas eve, and with him were Robert de Belesme and William earl of Mortaigne, and all who wished well to their cause, but strength and victory were with the king. The earl of Normandy was taken, together with the earl of Mortaigne and Robert de Stutteville; and they were afterwards sent to England, and kept in confinement ; Robert de Belesme was put to flight, and William Crispin was taken, with many others ; Edgar etheling who had gone over from the king to the earl a short time before, was also taken ; but the king afterwards let him depart unhurt. After this, the king subdued the whole of Normandy, and brought it under his own will and power. This year also there was a very terrible and sinful war between the emperor of Saxony and his son, during which the father died, and the son succeeded to the empire.

A. 1107. This year king Henry was in Normandy at Christmas and reduced that land, and having settled the government, he came to England the following Lent; and he held his court at Windsor at Easter, and at Pentecost he held it at Westminster. And in the beginning of August he was again at Westminster, and there he gave away bishopries and abbacies, disposing of such as were without elders and pastors, both in England and Normandy; the number of these was so great that no man remembered that so many were ever before given away at one time. And amongst others who then received abbacies, Ernulf prior of Canterbury obtained that of Peterborough. This was about the seventh year of king Henry's reign, and the one and fortieth year that the French ruled in this land. Many said that they saw various tokens in the moon this year, and his* light waxing and waning contrary to nature. This year died Maurice bishop of London, and Robert abbat of St. Edmund's Bury, and Richard abbat of Ely. This year also Edgar king of Scotland died on the Ides of January, and his brother Alexander succeeded to the kingdom with king Henry's consent.

A. 1108. This year, at Christmas, king Henry was at Westminster; and at Easter at Winchester; and at Pentecost again at Westminster. After this, before August, he went into Normandy. And Philip king of France dying on the Nones of August, his son Louis succeeded him, and there were afterwards many battles between the kings of France and of England, whilst Henry remained in Normandy. This year also Gerard archbishop of York died before Pentecost, and Thomas was afterwards appointed as his successor.

A. 1109. This year king Henry was in Normandy both at Christmas and at Easter; and before Pentecost he came hither and held his court at Westminster, at which place the stipulations were ratified, and the oaths sworn, relative to the marriage of his daughter with the emperor. There was much thunder this year, and that very terrible. And Anselm archbishop of Canterbury died on the 11th before the Kalends of April, and the first day of Easter was on the greater Litany.

* The moon is of the masculine gender, and the sun feminine, in Anglo-Saxon, as in German. See A.D. 1110

A. 1110. This year, at Christmas, king Henry held his court at Westminster; and at Easter he was at Marlborough; and at Pentecost he held his court for the first time in the New Windsor. This year, before Lent, the king sent his daughter with manifold treasures over sea, and gave her to the emperor. On the fifth night of the month of May the moon appeared shining brightly in the evening, and afterwards his light waned by little and little, and early in the night he was so wholly gone that neither light, nor circle, nor any thing at all of him was to be seen, and thus it continued till near day, and then he appeared shining full and bright; he was a fortnight old the same day: the sky was very clear all the night, and the stars shone very brightly all over the heavens, and the fruit trees were greatly injured by that night's frost. After this, in the month of June, there appeared a star in the north-east, and its light stood before it to the south-west, and it was seen thus for many nights, and ever as the night advanced it mounted upwards and was seen going off to the north-west. This year Philip de Brause,* and William Mallet, and William Baynard, were deprived of their lands. This year also died earl Elias, who held Maine in fee-tail† of king Henry; but on his death the earl of Anjou took possession of that province, and kept it against the king's will. This was a year of much distress from the taxes which the king raised for his daughter's dowry, and from the bad weather by which the crops were greatly injured, and nearly all the fruit on the trees destroyed throughout the country.—This year men first began to work at the new monastery of Chertsey.

A. 1111. This year king Henry wore not his crown at Christmas, nor at Easter, nor at Pentecost. And in August he was called over sea to Normandy, by the hostility of certain of his enemies on the marches of France, and principally by that of the earl of Anjou, who held Maine against him: and after his arrival many were the intrigues and great the

* This is the term used by Miss Gurney. Dr. Ingram renders it Braiose; the Anglo-Saxon is Brause; the Latin, Braiosa. Is not the modern name Bracy derived from this root?

† That is, the territory was not a fee-simple, but subject to *taillage*, or taxation; and that particular species is probably here intended, which is called in old French "en queuage," an expression not very different from that in the text above.—INGRAM.

burning and plundering carried on by either party against the other.—This year Robert earl of Flanders died and his son Baldwin succeeded him. The winter was very long this year, a heavy and a severe time, by which the fruits of the earth were much injured; and there was the greatest pestilence among the cattle ever remembered.

A. 1112. All this year king Henry remained in Normandy, on account of the war in which he was engaged with France, and with the earl of Anjou, who held Maine against him. And whilst he was there he deprived the earl of Evreux and William Crispin of their lands, and drove them out of Normandy: and he restored to Philip de Brause the estates which had been taken from him, and he caused Robert de Belesme to be seized and put into prison. This was a very good year as to the crops, the trees and fields being very fruitful; but it was a very heavy and a sorrowful time, by reason of a dreadful pestilence among men.

A. 1113. This year king Henry was in Normandy at Christmas, at Easter, and at Pentecost. And in the summer he sent hither Robert de Belesme, to be confined in Wareham castle, and he himself came to this land soon afterwards.

A. 1114. This year, at Christmas, king Henry held his court at Windsor, and he held no court again this year. And at Midsummer he entered Wales with an army, and the Welsh came and treated with the king, and he caused castles to be built in that country. And in September he went over sea to Normandy. In the end of May, this year, a strange star with a long light was seen shining for many nights. This year also there was so great an ebb of the tide every where in one day, as no man remembered before, so that men went through the Thames both riding and walking, east of London bridge. This year there were very high winds in the month of October, and more especially on the night of the octaves of St. Martin, as was apparent in all woods and towns. This year also the king gave the archbishopric of Canterbury to Ralph bishop of Rochester; and Thomas [II.] archbishop of York died, and the king's chaplain Thurstan succeeded him. At this time the king went towards the sea, and he would have gone over but he was detained by the weather. In the meanwhile he sent his writ to Ernulf abbat of Peterborough, desiring him to come to him with speed,

for that he would speak with him on something of importance. On Ernulf's arrival, the king and the archbishops and bishops, and the English nobility who attended the king, forced him to accept the bishopric of Rochester; he withstood them long, but his resistance availed nothing. And the king commanded the archbishop to take him to Canterbury, and to consecrate him as bishop whether he would or not. This was done in the town called Burne* on the 17th before the Kalends of October. When the monks of Peterborough heard this, they were so sorry as never before, because Ernulf was a very good and a mild man, and did much good within the monastery and out of it whilst he remained there. May Almighty God be ever with him! Soon afterwards, at the request of the archbishop of Canterbury, the king gave that abbacy to a monk of Sieyes named John. And soon after this the king and the archbishop sent him to Rome for the archbishop's pall, and with him a monk named Warner, and the archdeacon John the archbishop's nephew, and they sped well on their journey. This was done on the 11th before the Kalends of October, at the town called Rugenor (Rowner, near Gosport), and the same day the king took ship at Portsmouth.

A. 1115. This year, during Christmas, king Henry was in Normandy, and whilst he was there he caused all the chief men of Normandy to do homage and swear oaths of allegiance to his son William, whom he had by his queen; and afterwards in the month of July he returned hither. This year the winter was so severe with snow and with frost, that no man then living remembered a harder: and it occasioned much disease among the cattle. This year pope Paschal sent hither a pall to archbishop Ralph, and he received it with much pomp at his see of Canterbury. Anselm an abbat of Rome, the nephew of archbishop Anselm, and John abbat of Peterborough, brought the pall from Rome.

A. 1116. This year, at Christmas, king Henry was at St. Alban's, and there he caused the monastery to be consecrated; and at Easter he was at Wudiham.† This year

* "East Bourne, in Sussex, where the king was waiting for a fair wind to carry him over sea."—INGRAM. "Sittingburn."—MISS GURNEY.

† Odiham.

also, the winter being severe and long, it was a very heavy time for the cattle and all things. And soon after Easter the king went over sea, and much treachery was practised, and there was plundering and taking of castles between France and Normandy. The chief cause of enmity was that king Henry aided his nephew earl Theobald de Blois, who was then at war with his lord Louis king of France. This was a very calamitous year, the crops being spoiled by the heavy rains, which came on just before August and lasted till Candlemas. Mast also was so scarce this year that none was to be heard of in all this land, or in Wales: moreover this land and nation were many times sorely oppressed by the taxes which the king raised both within the towns and out of them. This year also the whole of the monastery of Peterborough was burnt, with all the houses, excepting the chapter-house and the dormitory: and the greater part of the town was burnt also. All this happened on a Friday, being the 2nd day before the Nones of August.

A. 1117. All this year king Henry abode in Normandy, because of the war with the king of France and his other neighbours: then in the summer the king of France, and the earl of Flanders with him, entered Normandy with an army and remained in the country one night, and went away again in the morning without fighting. And Normandy was greatly oppressed by taxes and by the levies of troops that king Henry raised to oppose them. This nation also was sorely aggrieved in like manner, to wit, by the manifold taxes. This year also there was a violent storm of thunder and lightning, rain and hail, on the night before the Kalends of December; and on the 3rd night before the Ides of December the moon appeared for a long time as it were bloody, and then it was darkened. Also, on the night of the 17th before the Kalends of January the heaven appeared very red, as if it were burning. And on the octave of St. John the Evangelist's day there was a great earthquake in Lombardy, by which many monasteries, towers, and houses were thrown down, and the inhabitants suffered greatly. This was a very bad year for the corn, through the rains which ceased scarcely at all. And Gilbert abbat of Westminster died on the 8th before the Ides of December, and Farit* abbat of Abingdon

* Faricius is the Latin name. Is he the same who wrote the life of

died on the 7th before the Kalends of March. And in the same year. . . . . .

A. 1118. All this year king Henry was in Normandy, being at war with the king of France, and with the earl of Anjou, and with the earl of Flanders. And the earl of Flanders was wounded in Normandy, on which he returned to Flanders. The king was greatly impoverished by this war, and lost much money and land, and he was most harassed by his own men, who continually revolted and betrayed him, and went over to his enemies, and treacherously gave up their castles in the king's despite. England paid dearly for all this by the manifold taxes which ceased not all this year. This year, one evening in Epiphany week, there was dreadful lightning which caused many deaths. And queen Matilda died at Westminster on the Kalends of May, and was buried there. And Robert earl of Mellent died also this year. This year also, on St. Thomas's day, there was so exceedingly high a wind that none who then lived remembered a greater, and this might be seen everywhere from the state of the houses and of the trees. Pope Paschal also died this year, and John of Gaëta, whose other name was Gelasius, succeeded to the popedom.

A. 1119. All this year king Henry remained in Normandy, and was greatly perplexed by the war with the king of France, and by the treachery of his own men, who were continually revolting from him, till at length the two kings with their forces met in Normandy. The king of France was there put to flight and all his best men taken, and many of king Henry's vassals who with the garrisons of their castles had been against him, now submitted, and were reconciled to him, and some of the castles he took by force. This year, William the son of king Henry and of queen Matilda went to Normandy to his father, and the daughter of the earl of Anjou was there given and wedded to him. On Michaelmas eve there was a great earthquake in some parts of this land; and it was felt most in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire. The same year pope Gelasius died on this side of the mountains, and he was buried at Cluny; and the archbishop of Vienne was chosen pope, his name was Calixtus. He

bishop Aldhelm, published in the end of my edition of Aldhelm's works? [Aldhelmi Opera, Oxon. Lond. et Cant. 1845.]

afterwards came to Rheims, in France, on the feast of St. Luke the evangelist, and held a council there. And Thurstan archbishop of York journeyed thither, and because he received consecration from the pope, against right, and to the prejudice of the see of Canterbury, and against the king's will, Henry wholly forbade his return to England; and being thus deprived of his archbishopric, he proceeded with the pope towards Rome. This year also Baldwin earl of Flanders died of the wound which he had received in Normandy, and was succeeded by Charles the son of his aunt and of St. Canute, king of Denmark.

A. 1120. This year peace was made between the kings of England and of France, and after this all king Henry's own men in Normandy made their peace with him; also the earls of Flanders and of Ponthieu. Then the king ordered and disposed of his castles and land in Normandy after his own will; and so, before Advent, he returned to England. And the king's two sons William and Richard were drowned in the passage, together with Richard earl of Chester, and Ottuel his brother; and very many of the king's court, stewards, and chamberlains, and butlers, and other men in office, and an innumerable multitude of all ranks, were also lost. The manner of their death was a twofold grief to their friends, first because they lost their lives so suddenly, and next that few of their bodies were ever found. And this year that remarkable light twice came upon our Lord's sepulchre at Jerusalem, once at Easter, and again on the Assumption of St. Mary, according to the report of men of credit, who came from thence. And Thurstan archbishop of York was reconciled to the king through the pope, and he came to this land, and was put in possession of his archbishopric, though much against the will of the archbishop of Canterbury.

A. 1121. This year, at Christmas, king Henry was at Bramton, and before Candlemas Athelis was given him to wife at Windsor, and afterwards consecrated queen; she was the daughter of the duke of Louvain. And the moon was eclipsed on the night before the Nones of April, being the fourteenth day of the moon. And the king was at Berkley at Easter, and the Pentecost following he held a great court at Westminster, and in the summer he entered Wales with

an army, and the Welsh came to meet him, and made a treaty with him on his own terms. This year the earl of Anjou returned from Jerusalem to his own land, and after this he sent hither to fetch away his daughter who had been married to the king's son William. And on the night of Christmas eve there was a very high wind throughout this land, as might be seen plainly in its effects.

A. 1122. This year king Henry was at Norwich at Christmas, and at Easter he was at Northampton. And the town of Gloucester was burned the Lent before, for while the monks were singing mass, the deacon having begun the gospel "*Præteriens Jesus*," the fire fell on the top of the steeple,* and burned the whole monastery, and all the treasures in it, excepting a few books and three vestments: this happened on the eighth before the Ides of March. And there was a very high wind on the Tuesday after Palm Sunday, the eleventh before the Kalends of April: after this many strange tokens were noticed throughout England, and many ghosts were seen and heard. And on the night of the eighth before the Kalends of August, there was a great earthquake throughout Somersetshire and Gloucestershire. Again on the sixth before the Ides of September, St. Mary's day, there was a very high wind, which continued from nine in the morning till dark night. The same year Ralph archbishop of Canterbury died on the thirteenth before the Kalends of November. After this many shipmen were at sea, and on the water, and said that they saw a fire in the north-east, large and broad, near the earth, and that it grew in height unto the welkin, and the welkin divided into four parts and fought against it, as it would have quenched it; nevertheless the fire flamed up to heaven. They observed this fire at day-break, and it lasted until it was light every where: this was on the seventh before the Ides of December.

A. 1123. This year king Henry was at Dunstable at Christmas, and the messengers from the earl of Anjou came to him there, and he proceeded thence to Woodstock, and his

* By steeple we are here to understand not a spire, but a tower; spires not being then invented. I believe 'spear' is the word in Saxon to express what we mean by a spire; 'stepel,' or 'steopel,' signifying only a steep, lofty, or perpendicular structure; and our old antiquarians very properly make a distinction between a spire-steeple and a tower-steeple."—INGRAM.

bishops and all his court with him. Now it fell out on a Wednesday, being the fourth before the Ides of January, that the king rode in his deer-park, and Roger bishop of Salisbury was on one side of him, and Robert Bloet bishop of Lincoln on the other; and they rode there talking. Then the bishop of Lincoln sank down, and said to the king, "My lord king! I am dying," and the king alighted from his horse, and took him between his arms, and bade them bear him to his inn, and he soon lay there dead; and they took his body with much pomp to Lincoln, and Robert bishop of Chester,* who was called Pecceth, buried him before St. Mary's altar. Soon after this the king sent his writs over all England, and desired his bishops, his abbats, and his thanes, that they should all come to the meeting of his witan at Gloucester, on Candlemas-day, and they obeyed; and when they were there assembled the king bade them choose to themselves whomsoever they would as archbishop of Canterbury, and that he would confirm their choice. Then the bishops spake among themselves, and said that they would never more have a man of any monastic order as archbishop over them. And they all with one accord went to the king, and entreated that they might choose one of the clergy for their archbishop, and to this the king consented. All this had been set on foot by the bishop of Salisbury, and by the bishop of Lincoln before he died, for they never loved the rule of monks, but were ever against monks and their rule. And the prior and monks of Canterbury and all others of the monastic order who were there, resisted this proceeding two full days, but in vain, for the bishop of Salisbury † was very powerful, and swayed all England, and he was against them with all his might. Then they chose a clerk named William of Curboil, he was a canon of a monastery called Chiche; ‡ and they brought him before the king, who gave him the archbishopric, and he was received

* Or Lichfield. Peter, the bishop of that see in 1075 removed it to Chester, where it remained for a short period. Hence the bishops are frequently styled bishops of Chester. The present bishopric of Chester was not founded till 1541.

† Roger, bishop of Salisbury, was Lord Chief Justice, Lord Chancellor, and Lord Treasurer.

‡ "St. Osythe, in Essex; a priory rebuilt A. 1118, for canons of the Augustine order, of which there are considerable remains."—INGRAM.

by all the bishops; but the monks and earls, and almost all the thanes who were there, would not acknowledge him. At this same time the messengers of the earl departed from the king dissatisfied, nothing regarding his gifts. At this time also a legate arrived from Rome; his name was Henry, and he was abbat of the monastery of St. John of Angelo. He came for the Romescot; and told the king that a clerk had no right to be set over monks, and that therefore they had formerly chosen the archbishop in the chapter, as was befitting; but, for love of the bishop of Salisbury, the king would not undo his act. Soon afterwards, the archbishop went to Canterbury, and was received, though unwillingly, and he was forthwith consecrated there by the bishop of London, and Ernulf bishop of Rochester, and William Giffard bishop of Winchester, and Bernard bishop of Wales (St. David's), and Roger bishop of Salisbury. Then early in Lent the archbishop journeyed to Rome for his pall, and Bernard bishop of Wales, and Sefred abbat of Glastonbury, and Anselm abbat of St. Edmund's, and John archdeacon of Canterbury, and Giffard who was the king's court-chaplain, went with him. Thurstan archbishop of York went to Rome at the same time by order of the pope, and he arrived three days before the archbishop of Canterbury, and was received with much honour. Then came the archbishop of Canterbury, and it was a full week before he could obtain an audience of the pope, because the pope had been given to understand that he had received the archbishopric in opposition to the monks of the monastery, and against right; but that which overcometh all the world, namely gold and silver,* overcame Rome also, and the pope relented and gave

* "How fortunate for the writer that the pope and his cardinals did not understand Saxon! The boldness of this remark might otherwise have procured him the distinguished honour of an excommunication. Matthew Paris has a similar remark, but less openly expressed, respecting the venality of the Roman see: '*quæ nulli deese consuevit, dummodo albi aliquid vel rubei intercedat.* An. 1103.' Dr. Ingram might have quoted an equally elegant compliment paid to the cardinals, "*quorum nares odor lucri quæstus causa infœcavit,*" by Alan of Tewkesbury, if the orthodox editor of the Brussels edition of Vita Sancti Thomæ had not carefully expunged the passage: I have only done justice to historical accuracy by restoring the offensive words in "*Vita Sancti Thomæ*, vol. i. p. 359, *edit. Oxon. et Lond.*"

him his pall, and the archbishop swore obedience in all things that he should impose, on the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the pope then sent him home with his blessing. Whilst the archbishop was abroad, the king gave the bishopric of Bath to the queen's chancellor, named Godfrey; he was of Louvain: this was done at Woodstock on the Annunciation of St. Mary. Soon afterwards the king went to Winchester, where he remained during the festival of Easter; and while there he gave the bishopric of Lincoln to a clerk named Alexander, who was a nephew of the bishop of Salisbury, and he did this all for love of that bishop. Then the king proceeded to Portsmouth, and stayed there over Pentecost week; and as soon as he had a fair wind he sailed for Normandy, having committed all England to the care and administration of Roger bishop of Salisbury. The king was in Normandy all this year, and a great war broke out between him and his thanes, for earl Waleram of Mellent, and Amalric, and Hugh of Montfort, and William of Romare, and many others revolted from him and held their castles against him; and the king on his part opposed them with vigour, and the same year he won from Waleram his castle of Pont-Audemer, and from Hugh that of Montfort, and after this his affairs continued to prosper more and more. The same year, before the bishop of Lincoln came to his see, nearly the whole town of Lincoln was burnt, with a great number of persons, both men and women, and so much harm was done that no man could tell another how great the damage was. This happened on the fourteenth before the Kalends of June.

A. 1124. All this year king Henry was in Normandy, being detained there by his great wars with Louis king of France, and the earl of Anjou, and with his own subjects most of all. Then it befell on the day of the annunciation of St. Mary, that Waleram earl of Mellent was going from one of his castles called Beaumont, to another, Watteville, and Amalric the steward of the king of France, and Hugh the son of Gervais, and Hugh of Montfort, and many other good knights went with him. Then the king's knights from all the neighbouring castles came against them, and fought with them, and put them to flight, and they took the earl Waleram, and Hugh the son of Gervais, and Hugh of Montfort, and

five and twenty other knights, and brought them to the king; and the king caused earl Waleram and Hugh the son of Gervais to be confined in the castle of Rouen, and he sent Hugh of Montfort to England, and caused him to be put in strong bonds in that of Gloucester, and as many of the others as he thought fit he sent north and south to his castles for confinement. Then the king went on, and won all earl Waleram's castles in Normandy, and all the others which his enemies held against him. All this was on account of the son of Robert earl of Normandy named William. The same William had married the younger daughter of Fulk earl of Anjou, and for this cause the king of France, and all the earls and great men held with him, and said that the king did wrongfully keep his brother Robert in confinement, and that he had unjustly driven his son William out of Normandy. This year there was much unseasonable weather which injured the corn and all fruits in England, so that, between Christmas and Candlemas, one acre's seed of wheat, that is, two seedlips, sold for six shillings, and one of barley, that is, three seedlips, for six shillings, and one acre's seed of oats, being four seedlips, for four shillings. It was thus, because corn was scarce, and the penny* was so bad, that the man who had a pound at the market, could hardly, for any thing, pass twelve of these pennies. The same year, the holy bishop of Rochester Ernulf, who had been abbat of Peterborough, died on the Ides of March. After this died Alexander king of Scotland, on the 9th before the Kalends of May, and his brother David, then earl of Northamptonshire, succeeded him, and held at the same time both the kingdom of Scotland and the English earldom. And the pope of Rome called Calixtus died on the 19th before the Kalends of January, and Honorius succeeded to the popedom. The same year, after St. Andrew's day, and before Christmas, Ralph Basset, and the king's thanes held a witenagemot at Huncothoe, in Leicestershire, and there they hanged more thieves than had ever before been executed within so short a time, being in all four and forty men: and they deprived six men of their eyes and certain other members.† Many

* The pennies were of silver at this time.

† "Of here ægon and of here stanes."—*Original text.*

men of truth said that several of them suffered with great injustice, but our Lord God Almighty, who seeth and knoweth all hidden things, seeth that the miserable people is oppressed with all unrighteousness; first men are bereaved of their property, and then they are slain. Full heavy a year was this; he who had any property was bereaved of it by heavy taxes and assessments, and he who had none, starved with hunger.

A. 1125. Before Christmas, this year, king Henry sent from Normandy to England, and commanded that all the mint-men of England should be deprived of their limbs, namely of their right hands and of certain other members. And this because a man might have a pound, and yet not be able to spend one penny at a market. And Roger bishop of Salisbury sent over all England, and desired all of them to come to Winchester at Christmas; and when they came thither his men took them one by one, and cut off their right hands. All this was done within the twelve days, and with much justice, because they had ruined this land with the great quantity of bad metal which they all bought. This year the pope of Rome sent John of Crema, a cardinal, to this land. He first came to the king in Normandy, and the king received him with much honour, and commended him to William archbishop of Canterbury, who conducted him to Canterbury; and he was there received with much pomp, and a great procession, and he sang the high mass at Christ's altar on Easter day; and then he journeyed over all England, to all the bishoprics and abbacies, and he was honourably received every where, and all gave him great and handsome gifts; and in September he held his council in London full three days, (beginning) on the Nativity of St. Mary, with the archbishops, bishops, and abbats, and the clergy and laity, and he sanctioned the laws which archbishop Anselm had made, and he enacted many others, though they remained in force but a little while. Thence he went over sea soon after Michaelmas, and so to Rome. William archbishop of Canterbury, and Thurstan archbishop of York, and Alexander bishop of Lincoln, and John bishop of Lothian (Glasgow), and Geoffrey abbat of St. Alban's accompanied him, and were received with great honour by the pope Honorius, and they remained there the whole winter. The same year there was so great a flood on

St. Lawrence's day, that many towns were deluged, and men drowned, the bridges were broken up, and the corn fields and meadows spoiled; and there was famine and disease upon men and cattle; and it was so bad a season for all fruits as had not been for many years before. The same year John abbat of Peterborough died on the 2nd before the Ides of October.

A. 1126. This year king Henry was in Normandy till after harvest; and he came to this land between the nativity of St. Mary, and Michaelmas, accompanied by the queen, and by his daughter whom he had before given in marriage to the emperor Henry of Lorrain. He brought with him the earl Waleram, and Hugh the son of Gervais, and he imprisoned the earl at Bridge-north, and he afterwards sent him to Wallingford, and he sent Hugh to Windsor, and caused him to be kept in strong bonds. And after Michaelmas David king of Scotland came hither, and king Henry received him with much honour, and he abode through the year in this land. The same year the king caused his brother Robert to be taken from Roger bishop of Salisbury, and delivered to his son Robert earl of Gloucester, and he caused him to be removed to Bristol, and put into the castle. All this was done through the advice of his daughter, and of her uncle David king of Scotland.

A. 1127. This year, at Christmas, king Henry held his court at Windsor, and David, king of Scotland, was there, and all the head men of England, both clergy and laity. And the king caused the archbishops, bishops, abbats, earls, and all the thanes who were present, to swear to place England and Normandy, after his death, in the hands of his daughter the princess, who had been the wife of the emperor of Saxony. And then he sent her to Normandy, accompanied by her brother Robert, earl of Gloucester, and by Brian, the son of the earl Alan Fergan; and he caused her to be wedded to the son of the earl of Anjou, named Geoffrey Martell. Howbeit this displeased all the French and the English, but the king did it to have the alliance* of

* Miss Gurney renders this "to obtain peace from," following Gibson who turns 'sibbe' into Latin by pacem, which Ingram justly disapproves of, on the ground that the powerful Henry would hardly fear so small a potentate as the earl of Anjou.

the earl of Anjou and aid against his nephew William. The same year Charles, earl of Flanders, was slain in Lent by his own men, as he lay before the altar in a church, and prayed to God during mass. And the king of France brought William, the son of the earl of Normandy, and gave him the earldom, and the men of Flanders received him. The same William had before taken to wife the daughter of the earl of Anjou, but they were afterwards divorced because of their nearness of kin, and this through the interference of Henry, king of England; he afterwards married the sister of the king of France, and on this account the king gave him the earldom of Flanders. The same year Henry gave the abbacy of Peterborough to an abbat named Henry of Poitou, who was in possession of the abbacy of St. Jean d'Angeli; and all the archbishops and bishops said that this grant was against right, and that he could not have in hand two abbacies. But the same Henry made the king believe that he had given up his abbey on account of the great disquietude of the land, and that he had done so by the order and with the leave of the pope of Rome, and of the abbat of Cluny, and because he was legate for collecting the Rome-scot. Nevertheless it was not so, but he wished to keep both abbeys in his own hands, and he did hold them as long as it was the will of God. In his clerical state he was bishop of Soissons, afterwards he was a monk at Cluny, then prior of the same monastery, and next he was prior of Sevigny; after this, being related to the king of England and to the earl of Poitou, the earl gave him the abbey of St. Jean d'Angeli. Afterwards, by his great craft, he obtained the archbishopric of Besançon, and kept possession of it three day; and then lost he it right worthily, in that he had gotten it with all injustice. He then obtained the bishopric of Saintes, which was five miles from his own abbey, and he kept this for nearly a week, but here again the abbat of Clugny displaced him, as he had before removed him from Besançon. Now he bethought himself, that if he could be sheltered in England, he might have all his will, on which he besought the king, and said to him that he was an old man, and completely broken, and that he could not endure the wrongs and oppressions of that land, and he asked the king himself, and through all his friends, by name for the

abbacy of Peterborough. And the king granted it to him, forasmuch as he was his kinsman, and in that he had been one of the first to swear oaths, and to bear witness, when the son of the earl of Normandy and the daughter of the earl of Anjou were divorced on the plea of kindred. Thus vexatiously was the abbacy of Peterborough given away at London, between Christmas and Candlemas; and so Henry went with the king to Winchester, and thence he came to Peterborough, and there he lived even as a drone in a hive; as the drone eateth and draggeth forward to himself all that is brought near, even so did he; and thus he sent over sea all that he could take from religious or from secular, both within and without; he did there no good, nor did he leave any there. Let no man think lightly of the marvel that we are about to relate as a truth, for it was full well known over all the country. It is this; that as soon as he came there,* it was on the Sunday, when men sing "*Exurge quare O Domine;*" several persons saw and heard many hunters hunting.—These hunters were black, and large, and loathly, and their hounds were all black, with wide eyes, and ugly, and they rode on black horses and on black bucks. This was seen in the very deer-park of the town of Peterborough, and in all the woods from the same town to Stamford; and the monks heard the blasts of the horns which they blew in the night. Men of truth kept in the night their watch on them, and said that there might well be about twenty or thirty horn-blowers. This was seen and heard from the time that the abbat came thither, all that Lent, until Easter. Such was his entrance, of his exit we can say nothing yet: God knoweth it.

A. 1128. All this year king Henry was in Normandy, on account of the war between him and his nephew the earl of Flanders; but the earl was wounded in battle by a servant, and being so wounded he went to the monastery of St. Bertin, and forthwith he was made a monk, and lived five days after, and then died, and was buried there: God rest his soul! He was buried on the 6th before the Kalends of

* 'Thaer' in the original, not 'thider.' Dr. Ingram remarks, that this is the first instance of the negligent use of the word 'there' for "thither." But use is second nature, and in conversation at least, the former of these words has entirely superseded the latter.

August. The same year died Randulph Passeflambard bishop of Durham, and he was buried there on the Nones of September. And this year the aforesaid abbat Henry went home to his own monastery in Poitou, with the king's leave. He had given the king to understand that he would wholly quit that monastery, and that country, and abide with him in England, and at his monastery at Peterborough. But so it was not, for he spake thus guilefully, wishing to remain there a twelvemonth or more, and then to return again. May Almighty God have mercy upon this wretched place! The same year Hugh of the Temple came from Jerusalem to the king in Normandy, and the king received him with much honour, and gave him much treasure in gold and silver, and afterwards he sent him to England, and there he was well received by all good men, and all gave him treasures; and in Scotland also: and they sent in all a great sum of gold and silver by him to Jerusalem. And he invited the people out to Jerusalem, and there went with him and after him so great a number, as never before since the first expedition in the days of pope Urban. Yet this availed little: he said that there was a furious war between the Christians and the heathens, and when they came there it was nothing but leasing. Thus were all these people miserably betrayed.

A. 1129. This year the king sent to England after earl Waleram, and after Hugh the son of Gervase; and there they gave him hostages, and Hugh went home to France his own country, and Waleram remained with the king, and the king gave him all his lands, excepting his castle alone. Then the king came to England in harvest, and the earl came with him, and they were as great friends as they had been enemies before. Then soon, by the king's counsel and consent, William archbishop of Canterbury sent over all England, and commanded the bishops, and abbats, and archdeacons, and all the priors, monks, and canons of all the cells of England, and all who had the charge and oversight of the Christian religion, that they should come to London at Michaelmas, to hold conference upon all God's rights. When they came thither, the meeting began on the Monday and lasted till the Friday, and it came out that it was all concerning the wives of archdeacons and priests, that they

should part with them by St. Andrew's day; and that he who would not do this, should forego his church, his house, and his home, and never be permitted again to claim them. This was ordered by William archbishop of Canterbury, and all the bishops of England: and the king gave them leave to depart, and so they went home, and these decrees were in no respect observed, for all kept their wives, by the king's permission, even as before. The same year William Giffard bishop of Winchester died, and was buried there on the 8th before the Kalends of February; and after Michaelmas the king gave the bishopric to his nephew Henry abbat of Glastonbury, and he was consecrated by William archbishop of Canterbury on the fifteenth before the Kalends of December. The same year died pope Honorius, and before he was well dead, two popes were chosen. The one was named Peter, he was a monk of Clugny, and descended from the greatest men of Rome, and the Romans and the duke of Sicily held with him; the other was named Gregory, he was a clerk, and he was driven from Rome by the other pope and his kinsmen, and he was acknowledged by the emperor of Saxony, by the king of France, by Henry king of England, and by all on this side of the mountains. There was now so great a division in Christendom, that the like had never been before. May Christ appoint good counsel for his miserable people! The same year there was a great earthquake on St. Nicholas's night, a little before day.

A. 1130. This year the monastery of Canterbury was consecrated by archbishop William, on the 4th before the Nones of May. The following bishops were there: John of Rochester, Gilbert Universal of London, Henry of Winchester, Alexander of Lincoln, Roger of Salisbury, Simon of Worcester, Roger of Coventry, Godfrey of Bath, Everard of Norwich, Sigefrid of Chichester, Bernard of St. David's, Owen of Evreux, in Normandy, and John of Siezes. On the fourth day after this, king Henry was at Rochester, and nearly the whole town was burnt down; and archbishop William and the aforesaid bishops consecrated St. Andrew's monastery And king Henry went over sea to Normandy during harvest. The same year Henry abbat of Angeli came to Peterborough after Easter, and said that he had wholly given up that monastery. After him, the

abbat of Clugny named Peter came to England with the king's leave, and he was received with much honour wherever he went; he came to Peterborough, and there the abbat Henry promised that he would obtain for him the monastery of Peterborough, and that it should be annexed to Clugny but as it is said in the proverb:

"The hedge still stands
That parts the lands."

May Almighty God frustrate evil counsels! And soon afterwards the abbat of Clugny went home to his own country. This year was Angus slain by the Scottish army, and a great number of persons with him. There was God's right wrought upon him, for that he was all forsworn.

A. 1131. This year, on a moonlight night* after Christmas, during the first sleep, the northern half of the heaven was, as it were, a burning fire; so that all who saw it were more afeared† than ever they were before; this happened on the 3rd before the Ides of January. The same year there was so great a pestilence amongst animals over all England, as had not been in the memory of man; it chiefly fell on cattle and on swine, so that in the town where ten or twelve ploughs had been going, not one remained, and the man, who had possessed two or three hundred swine, had not one left him. After this the hens died; and flesh-meat became scarce, and cheese and butter. God mend the state of things when such is his will! And king Henry came home to England before harvest, after the feast of St. Peter *ad vincula*. The same year before Easter the abbat Henry went from Peterborough over sea to Normandy, and there he spoke with the king, and told him that the abbat of Clugny had commanded him to come over, and resign to him the abbey of Angely; and that then, with his leave, he would return home: and so he went to his own monastery and abode there till Midsummer-day. And on the day after the feast of St. John, the monks chose an abbat from among themselves, and brought him into the church in procession; they sang *Te Deum laudamus*, rang the bells, and set him on the abbat's seat, and did all obedience to him, even as

* "Luna splendente."—GIBS. "Monday night."—INGRAM.
† The original Anglo-Saxon has it so, 'offaerd.'

they would to their abbat; and the earl and all the chief men and the monks drove the other abbat Henry out of the monastery, and well they might, for in five and twenty years they had never known a good day. All his great craftiness failed him here, and now it behoved him to creep into any corner, and to consider if perchance there yet remained some slippery device, by which he might once more betray Christ and all Christian people. Then went he to Clugny, and there they kept him, so that he could go neither east nor west; the abbat of Clugny saying that they had lost St. John's minster through him, and his great sottishness; wherefore seeing he could give no better compensation, he promised and swore on the holy relics, that if he might proceed to England he would obtain for them the monastery of Peterborough, and would establish there a prior of Clugny, a churchwarden, a treasurer, and a keeper of the robes, and that he would make over to them all things both within and without the monastery. Thus he went into France and abode there all the year. May Christ provide for the wretched monks of Peterborough, and for that miserable place, for now do they stand in need of the help of Christ and of all Christian people.

A. 1132. This year king Henry returned to this land: then the abbat Henry came, and accused the monks of Peterborough to the king, because he desired to subject that monastery to Clugny; so that the king was well nigh beguiled, and sent for the monks; but by God's mercy, and through the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln, and the other great men who were there, he found out that the abbat dealt treacherously. When he could do no more, he wished that his nephew might be abbat of Peterborough, but this was not the will of Christ. It was not very long after this that the king sent for him, and made him give up the abbey of Peterborough, and depart out of the country, and the king granted the abbacy to a prior of St. Neot's named Martin, and he came to the monastery, right worshipfully attended, on St. Peter's day.

A. 1135. This year, at Lammas, king Henry went over sea: and on the second day, as he lay asleep in the ship, the day was darkened universally, and the sun became as if it were a moon three nights old, with the stars shining round it

at mid-day. Men greatly marvelled, and great fear fell on them, and they said that some great event should follow thereafter—and so it was, for the same year the king died in Normandy, on the day after the feast of St. Andrew. Soon did this land fall into trouble, for every man greatly began to rob his neighbour as he might. Then king Henry's sons and his friends took his body, and brought it to England, and buried it at Reading. He was a good man, and great was the awe of him; no man durst ill treat another in his time: he made peace for men and deer. Whoso bare his burden of gold and silver, no man durst say to him ought but good. In the meantime his nephew Stephen de Blois had arrived in England, and he came to London, and the inhabitants received him, and sent for the archbishop, William Corboil, who consecrated him king on midwinter-day. In this king's time was all discord, and evil-doing, and robbery; for the powerful men who had kept aloof, soon rose up against him; the first was Baldwin de Redvers, and he held Exeter against the king, and Stephen besieged him, and afterwards Baldwin made terms with him. Then the others took their castles, and held them against the king, and David, king of Scotland, betook him to Wessington [Derbyshire], but notwithstanding his array, messengers passed between them, and they came together, and made an agreement, though it availed little.

A. 1137. This year king Stephen went over sea to Normandy, and he was received there because it was expected that he would be altogether like his uncle, and because he had gotten possession of his treasure, but this he distributed and scattered foolishly. King Henry had gathered together much gold and silver, yet did he no good for his soul's sake with the same. When king Stephen came to England, he held an assembly at Oxford; and there he seized Roger bishop of Salisbury, and Alexander bishop of Lincoln, and Roger the chancellor, his nephew, and he kept them all in prison till they gave up their castles. When the traitors perceived that he was a mild man, and a soft, and a good, and that he did not enforce justice, they did all wonder. They had done homage to him, and sworn oaths, but they no faith kept; all became forsworn, and broke their allegiance, for every rich man built his castles, and defended them against him, and they filled the land full of castles. They

greatly oppressed the wretched people by making them work at these castles, and when the castles were finished they filled them with devils and evil men. Then they took those whom they suspected to have any goods, by night and by day, seizing both men and women, and they put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with pains unspeakable, for never were any martyrs tormented as these were. They hung some up by their feet, and smoked them with foul smoke; some by their thumbs, or by the head, and they hung burning things on their feet. They put a knotted string about their heads, and twisted it till it went into the brain. They put them into dungeons wherein were adders and snakes and toads, and thus wore them out. Some they put into a crucet-house, that is, into a chest that was short and narrow, and not deep, and they put sharp stones in it, and crushed the man therein so that they broke all his limbs. There were hateful and grim things called Sachenteges in many of the castles, and which two or three men had enough to do to carry. The Sachentege was made thus: it was fastened to a beam, having a sharp iron to go round a man's throat and neck, so that he might no ways sit, nor lie, nor sleep, but that he must bear all the iron. Many thousands they exhausted with hunger. I cannot and I may not tell of all the wounds, and all the tortures that they inflicted upon the wretched men of this land; and this state of things lasted the nineteen years that Stephen was king, and ever grew worse and worse. They were continually levying an exaction from the towns, which they called Tenserie,* and when the miserable inhabitants had no more to give, then plundered they, and burnt all the towns, so that well mightest thou walk a whole day's journey nor ever shouldest thou find a man seated in a town, or its lands tilled.

Then was corn dear, and flesh, and cheese, and butter, for there was none in the land—wretched men starved with hunger—some lived on alms who had been erewhile rich: some fled the country—never was there more misery, and never acted heathens worse than these. At length they spared neither church nor churchyard, but they took all that was valuable therein, and then burned the church and all together. Neither did they spare the lands of bishops, nor of

* A payment to the superior lord for protection.

abbats, nor of priests; but they robbed the monks and the clergy, and every man plundered his neighbour as much as he could. If two or three men came riding to a town, all the township fled before them, and thought that they were robbers. The bishops and clergy were ever cursing them, but this to them was nothing, for they were all accursed, and forsworn, and reprobate. The earth bare no corn, you might as well have tilled the sea, for the land was all ruined by such deeds, and it was said openly that Christ and his saints slept. These things, and more than we can say, did we suffer during nineteen years because of our sins. Through all this evil time the abbat Martin held his abbacy for twenty years and a half and eight days, with many difficulties: and he provided the monks and guests with all necessaries, and kept up much alms in the house; and withal he wrought upon the church, and annexed thereto lands and rents, and enriched it greatly, and furnished it with robes: and he brought the monks into the new monastery on St. Peter's day with much pomp. This was in the year 1140 of our Lord's incarnation, the twenty-third year after the fire. And he went to Rome and was well received there by pope Eugenius, from whom he obtained sundry privileges, to wit, one for all the abbey lands, and another for the lands that adjoin the monastery, and had he lived longer he meant to have done as much for the treasurer's house. And he regained certain lands that powerful men possessed by force; he won Cotingham and Easton from William Malduit, who held Rockingham castle. and from Hugh of Walteville he won Hirtlingbery, and Stanwick, and sixty shillings yearly out of Oldwinkle. And he increased the number of monks, and planted a vineyard, and made many works, and improved the town; and he was a good monk and a good man, and therefore God and good men loved him. Now will we relate some part of what befell in king Stephen's time. In his reign the Jews of Norwich bought a Christian child before Easter, and tortured him with all the torments wherewith our Lord was tortured, and they crucified him on Good Friday for the love of our Lord, and afterwards buried him. They believed that this would be kept secret, but our Lord made manifest that he was a holy martyr, and the monks took him and buried him honourably in the monastery and he

performed manifold and wonderful miracles through the power of our Lord, and he is called St. William.

A. 1138. This year David king of Scotland entered this land with an immense army resolving to conquer it, and William earl of Albemarle, to whose charge the king had committed York, and other trusty men, came against him with few troops, and fought with him, and they put the king to flight at the Standard, and slew a great part of his followers.

A. 1140. This year Stephen attempted to take Robert earl of Gloucester the son of king Henry, but failed, for Robert was aware of his purpose. After this, in Lent, the sun and the day were darkened about noon, when men eat, so that they lighted candles to eat by. This was on the 13th before the Kalends of April, and the people were greatly astonished. After this William archbishop of Canterbury died, and the king made Theobald, abbat of Bec, archbishop. Then there arose a very great war between the king and Randolph earl of Chester, not because the king did not give him all that he could ask, even as he did to all others, but that the more he gave them, the worse they always carried themselves to him. The earl held Lincoln against the king, and seized all that belonged to the king there, and the king went thither, and besieged him and his brother William de Romare in the castle: and the earl stole out and went for Robert earl of Gloucester, and brought him thither with a large army; and they fought furiously against their lord on Candlemas-day, and they took him captive, for his men betrayed him and fled, and they led him to Bristol, and there they put him into prison and close confinement. Now was all England more disturbed than before, and all evil was in the land. After this, king Henry's daughter, who had been empress of Germany, and was now countess of Anjou, arrived, and she came to London, and the citizens would have seized her, but she fled with much loss. Then Henry bishop of Winchester, king Stephen's brother, spake with earl Robert and with the empress, and swore them oaths that he never more would hold with the king his brother, and he cursed all those that did hold with him, and he said that he would give up Winchester to them, and he made them come thither. But when they were in that place Stephen's queen

brought up her strength and besieged them, till there was so great a famine in the town, they could endure it no longer Then stole they out and fled, and the besiegers were aware of them, and followed them, and they took Robert earl of Gloucester and led him to Rochester, and imprisoned him there: and the empress fled into a monastery. Then wise men, friends of the king and of the earl, interfered between them, and they settled that the king should be let out of prison for the earl, and the earl for the king; and this was done. After this the king and earl Randolph were reconci'ed at Stamford, and they took oaths and pledged their troth, that neither would betray the other: but this promise was set at nought, for the king afterwards seized the earl in Northampton through wicked counsel, and put him in prison, but he set him free soon after, through worse, on condition that he should swear on the cross, and find hostages that he would give up all his castles. Some he did deliver up, and others not; and he did worse than he should have done in this country. Now was England much divided, some held with the king and some with the empress, for when the king was in prison the earls and the great men thought that he would never more come out, and they treated with the empress, and brought her to Oxford, and gave her the town. When the king was out of prison he heard this, and he took his army and besieged her in the tower, and they let her down from the tower by night with ropes, and she stole away, and she fled: and she went on foot to Wallingford. After this she went over sea, and all the Normans turned from the king to the earl of Anjou, some willingly, and some against their will; for he besieged them till they gave up their castles, and they had no help from the king. Then the king's son Eustace went to France, and took to wife the sister of the king of France: he thought to obtain Normandy through this marriage, but little he sped, and that of right, for he was an evil man, and did more harm than good wherever he went: he spoiled the lands, and laid thereon heavy taxes: he brought his wife to England, and put her into the castle of ———;* she was a good woman but she had little bliss with him, and it was not the will of Christ that he

* "The MS. is here deficient; but .... b for 'byrig' is discernible." —INGRAM.

should bear rule long, and he died, and his mother also. And the earl of Anjou died, and his son Henry succeeded him; and the queen of France was divorced from the king, and she went to the young earl Henry and he took her to wife, and received all Poitou with her. Then he came into England with a great army and won castles; and the king marched against him with a much larger army, howbeit they did not fight, but the archbishop and wise men went between them and made a treaty on these terms: that the king should be lord and king while he lived, and that Henry should be king after his death, and that he should consider him as his father, and the king him as his son, and that peace and concord should be between them, and in all England. The king, and the earl, and the bishop, and the earls, and all the great men swore to observe these and the other conditions that were then made. The earl was received with much honour at Winchester and at London, and all did homage to him, and swore to keep the peace, and it soon became a very good peace, such as never was in this land. Then the king was more powerful here than ever he was; and the earl went over sea, and all the people loved him, because he did good justice, and made peace.

A. 1154. This year king Stephen died, and he was buried with his wife and his son at Faversham; they had built that monastery. When the king died the earl was beyond sea, and no man durst do other than good for very dread of him. When he came to England he was received with much honour, and was consecrated king at London on the Sunday before Christmas, and he held a great court there: and on the same day that Martin abbat of Peterborough should have gone thither he sickened, and he died on the 4th before the Nones of January. And that day the monks chose another abbat from among themselves. He is named William de Walteville, a good clerk, and a good man, and well beloved of the king and of all good people: and they buried the abbat honourably in the church, and soon afterwards the abbat elect and the monks went to the king at Oxford, and the king gave him the abbacy, and he departed soon afterwards to Peterborough, where he remained with the abbat before he came home. And the king was received at Peter-

borough with great respect, and in full procession; so he was also at Ramsey, at Thorney, and at .... and Spalding, and ....*

* The MS. is defective. Ramsey and Thorney are elicited from some faint traces in the Laud MS. which seem to have escaped the penetration of Gibson. The last paragraph, if Gibson's reading be correct, appears to relate to some building which the abbat and monks of Peterborough had begun about this time. See Gunton's *History of Peterborough Minster*, and Cont. Hug. Candid. *ap.* Sparke, pp. 92, 93.

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