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A

LITERAL TRANSLATION

OF THE

SAXON CHRONICLE.


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THE following version of the Saxon Chronicle was undertaken by a Lady in the Country, who had only access to the printed Texts. It was far advanced towards its completion before she was informed, that the Public was speedily to be indebted to the Rev. Mr. Ingram, for a Collated Edition of these singularly valuable Annals, accompanied by a Translation and Notes.

Under the expectation of the appearance of a work so much more complete in all its circumstances, the present very limited impression is intended for private circulation, and executed in a form, which, it is conceived, may render it convenient for reference.



THE  
**SAXON CHRONICLE.**

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**T**HE island Britain is 800 miles long, and 200 broad, and there are in this island five nations, English, Britons or Welch, Scots, Picts, and Romans. The Britons were the first inhabitants of the land; they came from Armenia, and first settled in the south of Britain; afterwards it fell out that the Picts came from the south of Scythia, with long ships, but not many, and they first landed in the north of Ireland, and they entreated the Scots that they might abide there, and they would not permit them; but the Scots said to them, We may nevertheless give you counsel; we know another island eastward of this, there you may live if you will, and if any withstand

you, we will aid you that you may conquer it. Then the Picts departed, and came to the northern part of this land, for southward the Britons possessed it, as we said before. And the Picts took wives of the Scots, on condition that they should always choose their Royal lineage on the woman's side, and they observed this custom long after. And it happened, in the course of years, that a division of the Scots passed from Ireland into Britain, and conquered some part of this land, and their leader was called Reoda; from him they are named the Dælreodi. Sixty years before Christ was born, Caius Julius, the Roman Emperor, came to Britain with 80 ships. He was at first overcome in a terrible battle, and lost great part of his army, and he left the remainder of his forces to abide with the Scots, and went into Gaul, and there he collected 600 ships, with which he returned to Britain, and at the first onset Cæsar's lieutenant, named Labienus, was slain. Then the Britons took large and sharp stakes, and drove them into the fording place of a certain river, under the water; this river was called the Thames. When the Romans discovered this, they would not go over the ford: then the Britons fled to the wood fastnesses, and the Emperor conquered very many of their chief

towns by great battles, and he passed again into Gaul.

1.

Octavianus reigned 56 years, and in the 42d year of his reign Christ was born: then astrologers came from the Eastern parts that they might worship Christ, and the children of Bethlehem were slain in Herod's search after him.

3.

This year Herod died, having stabbed himself, and his son Archelaus succeeded to the kingdom. And the child Christ was brought again out of Egypt.

6.

From the beginning of the world until this year, five thousand two hundred years were gone by.

11.

This year Herod, the son of Antipater, received the government of Judea.

12.

Philip and Herod divided Judea into Tetrarchies.

16.

This year Tiberius succeeded to the empire.

26.

This year Pilate received the procuratorship over the Jews.

30.

This year Christ was baptized, and Peter and Andrew were converted, and James, and John, and Philip, and the twelve Apostles.

33.

This year Christ was crucified, being about 5226 years from the beginning of the world.

34.

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

35.

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

37.

This year Pilate slew himself with his own hands.

39.

This year Caius\* succeeded to the empire.

44.

This year the blessed Apostle Peter established a bishop's see at Rome. This year James, the brother of John, was slain by Herod.

45.

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

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\* Caligula.



46.

This year Claudius, second of the Roman Emperors, came to the land of Britain, and brought under his power the greater part of this island, he also subjected the Orkney islands to the Roman Empire. This was in the 4th year of his reign, and the same year was the great famine in Syria, which is spoken of by Luke, in the book of the Acts of the Apostles. Then Nero succeeded to the Empire after Claudius : he was near losing Britain by his inactivity.

47.

The Evangelist Mark began to write his gospel in Egypt.

50.

This year Paul was sent bound to Rome.

62.

This year James, the brother of Christ, suffered martyrdom.

63.

This year the Evangelist Mark died.

69.

This year Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom.

70.

This year Vespasian received the Empire.

71.

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

81.

This year Titus succeeded to the Empire after Vespasian: he it was who said that he lost the day in which he did no good.

83.

This year Domitian, the brother of Titus, succeeded to the Empire.

84.

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

90.

This year Simon Peter the kinsman of Christ was crucified, and John the Evangelist rested in death at Ephesus.

92.

This year Pope Clemens died.

110.

This year the Bishop Ignatius suffered martyrdom.

114.

“Alexander commanded that water should be consecrated.”

116.

This year the Emperor Adrian began to reign.

124.

“Pope Sixtus ordered that the hymn, *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus*, should be sung in the Mass service.”

134.

“Pope Telesphorus ordered that the angelic hymn, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, should be sung on holy days.”

145.

This year Marcus Antoninus, and Aurelius his brother, took to themselves the Empire.

189.

This year Severus possessed himself of the Empire, and came into Britain with an army, and conquered great part of the island by battle; and then he built a rampart of turf, and a thick wall thereon, from sea to sea, for a defence to the Britons. He reigned 17 years, and then finished his days at York, and Bassianus\* his son succeeded to the Empire. His other son died. He was called Geza. This year Eleutherus received the bishoprick of Rome, and held it with glory 15 years: to him Lucius, King of the Britons, sent letters, and entreated that he might be made a Christian, and he obtained that which he desired, and the Britons afterwards remained in the true faith till the reign of Diocletian.

199.

This year the holy cross was found.

\* Caracalla.

202.

“ This year Pope Victor decreed that the feast of Easter should be held on the Sunday, even as his predecessor Eleutherus had determined.”

254.

“ Pope Cornelius removed the bodies of the Apostles by night from the catacombs, and buried that of Paul in the Via Ostensis where he had been beheaded, and that of Peter near the place where he had been crucified.”

283.

This year St. Alban suffered martyrdom.

311.

“ St. Silvester, the 23d Pope : in his time, the Council of Nice was held ; also the first Council of Arles, at which Avitianus, Archbishop of Rouen, was present.”

343.

This year St. Nicholas died.

379.

This year Gratian succeeded to the Empire.

“ At this time a Council of 150 Fathers was held at Constantinople under Damasus, against Macedonius and Eunomius.”

381.

This year the Emperor Maximus assumed the government : he was born in Britain, and thence

he went into Gaul, and there he slew the Emperor Gratian, and he drove his brother named Valentinian out of the country, and this Valentinian afterwards gathered together an army, and slew Maximus, and possessed himself of the Empire. At this time the heresy of Pelagius spread itself throughout the world.

403.

“This year Pope Innocent sent an epistle to Victricius, Archbishop of Rouen, and decreed that men should fast on the seventh day, because on that day the Lord lay in the sepulchre.”

410.

This year the Romans collected all the gold that was in Britain, and hid some of it in the earth, so that none could afterwards find it, and some they carried with them into Gaul.

423.

This year Theodosius the younger succeeded to the Empire.

425.

“At this time the series of French Kings began to reign: Pharamond was the first.”

429.

This year the Bishop Palladius was sent by Pope Celestine to the Scotch, that he might confirm their faith,

430.

This year Patrick was sent by Pope Celestine to preach baptism to the Scotch.

431.

“At this time the devil appearing in the form of Moses to the Jews in Crete, engaged to lead them dry-shod through the sea to the promised land, and thus, when many had perished, the rest were converted to Christianity.”

433.

“Pope Celestine—In his time was held the Ephesian Synod of 200 Bishops, against Nestorius Bishop of Constantinople, at which Synod Cyril Bishop of Alexandria, presided.

435.

This year the Goths took Rome, and never after did the Romans reign in Britain. This was about 1110 years from the building of the city. The Romans reigned in Britain 470 years in all from the first invasion of Caius Julius.

439.

“Pope Leo sanctioned the proceedings of the synod of Calchedon.”

443.

This year the Britons sent over sea to Rome, and begged for aid against the Picts, but they obtained none, because the Romans were going

against Ætla, King of the Huns; and then they sent to the Angles, and asked the same of the Princes of the Angle race.

444.

This year St. Martin died.

448.

This year, at the place where Herod formerly resided, John the Baptist discovered his head to two monks, who came from the east to pray at Jerusalem.

449.

This year Martian and Valentinian\* succeeded to the Empire, and reigned seven years. In their days Hengest and Horsa, called by Vortigern King of the Britons to his aid, landed in Britain at the place which is called Ypwinesfleet (Ebsfleet): they at first assisted, but afterwards made war upon the Britons. The King commanded them to fight against the Picts, and they did so, and gained the victory wherever they came; then they sent to the Angles, and desired them to send more aid, and told them of the imbecility of the inhabitants, and of the excellence

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\* Valentinian had reigned in the west from the year 425, therefore the Cotton MS. is more correct in saying, "Martian and Valentinian reigned," &c.

of this land. Thereupon they sent more forces; these came from three tribes in Germany; from the Old Saxons, from the Angles, and from the Jutes. From the Jutes came the men of Kent and of Wight; this is the people that now dwelleth in Wight, and the tribe among the West Saxons which is yet called the race of Jutes. From the Old Saxons came the East, the South, and the West Saxons. From the Angles (whose country lying between the Jutes and the Saxons, remained deserted from that time) came the East Angles, the Mid Angles, the Mercians, and all the Northumbrians: their leaders were the two brothers Hengest and Horsa, and they were the sons of Wihtgils; Wihtgils was the son of Wittu, Wittu of Wecta, Wecta of Woden: from this Woden the line of our Kings is descended, and that of the Southumbrian Kings also.

“At this time a synod of 630 Bishops was held at Calchedon against the Abbot Eutyches and Dioscorus.”

455.

This year Hengest and Horsa fought with King Vortigern, at the place which is called *Ægeles-ford* (Aylesford) and Horsa, the brother of Hengest was slain, and, after this, Hengest and his son *Æsc* assumed the government.



457.

This year Hengest and Æsc fought with the Britons at the place called Creccanford (Crayford) and there they slew four chieftains, and then the Britons forsook Kent, and fled in great fear to London.

465.

This year Hengest and Æsc fought with the Welsh near Wyppedes-fleote (Wippedfleet) and they slew twelve Aldermen, all Welsh; and one of their own Thanes, whose name was Wipped, was killed there.

473.

This year Hengest & Æsc fought with the Welsh, and gained spoils innumerable, and then the Welsh fled from the English, as they would from fire.

477.

This year Ælla, with his three sons, Cymen, and Wlencing, and Cissa, arrived in Britain with three ships, at the place which is called Cymenesora (Cimen Shore, Sussex) and there they slew many of the Welsh, and chased some into the wood which is named Andredes-leage.\*

482

This year the blessed Abbot Benedict shone in

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\* The *Weald* of Kent and Sussex; this forest formerly extended into Hampshire.

this world through the glory of his miracles, even as the blessed Gregory relateth in the book of dialogues.

485.

This year *Ælla* fought with the Welch near *Mearcredes-burnan-stede*.

488.

This year *Æsc* succeeded to the kingdom, and reigned over the Kentish men 24 years.

490.

This year *Ælla* and *Cissa* besieged *Andredes-cester*,\* and they slew all the inhabitants, so that not one Briton was left there.

“At this time the blessed *Mamercus*, Bishop of *Vienne*, appointed the solemn Rogation Litany.”

495.

This year two Aldermen, *Cerdic* and his son *Cynric*, arrived in Britain with five ships at the place which is called *Cerdices-ora* (near *Yarmouth*), and the same day they fought with the Welch. And *Cerdic* was the son of *Elesa*, *Elesa* of *Esla*, *Esla* of *Giwis*, *Giwis* of *Wig*, *Wig* of *Freawine*, *Freawine* of *Freothogar*, *Freothogar* of

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\* A Roman station in the forest of *Andred*, probably on the *Sussex* coast; *Somner* supposes it to be *Pevensay*, *Gibson* a fort near *Hastings*.

Brand, Brand of Baldæg, Baldæg of Woden; and in about six years from the time Cerdic and Cynric landed, they conquered the country of the West Saxons, and they were the first Kings who took the West Saxon land from the Welsh. And Cerdic possessed that kingdom 16 years, then he died and his son Cynric succeeded him, and held it 26 years. When he died his son Ceawlin succeeded to the kingdom, and reigned 17 years; when he died Ceol succeeded and reigned five years; when he died his brother Ceolwulf succeeded and reigned 17 years, and their line goeth back to Cerdic; then Cynegils, the brother's son of Ceolwulf, succeeded and reigned 20 years, and he was the first of the West Saxon Kings who received baptism; and then Cenwalh succeeded to the kingdom, and held it 31 years; this Cenwalh was the son of Cynegils; and then his Queen Sexburh reigned one year after him; then Æscwine, whose genealogy goeth back to Cerdic, reigned two years; then Centwine, the son of Cynegils, succeeded to the kingdom of Wessex, and reigned nine years; then Ceadwalla, whose genealogy goeth back to Cerdic, succeeded to the kingdom, and reigned three years; then Ina, whose line goeth back to Cerdic, succeeded to the kingdom of Wessex, and reigned 37 years;

then Æthelheard, whose genealogy goeth back to Cerdic, succeeded and reigned 16 years ; then Cuthred, whose genealogy goeth back to Cerdic, succeeded and reigned 17 years ; then Sigebright, whose line goeth back to Cerdic, succeeded and reigned one year ; then Cynewulf, whose line goeth back to Cerdic, succeeded and reigned 31 years ; then Brihtric, whose line goeth back to Cerdic, succeeded to the kingdom, and reigned 16 years ; then Ecgbriht succeeded and reigned 37 years and 7 months ; then his son Athelwulf succeeded and reigned 18 years and a half. Athelwulf was the son of Ecgbriht, Ecgbriht of Ealhmund, Ealhmund of Eafa, Eafa of Eoppa, Eoppa of Ingild, Ingild of Cenred ; Ina and Cuthburh and Cwenburh were also the children of Cenred ; and Cenred was the son of Ceolwald, Ceolwald of Cuthwulf, Cuthwulf of Cuthwine, Cuthwine of Celm, Celm of Cynric, Cynric of Creoda, Creoda of Cerdic. Then Æthelbald, the son of Athelwulf, succeeded to the kingdom, and held it five years ; his brother Æthelbriht succeeded him and reigned five years ; then their brother Ælfred succeeded to the kingdom and reigned 28 years and a half ; then Edward, the son of Ælfred, succeeded him, and reigned 24 years ; when he died his son Athelstan succeeded him,

and reigned 14 years, 7 weeks, and 3 days; then his brother Edmund succeeded, and reigned six years and a half all but two days; then his brother Edred succeeded him, and reigned nine years and six weeks; then Edwy, the son of King Edmund, succeeded to the kingdom, and reigned 3 years and 36 weeks all but two days; when he died his brother Edgar succeeded him, and reigned 16 years, 8 weeks, and 2 days; when he died his son Edward succeeded to the kingdom, and reigned —

501.

This year Port and his two sons, Bieda and Mægla, arrived in Britain with two ships, at the place called Portes-muthe (Portsmouth) and they landed forthwith, and there they slew a young Briton, a very noble man.

508.

This year Cerdic and Cynric slew a British King, whose name was Natanleod, and 5000 men with him; from him the country, as far as Cerdices-ford (Charford) was called Natanleag.

509.

This year the Abbot St. Benedict, the father of all monks, went to heaven.

514.

This year the West Saxons, Stuf and Whit-

gar, arrived in Britain with three ships at the place called Cerdices-ora, and they fought with the Britons and put them to flight.

519.

This year Cerdic and Cynric possessed themselves of the kingdom of Wessex, and the same year they fought with the Britons at the place which is now called Cerdices-ford (Charford), and from that day forth reigned the royal West Saxon line.

527.

This year Cerdic and Cynric fought with the Britons at the place called Cerdices-leah.\*

528.

“At this time Dionysius computed the cycle of Easter at Rome. Then Priscian explored the depths of grammar.”

530.

This year Cerdic and Cynric conquered the Isle of Wight, and slew many men at Wihtgara-byrig (Carisbrook).

534.

This year Cerdic, the first King of Wessex,

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\* Generally supposed to be Chersley, Buckinghamshire; Gibson thinks that the Britons must have retired further westward, and that therefore this is not the place; but in 556 they are found at Banbury.

died, and his son Cynric succeeded to the kingdom, and reigned 26 years, and they had given all the Isle of Wight to Cerdic's two nephews, Stuf and Wihtgar.

538.

This year, 14 days before the March calends, the sun was eclipsed from early in the morning till nine in the forenoon.

540.

This year the sun was eclipsed on the 12th of the calends of July, and the stars were seen at nearly half-past nine in the forenoon.

544.

This year Wihtgar died, and was buried at Wihtgarabyrig (Carisbrook).

547.

This year Ida assumed the government; from him descended the Northumbrian royal line.— Ida was the son of Eoppa, Eoppa of Esa, Esa of Ingin, Ingin of Angenwit, Angenwit of Aloc, Aloc of Beonoc, Beonoc of Brand, Brand of Bældæg, Bældæg of Woden, Woden of Freotholaf, Freotholaf of Frithowulf, Frithowulf of Finn, Finn of Godwulf, Godwulf of Geat: and Ida reigned 12 years, and built Bebbanburh (Bamborough), which was at first surrounded by a hedge and afterwards by a wall.

552.

This year Cynric fought with the Britons at the place called Searobyrig (Salisbury), and put them to flight. Cerdic was the father of Cynric, and the son of Elesa, Elesa of Esla, Esla of Gewis, Gewis of Wig, Wig of Freawine, Freawine of Frithogar, Frithogar of Brand, Brand of Bældæg, Bældæg of Woden. Egelberht (Ethelberht), the son of Eormenric was born, and in the — year of his reign, he, first of the (Saxon) Kings of Britain, received baptism.

556.

This year Cynric and Ceawlin fought with the Britons at Beranbyrig (Banbury).

560.

This year Ceawlin succeeded to the kingdom of Wessex; and (Ida being dead), Ælla to that of Northumberland,\* and he held it 30 years. Ælla was the son of Yffe, Yffe of Uscfrea, Uscfrea of Wilgis, Wilgis of Westerfalcna, Westerfalcna of Sæfugl, Sæfugl of Sæbald, Sæbald of Sigegreat, Sigegreat of Swæfdæg, Swæfdæg of Sigegear, Sigegear of Wægdæg, Wægdæg of Woden, Woden of Frithowulf. This year Æthelbriht succeeded to the kingdom of Kent,

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\* Deira.



and reigned 53 years. In his days the holy Pope Gregory sent us baptism, this was in the 32d year of his reign. And the Priest Columba came to the Picts, and converted those who live by the northern moors to the faith of Christ: and their King gave him the island that is called Ii (Iona); it contains five hides of land, and there, as men say, Columba built a monastery, and he lived there as Abbot 32 years, and he died there when he was 77 years old. The place is still in the possession of his heirs. The southern Picts were baptized long before by Bishop Ninna, who was educated at Rome.— His church and monastery consecrated in the name of St. Martin, are at Hwiterne (Whitehorn), and there he resteth with many holy men. Now there shall ever be an Abbot and not a Bishop in Iona, and all the Scotch Bishops shall be subject to him, because Columba was an Abbot and no Bishop.

568.

This year Ceawlin and his brother Cutha fought with Æthelbyrht and drove him into Kent, and they slew two Aldermen, Oslac and Cnebba, at Wibbandun (Wimbledon).

571.

This year Cuthwulf fought with the Britons

at Bedican-ford (Bedford), and took four towns, Lygean-burh (Leighton, Bedfordshire?) and Ægeles-burh (Ailesbury), and Bennington (Ben-shington, Oxfordshire), and Egones-ham (Ensham, Oxfordshire); and he died the same year.

577.

This year Cuthwin and Ceawlin fought with the Britons, and slew three Kings, Conmail and Condidan and Farinmail, at the place called Deorham (Durham or Dyrham, Gloucestershire) and they took three towns, Gloucester and Cirencester and Bath.

583.

This year Mauricius succeeded to the Roman Empire.

584.

This year Ceawlin and Cutha fought with the Britons at the place called Fethanleag (Frethorn, Gloucestershire?) and Cutha was slain there, and Ceawlin took many towns, and spoils, and treasures innumerable, and he returned thence to his own abode.

588.

This year King Ælla died, and Ætheric reigned after him five years.

591.

This year there was a great slaughter in Britain

at Wodnes-beorg (in Wiltshire?) and Ceawlin was driven out, and Ceolric reigned six years.

592.

This year Gregory succeeded to the Popedom of Rome.

“ This Pope Gregory added to the mass service the words, *Diesque nostros in tuâ pace disponas, &c.*”

593.

This year Ceawlin and Cwichelm and Cryda, (King of Mercia) died, and Æthelfrith succeeded to the kingdom of Northumberland; he was the son of Æthelric, and Æthelric of Ida.

596.

This year Pope Gregory sent Augustine, with many monks, into Britain, to preach the word of God to the English people.

“ At this time St. Benedict’s Monastery was destroyed by the Lombards.”

597.

This year Ceolwulf began to reign over the West Saxons, and he was always at war, and fighting either with the English, the Welsh, 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 Frithugar,

Frithugar of Brand, Brand of Bældæg, Bældæg of Woden. This year Augustine and his companions came to England.

601.

This year Pope Gregory sent a pall into Britain for Archbishop Augustine; he also sent many divines to his assistance, and the Bishop Paulinus brought Edwin King of Northumberland to be baptized.

603.

This year Ægthan, King of the Scots, fought with the Dælreodi, and with Æthelferth, King of Northumberland, at Dægstane,\* and almost the whole of his army was destroyed. Theodbold, the brother of Æthelferth, was slain there with all his troop. Never after durst any Scotch King lead an army against this people.

604.

This year Augustin consecrated two bishops, Mellitus and Justus: he sent Mellitus to preach baptism to the East Saxons, where there was a King named Sæbyrht, the son of Ricola the sister of Æthelbyrht, whom Æthelbyrht had establish-

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\* Dalston, Cumberland, according to Gibson: Turner (*Hist. of the Anglo Saxons*), supposes it to be Dawston, near Jedburgh.

ed there as King; and Æthelbyrht gave Mellitus a Bishop's see at London, and to Justus he gave one at Rochester which is 24 miles from Dorwitceaster (Canterbury).

606.

This year Gregory died, about ten years from the time that he sent us baptism; his father was named Gordian, and his mother Silvia.

607.

This year Ceolwulf fought with the South Saxons. And this year Æthelfrith led his army to Leger-ciestre (Leicester) and there he slew Welshmen without number, and thus was fulfilled the prophecy of Augustin which he spoke, saying, If the Welsh will not be at peace with us, they shall perish at the hands of the Saxons. Two hundred priests were slain, who came thither that they might pray for the Welch army; their Alderman was named Broemail, and he escaped thence with some fifty men.

611.

This year Cynegils succeeded to the kingdom of Wessex, and held it 31 years. Cynegils was the son of Ceol, Ceol of Cutha, Cutha of Cynric.

614.

This year Cynegils and Cwichelm fought at

Beamdune (Bampton, Devon?) and slew two thousand and forty-six Welshmen.

616.

This year died Æthelbyrht, King of Kent, the first English King who received baptism, and he was the son of Eormenric; he had reigned 56 years, and his son Eadbald succeeded him. And the same year 5,818 winters had passed away since the beginning of this world. Eadbald renounced his faith, and lived after the heathen manner, insomuch that he had to wife his father's widow. Whereupon Laurentius, who was then Archbishop of Kent, resolved to go southward over sea, and to abandon all here. And the Apostle Peter came to him by night, and beat him sorely, because he would thus have forsaken the flock of God; and he commanded him to go to the King, and to preach the true faith to him; and he did so, and the King was converted unto the true faith again. In this King's days the same Laurentius, who was Archbishop of Kent after Augustin, died on the 4th of the Nones of February, and he was buried near Augustin. The holy Augustin, when in perfect health, consecrated him Bishop, to the end that the Church of Christ, which was yet new in England, might have no interval without an Archbishop after his

death. After Laurentius, Mellitus, who was before Bishop of London, succeeded to the Archbishoprick; then the inhabitants of London, where Mellitus had been, became heathens, and within five years, Eadbald still reigning, Mellitus died. Justus succeeded to the Archbishoprick; he had been Bishop of Rochester, and he consecrated Romanus to that bishoprick.

617.

This year Æthelfrith King of the Northumbrians, was slain by Redwald King of the East Angles, and Edwin the son of Ælla obtained possession of the kingdom, and conquered all Britain, excepting Kent alone, and he drove out the Princes the sons of Æthelfrith; these were, first Eanfrid, then Oswald and Oswin, Oslac, Oswudu, Oslaf and Offa.

624.

This year Archbishop Mellitus died.

625.

This year Paulinus was consecrated Bishop of Northumberland by Archbishop Justus, on the 12th of the calends of August.

“ This is the Cycle of Dionysius. It consists of five series of nineteen years, that is of 95 years, and it takes its beginning from the 50th year of our Lord’s incarnation, and finishes in the 626th

year. This series of nineteen years, which the Greeks call Enneakaidekaeteris, and Pope John calls Kaideris, was established by the holy Fathers in the Council of Nice, and agreeably to such mode of calculating the 14th day of the (March) moon marked Easter every year without any uncertainty."

626.

This year came Eomer from Cwichelm, King of Wessex, and thought to murder King Edwin, but he stabbed his thane Lilla, and Forthber, and wounded the King. And the same night a daughter was born to Edwin; she was named Eanfled: then the King promised Paulinus that he would dedicate his daughter to God, if he would obtain of God that he might destroy his enemy who had sent the assassin. And he then marched with an army against the West Saxons, and there he overcame five Kings and slew much people. This year Eanfled, King Edwin's daughter, was baptized on the holy eve of Pentecost, and within twelve months the King was baptized at Easter with all his nobility. Easter then fell on the 2d of the Ides of April. This took place at York, where he had before ordered a church of wood to be built, which was consecrated in the name of St. Peter. There the King



gave Paulinus a Bishop's See, and there he afterwards ordered a larger church to be built of stone. This year Penda succeeded to the kingdom (of Mercia) and reigned 30 years, and he was 50 years old when he began to reign. Penda was the son of Wybba, Wybba of Cryda, Cryda of Cynewold, Cynewold of Cnebba, Cnebba of Icel, Icel of Eomær, Eomær of Angeltheow, Angeltheow of Offa, Offa of Wærmund, Wærmund of Wihtlæg, Wihtlæg of Woden.

627.

This year King Edwin was baptized with his people by Paulinus, at Easter. This Paulinus also preached Christianity in Lindisse (Lindsey), where a certain rich man named Blecca believed first, with all his adherents. And at this time Honorius succeeded to the Popedom after Boniface; he sent a pall hither to Paulinus. And Archbishop Justus died, and Honorius was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury by Paulinus at Lincoln, and the Pope also sent a pall to him, and he sent letters to the Scotch that they should turn to the observance of the true Easter.

628.

This year Cynegils and Cwihelm fought with Penda at Cirencester, and they made a treaty there.

632.

This year Eorpwald was baptized.

633.

This year King Edwin was slain by Cadwalla and Penda at Heth-felda (Hatfield, near Doncaster ?) on the 2d of the Ides of October, and he had reigned 17 years, and his son Osfrith also was slain with him. And after this Ceadwalla and Penda went and laid waste all Northumberland. When Paulinus saw this, he took Æthelburga, the widow of Edwin, and went in a ship to Kent, and Eadbald and Honorius received him very honorably, and gave him the Bishoprick of Rochester, and he abode there till his death.

634.

This year Osric, whom Paulinus had baptized, succeeded to the kingdom of Deira; he was the son of Ælfric, the uncle of Edwin; and Eanfrith, the son of Æthelfrith, succeeded to the kingdom of Bernicia. And this year Bishop Byrinus first preached baptism to the West Saxons under King Cynegils: this Byrinus came thither by the command of Pope Honorius, and was Bishop there till the end of his life. And this year also Oswald succeeded to the kingdom of Northumberland, and he reigned nine years, the ninth year being numbered to him because of the heathenism of

those who reigned the one year between him and Edwin.

635.

This year King Cynegils was baptized by Bishop Byrinus at Dorchester (Oxfordshire) and Oswald, King of Northumberland, was his godfather.

636.

This year King Cwichelm was baptized at Dorchester (Oxfordshire), and he died the same year; and Bishop Felix preached the Christian faith to the East Angles.

639.

This year Byrinus baptized King Cuthred at Dorchester, and took him for his godson.

640.

This year Eadbald, King of Kent, died; he reigned 25 years. He had two sons, Ermenred and Ercenberht, and Ercenberht reigned after his father. He threw down all the idols in his kingdom, and he was the first of English Kings who appointed the fast before Easter. His daughter was named Ercongota, an holy woman, as he was a glorious man, and her mother was Sexburh, the daughter of Anna, King of the East Angles; and Ermenred had two sons, who were martyred by Thunor.

642.

This year Oswald King of Northumberland was slain by Penda the Southumbrian, at Maserfeld (Oswestry) on the Nones of August, and his body was buried at Bearthan-ege (Bardney, on the Witham, Lincolnshire). His sanctity and his miracles were afterwards greatly renowned throughout the island, and his hands are preserved incorrupted at Bamborough. And the same year that Oswald was slain, his brother Oswin succeeded to the kingdom of Northumberland, and reigned 28 years.

643.

This year Cenwall succeeded to the kingdom of Wessex, and reigned 31 years. He caused the old church of Winchester to be built, and consecrated in the name of St. Peter. This Cenwall was the son of Cynegils.

644.

This year Paulinus, who had been Archbishop of York, (and afterwards Bishop of Rochester) died at Rochester on the 6th of the ides of October; he was a Bishop 19 years, two months, and twenty-one days; and this year Oswin the son of Osric, the cousin of Edwin, succeeded to the kingdom of Deira, and reigned seven years.

645.

This year King Cenwall was driven from his kingdom by King Penda.

646.

This year King Cenwall was baptized.

648.

This year Cenwall gave his kinsman Cuthred 3000 hides of land, near *Æsces-dun* (Aston, Berkshire?). This Cuthred was the son of Cwichelm, Cwichelm of Cynegils.

650.

This year *Ægelbyrht* of Gaul received the Bishoprick of Wessex, after the Roman Bishop *Byrinus*.

651.

This year King *Oswin* was slain on the 13th of the calends of September; and about twelve days afterwards Bishop *Aidan* died on the 2d of the calends of September.

652.

This year Cenwall fought at Bradford on the Avon.

653.

This year the Mid Angles, under the Alderman *Peada*, received the true faith.

654.

This year King *Anna* was slain. And *Botulf*

began to build the monastery at Icanhoe (Boston?) And Archbishop Honorius died this year on the 2d of the calends of October.

655.

This year Penda was killed at Winwid-feld, (on the river Winwed, now the Aire, near Leeds) and with him 30 others of Royal lineage, some of whom were Kings; amongst these was Æthelhere, the brother of Anna King of the East Angles: and the Mercians became Christians. Then had 5,850 years passed away since the beginning of the world. And Peada, the son of Penda, succeeded to the kingdom of Mercia: he and Oswin (Oswy?) the brother of King Oswald, came together, and agreed that they would build a monastery for the love of Christ, and to the honour of St. Peter. And they did so, and they gave it the name of Medeshamstede,\* because there is at this place a whirlpool (in the river Nen) called Medeswæl. And they began the foundations, and wrought thereon, and they committed the care of the work to a monk named Saxulf; he was the friend of God, and all the people loved him, and he was very nobly born in the world, and rich, but he is now much richer

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\* Now Peterborough.

with Christ. And king Peada reigned not long, for he was betrayed by his own wife at Easter. This year Ithamar Bishop of Rochester, consecrated Deusdedit to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, on the 7th of the calends of April.

656.

This year Peada was slain, and (after three years) Wulfhere, the son of Penda, took possession of the kingdom of Mercia. In his time Medeshamstede, which his brother had founded, became very rich: the King favoured it much for love of his brother Peada, and for love of Oswy his brother in baptism, and for love of the Abbot Saxulf. Then he said he would make it renowned and glorious, and this with the advice of his brothers Æthelred and Merwala, of his sisters Kyneburg and Kyneswith, with the advice also of the Archbishop who was named Deusdedit, and with that of all his wise men (gewitan) both clergy and laity in the kingdom; and he did so. Then the King sent to the Abbot that he should come to him with all diligence, and he came: then said the King to the Abbot, "I have sent for thee, beloved Saxulf, for the good of my soul, and I will clearly tell thee wherefore. My brother Peada and my beloved friend Oswy began a monastery for the love of Christ and of

St. Peter, and my brother is departed from this life even as Christ willed, and I would pray thee, O beloved friend, that they labour diligently at this work, and I will find thee gold and silver and land, and all and every thing that behooveth thereto." Then the Abbot went home and began to work, and he sped as Christ enabled him, so that in a few years the monastery was finished. When the King heard that, he was very glad, and he gave commandment to send throughout the land to all his Thanes, to the Archbishops and Bishops, and to his Earls, and to all who loved God, that they should come to him, and he appointed the day on which the monastery should be consecrated. King Wulfere was present when the monastery was consecrated, together with his brother Æthelred and his sisters Kyneburg and Kyneswith : and Deusdedit Archbishop of Canterbury, and Ithamar Bishop of Rochester, and the Bishop of London named Wina, and Jeruman Bishop of Mercia, and Bishop Tuda consecrated the monastery, and the priest Wilfred who was afterwards a Bishop was there, and all the Thanes who were in the kingdom. Then the monastery was consecrated in the names of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew. Then the King stood up before all his Thanes, and said



with a loud voice, “ Thanked be the high and Almighty God, for the good deed that is here done, and I will this day render honour to Christ, and to St. Peter, and I will, that you all confirm my words. I, Wulfere, do this day freely give to St. Peter, and to the Abbot Saxulf, and to the monks of this monastery, these lands and waters, and meres, and fens, and wears, all that lie around and are of my domain, so that none but the abbot and the monks shall have any claim upon them. This is the grant—from Medeshamstede unto North-burh (Narborough) and thence to the place which is called Folies, and all the fen straight to Esendic,\* and from Esendic to the place which is called Fethermuth, and thence 10 miles in a right line to Cuggedic, and so to Raggewilth, from Raggewilth five miles to the river which leadeth to Ælm (Elme) and Wisbeach, and so about three miles to Throkonholt (Trokenhole), and from Throkonholt direct through all the fen which is 20 miles long to Derevord (Denver ?) and so to Grætecross, and from Grætecross through the clear water called Bra-

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\* Uncertain—but the ditch Assendik is mentioned as the northern boundary of Croyland by the charter of Ethelbald, and described by Ingulphus as falling into the Welland.

dan-æ, and thence six miles to Paccelade, and so on through all the meres and fens that lie towards the town of Huntingdon, and the meres and the lakes Scælfremere and Witlesmere, and all the others thereabout, with the lands and houses that are on the eastern side of Scælfremere, and all the fens thence to Medeshamstede and to Welmes-ford (Welmsford) and from Welmes-ford to Clive (Cliff) and thence to Æstun (Easton) and from Æstun to Stan-ford (Stamford) and from Stan-ford even as the water runneth to the abovesaid Northburh (Narborough). These are the lands and the fens which the King gave to St. Peter's monastery. Then said the King, for this gift, it is little, but I will that they hold it so royally and so freely, that neither tribute nor tax be taken therefrom, excepting for the monks only. Thus will I make this monastery free, that it be subject to Rome alone : and I will that all amongst us who may not be able to journey to Rome should repair hither to St. Peter." Whilst he was thus speaking, the Abbot entreated that he would grant that which he should ask of him, and the King promised that he would : "I have some monks here who fear God, and would spend their lives as Anchorites if they knew where ; but there

is an island here called Ancarig (Thorney), and this would I ask, that we might there build a monastery for the love of St. Mary, and that those who would lead their lives in peace and rest may dwell there." Then the King answered and spoke thus, "Not this only, beloved Saxulf, but all things which I know that thou desirest on our Lord's behalf, even thus I approve and grant. And I entreat thee, brother Æthelred, and my sisters Cyneburh and Cyneswith, for our soul's redemption, that ye be witnesses, and that ye write this with your fingers. And I desire of all who succeed me, be they my sons or my brethren, or whosoever shall reign after me, that our gift may stand, even as they would be partakers of eternal life, and as they would escape everlasting torment. Whosoever diminisheth our gift, or the gift of other good men, let the heavenly porter diminish his part in the kingdom of heaven, and whosoever increaseth it, let the heavenly porter increase his portion in the kingdom of heaven." These were the witnesses who were there, and who subscribed with their fingers the cross of Christ, and who confirmed the grant with their tongues. King Wulfere was the first who confirmed it by word, and afterwards subscribed

to it with his fingers the cross of Christ, and he spoke thus, "I King Wulfere having these Kings, Earls, Generals, and Thanes as witnesses of my gift, and before the Archbishop Deusdedit, do confirm it with the cross of Christ." + "And I Oswy King of Northumberland, the friend of this monastery and of the Abbot Saxulf, do sanction it with the cross of Christ." + "And I King Sighere do confirm the same with the cross of Christ." + "And I King Sibbi do subscribe to it with the cross of Christ." + "And I Æthelred the King's brother do confirm it with the cross of Christ." + "And we the King's sisters Cyneburh and Cynewith do sanction the same." "And I Deusdedit, Archbishop of Canterbury, do confirm the same." Then all the others who were there confirmed this grant with the cross of Christ; these were by name Ithamar Bishop of Rochester, and Wine Bishop of London, and Jeruman Bishop of the Mercians, and Bishop Tuda, and the Priest Wilfrid, who was afterwards a Bishop, and the Priest Eoppa whom King Wulfere sent to preach Christianity in Wight, and the Abbot Saxulf, and the Aldermen Immine, Eadberht, Herefield, Wilberht, and Abon, and Æthelbold, Brordan, Wilberht, Ælfamund, and Frethegis.

These and many others, the King's chief men, all confirmed the grant. This writing was made in the year 664 after the birth of our Lord, in the 7th year of King Wulfere, and the 9th of the Archbishop Deusdedit. Then they laid the curse of God, and that of all the Saints, and of all Christian people upon him who should undo any thing that was now done: "So be it," said all, "Amen." When this transaction was finished the King sent to Rome, to Vitalianus the Pope that then was, and entreated that he would confirm all the aforesaid proceeding with his rescript and with his blessing. And the Pope sent his rescript, saying thus, "I Vitalianus the Pope do grant unto thee King Wulfere, and unto the Archbishop Deusdedit, and unto the Abbot Saxulf, all things that ye desire; and I forbid the King or any man whatsoever to have any claim thereon, excepting the Abbot only, neither let him be subject to any excepting the Pope of Rome, and the Archbishop of Canterbury. If any man break this ordinance in any thing, let St. Peter with his sword destroy him: whosoever observeth it, let St. Peter with his key open unto him the kingdom of heaven. Thus was founded the monastery of Medeshamstede, which was afterwards called Burh (Peterborough). Afterwards,

another Archbishop came to Canterbury; he was named Theodore, a very wise and a good man, and he held his synod with his Bishops and the Clergy. Then Winfrid Bishop of Mercia was deprived of his See, and the Abbot Saxulf was chosen thereto, and Cuthbald, a monk of the same monastery, was made Abbot. This synod was held 673 years after the birth of Christ.

658.

This year Cenwalh fought with the Welsh at Pen, and drove them to the Parret. This battle was fought after he came from East Anglia: He was there three years, for Penda had driven him into exile because he had divorced his sister.

660.

This year Bishop Æthelbryht departed from Cenwalh, and Wine held the Bishoprick three years. And Æthelbryht received the see of Paris on the Seine in Gaul.

661.

This year at Easter Cenwalh fought at Possenbyrig (Pontesbury, Shropshire), and Wulfere the son of Penda laid waste the country as far as Æsces-dune (Aston, Berkshire?). And Cuthred the son of Cwichelm and King Cenbyrht died in the same year. And Wulfere the son of Penda ravaged Wight and gave the island to Æthelwald

King of the South Saxons, because he (Wulfere) was his godfather : and the priest Eoppa by the desire of Wilverd and of King Wulfere first brought baptism to the inhabitants of Wight.

664.

This year the Sun was eclipsed. And Arcenbryht King of Kent died, and his son Ecbyrht succeeded him. And Colman\* with his companions went to his own country. And this year there was a great pestilence in Britain, whereof Bishop Tuda died and he was buried at Wagele. † And Ceadda and Wilver were consecrated. And the same year the Archbishop Deusdedit died.

667.

This year Oswiu and Ecbriht sent the priest Wigheard to Rome that he might be consecrated as Archbishop of Canterbury, but he died as soon as he arrived there.

668.

This year Theodore was consecrated Archbishop and sent to England.

669.

This year King Ecbyrht gave Raculf (Recul-

\* Bishop of Lindisfarn, expelled because he would not observe the appointed time of Easter

† Unknown. Bede gives Pægnalauh as the place of his death, and Smith supposes this to be Pinkley, near Durham.

ver) to the priest Basse that he might there build a monastery.

670.

This year Osweo King of the Northumbrians died on the 15th of the calends of March, and his son Ecoverth reigned after him. And Hlothere the nephew of Bishop Æthelbyrlit received the Bishoprick of Wessex, and held it 7 years; Bishop Theodore consecrated him. And Osweo was the son of Æthelverth, Æthelverth of Æthelric, Æthelric of Ida, Ida of Eoppa.

671.

This year there was a great slaughter of birds.\*

672.

This year King Cenwalh died, and his Queen Seaxburh held the kingdom one year after him.

673.

This year Ecbryht King of Kent died, and the same year there was a synod at Hertford.— And St. Ætheldryth began the monastery at Ely.

674.

This year Æscwine succeeded to the kingdom of Wessex, he was the son of Cenfus, Cenfus of Cenferth, Cenferth of Cuthgils, Cuthgils of Ceolwulf, Ceolwulf of Cynric, Cynric of Cerdic.

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\* Henry of Huntingdon says that the birds fought and killed each other, and gives a similar story of his own time.



675.

This year Wulfere the son of Penda, and Æscwine the son of Cenfus, fought at Bedanheafd (Bedwin, Wiltshire?) And the same year Wulfere died, and Æthelred succeeded to the kingdom. He sent Bishop Wilfrid to Rome, to the Pope that then was, named Agatho, and informed him by letter and by a message, how his brethren Peada and Wulfere had builded a monastery, which was called Medeshamstede, and that they had freed the same from all subjection to King or Bishop, and he desired that the Pope would confirm this with his rescript and with his blessing. Then the Pope sent a letter to England, saying thus, “ I Agatho, Pope of Rome, greet well the worshipful Æthelred King of Mercia, and Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury, and Saxulf Bishop of Mercia, who before was Abbot, and all the Abbots in England, with the salutation of God, and my blessing. I have heard the desire of King Æthelred, and of the Archbishop Theodore, and of the bishop Saxulf, and of the Abbot Cuthbald, and I will that it be in all wise, even as ye have spoken. And I command, on behalf of God and of St. Peter, and of all the Saints, and of all consecrated persons, that neither King, Bishop, Earl, nor any man, re-

ceive any duty, tax, tribute, or farthing, and that none claim any service of any kind from the abbacy of Medeshamstede. I command also that the Bishop of the Shire presume not to perform either ordination or consecration within this abbacy, unless the Abbot desire it of him; neither may he claim any bishop's or synod's fine, nor receive therefrom any returns of any kind. I will also that the Abbot be held as the Legate of Rome over all the island, and that whosoever may be chosen by the monks be consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury. I will and enact, if any man have made a vow to go to Rome, which he may not be able to perform, either from sickness, from his Lord's need of him, from poverty, or from any other cause, that he, be he of England or of any other island, repair to the monastery of Medeshamstede, and he shall receive the same absolution from Christ and St. Peter, from the Abbot and from the Monks, that he would have if he went to Rome. Now I desire thee, brother Theodore, that thou cause it to be proclaimed throughout England, that a synod be assembled, and that this letter be read and observed. I say also to thee, Bishop Saxulf, that as thou desirest that this monastery should be free, so I forbid thee, and all Bishops sent of

Christ and of his Saints, who come after thee, to receive any gain from the monastery, excepting that which pleaseth the Abbot. Now will I say this in words, that whosoever observeth this re-script and this commandment, he shall dwell for ever with Almighty God in the kingdom of heaven, and whosoever breaketh it, he shall be excommunicated and condemned to punishment with Judas and with all the devils in hell, unless he come to repentance. Amen." Pope Agatho and 120 Bishops sent this letter to England by Wilfrid Archbishop of York. This was done 680 years after the birth of our Lord, in the 6th year of King Æthelred. Then the King commanded Archbishop Theodore that he should appoint a meeting of all the Witan at the place which is called Heatfeld (Hatfield). When they were there assembled, then he caused the letter, which the Pope had sent thither, to be read, and they all confirmed the same, and fully ratified it. Then said the King, "All things that my brother Peada, and my brother Wulfere, and my sisters Cyneburh and Cyneswith, gave and secured to St. Peter and to the Abbot, I will that these stand; and I will in my day increase the gift for the sake of their souls and of mine own. Now give I this day to St. Peter and to

his monastery of Medeshamstede these lands, and all thereunto belonging: to wit, Bredune, Hrepingas, Cedenac, Swines-hæfed (Swines-head), Heanbyrig, Lodeshac, Scuffanhalch, Costesford,\* Stretford, Wætelle-burne, Lufgeard, Æthelhuniglond, Barthan-ig (Bardney), These lands I give to St. Peter all as freely as I myself possessed them, and so that none of my successors may take any thing therefrom. If any do this let him have the curse of the Pope of Rome, and the curse of all Bishops, and of all who are here as witnesses; and I confirm this with the sign of Christ.” + “ And I Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury am witness to this charter of Medeshamstede, and I confirm it with my own handwriting, and I excommunicate all those who may break any part thereof, and I bless all who shall observe it.” + “ I Wilfrid Archbishop of York am witness to this writing, and I confirm the said curse.” + “ I Saxulf, who was first Abbot and am now Bishop, do lay my curse and that of all my successors upon those who may break it.” “ I Ostrithe Queen of Æthelred do sanction the grant.” “ I Adrian the Legate assent

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\* Perhaps some place near Cosgrave, Northamptonshire, if Stretford be Old Stratford (opposite to Stony Stratford).

to the same." "I Putta Bishop of Rochester subscribe to it." "I Waldhere Bishop of London confirm it." "I the Abbot Cuthbald do establish the same, so that whosoever breaketh it let him take the curse of all Bishops, and of all Christian people." Amen.

676.

This year Æscwine died and Hedda succeeded to the bishoprick (of Winchester) and Centwine to the kingdom of Wessex. Centwine was the son of Cynegils, Cynegils of Ceolwulf. And Æthelred King of Mercia overran Kent.

678.

This year a comet appeared in August, and shone like a sun-beam every morning for three months. And Bishop Wilfrith was driven from his see by King Ecgverth, and two Bishops were consecrated for his bishoprick, Bosa for the Deiri, and Eata for the Bernicians. And Eadhed was appointed to the see of Lindsey, of which he was the first Bishop.

679.

This year Ælfwine was slain near the Trent, where Ecgferth and Æthelred fought. And this year St. Æthelfrith died. And Coludes-burh (Coldingham, Berwickshire) was burned with fire from God.

680.

This year Theodore convoked an Archiepiscopal Synod at Hatfield, that he might set forth aright the Christian faith. And the same year died Hilda Abbess of Streones-heale (Whitby).

681.

This year Trumbriht was consecrated Bishop of Hagulstades-*ea* (Hexham), and Trumwine as Bishop of the Picts, who were then subject to this country. This year also Centwine drove the Britons to the sea.

-684.

This year Ecgferth sent an army against the Scots, and Briht his Alderman therewith, and they lamentably plundered and burned the Churches of God.

685.

This year King Ecgferth commanded that Cuthberht should be made a Bishop, and Archbishop Theodore consecrated him at York, on the first day of Easter, as Bishop of Hexham, for Trumbriht had been deprived of that see. And the same year on the 13th of the calends of June King Ecgferth was slain by the north sea, and a great army with him. He reigned 15 years, and his brother Aldfrith succeeded him: this Ecgferth was the son of Osweo, Osweo of

Æthelverth, Æthelverth of Æthelric, Æthelric of Ida, Ida of Eoppa. This year Ceadwalla began to contend for the kingdom, he was the son of Cenbyrht, Cenbyrht of Cada, Cada of Cutha, Cutha of Ceawlin, Ceawlin of Cynric, Cynric of Cerdic, and Mul was the brother of Ceadwalla, and he was afterwards burned in Kent. And Hlothere King of Kent died the same year. And John was consecrated to the bishoprick of Hexham, and he kept possession of it till Wilfrith returned, and afterwards, on the death of Bishop Bosa, John received the bishoprick of York, and his priest Wilferth was afterwards consecrated to the bishoprick of York, and he retired to his monastery in Derawuda (Beverley). This year it rained blood in Britain, and milk and butter were turned into blood.

686.

This year Ceadwalla and his brother Mul laid waste Kent and Wight; this Ceadwalla gave to St. Peter's monastery of Medeshamstede a valley in a certain island called Heabureahg, the name of the Abbot of the monastery at this time was Egbalth, he was the third after Saxulf, Theodore being then Archbishop of Kent.

687.

This year Mul was burned in Kent, and 12

others with him; and this year Ceadwalla again ravaged Kent.

688.

This year King Ceadwalla went to Rome and received baptism from Pope Sergius, who gave him the name of Peter, and he died while he was yet in his baptismal garments, about seven days afterwards, on the 12th of the calends of May, and he was buried in St. Peter's Church. And Ina succeeded him in the kingdom of Wessex, and reigned 37 years, and he built the monastery of Glastonbury, and he afterwards went to Rome, and abode there unto the end of his days. Ina was the son of Cenred, Cenred of Ceolwald, Ceolwald was the brother of Cynigils, and they were both the sons of Cuthred the son of Ceawlin, Ceawlin was the son of Cynric, Cynric of Cerdic.

690.

This year Archbishop Theodore died, he was a Bishop 12 years, and he was buried at Canterbury, and Beorhtwald succeeded to the Archbishoprick on the calends of July; he was before Abbot of Reculver. Before this time the Bishops had been Romans, and afterwards they were English. There were then two Kings in Kent, Wihtréd and Wæbheard.



693.

This year Brihtwald was consecrated Archbishop by the Gallican Bishop Godwin, on the 5th of the nones of July. At this time died Gifemund Bishop of Rochester, and Archbishop Brihtwald consecrated Tobias to his bishoprick. About this time Brihtelm also died.

694.

This year the men of Kent made a treaty with Ina, and gave thirty thousand pounds for his friendship, because they had burned his brother Mul. And Wihtred succeeded to the kingdom of Kent and held it 33 years; this Wihtred was the son of Ecgbyrht, Ecgbyrht of Arcenbyrht, Arcenbyrht of Eadbald, Eadbald of Æthelbyrht. And as soon as he was King he caused a great council to be convened at the place called Baccancelde (Beckenham, Kent?); and there Wihtred King of Kent, and Brihtwald Archbishop of Canterbury and Tobias Bishop of Rochester, with Abbots and Abbesses, and many wise men were gathered together, all to consult upon the restoration of the churches of God in Kent. Now the King began to speak, and he said, "I will that all the monasteries and 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 kinsman King Æthelberht and of those who followed after him, do so remain dedicated to the glory of God, and that they continue thus evermore to eternity. Forasmuch as I Wihtred an earthly King, incited by the King of Heaven, and burning with zeal for righteousness, have learned this of our forefathers, that no layman has the right to obtrude himself into any church or into any thing that belongeth to the church, this therefore we strictly and unreservedly establish and ordain, and in the name of Almighty God, and of all the Saints, we forbid all Kings our successors, and Aldermen, and all laymen, to hold any lordship whatever over the churches, or over any of the possessions which I or my predecessors in former days have given them, as an everlasting inheritance to the glory of Christ, and of our Lady St. Mary, and of the holy Apostles. And observe that when it shall happen that a Bishop or an Abbot or an Abbess departeth this life, it shall be told to the Archbishop, and with his counsel and advice let him that is worthy be elected, and let the Archbishop inquire into the life and virtues of him who is chosen to so high an office, and in no wise let any one be chosen or consecrated thereto without the Archbishop's sanction. Kings shall create Earls and Aldermen,

Sheriffs and Judges, and the Archbishop shall govern and direct the church of God, and shall choose and appoint Bishops, Abbots, Abbesses, Priests, and Deacons, and shall consecrate them and confirm them by good precepts and example, lest any of God's flock stray and be lost."

695.

This year the Southumbrians slew Æthelred's Queen Ostrythe, the sister of Ecgfrith.

699.

This year the Picts slew the Alderman Berht.

702.

This year Kenred succeeded to the kingdom of Southumbria.

703.

This year Bishop Hedda died; he held the Bishoprick of Winchester 27 years.

704.

This year Æthelred King of the Mercians, the son of Penda, became a Monk, having reigned 29 years, and Cenred succeeded him.

705.

This year Ealdferth King of Northumberland died, at Driffeld, (Yorkshire) on the 19th of the calends of January. And Bishop Saxulf died also. Then Ealdferth's son Osred succeeded to the kingdom.

709.

This year died Bishop Aldhelm, whose diocese lay around Westan-wuda (Westwood, Wiltshire). In the early days of Bishop Daniel the land of the West Saxons was divided into two bishopricks, for before it had formed only one. Daniel held the one, and Bishop Aldhelm the other. Forthere succeeded Aldhelm. And Ceolred received the kingdom of Mercia, and Cenred went to Rome, and Offa with him, and Cenred remained there to the end of his life. And the same year Bishop Wilferth died at Oundle, and they carried his body to Rippon; he was the Bishop whom King Ecgferth had banished to Rome.

710.

This year Acca Wilferth's Priest received the Bishopric that Wilferth had held before, and this year the Alderman Beorht fought with the Picts between Hæfe and Cære (Heefield and Carehouse, Northumberland); and Ina and his kinsman Nun fought with Gerent King of the Welsh; and the same year Hygbald was slain.

714.

This year died St. Guthlac and King Pepin.\*

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\* Pepin 2d Mayor.

715.

This year Ina and Ceolred fought at Wodnesbeorh (Wodensborough, Wiltshire). King Dagobert (2nd) died this year.

716.

This year Osred King of Northumberland was slain on the southern border, he had reigned 11 years after Ealdferth. Then Cenred succeeded to the kingdom and reigned two years, and after him Osric 11 years. The same year also died Ceolred King of Mercia, his body lieth at Litchfield, and that of Æthelred the son of Penda at Bardney. And then Æthelbald succeeded to the kingdom of Mercia and reigned 41 years. This Æthelbald was the son of Alweo, Alweo of Eapa, Eapa of Wyb, whose lineage hath been written before. And Ecbyrht, that venerable man, converted the Monks of Iona to the true faith, so that they held Easter aright, and received the clerical tonsure.

718.

This year died Ingild the brother of Ina: their sisters were Cwenburh and Cuthburh, and this Cuthburh built the monastery at Winborn, and she was married to Ealdferth King of Northumberland, but they separated before his death.

721.

This year Bishop Daniel went to Rome. And the same year Ina slew the Prince Cynewulf. And this year the holy Bishop John died, he was Bishop 33 years, 8 months and 13 days, and his body resteth at Beverley.

722.

This year Queen Æthelburh destroyed Taunton which Ina had built. And Ealdbryht went as an exile into Surrey, and among the South Saxons : and Ina fought with the South Saxons.

725.

This year Wihtred King of Kent died on the 9th of the calends of May ; he reigned 32 years, and his lineage is written above ; and Ealdberht succeeded him. And Ina fought with the South Saxons, and there he slew the Prince Ealbyrht, whom he had driven into exile.

727.

This year Tobias Bishop of Rochester died, and Archbishop Brihtwold consecrated Aldulf to that bishoprick.

728.

This year Ina went to Rome, and there he ended his life, and his kinsman Æthelheard succeeded to the kingdom of Wessex, and held it 14 years ; and Æthelheard and the Prince Os-

wald fought the same year. Oswald was the son of Æthelbald, Æthelbald of Cynobald, Cynobald of Cuthwine, Cuthwine of Ccawlin.

729.

A comet appeared this year ; and St. Ecgberht died in Iona.

730.

This year Prince Oswald died.

731.

This year Osric was slain ; he was King of Northumberland 11 years, and Ceolwulf succeeded him in the kingdom, and reigned eight years. This Ceolwulf was the son of Cutha, Cutha of Cuthwine, Cuthwine of Leodwald, Leodwald of Ecgwald, Ecgwald of Ealdhelm, Ealdhelm of Oega, Oega of Ida, Ida of Eoppa. And Archbishop Beorhtwald died on the ides of January ; he was Bishop 37 years, 6 months, and 14 days ; and Tatwine was consecrated the same year ; he before was a Priest of Breodune in Mercia (Bredon, Worcestershire) : Daniel Bishop of Winchester, Ingwald Bishop of London, Aldwine Bishop of Litchfield, and Aldulf Bishop of Rochester, consecrated him on the 10th of the month of June : he held the Archbishoprick three years.

733.

This year Æthelbald took Somerton; and the sun was eclipsed, and Acca was driven from his bishoprick.

734.

This year the moon appeared as if it were tinged with blood. And Archbishop Tatwine died, and Bede also. And Ecgbriht was consecrated Bishop (of York).

735.

This year Ecgbriht received a pall from Rome.

736.

This year Archbishop Nothelm received a pall from the Bishop of Rome.

737.

This year Bishop Forthere and Queen Frythogith went to Rome. And King Ceolwulf received St. Peter's tonsure, and gave up his kingdom to his uncle's son Edberht, who reigned 31 years. And Bishop Æthelwold, and Acca, died, and Cynewulf was consecrated Bishop: and the same year Æthelwold plundered Northumberland.

738.

This year Eadbryht the son of Eata, the son of Leodwald, succeeded to the kingdom of Northum-



berland, and held it 21 years. Archbishop Ecgbyrht the son of Eata was his brother, and they are both buried in the same aisle at York.

741.

This year King Æthelheard died, and his kinsman Cuthred succeeded to the kingdom of Wessex, and he fought with Æthelbald King of Mercia. And Nothelm died, and Cuthbryth was consecrated Archbishop, and Dun as Bishop of Rochester. York was burned this year.

742.

This year a great Synod was held at Cloveshou (Cliff, in Kent, or Abingdon), and Æthelbald King of Mercia was there, and Archbishop Cuthberht, and many other wise men.

743.

This year Æthelbald King of Mercia and Cuthred King of Wessex fought with the Welch.

744.

This year Daniel gave up the bishoprick of Winchester, and Hunferth received it. And there were many shooting stars. And Wilferth the younger, who was Bishop of York, died on the 3d of the calends of May. He was Bishop 30 years.

745.

This year Daniel died, 43 years being gone by from the time that he received his bishoprick.

746.

This year King Selred was slain.

748.

This year Cynric Prince of the West Saxons was slain; and Eadbryht King of Kent died, and Æthelbryht son of King Wiltred succeeded him.

750.

This year Cuthred King of Wessex fought with Æthelhun, the high-minded Alderman.

752.

This year Cuthred King of Wessex, in the 12th year of his reign, fought with Æthelbald King of Mercia at Beorg-ford (Burford), and put him to flight.

753.

This year Cuthred King of Wessex fought with the Welch.

754.

This year Cuthred King of Wessex died.— And Cyneheard received the bishoprick of Winchester after Hunferth. And Canterbury was burned this year. And Cuthred's kinsman Sigebriht succeeded to the kingdom of Wessex, and reigned one year.

755.

This year Cynewulf and the witan of Wessex deprived his kinsman Sigebryht for his unrighte-

ous deeds of all his kingdom, excepting Hampshire, and Sigebryht kept that, till he had slain the Alderman who had adhered to him the longest, and then Cynewulf drove him into Andred, and he remained there until a certain peasant stabbed him at Pruutes-floed (Privet, Hampshire) and avenged the Alderman Cumbran. And Cynewulf often fought great battles with the Britons. And about 31 years from his accession to the kingdom he sought to banish a Prince called Cynheard: this Cynheard was the brother of Sigebryht, and he found that the King was gone with a small train to visit a lady at Meran-tun (Merton, Surrey), and there he beset him, and blocked up the house before the men who were with the King discovered him; and when the king perceived this, he went to the door, and defended himself manfully until he beheld the Prince, and then he rushed out upon him, and wounded him severely, upon which they all fought against the King until they slew him. When the King's Thanes who were in the house heard the tumult, they ran thither, every one armed as he was. And immediately the Prince offered money and their lives to each of them, but none would compound with him, and they fought against him until they all fell, save one, a British hostage, and he was sorely

wounded. In the morning when the King's Thanes, who had remained behind, heard that the King was slain, they rode thither, both his Alderman Osric and his Thane Wiverth, and all those whom he had left; and they found the Prince in the town wherein the King lay slain, and the gates shut against them. And when they came up he promised them their liberty, and riches, and lands, if they would give up the kingdom to him; and he told them that their kinsmen were with him, and would not desert him. Then they answered, that no kinsman was dearer to them than their Lord, and that they would never follow his murderer, and they bade their kinsmen abandon the Prince, and depart in safety. These replied, that the same offer had been made to their adversaries the former companions of the King, and that they were no more inclined to do this thing than their own fellow soldiers who with the King had been slain. And then they fought around the gates until the Prince's party fled into the town, and the Prince was killed, and all who were with him except one; he was godson of the Alderman who saved his life, though he had many wounds. Cynewulf reigned 31 years, and his body lieth at Winchester, and that of the Prince at Acsan-

mynster (A<sup>x</sup>minster), and their father's race goeth in a right line to Cerdic. And the same year Æthelbald King of Mercia was slain at Seccan-dune (Seckington, Warwickshire) and his body lieth at Hreopan-dune (Repton, Derbyshire); he reigned 41 years. Then Beornred assumed the government, and held it for a short time and unhappily. And the same year King Offa put Beornred to flight, and took possession of the kingdom, and held it 39 years, and his son Egverth reigned 140 days. He was the son of Offa, the son of Thincferth, Thincferth of Eanwulf, Eanwulf of Osmod, Osmod of Eawa, Eawa of Wybba, Wybba 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.

757.

This year Eadberht King of Northumberland received the tonsure, and his son Osulf succeeded to the kingdom, and reigned one year, and his servants slew him on the 9th of the calends of August.

758.

This year Archbishop Cuthbryht died; he held the archbishoprick 18 years.

759.

This year at Michaelmas Bregowine was consecrated to the archbishoprick, and held it four years. And Moll Æthelwold succeeded to the kingdom of Northumberland, and reigned six years and then resigned the throne.

760.

This year Æthelbryht King of Kent died, he was the son of King Wihtred. Ceolwulf died also.

761.

This year, a hard winter. And Moll King of Northumberland slew Oswin at Ædwines-clife\* on the 8th of the ides of August.

762.

This year Archbishop Bregwine died.

763.

This year Anbryht was consecrated Archbishop on the 14th day after Christmas. And Frithewald Bishop of Whitehorn died on the nones of May: he was consecrated at York on the 18th of the calends of September, in the 6th year of Ceolwulf's reign, and he was Bishop 29 years. Then Pyhtwine was consecrated Bishop

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\* Uncertain, but Simeon of Durham says that this battle was fought "*juxta Eldunum secus Melross.*"

of Whitehorn at Ælfet-ee,\* on the 16th of the calends of August.

764.

This year Archbishop Jeanbryht received a pall.

765.

This year Allhred succeeded to the kingdom of Northumberland, and reigned eight years.

766.

This year Archbishop Ecgbert died at York, on the 13th of the calends of September: he was Bishop 36 years. And Fritheberht died at Hexham; he was Bishop 34 years. And Æthelberht was consecrated to York, and Ealhmund to Hexham.

768.

This year King Eadberht the son of Eata died, on the 14th of the calends of September.

769.

“ The beginning of the reign of King Charles.”

772.

This year Bishop Mildred died.

774.

This year, at Easter, the Northumbrians drove

\* This place uncertain—the final ee marks a Bishop’s residence, as Hagulstades-ee, Hexham.

their King Alhred from York, and took for their Lord Æthelred, the son of Moll, and he reigned four years. And this year a red cross appeared in heaven after sun-set. And this year the Mercians and Kentish men fought at Oxford. And wonderful serpents were seen in the lands of the South Saxons.

775.

This year Cynewulf and Offa fought near Bynsintun (Bensington or Benson, Oxfordshire), and Offa took the town. In the days of King Offa there was an Abbot of Medeshamstede named Beonne, and this Beonne, by the advice of all the monks of that monastery, let the lands of ten bondsmen at Swineshead to the Alderman Cuthbriht, with the pastures and meads, and all that lieth adjoining, on condition that Cuthbriht should give the Abbot 50 pounds for the same, and every year one night's lodging or 30 shillings in pence, and also that the land should return to the monastery after his death. King Offa, and King Egferth, and Archbishop Hygeberht, and Bishop Ceolwulf, and Bishop Inwona, and the Abbot Beonne, and many other Bishops, Abbots, and other great men were witnesses to this transaction. In the days of King Offa there was an Alderman named Brordan; he besought the King



that for love of him he would enfranchise his monastery of Wocingas (Wickins, Northamptonshire) because he desired to give it to Medeshamstede, and to St. Peter, and to the Abbot that then was ; this was Pusa, the successor of Beonne, and the King loved him much. And the King freed the monastery of Wickins from service due to King, Bishop, Earl, or any other man, so that none but St. Peter and the Abbot should have any claims thereon. This was done in the King's town called Freoric-burn.

776.

This year Bishop Pehtwine died, on the 13th of the calends of October ; he was Bishop 14 years. And Æthelberht was consecrated at York to the bishoprick of Whitehorn, on the 17th of the calends of July.

778.

This year Æthelbald and Hearberht slew three High Sheriffs, to wit, Ealdulf the son of Bosa at Cininges-clife, and Cynewulf and Ecga at Hela-thyrn,\* on the 11th of the calends of April. Then Alfwold took possession of the throne and drove Æthelred from the land, and he reigned

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\* Perhaps either Northallerton, or Aller-thorn, near Pecklington, Yorkshire.

ten years. “ Charles entered Spain. Charles came into Saxony. Charles destroyed the cities of Pampeluna and Saragossa ; he gathered together his forces, and after receiving hostages, and subduing the Saracens, he returned into France by Narbonne and Gascony.”

780.

This year the Old Saxons and the French fought. And the High Sheriffs of Northumberland burnt the Alderman Beorn in Siltun (Silton, Yorkshire), on the 9th of the calends of January. And Archbishop Æthelberht died at York, and Eanbald was consecrated to his archbishoprick, and Bishop Cynebald (Cynewulf) gave up the see of Lindisfarne. This year Bishop Alchmund died at Hexham, on the 7th of the ides of September, and Tilberht was consecrated in his place on the 6th of the nones of October. And Higbald was consecrated at Socca-byrig (Sockburn, Durham), as Bishop of Lindisfarne.— And King Alwold sent to Rome for a pall for Archbishop Eanbold.

782.

This year Ceolred's Queen Wærburh died ; Bishop Cynewulf also died at Lindisfarne.— And there was a Synod at Aclea (Acley, Durham ?)

784.

This year Cyneheard slew King Cynewulf, and was himself killed with eighty-four men. Then Byrhtic succeeded to the kingdom of Wessex, and reigned 16 years, and his body lieth at Wareham; his father's line goeth straight to Cerdic. At this time King Ealhmund reigned in Kent, this King Ealhmund was the father of Egberht, and Egberht was the father of Athulf.

785.

This year died Botwine Abbot of Rippon, and there was a discordant Synod at Cealc-hythe.\* And Archbishop Janbryht lost part of his diocese. And Higebryht was chosen by King Offa. And Ecgverth was consecrated King. And at this time Legates were sent from Rome to England by Pope Adrian, to renew the faith and peace which St. Gregory sent us by the Bishop Augustin: and they were received with honour.

787.

This year King Beorhtic took to wife Eadburhge the daughter of Offa. And in his days the ships of the Northmen first came from Here-thaland (Denmark), they were three in number. And the Sheriff rode up to them and would have

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\* Perhaps Kilceth, on the southern border of Lancashire.

driven their crews to the king's town, for that he knew not who they were, and there he was slain. These were the first Danish ships that sought the land of the English people.

788.

This year a Synod was assembled at Pincanheale, in Northumberland (Finkley, Durham), on the 4th of the nones of September. And the Abbot Aldberht died.

“Charles came through Germany to the borders of Bavaria.”

789.

This year Alfwold King of Northumberland was killed by Siga, on the 9th of the calends of October, and a heavenly light was often seen in the place where he was slain. And he was buried at Hexham, within the church; and his nephew Osred the son of Alchred succeeded him. And a Synod was assembled at Aclea (Acley).

790.

This year Janbryht died, and the same year the Abbot Æthelheard was chosen Archbishop. And Osred King of Northumberland was betrayed and driven from the kingdom, and Æthelred the son of Æthelwold regained it.

791.

This year Baldwulf was consecrated Bishop of

Whitehorn, on the 16th of the calends of August, by Archbishop Eanbald and Bishop Æthelberht.

792.

This year Offa King of Mercia commanded that King Æthelbyrht should be beheaded: and Osred, who had been King of Northumberland, coming home after his exile, was taken and slain on the 18th of the calends of October, and his body lieth at Tinmouth. And King Æthelred took a new wife named Ælfled on the 3d of the calends of October.

793.

This year terrible prodigies took place in Northumberland, and sorely alarmed the people, these were dreadful lightnings and fiery dragons which were seen flying in the air; a great famine soon followed these portents, and shortly afterwards in the same year and on the 6th of the ides of January a heathen invasion sorrowfully laid waste the church of God at Lindisfarne by rapine and murder. And Sicga died on the 8th of the calends of March.

794.

This year Pope Adrian died; also Offa King of Mercia on the 4th of the ides of August, he reigned 40 years. And Æthelred King of Northumberland was slain by his own people, on the

13th of the calends of May, and the Bishops Ceolwulf and Eadbald departed from the land. And Ecgferth succeeded to the kingdom of Mercia, and died the same year. And Eadbryht whose other name was Præn obtained the kingdom of Kent. And the Alderman Æthelheard died on the calends of August. And the heathens plundered in Northumberland, and pillaged Ecgferth's monastery at the mouth of the river (Were); And one of their chiefs was slain there; some of their ships also were wrecked by stormy weather, and many of the men were drowned, and some came alive to the port, and these were slain at the river's mouth.

795.

This year the moon was eclipsed on the 5th of the calends of April, between cock-crowing and day break. And Eardwulf assumed the government of Northumberland on the 2d of the ides of May, and he was consecrated and placed on his throne by Archbishop Eanbald, and by the Bishops Æthelberht, and Higbald, and Badwulf, at York, on the 7th of the calends of June.

796.

This year Archbishop Eanbald died on the 4th of the ides of August, and his body lieth at York, and Bishop Ceolwulf died the same year. Ano-

ther Eanbald was consecrated to the bishoprick of the former, on the 19th of the calends of September. This year Cenwulf King of Mercia ravaged Kent as far as the marshes (near Romney), and took prisoner the King Eadberht Præn, and led him bound into Mercia, and caused his eyes to be put out, and his hands to be cut off. And Æthelard Archbishop of Canterbury assembled a synod, and at the command of Pope Leo he confirmed and ratified all things that were appointed concerning God's monasteries, in the days of King Wiltgar, and of other Kings; and he spoke thus, "I Athelard, the humble Archbishop of Canterbury, with the unanimous consent of the whole synod, and of the monasteries to which freedom was granted by faithful men in former days, and by the command of Pope Leo, do require in the name of God, and under pain of his fearful judgment, that henceforth no man daringly choose Lords over the heritage of God from amongst laymen. And even as it is commanded in the rescripts which the Pope had given, and as the holy men our fathers and teachers have appointed touching the sacred monasteries, so let it remain inviolate without gainsaying. If there be any man who will not observe this decree of God, and of our Pope, and of ourselves, but despiseth

it and setteth it at nought, let such know that they shall be called to account before the judgment seat of God. And I Archbishop Athelard, with 12 Bishops and 23 Abbots, do confirm and ratify the same with the sign of the cross of Christ."

797.

This year the Romans cut off Pope Leo's tongue and put out his eyes, and drove him from his throne, but soon after, by the help of God, he could see and speak, and was Pope again as before. And Eanbald received a pall on the 6th of the ides of September. And Bishop Æthelberht died on the 3d of the calends of November.

798.

This year during Lent there was a great battle at Hweallæge in Northumberland (Whaley, Lancashire) on the 4th of the nones of April, and Alric the son of Heardberht was slain there, and many others with him.

799.

This year Archbishop Æthelheard and Cynebryht Bishop of Wessex went to Rome. Bishop Alfun died at Sudbury, and was buried at Domuc (Dunwich), and Tidfrith was chosen after him. And Siric King of the East Saxons went to Rome. The same year the body of Wihtburh was found at Dereham, entire and unchanged, fifty-five years after she had departed this life.



800.

This year, on the 17th of the calends of February, the moon was eclipsed at the second hour of the night. And this year King Beorhtric and the Alderman Worr died. And Egbryht succeeded to the kingdom of Wessex. And the same day Æthelmund Alderman of the Hwiccas,\* rode through the river at Cynemæres-ford (Kempsford?); then the Alderman Weoxtan, with the men of Wiltshire, met him, and there was a great battle, and both the Aldermen were slain, and the Wiltshire men gained the victory.

“ Charles was made Emperor, and received the title of Augustus from the Romans : he condemned to death those who had maltreated Pope Leo, but at the request of the Pope, he afterwards granted them their lives, and sent them into banishment. Pope Leo consecrated him Emperor.”

802.

This year the moon was eclipsed at day-break on the 13th of the calends of January. And this year Beornmod was consecrated Bishop of Rochester.

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\* Inhabitants of the country east of the Severn—the ancient diocese of Worcester.

803.

This year Higbald Bishop of Lindisfarne died on the 8th of the calends of July ; and Egberht was consecrated in his place on the 3d of the ides of June. And this year Archbishop Æthelheard died in Kent, and Wulfred was consecrated Archbishop in his place. And the Abbot Forthred died.

804.

This year Archbishop Wulfred received a pall.

805.

This year died Cuthred King of Kent. The Abbess Ceolburh and the Alderman Heabyrhte died also.

806.

This year the moon was eclipsed on the calends of September ; and Eardwulf King of Northumberland was driven from his kingdom ; and Eanberht Bishop of Hexham died. The same year the sign of the cross appeared in the moon on a Wednesday, the 2d of the nones of June, before day break. This year also a wonderful circle was seen around the sun on the 3d of the calends of September.

807.

This year the sun was eclipsed on the 17th of

the calends of August, at the beginning of the 5th hour of the day.

810.

“Charles made peace with Nicephorus Emperor of Constantinople.”

812.

This year King Charles died, and he had reigned 45 years. And Archbishop Wulfred, and Wigbryht Bishop of Wessex, both went to Rome.

“Cireneius sends Ambassadors to Charles with peace. The Emperor Charles dies.”

813.

This year Archbishop Wulfred returned to his own bishoprick with the blessing of Pope Leo. And this year King Egbyht ravaged West Wales (Cornwall) from east to west.

814.

This year the noble and holy Pope Leo died, and Stephen succeeded him.

816.

This year Stephen died, and Paschal was consecrated Pope: and the same year the school of the English nation was burned.

819.

This year Cenwulf King of Mercia died, and Ceolwulf assumed the government. And the Alderman Eadbyrht died.

821.

This year Ceolwulf was deprived of his kingdom.

822.

This year two Aldermen, Burhelm and Muca, were slain. And there was a synod at Clofeshoo (either Cliff or Abingdon).

823.

This year there was a battle between the Welch and the men of Devon, at Gaful-ford (Camelford?) And the same year Egbryht King of Wessex and Beornwulf King of Mercia fought at Ellendune (Wilton), and Egbryht gained the victory, and there was great slaughter. From this expedition Egbryht sent his son Æthelwulf, and his Bishop Ealhstan, and his Alderman Wulfheard, with a large detachment into Kent, and they drove the King Balred northward across the Thames. And the men of Kent and of Surrey, and the South and East Saxons, came over to Egbryht, because they had been unjustly wrested from the rule of his kinsmen. And the same year the King of the East Angles and his people sought the alliance and protection of King Egbryht, for dread of the Mercians; and the same year the East Angles slew Beornwulf King of Mercia.

825.

This year Ludecan King of Mercia was slain, and his five Aldermen with him, and Wiglaf succeeded him.

827.

This year the moon was eclipsed on Christmas night: and the same year King Egbryht conquered the kingdom of Mercia, and all south of the Humber: he was the eighth king who was sovereign of Britain; Ella King of the South Saxons was the first who possessed this great dominion, Ceawlin King of Wessex was the next, the third was Æthelbryht King of Kent, the fourth Rædwald King of the East Angles, Edwin King of Northumberland was the fifth, Oswald who reigned after him the sixth, Oswio the brother of Oswald was the seventh, and the eighth was Egbryht King of Wessex. And this Egbryht led an army to Dore against the Northumbrians, and there they tendered him their submission and allegiance, whereupon they separated.

828.

This year Wiglaf\* again obtained the kingdom of Mercia: and Bishop Æthelwald died: and the same year King Egbryht led an army

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\*He had been deposed by Egbryht.

against the men of North Wales, and reduced them to subjection.

829.

This year Archbishop Wulfred died, and the Abbot Feologild was chosen to the Archbishoprick on the 7th of the calends of May, and he was consecrated on a Sunday, the 5th of the ides of June, and he died on the 3d of the calends of September.

830.

This year Ceolnoth was chosen and consecrated Archbishop: and the Abbot Feologild died.

831.

This year Archbishop Ceolnoth received a pall.

832.

This year heathen men plundered Sheppey.

833.

This year King Egbryht fought with 35 pirate ships at Carrum (Charmouth), and the slaughter was great, and the Danes kept possession of the place of battle. And two Bishops, Hereferth and Wigen were killed, also two Aldermen, Dudda and Osmod.

835.

This year a large fleet of armed men came to the West Welch (inhabitants of Cornwall) and they united and made war upon Egbryht King of

Wessex. When he heard this he marched against them with an army, and fought with them at Hengest-dune (Hengston-hill) and there he put to flight both the Welsh and the Danes.

836.

This year King Egbryht died. Before he was King, Offa King of Mercia and Borhtric King of Wessex had driven him out of England into France for three years, Beorhtric aiding Offa because he had his daughter for his Queen; and Egbryht afterwards returned again, and reigned 37 years and 7 months. And Æthelwulf the son of Egbryht succeeded to the kingdom of Wessex, and he (Egbryht?\*) gave his son Æthelstan the kingdoms of Kent and Essex, and that of Surrey and Sussex.

837.

This year the Alderman Wulfheard fought with 33 pirate ships at Southampton, and there he made great slaughter, and gained the victory. And Wulfheard died this year. And the same

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\*So it seems from a var. reading, "And Æthelstan his other (or 2d) son succeeded to the kingdom of Kent, to Surrey, and to Sussex." Henry of Huntingdon and Roger de Hoveden also make Æthelstan the son of Egbert, but Ethelwerd, William of Malmesbury, and Asser, speak of him as the son of Æthelwulf.

year Duke Æthelhelm and the Dorset men fought with the Danish army in Port (Portland), and had the advantage for some time, but the Danes kept possession of the field of battle, and slew the Alderman.

838.

This year the Alderman Herebryht and many others with him were slain by the heathens, in the marshes (near Romne). And again, the same year, many were slain by this army in Lindsey, East Anglia, and Kent.

839.

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

840.

This year King Æthelwulf fought at Carrum, (Charmouth) with the forces of 35 pirate ships, and the Danes kept possession of the field of battle. The Emperor Louis died.

845.

This year the Alderman Eanwulf with the men of Somerset, and Bishop Ealchstan, and the Alderman Osric with the Dorset men gave battle to the Danish army at the mouth of the Parret, and made great slaughter, and gained the victory.

851.

This year the Alderman Ceorl and the men of



Devon fought with a heathen army at Wicganbeorch (Wembury, near Plymouth), and there they made great slaughter and won the victory. And the same year King Æthelstan and Duke Ealchere fought in ships, and slew a great number (of Danes), near Sandwich, in Kent, and they took nine ships, and put the rest to flight. Then the heathens first remained through the winter in Thanet. And the same year 350 ships came to the mouth of the Thames, and the men landed and stormed Canterbury and London, and put to flight Beorhtulf King of the Mercians and his army. And then they went southward over the Thames into Surrey, and King Æthelwulf and his son Æthelbald, with the West Saxon forces, fought with them at Aclea (Okeley), and there they made the greatest slaughter of these heathens that we have ever heard of unto this present day, and there they gained the victory.

852.

This year Ceolred Abbot of Medeshamstede and the monks let the land of Sempigaham (Sempingham) to Wulfred, on condition that it should return to the monastery after his death, and that Wulfred should give the land of Sliowaford (Sleaford) unto Medeshamstede, and that he should give every year to the monastery 60 fother

of wood, and 12 fother of coals, and 6 fother of turf, and 2 tuns full of clear ale, and two slain oxen, and 600 loaves, and 10 measures of Welch ale, also a horse every year, and 30 shillings, and one night's lodging. King Burhred, Archbishop Ceolred, the Bishops Tunberht, Ceured, Alhim, and Berhtred, the Abbots Wiltred and Werbtherd, and the Aldermen Æthelheard and Hunberht, and many others were witnesses thereof.

853.

This year Burhred King of Mercia and his Witan entreated King Æthelwulf that he would assist them in bringing the North Welshmen into subjection, and he did so, for he marched with an army through Mercia into North Wales, and they all submitted to him. And the same year King Æthelwulf sent his son Alfred to Rome. Leo was then Pope, and he consecrated him as King, and took him for his Godson. The same year Ealhere with the men of Kent, and Huda with those of Surrey, fought with a heathen army in Thanet, and at first they were victorious, and many were there slain and drowned on either side, and both the Aldermen were killed. And Burhred King of Mercia married the daughter of Æthelwulf King of Wessex.

This year the heathens first remained through the winter in Sheppey. And the same year King Æthelwulf made a grant of the title of his lands throughout all his kingdom, for the love of God and for his own soul's eternal welfare. And this year he went to Rome with much pomp, and he abode there 12 months; then he journeyed homeward, and Charles King of France gave him his daughter named Leothete for his Queen; and after this he came to his people, and they rejoiced thereat. And in about 2 years from the time he came into France, he died, and his body lieth at Winchester; he reigned 18 years and a half. This Æthelwulf was the son of Egbyrht, Egbyrht of Ealhmund, Ealhmund of Eafa, Eafa of Eoppa, Eoppa of Ingild, Ingild was the brother of Ina King of Wessex, who held his kingdom 37 years, and afterwards went to St. Peter and ended his life at Rome: they were the sons of Cenred, Cenred of Ceolwald, Ceolwald of Cutha, Cutha of Cuthwine, Cuthwine of Ceawlin, Ceawlin of Cynric, Cynric of Creoda, Creoda of Cerdic, Cerdic was the son of Elesa, Elesa of Esla, Esla of Gewis, Gewis of Wig, Wig of Freawine, Freawine of Frithugar, Frithugar of Brand, Brand of Bældæg, Bældæg of Woden, Woden

of Frithuwald, Frithuwald of Freawine, Freawine of Frithuwulf, Frithuwulf of Finn, Finn of Godwulf, Godwulf of Geat, Geat of Tætwa, Tætwa of Beaw, Beaw of Sceldwea, Sceldwea of Heremod, Heremod of Itermon, Itermon of Hathra, Hathra of Hwala, Hwala of Bedwig, Bedwig of Sceaf, the son of Noah, who was born in the ark; Lamech, Methusalem, Enoch, Jared, Malalahed, Cainion, Enos, Seth, Adam *primus homo et Pater noster, id est, Christus*, Amen.—Then the two sons of Æthelwulf succeeded him, Æthelbald in the kingdom of Wessex, and Æthelbryht in the kingdoms of Kent, of Essex, and of Surrey and Sussex. Æthelbald reigned 5 years. Æthelwulf had sent his third son Alfred to Rome, and when the Pope heard that he was dead, he consecrated Alfred as King, and was godfather at his confirmation, even as his father Æthelwulf had desired when he sent him thither.

860.

This year King Æthelbald died, and his body lieth at Sherborn, and his brother Æthelbryht succeeded to all his kingdom, and he held it in goodly concord and great peacefulness. And in his days a large army landed and stormed Winchester, and the Alderman Osric with the men of Hampshire, and the Alderman Æthelwulf

with the Berkshire men, fought with them and put them to flight, and kept possession of the field of battle. And this Æthelbryht reigned 5 years, and his body lieth at Sherborn.

861.

This year the Bishop St. Swithin died.

865.

This year the heathen army remained in Thanet, and made a treaty with the Kentishmen, who promised them money for peace. And under this treaty and promise of money, they stole out by night and plundered all the eastern parts of Kent.

866.

This year Æthered the brother of Æthelbryht succeeded to the kingdom of Wessex. And the same year a great army of heathens came to England, and took up their winter quarters among the East Angles, and there they were supplied with horses, and the people made peace with them.

867.

This year the invading army went from East Anglia across the mouth of the Humber to York in Northumberland; and there was much discord amongst the people themselves there, for they had cast off their King Osbryht, and had taken

Ælla, an alien, for their King. But late in the year the two parties joined, and both fought against the army; and they gathered together a great force, and came upon the invaders at York, and some of them broke into the town, and then there was a very great slaughter of the Northumbrians, some being slain within the town and some without, and both the Kings were killed, and those who survived made peace with the army. The same year died Bishop Ealchstan, he held the bishoprick of Sherborn 50 years, and his body lieth in that town.

868.

This year the same army came into Mercia as far as Nottingham, and took up their winter quarters there, and Burhred King of Mercia and his Witan begged Æthered King of Wessex and his brother Alfred to assist them, that they might fight against this army. And then they came with the West Saxon troops into Mercia and to Nottingham, and they found them within the fortress, and besieged them, and there was no battle of moment, and the Mercians made peace with the army.

869.

This year the army went again to York, and remained there one year.

870.

This year the heathen army rode over Mercia into East Anglia, and took up their winter quarters at Thetford. And in the winter the King St. Edmund fought with them, and the Danes gained the victory, and slew the King, and they subjected all that land, and destroyed all the monasteries to which they came. The names of their chiefs who slew the King were Higwais and Ubba. At the same time they came to Medeshamstede, which they burned and pulled down. They slew the Abbot and the monks and all whom they found there; and that place which before was very rich, they brought to possess nothing. And the same year Archbishop Ceolnoth died, and Æthered Bishop of Wiltshire was translated to the see of Canterbury.

871.

This year the army came to Reading, in Wessex, and in about three days, two of their Earls rode forth, and the Alderman Æthelwulf met them at Englefield, and fought with them and won the victory, and one of them whose name was Sidrac was slain. Then in about four days King Æthered and his brother Alfred led a great force to Reading, and fought with the army, and there was much slaughter on both sides, and the

Alderman Æthelwulf was killed, and the Danes remained masters of the field. And about four days from that time King Æthered and his brother Alfred fought with all the army at Æcesdun,\* and the Danes were overcome; they had two heathen Kings Bagsæc and Healfden, and many Earls, and they were in two divisions, the Kings Bagsæc and Healfden commanded the one, and the Earls headed the other. King Æthered fought with the division under the Kings and Bagsæc was slain, and his brother Alfred with that of the Earls, and Earl Sidroc† the elder, and Earl Sidroc the younger, and Earl Osbearn, and Earl Fræna, and Earl Hareld were killed; and then both divisions fled, and many thousands were slain, and they continued fighting until night. And in about a fortnight King Æthered and his brother Alfred fought with the army at Basing, and there the Danes gained the victory. And about two months afterwards King Æthered and his brother Alfred fought at Mere-tun,‡ with

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\* Supposed to be Aston Tyrrell, Berkshire; or Ashendon, Buckinghamshire.

† Omitted in the Cotton MS. the elder Sidrac having been killed before.

‡ Turner supposes this to be Morton, Berkshire, "because the Chronicle of Mailros, p. 144, places the battle at Reading,



this army which was in two divisions, and they had the advantage over both during great part of the day, but there was much slaughter on either side, and the Danes remained masters of the field, and Bishop Heahmund and many good men were slain there. And after this fight a great summer\* pestilence came upon Reading. And King Æthered died after Easter; he reigned five years, and his body lieth at Winborn Minster. His brother Alfred the son of Æthelwulf succeeded to the kingdom of Wessex, and in about a month, he and a small number of men fought with all the army at Wilton, and had the advantage great part of the day, but the Danes kept possession of the field of battle. And this year nine battles were fought in that kingdom, south of the Thames; and, besides these, the King's brother Alfred, and the Aldermen and the King's Thanes rode forth separately against the Danes, times out of number. And this year nine

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and according to the map Morton Hundred joins Reading, and contains both North Morton and South Morton."—Hist. Anglo Saxons, vol. i. p. 240.

\* So Lye explains *sumor-lida*, and with most probability; but Gibson translates it "*quies æstiva*;" and Henry of Huntingdon and Ethelwerd turn it into "*æstivus exercitus*."

Earls and a King were slain : and the same year the men of Wessex made peace with the army.

872.

This year the army went from Reading to London, and there took up their winter quarters, and the Mercians made peace with them.

873.

This year the army went into Northumberland, and they took up their winter quarters at Torksey, in Lindsey : then the Mercians again made peace with them.

874.

This year the army proceeded from Lindsey to Repton, and there they took up their winter quarters. And they drove King Burhred over sea, about twenty-two years from the time that he had begun to reign. And they conquered all that country. And King Burhred went to Rome and abode there unto the end of his life, and his body lieth in St. Mary's Church, in the school of the English nation. The same year they gave the kingdom of Mercia to Ceolwulf, an unwise Thane of the King, that he should hold it; and he swore oaths to them and gave hostages that the kingdom should be at their command, on whatsoever day they might wish to have it again, and

that he himself and all his subjects should be ready to aid the army.

875.

This year the army departed from Repton; and Healfden went with part of the troops into Northumberland, and wintered by the river Tyne; and this division conquered that land, and made many inroads upon the Picts and the Strath-Clyde Britons. And the three Kings, Godrun, Oscytel, and Anwind, went from Repton to Cambridge with a large army, and abode there one year. And this summer King Alfred went out to sea with a fleet, and fought with seven pirate ships, and took one of them, and put the rest to flight.

876.

This year Rodla (Rollo), with his forces, overran Normandy; he reigned 50 years. And this year the Danes marched secretly into Warcham in Wessex, and afterwards the King made peace with that army, and they gave the noblest amongst them as hostages, and swore oaths to him on the holy bracelet\* (which they would never do for

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\* The chief oath among the Northern nations. In Iceland, in the time of heathenism, a silver or brazen ring or bracelet was kept on the altars, and being sprinkled with the blood of

any nation before), that they would forthwith depart from his kingdom. Yet under these engagements their horse stole off by night to Exeter. And the same year Healfden parcelled out Northumberland, and they ploughed and tilled it.

877.

This year the army came from Wareham into Exeter, and the fleet sailed round to the west, and a great storm met them at sea, and 120 ships were wrecked at Swanwich. And King Alfred with his troops rode after the Danish horse as far as Exeter, but they could not come up with them before they were in the fortress where none might assail them. And they gave him hostages, as many as he would, and swore solemn oaths, and they kept this peace well. Then in the autumn the army went into Mercia, and they parcelled out part of the land (amongst themselves), and they gave part to Ceolwulf.

878.

This year at mid winter the army marched secretly to Chippenham after Twelfth night, and they over-ran Wessex, and they fixed themselves

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sacrifices, it was touched by those who took any solemn oath. For the same purpose it was worn on the Judge's arm during trials. See the Chrymogæa of Arngrim Jonas, p. 62 and 76.

there, and drove many of the inhabitants over sea, and they rode forth against most of those who remained, until all had submitted to them excepting King Alfred, and he with a small party hardly escaped into the woods and the hill fastnesses. The same winter the brother of Inwær and Healfden came with 23 ships to Devonshire in Wessex, and he was slain there, and 840 men with him; and the sacred standard, which they called the raven, was taken. And at Easter King Alfred, with his small band, raised a fortress at Æthelinga-igge (Athelney) and thence he made sallies upon the army, together with the men of Somerset who were nearest to him.—Then in the seventh week after Easter he rode to Ecgbyrhtes-stan (Brixton) east of Selwood, and there all the men of Somerset and Wiltshire and Hampshire, all who were on this side the sea, met him, and were rejoiced to see him. And after one night he went from that village to Iglea (Leigh), and thence again after another night to Æthan-dun (Edindon), and there he fought with the whole army, and he put the Danes to flight, and pursued them as far as their fortress, and he remained there a fortnight. And then the army gave him hostages, with solemn oaths that they would depart from his kingdom, and they

promised that their King should receive baptism, which also was performed. And in about three weeks King Godrun, with some thirty men, the noblest in the army, came to him at Alre which is near Athelney, and the King stood godfather at his baptism, and he put off the Chrisom-cloth at Wetmor (Wedmor), and he was twelve days with the King, who honoured him and his companions with great presents.

879.

This year the army went from Chippenham to Cirencester, and remained there one year : and this year a body of pirates was gathered together and settled at Fulham on the Thames. And the same year the sun was eclipsed for one hour in the day. And the army went from Cirencester into East Anglia, and fixed themselves in that land, and divided it. And the same year the army which was before at Fulham went over sea to Ghent in France, and abode there one year.

881.

This year the army went over to France, and the French fought with these invaders, and the army horsed itself after that battle.

882.

This year the army went up along the Maese far into France, and remained there one year.

And the same year King Alfred went out to sea, and fought with four Danish pirate ships, and he took two of them, the men therein being slain, and two yielded to him, but many of the men were cut down and wounded before they would surrender themselves.

883.

This year the army proceeded up the Scheldt to Condé, and abode there one year. And the great Pope Marinus sent a piece of our Lord's cross to King Alfred. And this year Sighelm and Athelstan carried to Rome the alms which King Alfred had vowed to send thither, and also into India, to St. Thomas and to St. Bartholomew. Then troops were posted at London to oppose the army, and, thanks to God, they were very successful after these vows.

884.

This year the army went up the Somme to Amiens, and remained there one year. This year died the good Bishop Athelwold.

885.

This year the aforesaid army divided itself into two parts, one division went eastward,\* the other proceeded to Rochester, and besieged that town :

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\* Over sea to Louvain, according to Ethelwerd,

and they built another fortress over against it, yet the inhabitants defended the place until King Alfred came out with his troops. Then the army went to the ships and deserted the fortress, and the king's men were supplied with horses; and soon after, in the course of the same summer, the Danes departed again over sea. And the same year King Alfred sent a fleet from Kent to East Anglia. As soon as they came to the mouth of the Stour, they met 16 pirate ships, and they gave them battle immediately, and they took all the ships and slew the men, but as they were returning homeward with the booty, they met a large fleet of pirates, and they fought with them also the same day, and the Danes gained the victory. Charles King of France died this year, he was killed by a wild boar. And his brother also who reigned over the Western Empire had died one year before; and they were both sons of Louis who held the Western Empire, and who died the year in which the sun was eclipsed; he was the son of that Charles whose daughter Æthelwulf King of Wessex had to wife. And the same year a large fleet was gathered together among the Old Saxons,\* and there were two

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\* To oppose a fleet of heathen Germans.



great fights, and the Saxons gained the victory, and the Frisians were with them. This year Charles succeeded to the Western Empire, comprehending all the lands, exclusive of Brittany, from the Wendel sea (the Mediterranean) unto this sea, even as his great grandfather had possessed them: this Charles was the son of Louis, the brother of Charles the father of Judith whom Æthelwulf King of Wessex had to wife; these were the sons of Louis, and he was the son of Charles the elder, and Charles was the son of Pepin. And the same year died the good Pope Marinus, who freed the school of the English nation from tribute at the desire of King Alfred, and who sent him great gifts, and holy relics, and a piece of the cross on which Christ suffered. And this year the army in East Anglia broke the peace with King Alfred.

886.

This year the army, which before had bent its course eastward, turned again to the west; and they went up the Seine, and fixed their winter quarters at the city of Paris. The same year King Alfred repaired London, and all the English people who were free from the bondage of the Danes came over to him, and he committed the city to the care of the Alderman Æthered.

887.

This year the army went over the bridge at Paris, and thence along the Seine unto the Marne, and then up the Marne to Caziei (Choisy?) and they fixed themselves there, and in Yonne, spending two winters in these two stations.— And the same year died Charles King of France; his brother's son Earnulf had deprived him of the kingdom six weeks before his death. Then was that kingdom divided into five parts, and five Kings were consecrated thereto; yet this was done with the consent of Earnulf, and they said that they would hold their kingdoms at his hand, because none of them were claimants on the father's side, excepting him alone. Then Earnulf dwelt in the country east of the Rhine; and Hrothulf took the middle kingdom; and Oda the western parts; and Beorngar and Witha took Lombardy, and the lands on that side of the mountains, and they reigned there in much enmity, and they frequently laid waste that land, and they fought two pitched battles, and many times did each drive out the other. And the same year that the army went forth over the bridge at Paris, the Alderman Æthelhelm carried to Rome the alms of the West Saxons and of King Alfred.

888.

This year the Alderman Beocca carried the alms of the West Saxons and of King Alfred to Rome. And Queen Æthelswith, who was the sister of King Alfred, died on her way to Rome, and her body lieth at Pavia. And the same year Æthered Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Alderman Æthelwold died in one month.

889.

This year no one journeyed to Rome, excepting two couriers whom King Alfred sent with letters.

890.

This year the Abbot Beornhelm carried the alms of King Alfred and the West Saxons to Rome. And Godrun King of the Northmen died; his baptismal name was Æthelstan, and he was King Alfred's godson: he dwelt in East Anglia, and first colonized that land.\* And the same year the army from the Seine went to St. Lo, which is between Brittany and France, and the Bretons fought with them, and gained the victory, and drove them into a river and drowned many. This year Plegmund was

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\* After the defeat and death of the King St. Edmund.—  
Simeon of Durham.

chosen of God and of all his saints to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury.

891.

This year the army went eastward, and King Earnulf with the East French, and the Saxons, and the Bavarians, fought with their horse before the ships arrived, and put them to flight. And three Scots came to King Alfred from Ireland, in a boat without any rowers, and they had stolen away from that country because they would go on a pilgrimage for the love of God, they cared not whither. The boat was made of three hides and a half, and they took with them food for a week, and in about seven days they came to land in Cornwall, and proceeded forthwith to King Alfred: they were thus named, Dubslane, and Macbeth, and Maelinmun. And Swifnech the most learned teacher of the Scots died. And after Easter the same year, about Rogation week or before, a star appeared which is called Cometa in Latin, and some men say that this in English signifies a hairy star, for long rays stream from it, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other.

893.

This year the great army, of which we have before spoken, returned from the Eastern king-

doim westward to Boulogne, and there they took shipping; so that they came over at one passage, horses and all. And they arrived at Limene mutha (New Romney?) with 250 ships. This harbour is on the eastern side of Kent, and at the eastern end of the great wood called Andred; this wood is from east to west 112 miles long or more, and 30 miles broad, and the river of which we have spoken floweth out of the weald. They towed their ships up this river as far as the wood, four miles from the outward mouth. They stormed a fortress in the fens; a few countrymen were in it, and it was half finished. Soon afterwards, Hastings came into the mouth of the Thames with 80 ships, and there he built a fortress at Middel-tun (Milton), and the other army one at Appledore.

“This year died Wulfhere Archbishop of the Northumbrians.”

894.

This year, it being about 12 months after they had built the fortress in the eastern kingdom, the Northumbrians and the East Angles, who had taken oaths to King Alfred, the East Angles having also given him six hostages, yet broke their faith, and whenever the other

armies went out to plunder, these went forth also, either with them or in a separate division. Then King Alfred gathered together his troops, and came and encamped between the two armies in the nearest place defended by wood and by water, so that he could fall upon either, if they sought any field for forage; whilst they still going about the weald in parties of foot and troops of horse, to plunder the country wherever it was unprotected, continually encountered other parties from the King's army or from the towns day and night. The King had also divided his forces into two parts, so that half his troops were always at home, and half out, exclusive of those who were employed in guarding the towns. Neither were all the heathen forces out of their quarters at the same time oftener than twice, once when they first came to land before the King's army was assembled, and again when they would depart from this station. Then when they had collected much plunder, and would have carried it northward across the Thames into Essex, and towards the ships, the King's army hastened before them, and fought with them at Farnham, and put them to flight, and got possession of the spoil; and they fled across the Thames, where there

was no ford, and thence down the Colne to a certain island (Mersey or Bricklesey). The King's troops\* remained encamped round about them as long as they had provisions, for their time of service was limited, and their meat proportioned thereto. And the King being on his march thither with the shire that served under him, the other troops departed home, and the Danes remained in the same place, because their King had been wounded in the battle, and they could not remove him. Then the Danes who were settled in Northumberland and East Anglia gathered together about an hundred ships, with which they sailed round by the south ; and some forty ships besides which sailed round by the north, and besieged a fortress on the northern coast of Devonshire. And those who had sailed by the south besieged Exeter. When the King heard this, he turned westward with all his forces, excepting a detachment of troops who were to watch the enemy in the east. These troops went forward until they came to London, and then, with the citizens and the aids which joined them from the west, they marched eastward to Benfleet : Hastings had

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\* It seems that Alfred had left part of his troops to watch the Danes in Essex, and had gone himself in another direction.

come thither with his army, which was before at Milton, and the great army was come thither also which was before at Appledore, near Limine Mutha. Hastings had built the fortress at Benfleet, and he was then gone out to plunder, and the great army was at home. Then they came, and put that army to flight, and stormed the fortress, and they took all that was therein, treasure, women, and children, and they carried all to London, and they broke up or burned all the ships, or brought them to London or Rochester. And the wife of Hastings and his two sons were brought to the King, and the King gave them to him again, because the one was his own Godson, the other the Alderman Æthered's. They had been before taken, ere Hastings came to Benfleet, and he had given hostages and oaths, and the King had also given him much money, and then also he had restored his wife and children. But as soon as he came to Benfleet, and the fortress was finished, he ravaged the very district of Alfred's kingdom which was under his son's Godfather Æthered, and again a second time he was gone out to plunder the same province, when his fortress was destroyed. The King, as was said before, had marched with his army towards Exeter, and when he came



thither, the army which had besieged the town made for the ships. Whilst he was engaged with his enemies in the west, both the other ravaging armies joined at Shobury, in Essex, and they raised a fortress there: then they went up together along the Thames, and a reinforcement came to them from East Anglia and Northumberland, and they proceeded by the side of the Thames, until they crossed over to the Severn; and then they marched along the Severn. Then the Aldermen Æthered, and Æthelm, and Æthelnoth, and the King's Thanes who were at home in their fortresses, gathered together an army from every town east of the Parret, and west of Selwood, also east and north of the Thames, and west of the Severn, and they raised moreover some part of the Welsh nation. When they were all assembled they came up with the army at Butdiging-tun (Bultington?) on the banks of the Severn, and there they besieged them on every side in a fortress. When they had been encamped on the two sides of the river for many weeks, the King being still detained by the fleet in the west, in Devonshire, the Danes were pressed by hunger, and they had eaten great part of their horses, and some perished through famine. Then they rushed out upon the men who were posted on

the eastern side of the river, and fought with them, and the Christians gained the victory, but the King's Thane Ordhelm was slain there, and many others of the King's Thaness; and those (of the heathens) who escaped were saved by flight. When they came to their fortress and ships in Essex, the remnant again collected a large army from amongst the East Angles and Northumbrians before winter, and they secured their wives, and their ships, and their treasures, in East Anglia, and marched straight forward day and night until they came to a western town in Wirehall which is called Lega-ceaster (Chester).— And the King's troops could not overtake them until they were within the fortifications; nevertheless they encamped around the place for about two days, and they took all the cattle that were in the neighbourhood, and they slew the men whom they met without the fortress, and they burned the corn, or, together with their horses, consumed it. And this was about twelve months from the time that they came hither from beyond sea.

895.

This year, soon afterwards, the army went from Wirehall into North Wales, for they could not remain without corn or cattle to subsist on.—

Then they departed again from North Wales with their plunder, and they passed through Northumberland and East Anglia, and the King's army could not overtake them before they had reached the eastern part of Essex, and had come to an island in the sea which is called Mersey.— And the division which had besieged Exeter, on their return homewards invaded the South Saxons near Chichester, but the townsmen put them to flight, and slew many hundreds of them, and took some of their ships. The same year, before winter, the Danes who were quartered in Mersey towed their ships up the Thames, and thence up the Lea. This was about two years from the time that they came hither from beyond the sea.

896.

This year the aforesaid army built a fortress on the Lea, 20 miles above London. Then in the summer, many of the citizens with others went forth and attacked this fortress of the Danes, but they were driven back, and some four of the King's Thanes were slain there. During the following harvest, the King encamped in the neighbourhood of the city while the people reaped their corn, that the Danes might not annoy them. One day the King was riding by the river's side,

and he observed a place where it might be blocked up so that the Danes could not bring out their ships: and this was done, and two forts were built, one on each side of the river; but while the King was employed on these works, and was encamped by them, the Danes perceiving that they could not remove their ships, deserted them, and marched across the country until they came to Cwat-bridge (Bridgenorth?), on the Severn, and they built a fortress there. Then the King's troops rode westward after them, and the citizens of London went for the ships and broke up all that they could not remove, and all that were serviceable they brought into London. The Danes had placed their wives in safety in East Anglia before they left their fortress. They remained at Cwat-bridge that winter. This was about three years from the time when they came over the sea into Limine-Mutha.

897.

It was in the summer of this year that the army went away, part to East Anglia and part to Northumberland: and there, those who were without money, got themselves ships, and sailed southward to the Seine. Thanks to God, this army had not entirely ruined the English nation, but in these three years it was much afflicted by a

mortality amongst the cattle, and more than all by that amongst men, and many of the most noble of the King's Thanes died during these three years. Among these were Swithulf Bishop of Rochester, Ceolmund Alderman of Kent, Beorhtulf Alderman of Essex, Wulfred Alderman of Hampshire, Ealheard Bishop of Dorchester, Eadulf the King's Thane in Sussex, Beornwulf the Town Sheriff of Winchester, Ecgulf the King's Horse Thane and many others, though I have named these as being the most eminent. The same year the ravagers from East Anglia and Northumberland harassed the country of the West Saxons, particularly on the southern coast, by sudden descents, using the vessels which they had built many years before. Then Alfred caused long ships to be built as a defence against these vessels, and his were twice as long as the others; some had sixty oars and some more; they were both swifter and more steady, and also higher than those of the Danes, and were shaped neither after the Frisian nor the Danish manner, but even as he himself thought they would best besit the service. At one time this year six ships came to Wight, and did much damage there, and in Devon, and all along the coast. The King ordered his people to take nine of the new ships

and to blockade them in a certain harbour.\*— Then the pirates sailed out against them with three ships, for three lay aground at the head of the bay, and their crews were gone ashore.— The King's men took two of the three ships at the entrance of the bay, and slew the men in them, and the third escaped, and in this also all but five of the men were killed. But in making towards the other ships, which were set fast, the English also were left aground to their great discomfort, three on that part of the shore where the Danish ships lay, and all the rest on the other side, so that they could not get near each other, and the water had now ebbed many furlongs from the ships. Then the Danes belonging to the three ships came and attacked the three which were left by the tide on their side of the bay, and they fought there, and Lucumon the King's Sheriff, and Wulfheard and Æbba and Æthelere, Frisians, and Æthelferth the King's herdsman, were slain, and sixty two men in all, Frisians and English, and 120 Danes. Now the tide came to the Danish ships before the Christians could get theirs off, and they therefore rowed them away; but they were so much damaged, that

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\* Of Devonshire.—Henry of Huntingdon.

they were unable to get beyond Sussex before two of them had been driven on shore, and the men were brought to the King at Winchester and he ordered them to be hanged. The rest much wounded, with the remaining ship, reached East Anglia. This year, not less than twenty ships with their whole crews, perished on the southern coast. The same year died the King's Horse Thane Wulfric, who was also Sheriff of Wales.

898.

This year Æthelm Alderman of Wiltshire died nine nights before Midsummer. And Heahstan Bishop of London died this year.

901.

This year Alfred the son of Athulf died six nights before the feast of All Saints: He was King over all England, excepting that part of it which was under the dominion of the Danes.— He reigned 28 years and a half, and his son Edward succeeded to the kingdom. Then Edward's uncle's son Prince Æthelwald rode to the towns of Winborn and Tweonea (Christ Church) without leave of the King and his Witan, upon which the King went forth with his troops and encamped at Badbury, near Winborn, and Æthelwald with his party was within the town. He had blocked up the gates on the inside, and

said that there he would live or die, but yet he stole away by night, and hastened towards the army in Northumberland; the King ordered his troops to pursue him, but they could not outride him, and the others received him as their king, and submitted to him: his wife was seized; he had married her without the King's leave, and against the Bishop's command, for she had been professed a nun. Æthered Alderman of Devonshire died the same year, four weeks before King Alfred.

902.

In this year the battle of Holme (near Pevensey) was fought between the men of Kent and the Danes.

903.

This year died the Alderman Athulf the brother of Ealhswitha the mother of King Edward. Virgilius Abbot of the Scots died also; and on the 8th of the ides of July the Priest Grimbald. The same year the new monastery of Winchester was consecrated on the Advent of St. Judoc.

904.

This year Æthelwald came hither from beyond the sea with all the ships he could muster, and the East Saxons submitted to him. This year the moon was eclipsed.



This year Æthelwald induced the army in East Anglia to break the peace, and they ravaged Mercia as far as Crecca-gelade (Cricklade), and they crossed the Thames there, and took all they could meet with in Brædune (Breden forest, Wiltshire), and in the neighbourhood, and then they returned homeward. Then King Edward pursued after them as soon as he could assemble his army, and he laid waste their land between the Dyke (the Devil's Ditch) and the Ouse, as far northward as the fens. And when he was about to depart thence, he caused it to be proclaimed throughout his army, that all the troops should keep together, but the Kentish men remained behind against his command, though he had sent them seven messages. Then the Danes surrounded them, and they fought, and the Aldermen Siwulf and Sigelm, and the King's Thane Eadwold, and the Abbot Cenwulf, and Sigebryht the son of Siwulf, and Eadwald the son of Acca, were slain there, and many others; though I have named the most noted. And there fell on the side of the Danes, their King Eohric, and Prince Æthelwald who had persuaded them to the war, and Byrhtsige the son of Prince

Beornoth, and the Holds\* Ysopa and Oscytel, and a great many others whom we cannot now name. There was much slaughter on either side, but most on that of the Danes, though they kept possession of the field of battle. Ealhswyth died the same year, and a comet appeared.

907.

This year Alfred who was Sheriff of Bath died: and the same year peace was ratified at Yttingaford† with the East Angles and Northumbrians, on the terms which King Edward dictated. This year Lig-ceaster (Chester) was repaired.

909.

This year Denulf Bishop of Winchester died, and the body of St. Oswald was brought from Bardney into Mercia.

910.

This year Frithestan received the Bishoprick

\* Torfæus, Hist. Norv. T. ii. p. 50, says, that the Danish Haulldur, or Hold, was a Noble by birth, as distinguished from the Hersir, who held an official rank.

By the laws of Athelstan, the Wergyld of a Hold and of a Heh-gerefa was fixed at 4000 thrymsas—whilst that of a Bishop and of an Alderman was 8000 thrymsas.

Wilkin's Leg. Ang. Sax. p. 71.

† Gibson supposes this place to be somewhere in the tract of the New Forest; possibly Ifford.

of Winchester, and after this Asser Bishop of Sherborn died. And the same year King Edward sent forth an army of West Saxons and Mercians, who greatly harassed the army in the north, and seized many prisoners, and took much plunder of all kinds, and slew many Danes, and they remained five weeks in those parts.

911.

This year the army in Northumberland broke the peace, and set at nought all the conditions which King Edward and his son had prescribed ; and they ravaged Mercia. And the King had assembled about an hundred ships, and he was in Kent, and the ships sailed to the south-east along the coast to join him. The heathens believed that the greater part of his forces was in these ships, and that they might therefore go where they would unmolested. When the King heard that they were gone out to plunder, he sent his West Saxon and Mercian troops, and they followed the Danes, and came up with them as they returned homeward, and they attacked them and put them to flight, and killed many thousands. And King Eowils and King Healfden were slain, and the Earl Ohter, and the Earl Scurfa, and the Hold Othulf, and the Hold Benesing, and Anlaf the black, and the Hold Thur-

ferth, and Osferth the collector of tribute, and the Hold Guthferth, and the Hold Agmund, and Guthferth.

912.

This year Æthered Alderman of Mercia died, and King Edward took into his own government the towns of London and Oxford, and all the lands belonging thereto; and this year on the holy eve of the discovery of the sacred cross, Æthelflæd the Lady of Mercia came to Scergeate and built a fortified town there, and in the same year that of Bricge (Bridgenorth).

913.

This year, about Martinmas, King Edward caused the northern town of Hertford to be built, between the Mermera, the Benefica (the Bean), and the Lea. And afterwards, between Rogation week and Midsummer, King Edward went with some of his forces to Malden, and remained there while they built and fortified the town of Witham. And a great part of this country, which had been under the Danish Government, submitted to him. During this time some of his forces built that part of the town of Hertford which is on the south side of the Lea. This year, God permitting, Æthelflæd the Lady of Mercia, went with all the Mercians to Tam-

worth, and built a fenced town there in the early part of the summer, and before Lammas she built the town of Stafford. And the next year she built Eadesbyrig\* in the beginning of the summer, and Warwick towards the end of autumn, and after Christmas the year following she built the fortified town of Cyric-byrig,† and afterwards that of Weard-byrig,‡ and again before Christmas that year, that of Rumcofan, (Runkhorn, Cheshire).

916.

This year the guiltless Abbot Ecgbrilt was slain before Midsummer, on the 16th of the calends of July, the anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Cyricius and his companions. And about three days afterwards Æthelflæd sent an army into Wales, and took Breceanmere (Brecknock) and the King's wife, with some four and thirty others, were made prisoners.

917.

This year, after Easter, the army rode forth

\* Eddesbury, in Cheshire; a place now called the Chamber in the Forest.

† Probably Cherbury, on the borders of Shropshire—possibly Kirkby, in Cheshire, or Monk's Kirkby, Warwickshire, according to Dugdale.

‡ Probably Wednesbury or Weedsbury, Staffordshire.

from Northampton and Leicester, and they broke the peace and slew many men at Hocneratun (Hognorton) and in the neighbourhood. And as soon as these returned home, another troop was immediately assembled, which rode forth towards Ligtun (Leighton, Bedfordshire), but the inhabitants of that country knew of their coming, and fought with them, and completely routed them, and seized all the plunder which they had amassed, and a great part of their horses and arms.

918.

This year a pirate fleet came over from the south from the land of the Lidwiccas (Britanny), with two Earls Ohtor and Hroald, and they sailed westward and entered the Severn's mouth, and they plundered the coasts of North Wales wherever they could; and they took Bishop Cameleac, at Ircinga-feld (Archenfield), and led him away to their ships, and King Edward afterwards ransomed him for forty pounds. Then afterwards all the army landed, and would have marched yet again towards Archenfield to plunder, but then the men of Hereford and of Gloucester, and of the nearest towns met them, and fought with them, and put them to flight; and they slew the Earl Hroald, and a brother of the other Earl Ohtor, and they drove the rest into

a wood and besieged them there until they gave hostages that they would depart from the dominions of King Edward. The King had taken care to post troops so as to guard the southern coast of the channel from Wales in the west (Cornwall), to the mouth of the Avon eastward, that they might not dare to invade the country on that side. Nevertheless they landed by night at two several times, once east of Weced (Watchet), and again at Portloca (Porlock). And the King's men repulsed them each time, and few escaped but those alone who swam to the ships; and these remained in the isle of Bradanrelic (Steeholm?) until they were in great want of provisions, and many died of hunger because they could not procure any food; then they went to Deomod (South Wales), and thence away to Ireland. And afterwards, the same year, King Edward went to Buckingham with his army, and he remained there four weeks, and built fortifications on each side of the river before he departed thence. And Earl Thurecytel acknowledged him as his Lord, as did all the Holds and chief men of Bedford, and most of those of Northampton. Before Lammas, this year, Æthelflæd the Lady of Mercia, by the help of God won the town of Derby, with all its appurten-

ances, but four of her most valued Thanes were slain within the gates.

919.

This year, before Martinmas, King Edward went with an army to Bedford, and he gained possession of that town, and almost all the inhabitants who had before been subject to him returned to their obedience; and he remained there four weeks, and he caused the fortifications on the south side of the river to be built before he departed thence.

920.

This year King Edward went to Malden, and repaired and fortified the town before he departed thence. And this year Earl Thurecytel and his adherents went over sea into France, with the permission and aid of King Edward. Early in this year Æthelflæd got possession of Leicester without fighting, and the greater part of the troops of that town became subject to her. Those at York had also engaged to be under her command, some having given pledges to her, and others having taken oaths. And immediately after she had effected this, she died at Tamworth, twelve days before Midsummer, in the eighth year of her governing Mercia with rightful dominion; and her body lieth at



Gloucester, in the eastern aisle of St. Peter's Church. This year also the daughter of Æthelred Lord of Mercia was wholly deprived of the government of Mercia, and carried into Wessex, three weeks before Christmas; her name was Hælfwin.

921.

This year, before Easter, King Edward ordered his people to go to Tofeceaster (Towcester), and to build a fortress there. And again this year, in Rogation week, he caused a fortress to be built at Wigingamere (Wigmore). And between Lammas and Midsummer, the troops of Northampton, and of Leicester, and of the country north of these places, broke the peace, and marched to Towcester, and fought all day against the town, and they thought that they should have taken it by storm, but the men who were within defended it until more aid arrived; and then these gave up the attack and departed. Again, very soon afterwards, they went forth by night on a secret expedition, and came unawares, and seized many prisoners and much cattle between Burnewuda (Bernwood forest) and Ægles-byrig (Ailesbury). And at the same time the army of Huntingdon and of East Anglia came, and built the fortress

at Temesford (Tempsford), where they fixed themselves, and strengthened the place, deserting their other post of Huntingdon; and they intended to make their excursions from this station, and thought that thus they should again get the greater part of this land into their power. And they went forth until they came to Bedford, but the garrison marched out against them, and fought with them, and put them to flight, and slew a great part of them. Yet after this a great army again assembled from East Anglia and Mercia and proceeded to Wigmore, and they surrounded the place, and fought against it till late in the day, and they seized the cattle in the neighbourhood; nevertheless the garrison defended the town and they gave up the assault and departed. After this, the same summer, a large body of King Edward's subjects was collected from the towns\* nearest Tempsford, and they

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\* In this part of the Chronicle the Saxon word Burh, which I have translated town, recurs perpetually; it would appear that the predatory warfare, existing every where, had compelled the inhabitants of the country to gather themselves into townships, for the sake of mutual protection; these were probably surrounded by some species of inclosure as a defence against sudden attacks. The erection of a stone wall seems to be considered worthy of mention, as a work but rarely undertaken.

marched thither and besieged that town, and they fought against it until they took it. And they slew the King and Earl Toglos, and his son Earl Manna, and his brother and 'all those who would have resisted, and they took captive the remainder, and the town they plundered. And immediately after this, in harvest, a great force was collected out of Kent, out of Surrey, and out of Essex, and out of the towns around on all sides, and they marched to Colchester, and they besieged the town and fought against it until they subdued it, and they seized all that was therein, and they slew all the inhabitants excepting those who escaped over the wall. And during the same autumn a great army was gathered together out of East Anglia, consisting of the land forces, and also of such Vikingar as the others had persuaded to join them; and they thought to satisfy their desire of vengeance. They went to Malden and besieged that town, and they fought there until aid came to the Burghers from without, and then the army left the town and departed. And the townsmen, and those who had arrived to succour them, sallied forth after them, and put them to flight, and slew many hundreds both pirates and others. Immediately after this, during the same autumn, King Edward went to Pas-

senham with the troops of Wessex, and he abode there while his men inclosed Towcester with a stone wall. And Earl Thurferth, and the Holds, and all the army at Northampton, and those of the country northward as far as Weolud (the Welland), came over to him, and acknowledged him as their Lord and protector. And when at the regular time the troops he had with him returned to their homes, others took the field, and these proceeded to Huntingdon, and they repaired the town by King Edward's orders, and rebuilt that part of it which had been pulled down. And all who remained of the inhabitants of that country gave themselves up to King Edward, and sought his favour and protection. And again the same year, before Martinmas, King Edward went to Colchester with the Wessex troops, and he repaired the town and restored that which had been demolished. And a large body of people in East Anglia and in Essex, who had before been under the Danish dominion, came over to him. And all the army of East Anglia swore to be as one with him; that they would will all that he should will, and that they would keep peace both by sea and land with all whom he should befriend. And the army at Grantanbrycge (Cambridge) separately acknow-

ledged him for their Lord and patron, and confirmed this with oaths even as he had desired. This year King Sihtric slew his brother Niel.

922.

This year, between Rogation week and Midsummer, King Edward went with an army to Stamford, and caused fortifications to be made on the southern side of the river, and the inhabitants of the town on the northern bank submitted to him, and acknowledged him as their Lord.— And whilst he remained at this place, his sister Æthelslæd died at Tamworth, twelve days before Midsummer. And then he rode to the town of Tamworth, and all the people, who had been under the government of Æthelslæd became his subjects: and the Kings of North Wales, Howel and Cleauc and Jeothwel, and all that nation, acknowledged him as their Lord. Thence he went to Nottingham, and he took that town, and caused it to be repaired, and he peopled it with English and Danes. And all the inhabitants of Mercia, both Danes and English, came over to him.

923.

This year, after harvest, King Edward went with an army to Thælwæl (Thelwall), and caused that town to be built and fortified and garrisoned. And whilst he abode there, he commanded another army, raised in Mercia, to go

to Manchester, in Northumberland, to repair and garrison that town. This year Archbishop Plegemund died; and King Regnold conquered York.

924.

This year, before Midsummer, King Edward went with an army to Nottingham, and caused a town to be built on the south side of the river, over against the other, with a bridge across the Trent between the two. And thence he went to Badecanwylla (Bakewell), in Peakland, and caused a town to be built and garrisoned in the neighbourhood. And the King of the Scots and all the Scottish nation chose him for their Father and Lord, and thus did Regwnald and the sons of Eadulf, and all the inhabitants of Northumberland, both English and Danes, Northmen and others; also the King of the Strath-clyde Britons and all that people.

925.

This year King Edward died at Fearndun (Ferringdon), in Mercia, and very soon afterwards his son Ælfweard died at Oxford, and their bodies rest in Winchester. And Æthestan was chosen King by the Mercians, and he was consecrated at Cingestun (Kingston upon Thames). And St. Dunstan was born, and Wulfhelm received the Archbishoprick of Canterbury.

927.

This year King Æthelstan expelled King Guthfrith, and this year Archbishop Wulfhelm went to Rome.

928.

William succeeded in Normandy, and held the government 15 years.

932.

This year Byrnstan was consecrated Bishop of Winchester, on the 4th of the calends of June, and he held the Bishoprick two years and a half.

933.

This year Bishop Frithestan died; and Prince Ædwine was drowned in the sea.

934.

This year King Athelstan invaded Scotland with an army and a fleet, and he ravaged a great part of the country. And Bishop Byrnstan died at Winchester on All Saint's day.

935.

This year Bishop Ælfheah received the Bishoprick of Winchester.

938.\*

This year King Athelstan the Lord of Earls,

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\* Turner, in a note, p. 365 of the 1st vol. of his Anglo-

the Giver of Bracelets to the Nobles, and his brother Edmund the Atheling, the elder, the survivors of their race, the children of Edward, won lasting glory with the edge of the sword in battle at Brunanburh.\* They clave the wooden walls, they hewed down the tall banners, for it was the portion of their lineage, that oft in the field they should defend their lands, their treasures, their homes, against the enemy. The Scot and the Ship-man fell on every side—the din of arms resounded sith the sun in the morning tide rose glad over the earth, greatest of the stars, bright candle of God the Lord Eternal, till the noblest of things created sank in the west. There, struck down with darts, lay many a warrior, Northmen pierced over their shields—Scots the savages of war—The West Saxons, a chosen band, pressed the live-long day upon the hated people. Sternly they smote down the flying multitudes, with swords well sharpened at the stone. The Mercians shrank not from the hard play of hands.

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Saxon Hist. gives the following passage from a manuscript of the Chronicle relating to this year :—

“This year the Northumbrians revolted from their allegiance, and chose Anlaf of Ireland for their King.”

\* Almost every writer differs in the position which he would assign to this place.



Safety there was none for the companions of Anlaf, for those who sought the land for deadly fight over the billowy sea, bosomed in ships.— Five young Kings lay on the battle field, put to sleep by the swords. So also seven Earls of Anlaf, and of the host from the fleet, and of the Scots, more than can be numbered. The King of the Northmen with his little troop fled in his terror to the voice of the ship; the King of the Fleet, with one ship's crew, living escaped over the yellow deep.

So also the routed Constantine returned a fugitive to his northern hills. The hoary warrior needed not to exult in the conflict of swords.— He was the remnant of his race. His kinsmen were heaped on the field—slain in the battle. He left his son on the place of blood, covered with wounds. Young in war though old in wisdom, the fair-haired youth was staid in his glorying by the bill of slaughter.

Neither could Anlaf and his broken army boast that they were better in works of battle; at the fall of banners, at the meeting of darts, in the conflict of men, in the exchange of weapons, when they had played with the children of Edward in the field of death.

The Northmen, the sorrowful few spared by

the darts, departed in their nailed ships over the roaring sea—over the deep waters. They sailed for Dublin, and disgraced their land.

Then the brothers, the King and the Atheling, returned to their country, the West Saxon land. They left behind them the screamers of war, the birds of prey. The sallow kite, and the black raven with the horny beak, and the hoarse-voiced eagle devouring the white flesh, with the battle-hawk, and the grey beast the wolf of the wood. Never in this island had a greater destruction of men been worked by the edge of the sword, say the books of the Wise Elders, since the Saxons and the Angles came hither from the east—to Britain over the broad sea. Since those glorious Earls, who smote the Welch on the anvil of battle, and obtained their lands.

941.

This year King Athelstan died on the 6th of the calends of November, forty-one years all but one day after the death of King Alfred; and the Prince Edmund succeeded to the kingdom. He was then 18 years old; and King Athelstan had reigned 14 years and 10 weeks.

942.

This year King Edmund, the Lord of the English, the protector of his kinsmen, the worker

of mighty deeds, conquered all Mercia unto the way of the white spring, and the broad and sea-like stream of the river Humber. Five towns, Leicester, and Lincoln, and Nottingham, Stamford also, and Derby, lay in Danish thralldom, bowed under the power of the Northmen, held in long durance, until the warlike heir of Edward, to his own glory, delivered them from heathen bondage.

King Edmund stood as godfather at the baptism of King Anlaf; and late in the same year he was godfather to King Regenold at his confirmation. This year King Anlaf died. And Richard the Elder succeeded (in Normandy), and reigned 52 years.

944

This year King Edmund reduced all Northumberland, and drove out two Kings, Anlaf the son of Syhtric and Regenald the son of Guthferth.

945.

This year King Edmund ravaged all Cumberland, and gave it to Malcolm King of the Scots, on condition that he should join forces with him by sea and by land.

946.

This year King Edmund died\* on St. Augus-

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\* " It was widely known how he ended his days, when

tine's day; he had reigned six years and an half, and his brother Prince Edred succeeded to the kingdom. He soon brought all Northumberland into his power, and the Scots took oaths that they would will all that he should will.

949.

This year Anlaf came back to Northumberland.

951.

This year Ælfheah Bishop of Winchester died on St. Gregory's day.

952.

This year the Northumbrians drove out King Anlaf, and took for their king Yric the son of Harold.

954.

This year the Northumbrians expelled Yric, and King Ædred took to himself the kingdom of Northumberland.

955.

This year King Ædred died in the prime of life on St. Clement's day; he had reigned nine years and a half: then Edwy the son of King Edmund and of St. Ælgiva, succeeded to the

Liofa stabbed him at Pulcancyrca (Pucklechurch, in Gloucestershire.)" From another MS. Turner, vol. i. p. 368.

kingdom, and he banished St. Dunstan from the country.

956.

This year Wulstan Archbishop of York died; and this year Prince Edgar received the kingdom of Mercia.

957.

This year King Edwy died on the calends of October, and his brother Edgar took to himself the kingdom of Wessex, as well as Mercia and Northumberland; he was then 16 years old.—There was prosperity in his days, and God gave him to abide in peace so long as he lived, and he, as it beseemed him, strove to merit this favour. He every where exalted the glory of God, and he loved the laws of God, and attended to the peace of the people, more than any King before in the memory of man. And God also shewed him favour, so that Kings and Earls willingly obeyed him, and submitted to that which he desired, and without opposition he ruled all things according to his own pleasure. He was greatly honoured throughout the nation because he willingly gave honour to the name of God, and he often meditated in the law of God, and exalted the glory of God far and wide, and he always took wise counsel for his people before

God and before the world. Yet was he guilty of one great sin, in that he loved the vicious habits of foreign nations, and established heathenish customs in this land, and invited hither outlandish and mischievous people: but God grant that his good actions may have outweighed his misdeeds, to the salvation of his soul in the last day. This year he sent for St. Dunstan and gave him the bishoprick of Worcester, and afterwards that of London.

961.

This year the good Archbishop Odo died, and St. Dunstan\* received the Archbishoprick of Canterbury. This year the King's kinsman Ælfgar died in Devon, and his body lieth at Wilton. And King Sigeferth killed himself, and his body resteth at Winborn. And this year there was a great pestilence among men, and a great fever in London, and Paul's monastery was burned and was rebuilt the same year. This year the priest Athelmod went to Rome, and he died there on the 18th of the calends of September.

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\* Alfsin was the immediate successor of Odo, but he died of cold on the Alps, in his journey to Rome for the pall.

This year the Deacon Wulfstan died, on Childermas-day, and after this died Cyric the Priest. The same year the Abbot Athelwold received the Bishoprick of Winchester, and was consecrated on a Sunday, the vigil of St. Andrew. The second year after his consecration he founded many monasteries, and he drove the clergy out of his bishoprick because they would observe no rule, and he placed monks in their room. He founded two abbeys, one for monks, the other for nuns, both in Winchester. Afterwards he went to King Edgar, and desired of him that he would give him all the monasteries which the heathens had destroyed, for that he would restore them; and the King willingly granted his request. And the Bishop came first to Ely, where St. Ætheldrith lieth, and he caused the monastery to be rebuilt, and he gave it to one of his monks named Brihtnoth. He consecrated him abbot, and he established monks there to serve God, whereas the place was formerly inhabited by nuns, and he bought many small estates of the King, and made it very rich. Afterwards Bishop Athelwold came to the monastery that is called Medeshamstede, which had been destroyed by the heathens, and he found

nothing there but old walls and wild woods. He found also hidden in the old wall the records which the abbot Headda had formerly written, how King Wulfhere and his brother Æthelred had built the monastery, and had made it free of the King, of the Bishop, and of all earthly service; and how the Pope Agatho had confirmed this with his rescript, and the Archbishop Deusdedit also. He then caused the monastery to be rebuilt, and he appointed an abbot whose name was Aldulf, and he peopled that place with monks, which was before a wilderness. Then he came to the King, and caused him to look at the writings which had been found, and the King then answered and said, “ I King Edgar, before God and in presence of the Archbishop Dunstan, do this day grant to St. Peter’s monastery of Medeshamstede, freedom from subjection to the King and to the Bishop, and do endow it with all these adjoining villages, to wit, Æst-feld (Eastfield), and Dodes-thorp (Dasthorp), and Ege (Eye), and Pastun (Paston). And I so make it free, that no Bishop shall have any authority over it, but the abbot of the monastery alone. And I give the town called Undela (Oundle) with all the land belonging to it, which is called the Eahite hundred, with the markets



and tolls, so freely, that neither the King, nor the Bishop, nor the Earl, nor the Sheriff of the county, shall have any power there, neither any man, excepting the abbot alone, and those whom he may appoint thereto. And at the request of Bishop Athelwold, I give these lands to Christ and to St. Peter, to wit, Barwe (Barrow or Berk, Rutland), Wermington (Warmington, Northamptonshire), Æsetun (Ashton, near Oundle?), Kettering, Castra (Castor, Northamptonshire), Egleswurthe (Ailesworth), Walton, Withringtun (Werrington), Ege (Eye), Thorp (near Kettering); and I empower them to have a moneyer at Stamford. And I herewith assign to Christ and to St. Peter the sac and soc, toll and team, and infangentheof, and all other rights attached to the lands, and to others belonging to the monastery. And I give two parts of Witlesmere (Whittleseymere) with the waters, the wears, and the fens, and so on through Merelade unto the river which is called the Nen, and so eastward to Cyngesdælf. And it is my will that a market be held in that town, and that there be no other betwixt Stamford and Huntingdon; and I will, that the toll should be given thus: first, from Witlesmere as far as the King's toll of Northmannes-cross (Normancross) hundred, and

again on the other side, from Witlesmere through Merelade unto the Nen, and thence as the water runneth to Croyland, and from Croyland to Must, and from Must to Cyngesdælf and to Witlesmere. And I will that all the exemptions and all the privileges granted by my predecessors stand good, and I subscribe to this, and do confirm it with the cross of Christ." Then Dunstan the Archbishop of Canterbury answered and said, "I confirm all that has been said, and I will that all things which thy predecessors and mine have granted should stand; and whosoever breaketh this grant, to him give I the curse of God, and of all the saints, and that of every consecrated head, and my curse also, unless he come to repentance. I also give to St. Peter my surplice, stole, and vestment for the service of Christ." "I Oswald Archbishop of York do ratify all these words with the sign of the holy cross on which Christ suffered." "I Bishop Athelwold bless all who do observe this, and I excommunicate whomsoever breaketh it, unless he come to repentance." There were present also the Bishops Ælfstan and Athulf, and the Abbots Escwi and Osgar and Æthelgar, and the Aldermen Ælfere, Æthelwine, Brihtnoth, and Oslac, with many other great men, and they all confirmed this grant, and

subscribed thereto the cross of Christ. This was done 972 years after the birth of our Lord, and in the 16th year of the King's reign. Then the Abbot Aldulf bought many lands, with which he endowed the monastery; and he remained there till the death of Oswald Archbishop of York, on which he was chosen to succeed him. And another Abbot was immediately chosen out of the same monastery; his name was Kenulf, and he was afterwards Bishop of Winchester. He first built the walls round about the monastery, and he gave it the name of Burch, whereas it had before been called Medeshamstede. He remained there until he was nominated Bishop of Winchester, and then another Abbot, whose name was Ælfsi, was chosen out of the same monastery. This Ælfsi was Abbot there fifty years; he took up St. Kyneburh and St. Kynesvith who lay at Castra (Castor), and St. Tibba, who was buried at Rihala (Ryal or Rye-hall, Rutland), and he presented all these relics to St. Peter in one day, and he kept them whilst he remained there.

964.

This year King Edgar drove the priests of Winchester out of the old monastery, and out of the new also, and out of Ceortesige (Chertsey), and out of Middeltun (Milton Abbey, Dorset-

shire), and placed monks in their room. And he made Æthelgar Abbot of the new monastery, and Ordbryht Abbot of Chertsey, and Cyneweard of Milton.

966.

This year Thored the son of Gunner ravaged Westmoreland: and the same year Oslac received the office of Alderman.

969.

This year King Edgar caused all Thanet to be laid waste.

970.

This year died Archbishop Oskytel. He was first consecrated to the Bishoprick of Dorchester, and was afterwards translated to the see of York, with the sanction of King Edred and all his Witan. He was Bishop 22 years, and he died at Tame on All Saints' night, ten nights before Martinmas; and his kinsman the Abbot Thurkytel carried the Bishop's body to Bedford, for he was Abbot there at that time.

971.

This year Prince Edmund died, and he was buried at Rumsige (Rumsey).

973.

This year Edgar the ruler of the English was consecrated as King with great pomp in the an-

cient town of Acemannes-ceaster, which the inhabitants also call Bath. There was much joy among all the sons of men on that blessed day, called the day of Pentecost. There was a multitude of priests, and a great throng of monks, wise men in my mind, gathered together. At that time ten hundred years were reckoned to have passed away since the birth of the King of glory, the Keeper of Light, excepting only, that, as writers say, twenty-seven winters were wanting thereto. So nearly was the thousandth year of our conquering Lord completed when this event took place. And the son of Edmund, the man of mighty deeds, had then been nine and twenty years in the world, and in his thirtieth year he was a King, and consecrated.

And soon afterwards the King led all his fleet to Chester; and six Kings met him there, and promised faithfully that they would aid him by sea and by land.

975.

This year Edgar, King of the English, ended his earthly joys; he chose for himself another light, beautiful and pleasant, and gave up this worthless life, which the children of the people, the men of dust, confess to be so vain. It was in that month which every where in this country

is called July by those who have been rightly instructed in the art of numbers, and on the 18th day of the month, that the young Edgar, the giver of bracelets to the valiant, departed this life. And then his son, a child not full-grown, succeeded to the kingdom: he was the ruler of Earls, and his name was Edward—a prince most excellent. Ten days before this Britain lost Cyneward, that good and kindly Bishop. At that time, to my mind, the glory of the Supreme governor was trampled on throughout Mercia, many of God's wise servants were driven away, and this was a great sorrow to those who bore in their hearts and minds an ardent love of their Creator. Then indeed was the author of miracles set at nought, he who is the disposer of victory, and the law-giver of heaven, when men violated his right. And then also that beloved chieftain Oslac was driven from the land, and that long-haired warrior, wise and discreet in words, was borne, bereaved of an home, on the rolling waves, on the sea bird's bath, on the roaring waters, over the country of the whales. And then a star appeared in the sky, above in the firmament, which strong-minded men, of deep learning, skilful men, and wise soothsayers, universally call a comet. The vengeance of the

Almighty was upon the nation, and a dire famine in the country. But this again, the ruler of Heaven, the Lord of the angels, removed, and gave bliss to every inhabitant through the fruitfulness of the earth.

This year the Alderman Ælfere caused the monks to be turned out of very many monasteries which the holy Bishop Athelwold had established by the command of King Edgar. This year the great Earl Oslac was driven from England.

976.

This year there was a great famine in England.

977.

This year a great meeting was held after Easter at Kyntlington (Kirtlington?), and there Bishop Sideman died suddenly on the 2d of the calends of May. He was Bishop of Devonshire, and he willed that his body's resting place should be at his metropolitan see of Cridiantun (Crediton). Then King Edward and Archbishop Dunstan commanded that he should be carried to St. Mary's monastery of Abbandun (Abingdon); this was done, and he was honourably buried in the north side of St. Peter's aisle.

978.

This year all the chief of the Witan of the

English nation fell from an upper floor at Calne, excepting the holy Archbishop Dunstan alone, who stood upon a beam, and some had their bones broken, and others escaped not with their lives. This year King Edward was slain at Corfes-geat (Corfe Castle), in the evening of the 15th of the calends of April, and he was buried at Wareham without any royal honours. No worse deed than this had been committed amongst the people of the Angles since they first came to the land of Britain. Men murdered him, but God gave him glory. In his life he was an earthly King, but now after his death he is a Saint in heaven. His mortal kinsmen would not avenge him, but his heavenly Father hath avenged him greatly. His earthly murderers would have blotted out his memory from the world, but the avenger who is above hath widely extended his fame in heaven and earth: and whereas they formerly would not bow down before his living body, now they piteously bend their knees to his dead bones. We may gather hence, that the wisdom of men, their devices and counsels, avail nothing against the purposes of God. And the same year his brother Prince Æthelred took to himself the kingdom, and was consecrated very soon afterwards at Cyninges-tun (Kingston), with



great rejoicing of the Witan of the English nation.

980.

This year St. Dunstan and the Alderman Ælfhere fetched the body of the holy King St. Edward from Wareham, and brought it with great pomp to Shaftesbury.

981.

This year seven ships first came and plundered Southampton.

983.

This year the Alderman Ælfhere died and Ælfric succeeded to his office.

984.

This year died the good Bishop Athelwold, the father of monks : and the consecration of his successor Ælfheah, who was also called Godwin, took place on the 14th of the calends of November, and he was installed at Winchester on the feast of the two Apostles Simon and Jude. And this year Eadwine was consecrated Abbot of Abingdon.

985.

This year the Alderman Ælfric was banished.

986.

This year the King laid waste the Bishoprick of Rochester, and this year the great distem-

per among the cattle first afflicted the English nation.

987.

This year Weced-port (Watchet) was plundered.

988.

This year the Danish Thane Goda was killed, and many with him. And this year the holy Archbishop Dunstan gave up this life, and entered upon that of heaven; and Bishop Æthelgar succeeded him in the Archbishoprick, and he lived but a short time afterwards, only one year and three months.

989.

This year the Abbot Ædwine died, and Wulfgar succeeded him. And Siric was consecrated Archbishop, and he afterwards went to Rome for his pall.

991.

This year Ipswich was plundered, and very soon afterwards the Alderman Brihtnoth was slain at Malden. And the same year it was first proposed that a tribute should be paid to the Danes, because of the great terror in which they kept the coasts. This tribute was at first ten thousand pounds: it was Archbishop Siric who gave this as his counsel.

992.

This year the blessed Archbishop Oswald departed this life, and entered upon that of heaven; and the Alderman Æthelwine died the same year. Then the King and his Witan determined that all the ships which were fit for service should be assembled at London; and the King put this fleet under the command of the Alderman Ealfric, and of the Earl Thorode, and of the Bishops Ælfstane and Æscwig, and they were ordered to endeavour to surprise and block up the Danes. Then the Alderman Ælfric sent and warned them; and in the night preceding the day on which an engagement would have taken place, he himself left his fleet, to his exceeding dishonour, and the enemy escaped, excepting one ship, which was destroyed. And then they met the ships of East Anglia and of London, and there they made a great slaughter, and they took the ship in which the Alderman sailed, and which was well manned and fitted out.

Upon the death of Archbishop Oswald, Ealdulf Abbot of Peterborough was raised to the Bishoprick of York and Worcester, and Kenulf to the Abbacy of Peterborough.

993.

This year Anlaf came to Staines with 93 ships,

and plundered that part of the country ; and he went thence to Sandwich, and so on to Ipswich, and laid all waste, and thus he proceeded to Malden. And then the Alderman Byrhtnoth came against him, and their armies fought, but the Alderman was slain, and Anlaf's army kept possession of the field of battle, and peace was made with him, and the King afterwards stood godfather at his confirmation, by the advice of Siric Bishop of Canterbury and of Ælfeag of Winchester. This year Bamborough was destroyed, and much plunder was seized there. And after this the Army came to the mouth of the Humber, and did great damage in Lindsey and in Northumberland. Then a great number of troops were gathered together, but when they were about to engage in battle, their leaders first betook themselves to flight. These were Fræna, and Godwin, and Frithegist. The same year the King put out the eyes of Ælfgar the son of the Alderman Ælfric.

994.

This year Archbishop Sigeric died, and Ælfric Bishop of Wiltshire was chosen as his successor by King Æthelred and his Witan, at Ambresbyri (Amesbury), on Easter-day. This year Anlaf and Swegen came to London on the nati-

vity of St. Mary, with 94 ships, and they attacked the city vigorously, and they also attempted to burn it with fire, but they suffered more loss and injury than they could ever have looked for from any townsmen, for the holy Mother of God in her mercy manifested herself to the inhabitants, and delivered them from their enemies. And then these departed, and did as much damage as any army might, burning, plundering, and slaying, along the coasts of Essex, of Kent, of Sussex, and of Hampshire. And at length they took horses and rode far and wide wherever they would, and they did unspeakable mischief. Then the King and his Witan determined to send to them and offer them tribute and a supply of provisions, on condition that they would abstain from plundering. This they accepted, and all the army came to Southampton, and there they took up their winter quarters, and all the kingdom of Wessex provided food for them, and sixteen thousand pounds were paid to them. Then the King sent the Bishop Ælfeach and the Alderman Æthelward for King Anlaf, and hostages were left in the ships, while they brought him with much pomp to the King at Andover; and King Æthelred stood godfather at his confirmation, and gave him royal presents. And Anlaf

made him then a promise, which he also fulfilled, that he would never again come with hostile designs against the English nation.

“ This year Richard the elder died, and his son Richard succeeded him, and reigned 31 years” (in Normandy).

995.

This year a comet appeared.

997.

This year the Army sailed round Devonshire into the mouth of the Severn, and plundered in Cornwall, Wales, and Devon ; and they landed at Watchet, and did much damage there, burning and slaying. And after this they sailed southward and round Penwikt-steort (the Land's end), and they entered the mouth of the Thamar, and proceeded up that river until they came to Lydeford, and they burned and slew all before them : and they burned Ordulf's monastery at Ætefingstoce (Tavistock), and carried innumerable spoils to their ships. This year Archbishop Ælfric went to Rome for his pall.

998.

This year the Army again turned eastward into the mouth of the Frome, and they made inroads upon Dorsetshire as far as they would on either side. And troops were often gathered together

against them, but whenever they were about to engage, from some cause or other, a flight constantly took place, and the enemy always obtained the victory in the end. At another time they lay off the Isle of Wight, and supplied themselves with provisions from Hampshire and Sussex.

999.

This year the Army again sailed round into the Thames, and came up the Medway as far as Rochester. And the Kentish troops marched against them, and fought with them bravely: but too soon, alas! they gave way and fled, because they had not the support which they ought to have had. Then the Danes kept possession of the field of battle, and having seized horses they rode far and wide wherever they chose, and they plundered and laid waste nearly all the western part of Kent. Then the King with his Witan resolved that both a fleet and an army should be sent against them; but when the ships were ready, they delayed them from day to day, and oppressed the miserable people who served in them. And whenever the ships were going to sail, they were always stopped from time to time, and they allowed the enemy's forces to increase continually, and whenever these retired from the

coast, they then went forth after them. In the end this fleet served no purpose, but to weary the men, to waste money, and to encourage the enemy.

1000.

This year the King went into Cumberland and laid waste nearly the whole of it; and his ships attempted to get round Chester, and were to have met him, but they were not able; then they plundered Mænige (Anglesey). And the enemy's fleet sailed this summer to the dominions of Richard.

1001.

This year the peace of England was much disturbed by the pirates, who plundered and burned in all parts; and thus they proceeded in one course until they came to Æthelingadene (Alton), and there the men of Hampshire met them, and fought with them. And the King's High Sheriff Ethelweard was killed there, and Leofric of Whitechurch, and Leofwine the King's High Sheriff, and Wulfhere the Bishop's Thane, and Godwin of Weorthig (Worthing?) the son of Bishop Ælfsig, and there fell 81 men in all. And many more were slain on the part of the Danes, although they kept possession of the field of battle. And thence they proceeded northward until they



came into Devon, and there Pallig joined them with all the ships that he could collect, for he had deserted from King Ethelred after all the assurances of fidelity which he had given him, and although the King had been very bountiful to him, in gifts of houses, of gold, and of silver. And they burned Tegnton (Teynton), and many other good villages which we cannot name, and afterwards the people of that country made a treaty with them; and they departed thence to Exmouth, and so they went on in one course until they came to Peonho (Pen), and there Cola the King's High Sheriff, and Eadsige the King's Sheriff, came against them with the troops which they had gathered together, but they were put to flight and many were slain, and the Danes kept possession of the field of battle. And the next morning they burned the villages of Pen and of Clifton, and many good villages besides which we cannot name. And then they proceeded eastward until they arrived at Wight, and in the morning they there burned the village of Wealtham and many other hamlets, and the inhabitants soon treated with them and obtained peace.

1002.

This year the King and his Witan again re-

solved to give tribute to the fleet, and to negotiate a peace with them, on condition that they would cease from doing mischief. Then the King sent the Alderman Leofsig to the fleet, and there he set forth the King's words, and the peace proposed by the Witan, that they should receive provisions and tribute; and they accepted these terms, on which twenty-four thousand pounds were paid to them. At this time the Alderman Leofsig slew the King's High Sheriff Æfic, and the King banished him from the country. And during the same Lent, the Lady the daughter of Richard, came to this land. In the summer of the same year Archbishop Eadulf (Ealdulf) died: and this year also the King gave command that all the Danes in England should be slain on St. Brice's day, because it had been reported to him that they had a design to murder him first, and then all his Witan, and thereupon to possess his kingdom without opposition.

1003.

This year Exeter was taken through the ill conduct of the French churl Hugo, whom the Lady had placed there as her Sheriff; and the Army entirely destroyed the town, and seized much plunder. Then a large number of troops was gathered together from Wiltshire and Hamp-

shire, and they marched against the Army with great readiness; and the Alderman Ælfric should have led these troops, but he practised his former wiles, for as soon as they were so near that either army might behold the other, he gave out that he was ill, and feigned sickness, and thus deceived the troops whom he ought to have headed, even as it is said—"When the General sickeneth, then the whole army is sorely hindered." When Swegn saw that they were not unanimous and that they all began to return, he led his army to Wilton, and plundered and burned that town, and thence they proceeded to Salisbury, and thence to the coast again, and thither he carried their provender to his horses of the sea.\*

## 1004

This year Swegn came with his fleet to Norwich, and plundered and burned the whole town. Then Ulfkytel with the Witan of East Anglia concluded that it was better to buy a peace of that army before they did much harm in the country; for the enemy had come upon him unawares, neither had he time to collect his troops; but in the time of truce the Danes stole up from

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\* His plunder to the ships.

the ships and directed their course to Thetford. When Ulfkytel heard this, he sent desiring that the ships might be hewn in pieces, but this order was neglected. He himself assembled troops secretly, as speedily as he might. And the invaders came to Thetford within three weeks from the time that they first plundered Norwich, and they remained one night in that town, and then plundered and burned it. Then in the morning when they would have returned to their ships, Ulfkytel came up with his troops, and they engaged in battle with fury, and the slaughter was great on either side. The prime of East Anglia fell there, but if all their forces had been collected, the Danes, as they acknowledged, would never have returned to their ships.

1005.

This year died Archbishop Ælfric, and Bishop Ælfeah succeeded him in the Archbishoprick. This year there was a great famine in England, such as men never before remembered, it was so dreadful. And this year the fleet sailed from this country to Denmark, but returned again in a very short time.

1006.

This year Ælfehlg was consecrated Archbishop; and Bishop Brihtwold received the bishoprick

of Wiltshire (Sherborn). And Wulfgeate was deprived of all his honours, and Wulfeah and Ufegeat were blinded, and the Alderman Ælfehm was slain, and Bishop Kennulf died. Then after Midsummer the Danish fleet came to Sandwich and did all as they were wont, plundering, burning, and slaying wherever they went. Then the King caused all the West Saxons and Mercians to be called out, and they kept the field against the Army all the autumn, yet this was of no more avail than many times before, but for all this the Army went where it would, and this campaign did the inhabitants more injury than they had ever before suffered from any force, native or foreign. And in the beginning of winter the troops returned home, and the enemy came after Martinmas to their safe quarters in Wight, and thence they procured for themselves whatever they wanted from all parts. At mid-winter they went forth to get supplies, and marched through Hampshire into Berkshire, and they proceeded as far as Reading, and they did as they were wont and lighted their beacons wherever they came. And thence they marched to Wallingford and entirely destroyed that town, and passing by Æsces-dune (Aston) they made for Cwichelmes-blæwe (Cuckamsley-hill), so that

they never approached the sea, but returned homeward the other way. Then the troops of the country were assembled at Cynetan (Kennet), and there they engaged in battle, and forthwith the enemy put these troops to flight, and afterwards carried their spoils to the sea. Then might the inhabitants of Winchester see that proud and fearless Army marching past their very gates carrying with them to the sea provisions and treasures from a distance of above fifty miles. The King had crossed the Thames into Shropshire, and there he kept the feast of Christmas. Then the dread of the Army became so great, that none could think or imagine how they might be expelled from the country, or how this land might be defended against them, for they had grievously defaced every shire of Wessex with burning and devastation. The King began anxiously to enquire of his Witan what measures they all thought advisable to be taken for the preservation of this land before it was entirely ruined. Then the King and his Witan agreed, that, for the good of the people, they must pay tribute, though they were all unwilling so to do. Then the King sent to the Army, and caused it to be told them that he desired that there should be peace between them and him, and that tribute-

and provisions should be delivered to them ; and they all accepted these conditions, and they were supported by the whole English nation.

1007.

This year the tribute was paid to the Army ; it was thirty thousand pounds : and this year also Ædric was appointed Alderman over all the kingdom of Mercia.

1008.

This year the King commanded that ships should be built and fitted out with diligence throughout England, at this assessment, one vessel from every 310 hides of land, and from eight hides a helmet and a breast-plate.

1009.

This year the ships were ready of which we have before spoken, and inasmuch as we learn from books, so many were never constructed by the English nation in any King's days ; and they were all collected at Sandwich, that they might lie off that port, and defend this land from every foreigner. But yet the country had neither the fortune nor honour to profit more by this fleet than by former armaments.

It was at this time, or a little earlier, that Brihtric the brother of the Alderman Edric accused Childe Wulfmoth the South Saxon the

father of Earl Godwin before the King; on which Wulfnoth departed, and got together twenty ships, and plundered the whole southern coast, and did all manner of evil. Then it was said in the fleet that Wulfnoth might easily be taken if the attempt were made, on which Brihtric went forth with eighty ships, and he thought that he should gain great fame, and that he should bring back Wulfnoth alive or dead. But as they were proceeding in search of him, such a wind arose against them as had never been remembered, and the ships were beaten about and dispersed and driven ashore; and Wulfnoth immediately came and burned them. When it was known in the remainder of the fleet where the King was, how the other ships had fared, it seemed as if all plan and conduct were lost, and the King, with the Aldermen and High-Witan, returned home; thus lightly did they leave their ships, and the people who were in them rowed them back to London. And in this manner they caused the effort of the whole nation to fail, and the dread of the enemy was in no wise lessened, as all the English people had hoped. When the fleet was thus broken up, there came an immense army of the enemy to Sandwich soon after Lammas, and forthwith they went their way to Can-



terbury, and would speedily have stormed the town, had not the inhabitants with greater speed begged for peace, and all the men of East Kent made a peace with that army, for which they gave three thousand pounds. And soon after this the army sailed round as far as Wight, and they plundered and burned there as was their wont, and also in Sussex, in Hampshire, and in Berkshire. Then the King ordered all the nation to arms, that every quarter might be defended against them; nevertheless they went wherever they would. At one time the King with all the troops which he had collected, had intercepted them as they were returning to their ships, but when all his people were ready to fall upon them, the attack was prevented as usual by the Alderman Ædric. Then after Martinmas the army returned into Kent, and took up their winter quarters on the Thames, and lived upon Essex and upon the neighbouring counties on each side of that river; and they frequently attacked London, but, God be praised, the town yet stands in safety: for they ever failed in their attempts against it. And after Christmas they set out on an expedition through Chiltern, and so to Oxford, and they burned that town, and they plundered on each side of the Thames in

returning towards the ships. But when they were warned that troops were assembled at London to oppose them, they passed over at Staines: thus they went on all the winter, and they were in Kent during Lent and repaired their ships.

1010.

This year, after Easter, the aforesaid Army invaded the Angles; they landed at Ipswich and marched straight forward to the place where, as they had heard, Ulfcytel was with his troops. This was on the morning of Ascension-day, and the East Anglians soon took to flight, but the men of Cambridgeshire stood their ground firmly. The King's son in law Æthelstan was slain there, and Oswi and his sons, and Wulfric the son of Leofwin, and Eadwig the brother of Æfic, and many other good Thanes, and more than can be numbered of the common people. Thurecytel Myranheafod began the flight, and the Danes kept possession of the field of battle, and there they obtained horses; and after this they were masters of East Anglia, and they continued to burn and plunder that country for the space of three months, and they even penetrated into the wild fens, and slew both men and cattle, and they set all on fire, and they burned the towns of Thetford and Cambridge; and then they

returned southward to the Thames, the cavalry keeping up with the ships; and very soon they set forth again, and proceeded westward into Oxfordshire, and thence into Buckinghamshire, and so along the Ouse until they came to Bedford, and thus on to Tempsford, burning wherever they went; and then they returned to their fleet with their plunder, and divided it amongst the ships. And when the English troops ought to have taken the field to repel the invaders they departed home, and when the enemy was in the east these were kept in the west, and when they were in the south our troops were in the north. Then all the Witan were summoned to the King, to consult how this land might be defended, but yet they persevered not for one month in any of the plans determined on; and at length there was no leader who would gather the troops together, but every man fled as best he might, nor indeed would any county unite with another. Then before St. Andrew's day the Army came to Northampton, and forthwith burned that city, and they seized all that they would in those parts, and thence they crossed the Thames into Wessex, and so along the Caningan marshes (Cannington, Somersetshire?) and they set all on fire, and having gone as far as they would for that time, they returned to their ships at Christmas.

1011.

This year the King and his Witan sent to the Army, and desired peace, promising tribute and supplies of provision, on condition that they should cease from plundering. At this time they had overrun the following districts: 1st, East Anglia; 2dly, Essex; 3dly, Middlesex; 4thly, Oxfordshire; 5thly, Cambridgeshire; 6thly, Hertfordshire; 7thly, Buckinghamshire; 8thly, Bedfordshire; 9thly, half of Huntingdonshire; and 10thly, south of the Thames, all Kent, and Sussex, and Hastings, and Surrey, Berkshire, Hampshire, and great part of Wiltshire. All these calamities befel us through ill-advisedness, because tribute was not offered them sufficiently soon; but when they had done all possible mischief, we then compounded with them for peace and quietness. Yet notwithstanding this treaty and tribute, they went not forth the less frequently in every direction, marching in separate divisions, and carrying off or slaying our miserable countrymen. And this year, between the nativity of St. Mary and Michaelmas, they besieged Canterbury, and gained an entrance through treachery, for Ælmar, whose life had been saved by Archbishop Ælfeah, betrayed the town to them. And they seized the Archbishop Ælfeah; and Ælford the King's sheriff, and the

Abbot Leotwine, and Bishop Godwin, but they let the Abbot Ælmar depart; and they took captive all the consecrated persons men and women, none could say how great was the number of prisoners, and they remained in the town as long as they would, and when they had ransacked it thoroughly, they returned to their ships carrying the Archbishop with them. He who erewhile was the chiefest of the English nation, and of its religion, was now a prisoner; and now might men behold that wretched city the abode of misery, wherein had been fullness of joy; and from whence Christianity and blessedness had been first sent forth to us, before God, and before the world. And they kept the Archbishop with them until the time that they martyred him.

1012.

This year the Alderman Eadric and all the chief of the Witan of the English nation, clergy and laity, came to London before Easter day, which fell on the 13th of April, and they remained there after Easter, until all the tribute was paid; it was 8000 pounds. Then on the Saturday the Army was greatly exasperated against the Archbishop, because he would not promise them money, but forbade others to give them any thing on his behalf; they were also very

drunken, for wine was brought to them from the south; then they took the Archbishop and led him to their hustings on the eve of Sunday the octave of Easter day, and there they pelted him with the bones and skulls of cattle, and at length one of them struck him upon the head with an iron axe, so that he dropped down from the blow. And his sacred blood was spilled upon the earth but his holy soul departed to the kingdom of God. And in the morning the Bishops Eadnoth and Ælfhun and the townsmen took his holy body and carried it to London with all reverence and buried it in St. Paul's Minster where God yet maketh manifest the power of the blessed martyr. When the tribute had been paid, and the oaths of peace were sworn, the Army again dispersed itself widely, as it had been gathered together from various parts. And 45 of their ships entered into the King's service, and promised him that they would defend this country, on condition that he should feed and clothe them.

1013.

The year after that in which Archbishop Ælfeg was martyred, the King appointed Bishop Lifing to the see of Canterbury. And the same year before the month of August King Swegn arrived with his fleet at Sandwich, and he coasted very

rapidly round East Anglia and entered the mouth of the Humber, and so proceeded up the Trent until he came to Gainsborough. And in a short time Earl Uhtred and all Northumberland and the people of Lindsey submitted to him, and afterwards the inhabitants of the five towns\* did likewise, and very soon after this all the forces north of Watling-street submitted also, and hostages were given him from each county. When he found that all the people were subject to him he commanded that they should supply his army with horses and provisions, and he then proceeded southward with a large force, leaving the charge of his ships and hostages to his son Cnut. And when they had passed Watling-street, they did as much evil as any army might; he marched to Oxford, and the town immediately surrendered and gave hostages; thence he went to Winchester, and the inhabitants of that place did the same; thence he turned eastward towards London, and many of his soldiers were drowned in the Thames, not looking out for a bridge. And when he came to the city the inhabitants would not surrender, but they held out against him and fought bravely, for King Æthelred was there,

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\* Enumerated an. 942.

and Thurkil with him. Then King Swegn departed thence to Wallingford, and so over the Thames westward to Bath, and he rested there with his army. And the Alderman Æthelmer came thither, and all the western Thanes with him, and they submitted themselves to King Swegn, and gave hostages. And having thus conquered the country, he returned to his ships in the north, and all the people fully received and acknowledged him as their true King. And after this the men of London submitted to him and gave hostages, for they feared lest he should utterly ruin them. Then Swegn exacted an immense tribute, and provision for his army during that winter; and Thurcyl demanded the same for the army at Greenwich; and besides this they plundered as often as they would, to the great injury of this people both in the south and in the north. The King remained a little while with the fleet in the Thames, and the Lady went over sea to her brother Richard, and Ælsige Abbot of Peterborough with her. And the King sent Bishop Ælfun over sea with the Æthelings Edward and Alfred, that he might take care of them. And the King went from the fleet to Wight at Christmas, and he remained there during that festival; and then he departed over sea



to Richard, and he abode with him till Swegn was dead. Whilst the Lady was beyond sea with her brother, Ælfsige Abbot of Peterborough who was with her, went to a monastery called Bonneval, where the body of Saint Florentinus lay. He found the place, and the Abbot, and the monks in a condition of great misery, for they had been plundered; and he bought of the Abbot and the monks the whole of the remains of Saint Florentinus, excepting his head, for five hundred pounds; and when he returned home he presented them to Christ and to Saint Peter.

1014.

This year King Swegn ended his days at Candelmas, on the 3d of the nones of February, and the fleet chose Cnut as King. Then all the Witan of the English nation, clergy and laity, determined that they would send to King Æthelred, and they assured him that no one was dearer to them than their natural Lord, if he would govern them more righteously than he did before. So the King sent his son Edward hither with his deputies, and commanded him to greet all his people, and said that he would be their faithful Lord, and that he would amend all that had been complained of, and all that had been done or said against himself should be forgiven, if

they would return to him with one consent and without guile. And confidence was fully established by words, deeds, and pledges, on either side, and they outlawed for ever any Danish King of England. In Lent King Æthelred came home to his own people, and he was gladly received by them all.

After the death of Swegn, Cnut and his army remained at Gainsborough till Easter, and it was agreed between him and the men of Lindsey that the latter should furnish him with horses, and that afterwards they should all go forth together and plunder. Then King Æthelred with all his troops marched into Lindsey before they were prepared to oppose him, and he plundered and burned, and he slew all the people that he found; but Cnut the son of Swegn sailed away with his fleet, and thus were these miserable people betrayed by him, and he steered southward till he came to Sandwich, and there he set on shore the hostages that had been delivered to his father, and he cut off their hands and noses. And besides all these evils, the King ordered twenty-one thousand pounds to be paid to the army at Greenwich. And on the eve of Michaelmas-day this year was that great inundation of the sea over a wide extent of this land, which came up

farther than was ever known before, and overwhelmed many towns and an immense number of persons.

1015.

This year there was a great meeting (of the Witan) at Oxford, and the Alderman Eadric betrayed Sigferth and Morcær the chief Thanes of the seven towns,\* for he enticed them to his lodging, and there they were basely murdered. And the King seized all their possessions, and commanded that the widow of Sigferth should be taken and carried to Malmesbury. And a short time afterwards Prince Edmund went thither and took her for his wife without the King's consent. Then before the feast of the nativity of St. Mary the Prince went northward to the five towns, and he forthwith attacked the Heritage of Sigferth and Morcær, and all the people submitted to him. And at the same time Cnut came to Sandwich, and he immediately sailed round Kent and along the coast of Wessex till he came to the mouth of the Frome, and he plundered in Dorset, Wiltshire and Somersetshire. At that time King Æthelred lay sick at Cosham. And the Alderman Eadric assembled an army and Prince Edmund also raised troops in

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\* Comprehending the "Five towns," with York and Chester.

the north, and when they joined forces the Alderman would have betrayed the Prince, but he was not able to do this, therefore they parted, and gave place to the enemy without fighting. And then the Alderman Edric drew off 40 ships from the King's party and went over to Cnut. And the West Saxons also submitted to Cnut and gave hostages, and furnished his army with horses, and he remained there until Christmas.

1016.

This year Cnut crossed the Thames into Mercia at Cricklade with the forces of 160 ships, and the Alderman Eadric was with him. And they invaded Warwickshire at Christmas, and there they plundered and burned, and they slew all that they found. Then the Ætheling Edmund began to gather troops together, but when they were assembled they refused to serve unless the King were present, and they had also a reinforcement from the citizens of London: and thus they set aside the expedition, and every man departed to his home. After Christmas troops were again levied, under a heavy penalty, that even those who were at a distance must come forth; and a message was sent to the King at London, and he was desired to meet this Army with all the force that he could muster: but this

effort availed not more than the many former attempts, for when they were all assembled it was told the King that some\* who ought to support him would betray him, on which the Army was broken up and he returned to London. Then Prince Edmund rode to Northumberland to Earl Uhtred, and all men thought that they would raise an army to oppose King Cnut; but they marched into Staffordshire, and to Shrewsbury, and to Chester, and they plundered on their side of the country, while Cnut did the same on his. For he proceeded through Buckinghamshire into Bedfordshire, and thence into Huntingdonshire, and along the fens to Stamford, and then into Lincolnshire, thence into Nottinghamshire, and then into Northumberland and towards York. And when Uhtred heard this he left off plundering and hastened northward, and he yielded to necessity and all Northumberland with him, and he gave hostages, but nevertheless he was slain and Thureytel the son of Nafana with him. And after this Cnut appointed Yric Earl of Northumberland in like manner as Uhtred had been. And then he returned southward another way by the west; and thus the whole army came to the ships

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\* "Certain of his auxiliaries."—Simeon of Durham.

before Easter. And Prince Edmund went to his father at London. And after Easter King Cnut sailed towards London with all his ships, but King Æthelred was dead before they arrived there. He died on St. George's day, after a life of much trouble and sorrow. After his death all of the Witan who were in London and the citizens chose Edmund for their King, and he valiantly defended his kingdom during his whole life. Then the ships came to Greenwich in Rogation week, and in a little while they proceeded to London; they dug a great ditch on the south side of the town and drew up their ships west of the bridge, and they beset the town so that none could go in or out. And they attacked the city several times, but the inhabitants withstood them resolutely.

And before this, King Edmund had gone forth, and he marched into Wessex, and all the people submitted to him, and soon after that, he fought with the Army at Pen, near Gillingham. And he fought another battle after Midsummer, at Sceorstan,\* and there many fell on either side, and the armies separated of their own accord.—The Alderman Eadric, and Ælmær the Beloved,

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\* Saresden, Oxon.

were with the Danes against King Edmund.— And then he raised an army for the third time, and marched to London and rescued the inhabitants, and he drove their enemies to the ships. And within two days he crossed the river at Brentford and fought with the Army, and put it to flight, but many of the English were drowned through their own heedlessness, because they had hastened before the main body, being greedy of plunder. And after this the King went into Wessex and assembled troops, and the Army marched to London and encamped round about the town, and they attacked it vigorously by water and by land, but Almighty God delivered it; and they navigated their ships from London into the Arwan (the Arrow), and they landed and went up into Mercia, slaying and plundering all before them as was their wont, and they supplied themselves with provisions and conveyed their ships and cattle to the Medway. Then King Edmund assembled all the English people for the fourth time, and crossed the Thames at Brentford and marched into Kent, and the Danes fled before him with their horses into Sheppey, and the King slew all whom he could overtake; and at Aylesford the Alderman Eadric turned the King from the pursuit: more treacherous advice

than this never was given. The Army went up again into Essex, and thence into Mercia, destroying all things wherever they came. And when the King knew that they were on their march, he assembled all the English troops for the fifth time, and followed after them, and he came up with them in Essex, at the place called Assandun,\* and there they fought furiously.— But the Alderman Eadric acted as he had often done before; he was the first to take to flight with the Magesætas (men of Radnorshire), and thus he betrayed his natural Lord and all the people. There Cnut gained the victory, though all England fought against him. And Eadnoth† and the Abbot Wulsige were slain there, and the Alderman Ælfric, and the Alderman Godwin, and Ulfcytel of East Anglia, and Æthelward the son of the Alderman Æthelsig, and all the prime of the English nobility. After this battle King Cnut marched his army into Gloucestershire, having heard that King Edmund was in that quarter. Then the Alderman Eadric and those of the Witan who were there, advised that the Kings should make peace between themselves,

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\* Ashdon, three miles N. E. of Saffron Walden?

† Bishop of Lincoln.



and the Kings met at Olan-ige (Alney), and there they confirmed their alliance by pledges and oaths; and they agreed upon the tribute for the Army. And when this treaty was concluded they separated; King Edmund going into Wessex, and Cnut into Mercia. The Army returned to their ships with the spoil which they had gained, and the men of London treated with them, and bought peace, and the Danes brought their ships into London, and there they took up their winter quarters. Then on St. Andrew's day, King Edmund died, and he was buried with his grandfather Edgar at Glastonbury. And the same year Wulfgar Abbot of Abingdon died, and he was succeeded by Æthelsige.

1017.

This year\* King Cnut took to himself the whole kingdom of England, and he divided it into four parts, reserving to himself the government of Wessex, and committing East Anglia to Thurcyll, Mercia to Eadric, and Northumberland to Yric. This year the Alderman Eadric was slain, and Northman also the son of the Alderman Leofwin, and Æthelwold the son of Æthelmær the Great, and Brihtric the son of

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\* This year Cnut was chosen King.—Var. read.

Ælfget of Devonshire. And King Cnut banished Ædwig the Ætheling, and Eadwig the King of the Peasants. Then before the calends of August he sent for the widow of the late King Æthelred, the daughter of Richard, to be his Queen.

1018.

This year a tribute was levied throughout England; it amounted in all to seventy-two thousand pounds, besides that paid by the citizens of London, which was eleven thousand pounds. Then a part of the Army returned to Denmark; but forty ships remained with King Cnut; and the Danes and English came to an agreement\* at Oxford. And this year Æthelsige Abbot of Abingdon died, and Æthelwine succeeded him.

1019.

This year King Cnut went to Denmark, and remained there all the winter.

1020.

This year King Cnut returned to England; and during Easter a great meeting was held at Cirencester, at which the Alderman Æthelword was outlawed. And this year the King went to

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\* To observe respectively the laws of King Edgar.

Simeon of Durham.

Assandun, and caused a Minster\* to be built of stone and lime, for the souls of those who were slain there, and he gave it to one of his priests whose name was Stigand. And Archbishop Living died, and Æthelnoth a monk and Deacon of Christ Church was consecrated Bishop of that diocese the same year by Archbishop Wulstan.

1021.

This year at Martinmas King Cnut outlawed Earl Thurkil.

1022.

This year King Cnut sailed with his ships to Wight. And Bishop Æthelnoth journeyed to Rome, and was very honourably received by Pope Benedict, who put on his pall with his own hands, and consecrated him Archbishop with much pomp. And he performed mass clad in the same pall, even as the Pope desired; and after this he banqueted with the Pope: and at length he returned home with a full blessing.— And the Abbot Leofwin, who had been unjustly banished from Ely, was his companion, and he cleared himself of all that had been alledged against him, in the presence of the Archbishop

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\* William of Malmesbury says that this Church was much out of repair in his time.—Gough considers Assandun to be Assington, near Rochford.

and of all the company that was with him, as the Pope instructed him.

1023.

This year Archbishop Wulfstan died. Ælfric succeeded him, and Archbishop Ægelnoth consecrated him at Canterbury. And the same year Archbishop Ægelnoth brought the relics of the Archbishop St. Ælfeg from London to Canterbury.

1024.

“This year Richard 2d died: then his son Richard reigned nearly one year, and after him his brother Robert eight years.”

1025.

This year King Cnut sailed to Denmark, and thence to an island near the river Helga,\* and there Ulf and Eglaf came against him with a great fleet and army from Sweden. And very many fell on the side of King Cnut, both Danes and English, and the Swedes remained in possession of the field of battle.

1028.

This year King Cnut sailed from England to Norway with fifty ships of English Thanes, and he expelled King Olaf and took possession of that land.

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\* Near Calnar or near Christianstadt.

Torfæus Hist. Norv. t. iii. p. 147.

1029.

This year King Cnut returned home to England.

1030.

This year King Olaf returned to Norway, and the people rose against him, and fought with him, and he was slain.

1031.

This year as soon as King Cnut came to England, he granted to Christ's Church, in Canterbury, the harbour of Sandwich with all the profits therefrom arising, on either side of the haven, to this distance, namely, that when the tide runs highest and is fully in, and a ship can ride as near the shore as possible, a man should stand in the ship holding a small axe in his hand, "and as far as he could throw this axe on shore, so far should their rights extend." This year King Cnut journeyed to Rome, and the same year after his return he went into Scotland, and the Scotch King Malcolm, with two other Kings, Mælbæthe and Iehmarc, submitted to him. And Robert Earl of Normandy went to Jerusalem and died there, and he was succeeded in Normandy by William then a child, who was afterwards King of England.

1032.

This year there were terrible lightnings, such

as men remembered not before, and which caused much damage in various places throughout the country. And the same year Ælfsige Bishop of Winchester died, and the King's priest Ælfwine received that bishoprick.

1033.

This year Merehwit Bishop of Somerset died, and he is buried at Glastonbury.

1034.

This year died Bishop Ætheric.

1036.

This year King Cnut died at Shaftesbury, and he is buried in the old monastery of Winchester. He was King over all England nearly 20 years; and soon after his death a meeting of all the Witan was held at Oxford, and Earl Leofric, and almost all the Thaness north of the Thames, and the seamen of London, chose Harold to govern all England, both in his own right, and for his brother Hardacnut, who was then in Denmark. And Earl Godwin and all the chief men of Wessex opposed them as long as they could; but they could not prevail against them. Then it was resolved that Ælfgiva the mother of Hardacnut should reside at Winchester, with the King her son's household, and should hold the government of Wessex for him. Earl Godwin was the head man of that party. Some men say

of Harold that he was the son of King Cnut and of Ælfgiva the daughter of the Alderman Ælfelm; but this is thought very unlikely by many. Be this as it may, he was sole King of all England.

1037.

This year Ælfgiva the widow of King Cnut and mother of Edward and King Hardacnut, was banished, and she sought an asylum with Baldwin over sea in the south, and he gave her a residence in Bruges, and he protected and maintained her as long as she was there.

1038.

This year Archbishop Æthelnoth died on the calends of November; and within a short time Æthelric Bishop of Sussex died also; and then before Christmas Brihteh Bishop of Worcestershire; and very soon after that Ælfrie Bishop of East Anglia. Then Bishop\* Eadsige succeeded to the Archbishoprick; Grymcytel received the Bishoprick of Sussex; and Living that of Worcestershire and Gloucestershire.

1039.

This year King Harold died at Oxford on the 16th of the calends of April, and he was buried

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\* Eadsige was not a Bishop, but the King's Chaplain.

at Westminster : he governed England four years and sixteen weeks, and in his reign a tax was raised for (keeping up a fleet of) 16 ships, at the rate of eight marks to every sailor, even as it had been in the days of King Cnut. And the same year King Hardacnut arrived at Sandwich seven days before Midsummer, and he was forthwith received as King by the English and by the Danes : but those who promoted his accession paid dearly for it afterwards. Then they determined upon raising a tax to keep up a fleet of 62 ships, at the rate of eight marks for every sailor. And the same year the sæster of wheat sold for 55 pennies and even more.

1040.

This year Archbishop Eadsige journeyed to Rome, and this year the army-tribute was paid ; it was twenty-one thousand and ninety-nine pounds : and eleven thousand and forty-eight pounds were afterwards paid for 32 ships. And the same year Edward the son of King Æthelred came hither from abroad ;\* he was a brother of King Hardacnut, for they both were sons of Ælfgiva Emma the daughter of Earl Richard.

1041.

This year King Hardacnut died at Lambeth

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\* From Normandy.



on the 6th of the ides of June. He was King over all England two years all but ten days, and he was buried with his father King Cnut in the old monastery at Winchester; and his mother gave the head of the martyr Saint Valentine for his soul's sake to the new monastery. And before he was buried all the people chose Edward King in London, and he held the kingdom as long as God permitted him. And all this year was a very heavy time in many different ways, from the inclemency of the weather, and from the destruction of the fruits of the earth. So many of the cattle also perished this year both from disease, and from the ill season, as had never before been remembered. At this time Ælfsige Abbot of Peterborough died, and the monk Arnwi was chosen in his place, because he was a good man, and one of a singular simplicity.

1042.

On Easter-day, this year, Edward was consecrated King with great worship at Winchester. Easter then fell on the 3d of the nones of April. The Archbishop Eadsige consecrated him, and instructed him well before all the people, and admonished him for his own good and that of the nation. And the Priest Stigand was consecrated Bishop of East Anglia. And soon afterwards

the King gave command to over-ride the lands which his mother held of him, and he took from her all that she possessed in gold and silver, and treasures innumerable, because she had not been liberal towards him.

1043.

This year Eadsige gave up his Archbishoprick, because of his infirmities, and he consecrated thereto Siward Abbot of Abingdon, with the consent and advice of the King and of Earl Godwin. This transaction was disclosed to few before it was completed, because the Archbishop thought that if it became known to many, some other man in whom he trusted and confided less, would beg or buy the preferment. And this year there was a very great famine over all England, and corn was so dear as was never before remembered, so that a sæster of wheat sold for 60 pennies, and even more. And the same year the King went out to Sandwich with a fleet of 35 ships. And the Churchwarden Æthelstan was made Abbot of Abingdon. And Stigand entered upon his Bishoprick.

It was in this year (1043) that Edward took for his Queen the daughter of Earl Godwin.—The same year died Brihtwold; he had held his Bishoprick, that of Sherbourne, 38 years, and

the King's Priest Hereman succeeded him. And this year Wulfric was chosen Abbot of Saint Augustine's (Canterbury) at Christmas time, on St. Stephen's day, with the consent of the King and of the Abbot Ælfstan, because of the great infirmities of the latter.

1044.

This year Living Bishop of Devonshire died, and the King's Priest Leofric succeeded him.— And this year Ælfstan Abbot of St. Augustine's died on the 3d of the nones of July. And the same year Osgot Clapa was banished.

1045.

This year Grymkytel Bishop of Sussex died, and Heca the King's Priest succeeded him.— And this year Ælfwine Bishop of Winchester died on the 4th of the calends of September, and Bishop Stigand was translated from the north to that see. And the same year Earl Swegn went out to Bruges in the land of Baldwin, and he abode there all the winter, and departed thence in the summer.

1046.

This year Æthelstan Abbot of Abingdon died, and Spearhafoc, a monk of St. Edmund's Bury, succeeded him. And this year Bishop Siward died, and Archbishop Eadsige resumed the whole

diocese. And the same year Lothen and Yrling came to Sandwich with 25 ships, and they plundered, and collected spoils innumerable, seizing men, gold and silver, so that no man knew what the whole amount was. And they sailed round about Thanet, and would have done the same there, but the inhabitants made a stout resistance, and kept them from landing and from entering the river, and wholly put them to flight; and then they came upon Essex, and there they plundered, and carried off men and whatever they could find; and thence they bent their course eastward to the land of Baldwin, and they sold their booty there, and then they returned to the east whence they came.

“Battle of Val des Dunes.”\*

In this year (1046) the great synod was held at St. Remy, at which the Pope Leo was present, with the Archbishop of Burgundy, the Archbishop of Besançon, the Archbishop of Treves, and the Archbishop of Rheims, and many other wise men besides, both clergy and laity: and King Edward sent Bishop Dudoc

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\* In Normandy: between William, assisted by Henry of France, and the Barons who refused to acknowledge his right to the succession.

thither with Wulfric Abbot of St. Augustine's, and the Abbot Ælfwine, to the end that they might report to him what was there determined upon with regard to the Christian religion.

The same year King Edward went out to Sandwich with a large fleet, and Earl Swegn came with seven ships to Boseham, and treated with the King, and it was promised him that he should be put in possession of all that he had before; then his brother Earl Harold and Earl Beorn interfered, and prevented his enjoying the King's grant, and four days were allowed for his return to the ships. In the mean while word was brought to the King that an hostile fleet lay off the west, and was plundering. Then Earl Godwin sailed westward with two of the King's ships, one of which was commanded by Earl Harold, and the other by his brother Tostig, and with 42 of the ships furnished by the people.—Then Earl Harold was removed from the king's ship which he had commanded, and they sailed as far as Pevensey, and lay there weather-bound. And within two days Earl Swegn came thither and spake with his father and with Earl Beorn, who was then with Godwin; and he entreated Beorn that he would go with him to the King at Sandwich, and assist him in obtaining the King's favour: and Beorn consented to this, and

they departed as if they would go to the King. But, as they rode along, Swegn begged him to go with him to his ships, for he feared that his sailors would desert unless he returned speedily: and they both proceeded to the place where the ships lay at anchor, and when they came thither Earl Swegn desired Beorn to go on board with him; this he wholly refused, until the sailors seized him, and threw him into a boat, and bound him, and rowed to the ships, and put him in one of them. Then they hoisted sail, and proceeded westward to Exmouth; and they kept him with them until they slew him, and they took his body and buried it in a church. His friends and the seamen of London afterwards came and took it up again, and carried it to the old monastery at Winchester, and there he is buried beside his uncle King Cnut. And Swegn went away eastward to the land of Baldwin, with whose full leave he abode at Bruges during the whole winter. And the same year died Eadnoth Bishop in the north,\* and Ulf was appointed his successor.

1047.

This year a great council was held at London in the middle of Lent, and nine of the ships be-

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\* Of Dorchester, Oxon.

longing to the seamen were sent out, and five were left there. And the same year Earl Swegn came to England. And a great synod was assembled at Rome this year, and King Edward sent thither the Bishops Hereman and Ealdred, and they arrived on Easter eve. And after this the Pope held a synod at Vercelli; and Bishop Ulf came there, and his staff would have been broken, if he had not given large sums of money; for he did not know his office so well as he ought. This year Archbishop Eadsige died on the 4th of the calends of November.

1048.

This year, during Lent, King Edward being in London, nominated Robert Archbishop of Canterbury. And the same Lent he went to Rome for his pall. And the King gave the Bishoprick of London to Sparhafoc Abbot of Abingdon, and the Abbacy of Abingdon to his kinsman Bishop Rothulf. The Archbishop returned from Rome one day before the eve of the feast of St. Peter, and he was installed in Christ Church on St. Peter's day, and immediately afterwards he proceeded to the King. Then the Abbot Sparhafoc came to him with the King's letters and seal, to the intent that he should consecrate him Bishop of London. But the Arch-

bishop refused, and said that the Pope had forbidden it: the Abbot endeavoured to persuade the Archbishop, and he earnestly desired the promotion, but the other constantly denied him, still saying that the Pope had forbidden it. The Abbot notwithstanding returned to London, and resided there in the diocese which the King had granted him all the summer and autumn, and this with his full permission. And Eustace arrived from beyond sea soon after the Archbishop, and he proceeded to the King and spoke with him all that he would, and then he journeyed homeward. When they had gone as far east as Canterbury he and his men rested to eat, and thence they went on to Dover. And when he was a mile or more from Dover he put on his breast-plate, and so did all his followers; and they came to Dover. And when they were there, they would fix on their quarters according to their own pleasure, and one of his men came, and would have lodged in the house of a certain person against his will, and he wounded the master of the house, but the householder slew him. Then Eustace mounted his horse, and his followers theirs, and they fell upon and slew the householder on his own hearth. And thence they went towards the town, and they killed within and with-



out more than twenty men. And on the other hand the townsmen slew nineteen of Eustace's train, and wounded they knew not how many. And Eustace got off with a few others, and returned again to the King, and related partially what had occurred. And the King was very angry with the townsmen, and he sent Earl Godwin, commanding him to march into Kent, and to take vengeance upon Dover; for Eustace had told the King that the townsmen were more in fault than himself, but it was not so, neither was the Earl consenting to this expedition, for he was unwilling to ruin his own vassals.—Then the King sent for all his Witan, and desired that they should come to him at Gloucester, soon after St. Mary's day. At this time the Welch had built a castle in Herefordshire, in the territory of Earl Swegn, and they did all manner of despite and injury to the King's subjects in the neighbourhood. Then Earl Godwin, and the Earls Swegn and Harold, and many with them, met at Beverston, that they might proceed to their liege Lord and his Witan then assembled, and that they might obtain their advice and aid for avenging this insult offered to the King and all his people. But the Welch were with the King beforehand, and accused the Earls,

so that they were not admitted into his presence, because the others had said, that they were coming with treasonous designs against the King. Earl Siward and Earl Leofric and a great number of men from the north had joined the King, and it was told Earl Godwin and his sons that the King and those who were with him, were about to attack them, on which they fortified themselves strongly, albeit they were loth to act against their natural Lord. Then the Witan on either side advised that they should abstain from hostilities, and the King gave the peace of God and his own full friendship to both parties.— Then the King and his Counsellors determined that another meeting of all the Witan should be held at London, at the autumnal equinox: and the King commanded that an army, as powerful as might be, should be raised both from the south and from the north of the Thames. Earl Swegn was declared an outlaw, and Earl Godwin and Earl Harold were summoned to be at the meeting with as much speed as they could make. When they were come thither, they were called before the Council, and they desired hostages and security that they might go in and out of the Council safe from treachery; and the King demanded all the Thanes whom the Earls had with them, and

they delivered them all into his hands. Then the King sent to them again, and desired that they should come into the Council with twelve attendants, but the Earl again desired security and hostages, that so he might clear himself from every charge which had been brought against him; but these hostages were finally denied him, and five days were allowed him, in which he was to depart from the country. Then Earl Godwin and Earl Swegn went to Boscama, and they put to sea, and sought shelter with Baldwin, and they abode in his land the whole winter. And Earl Harold sailed westward to Ireland, and remained there through the winter, under the protection of the king of that country. And as soon as all this had happened, the King sent away the Lady, who had been consecrated as his Queen; and he caused all that she possessed of gold, and of silver, and of every other thing, to be taken from her; and he put her under the charge of his sister at Wherwell (in Hampshire). And the Abbot Sparhafoc was driven from the Bishoprick of London, and the King's Priest William was consecrated thereto. And Odda was appointed Earl of Devon, Somerset, and Dorset, and of Wales; and the Earldom which Harold had enjoyed was given to Ælfgar the son of Leofric.

1052.

This year died Ælfgiva Ymma the mother of King Edward and of King Hardacnut. And the same year the King and his Witan resolved that a fleet should be assembled at Sandwich, and they appointed the Earls Raulf and Odda to command it. Then Earl Godwin went with his ships from Bruges to Ysera (the Ysere?), and thence after one day's voyage he arrived at the Ness south of Romney on Midsummer's eve.—The Earls who were stationed at Sandwich were informed of his arrival, and they sailed in pursuit of him, and a land army was also called out to oppose him. But in the mean time Earl Godwin was warned of their intentions, and he put into Pevensey, and the weather was very stormy, so that the Earls could not find out whither he was gone: and Earl Godwin sailed out again and went back to Bruges, and the other ships returned to Sandwich. Then it was advised that the fleet should be brought back to London, and that other Earls and officers should be appointed, but they delayed so long that all the ships separated and returned home. When Earl Godwin heard this, he set sail and hastened westward to Wight, and there they landed and plundered until the inhabitants gave them as much money as

they chose to exact. And thence they proceeded westward, till they came to Portland, and there they landed, and did all the mischief that they could. At this time Harold had left Ireland with nine ships, and he arrived at Porlock, and a large body of the inhabitants were collected to oppose him; nevertheless he feared not to go in quest of provisions, and he landed and slew a great number of these people, and seized whatever fell in his way, cattle, men, and money.— And thence he proceeded eastward to join his father, and they sailed together to Wight, and there they seized whatever had been left before. Thence they sailed to Pevensey, and they took away with them as many ships as were in the harbour: thus they proceeded to the Ness, and they took with them all the ships that were at Romney, Hythe, and Folkestone; and thence they turned eastward to Dover, and there they landed, and obtained as many ships and hostages as they would; and so they proceeded to Sandwich, and they did the same there, and the people every where gave them the hostages and provisions that they demanded. And from this place they made for the North Mouth (Buoy of the Nore); and so they proceeded towards London; but some of the ships stopped at Sheppey,

and did much damage there, and at King's Milton also, and they burned that town, and then they followed the Earls to London. When they were come to London, the King and all his Earls had stationed themselves with fifty ships to oppose them. Then the Earls sent to the King, and desired that all their possessions of which they had been unjustly deprived should be restored to them: this demand the King resisted for some time, even so long, that all the people who were with the Earls became furiously enraged against him and his party; so that the Earls themselves scarcely quieted them. At length, by God's help, and the intervention of Bishop Stigand, and wise men from the city and the country, an exchange of hostages was brought about. When Archbishop Robert and the French heard this, they took their horses and rode away, some westward to Pentecost's Castle, and others northward to Robert's. And Archbishop Robert and Bishop Ulf and their train rode out at the east gate, and slew or wounded many young men, and they proceeded to Ealdulf's-ness (the Nase, Essex), and the Archbishop embarked in a mean little vessel and went away beyond sea, and he left his pall and his Archbishoprick in this land, even as God

willed, since he had at first obtained the same in a manner that pleased not Him. Then a great Council was convened out of London, and all the Earls and the chief men of England were at this meeting: Earl Godwin there took up the word, and he protested before his Lord King Edward and the people of this land that he was guiltless of all that was charged against him, and against his son Harold, and all his children. And the King restored to the Earl and his children his full friendship, and his whole Earldom, and all that had belonged to him; and he granted the same pardon to the men who were with him: and the King gave the Lady all that she possessed before. And Archbishop Robert and all the Frenchmen were fully outlawed, because they had been the chief promoters of the difference between Earl Godwin and the King. And Bishop Stigand was translated to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury. And at this time Arnwi Abbot of Peterborough, being in sound health, gave up the Abbacy to the monk Leofric, with the consent of the King and of the monks, and he lived eight years afterwards. And the Abbot Leofric gilded the monastery, so that men called it Golden Borough; and it became very rich in lands, in gold, and in silver.

1053.

This year Earl Godwin died on the 17th of the calends of May, and he is buried in the old monastery of Winchester. And his son Earl Harold succeeded to the Earldom, and to all that his father possessed, and Earl Ælfgar received Harold's Earldom.

1054.

This year Leo the Holy Pope of Rome died. And this year there was a great murrain amongst the cattle, such as men remembered not for many winters before. And Victor was chosen Pope.

“ Battle of Mortemer.”\*

1055.

This year Earl Siward died. And a meeting of all the Witan was appointed seven days before Mid-Lent. And there Earl Ælfgar was outlawed, for he was accused as a traitor to his King and all the nation, and he was convicted before the King and all who were there assembled, though the sentence grieved him sorely.— And the King gave the Earldom which Siward had held to Tostig the son of Earl Godwin.— And Earl Ælfgar went to the castle of Griffin in

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\* In Normandy: between the forces of William, and those of Henry of France, in which the latter were totally routed.



North Wales; and the same year Griffin and Ælfgar burned St. Æthelbryht's monastery and the whole town of Hereford.

1056.

“ This year Henry Emperor of the Romans died, and was succeeded by his son Henry.”

1057.

This year Prince Edward the son of King Edmund came to this land, and he died soon afterwards, and his body is buried in St. Paul's monastery at London. And Pope Victor died, and Stephen Abbot of Monte-Cassino was chosen as his successor. And Earl Leofric died, and his son Ælfgar succeeded to his father's Earldom.

1058.

This year Stephen died, and Benedict was consecrated Pope: the same sent hither a pall to Archbishop Stigand. And this year Heaca Bishop of the South Saxons died; and Archbishop Stigand consecrated Ægelric a monk of Christ Church to that Bishoprick, and the Abbot Siward to that of Rochester.

1059.

This year Nicholas Bishop of Florence was chosen Pope, and Benedict the former Pope was driven out.

1060.

This year Kynsige Archbishop of York died on the 11th of the calends of January, and Bishop Ealdred succeeded him: and Walter received the Bishoprick of Hereford.

“ This year Henry King of France died, and was succeeded by his son Philip.”

1061.

This year Duduc Bishop of Somerset died, and was succeeded by Gisa. And this year Bishop Godwin died at St. Martin's (Canterbury), on the 7th of the ides of March. And the same year Wulfric Abbot of St. Augustine's died in Easter week, on the 14th of the calends of May. When word was brought to the King that the Abbot had departed this life, he chose Æthelsig a monk of the old monastery (of Winchester) to succeed him, and he repaired to Archbishop Stigand, and was consecrated Abbot at Windsor on St. Augustine's day.

1062.

“ This year the province of Maine was brought into subjection to William Earl of Normandy.”

1063.

This year Earl Harold and his brother Earl Tostig invaded Britain\* with an army and

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\* S. Wales.

fleet, and they conquered the country; and the inhabitants gave hostages and submitted to them, and afterwards they went and slew their King Griffin, and brought his head to Harold, and he set another King over them.

1064.

This year the Northumbrians assembled together, and outlawed Tostig their Earl, and they slew all his retainers whom they could meet with, both English and Danes: and they seized all his arms at York, and his gold, and his silver, and all his treasures that they could find. And they sent for Morker the son of Earl Ælfgar, and chose him for their Earl; and he marched southward with the troops of that country, and of Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Lincolnshire, till he arrived at Northampton; and his brother Edwin joined him with the men of his Earldom, and many Britons also came with him. Then they were met by Earl Harold, and they charged him with a message to King Edward, and they also sent deputies with him, and they desired that they might have Morker for their Earl.— And the King granted this, and sent Harold again to them at Northampton on the eve of St. Simon and St. Jude's day, and he reported the same to them, and put into their hands the King's

assent, and there he renewed the laws of Canute. And the northern men did much damage about Northampton whilst he was gone on their errand, for they slew men, and burned houses and corn, and took all the cattle they could find, being many thousand head, and many hundred men did they seize and carry off into the north; so that this county, and the others adjoining, were the worse for them during many years. And Earl Tostig and his wife, and all who were of his party, went over sea southward to Earl Baldwin, and he received them all, and they remained there the whole winter.

1066.

This year the Abbey Church of Westminster was consecrated on Childermas-day. And this year King Edward died on the eve of Twelfth-day, and he was buried on Twelfth-day, in the Church of Westminster, newly consecrated.— And Earl Harold succeeded to the kingdom, even as the King had granted it to him; men also chose him thereto, and he was consecrated King on Twelfth-day, and reigned forty weeks and one day. And the same year that he was made King, he went out with a fleet against William; and in the mean time Earl Tostig entered the Humber with 60 ships, but Earl Edwin

came up with his troops and drove him away, and the crews of his vessels also deserted him. Then he went to Scotland with twelve smacks; and Harold King of Norway joined him with 300 ships, to whom Tostig gave up the command, and they entered the Humber together, and proceeded to York: and the Earls Morker and Edwin fought with them, and the Norwegian King gained the victory. King Harold, being informed of what had passed, came with a great army of Englishmen, and he met the King of Norway at Stæng-fordes-bryege (Stanford bridge), and he slew him and the Earl Tostig, and routed their whole army.

And in the mean time Earl William landed at Hastings on Michaelmas-day, and Harold marched from the North, and fought with him before all his own army had come up, and he fell there with his two brothers, Gyrth and Leofwin. And William conquered this land, and he came to Westminster, and the Archbishop Ealdred consecrated him King, and men paid him tribute, and gave him hostages, and afterwards bought their lands again.

Leofric Abbot of Peterborough was in this campaign, and whilst he was with the army he became ill, and he returned home, and died soon

after on All Saints' night. May God glorify his soul! In his days was all bliss and all prosperity at Peterborough, and he was beloved of all men, so that the King granted to St. Peter and to him the Abbey of Burton, and that of Coventry which his uncle Earl Leofric had founded, and also those of Croyland and Thorney. And he enriched the monastery of Burh with gold, with silver, with vestments, and with lands, more than any other before or after him. And the Golden Borough now became the borough of wretchedness. Then the monks chose the Provost Brand for their Abbot because he was a very good man, and very wise; and they sent him to Edgar Ætheling, for the people of those parts supposed that he should be the King; and the Ætheling willingly confirmed him in his office. When King William heard this he was very wroth, and said that the Abbot had treated him with contempt; but good men interfered and reconciled them, because of the excellence of the Abbot. He gave the King forty marks of gold for his favour, and he lived but a short time after, only three years. After this all tribulation and evil came upon the monastery. May God have pity on it. And this year Christ Church was burned, and a comet appeared on the 14th of the calends of May.

1067.

This year the King went over sea, and took with him hostages and treasures. And he came back the next year on St Nicholas' day; and on his return he restored to every man his land.— And this summer Childe Edgar and Mærleswegu, and many others with them, departed and went to Scotland, and King Malcolm received them all, and took the Childe's sister Margaret for his wife.

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 Ætheling 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: and the Ætheling went again to Scotland.

1069.

This year Bishop Ægelric, being at Peterborough, was accused and sent to Westminster; and his brother Bishop Ægelwin was outlawed. Then between the two feasts of St. Mary, the sons of King Swegn and his brother Earl Os-

bearn came from Denmark with three hundred ships ; on which Earl Waltheof marched forth, and he and Edgar Ætheling, and many hundreds with them, came and joined this fleet in the Humber, and they proceeded to York, and they landed and stormed the castle, and slew many hundred men, and carried much treasure to their ships : and they kept the chief men in bonds ; and they wintered between the Ouse and the Trent. And King William went into those parts, and laid them all waste. And the same year Brand Abbot of Peterborough died on the 5th of the calends of December.

1070.

This year Landfranc Abbot of Caen came to England, and in a few days he was made Archbishop of Canterbury. He was consecrated at his metropolis on the 4th of the calends of September, by eight Bishops his suffragans ; the rest who were absent signifying through messengers, and by writing, why they could not be 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 Landfranc craved the confirmation of his subjection by oath, he refused, and said that he was not obliged to give it. Then was the



Archbishop Landfranc wroth, and he commanded the Bishops, who were there at his behest to assist at the ceremony, and all the monks, to unrobe him; and they did as he desired: so this time Thomas returned home without a blessing. It happened soon after this, that the Archbishop Landfranc went to Rome, and Thomas with him: and when they were come thither, and had said all that they would 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 Landfranc 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 Walthof made peace with the King. And during this Lent the King caused all the monasteries in England to be despoiled of their treasures. The same year King Swegn 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 this land. Then the Danish Bishop Christien, and Earl Osbearn, and their Danish retainers, came into Ely, and all the people of the fens joined them, for they believed that they would conquer the whole country.— Now the monks of Peterborough were told that some of their own men, these were Hereward and his train, would pillage the monastery, and this, because they had heard that the King had given the Abbacy to a French Abbot named Tuold, 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; and he took all that he could by night, gospels, mass-ropes, cassocks, and other garments, even all and each of such small things as he could carry away, and he came before day to the Abbot Tuold, 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-geate (the Bulldyke gate), and the monks came before them and desired peace. But they gave no heed to them, and they went into the monastery, and climbed up to the holy crucifix, and took the crown from our Lord's head, which was all of the purest gold, and they took the footstool of red gold from under his feet. And they climbed up to the steeple, and brought down the cope 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, and there 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 Abbot Túrold, and eight score Frenchmen with him, all well armed ; and when he arrived he found all burnt both within and without, ex-

cepting the church itself; and all the outlaws were then embarked, knowing that he would come thither. This happened on the 4th of the nones of June. Then the two Kings, William and Swegn, 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 spoil that reached the latter country, being the cope 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 Abbot Tuold 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 Ægelric 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 (Fitz Osbern) and the French King should have been his support: but Earl Robert came and slew his kinsman Arnulf, and the Earl; and put the King to flight, and slew many thousands of his men.

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“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 Abbot 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 Abbot of St. Augustine's.

“ In his 3d year he consecrated Peter at Gloucester as Bishop of Litchfield or Chester. This year also a great council was held at a place called Pinenden (Pinnenden or Pinchenden 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 4th 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 5th year a general council was held at London, the proceedings of which Lanfranc committed to writing, at the request of many.

“ In his 6th year he gave the bishoprick of Rochester to Hernost, a monk of Christ Church, whom he also consecrated at London. A council was held at Winchester: and the same year Hernost departed this life.

“ In his 7th year, he gave the bishoprick of Rochester to Gundulf, 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 8th year, a council was held at London, in which Lanfranc deposed Ailnod Abbot of Glastonbury.

“ In his 11th 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 Bishoprick 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 16th year Lanfranc consecrated Donatus, his monk at Canterbury, to the bishoprick 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 Abbot of Croyland. He consecrated Robert to the bishoprick 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 of Canterbury a few days afterwards.

“In the 18th 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, Wido also as Abbot 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 Baieux the King’s brother, who was then at Canterbury, conducted the Abbot Wido



to St. Augustine's and commanded the Brothers of the Order to receive him as their own Abbot and Pastor; but they, with one accord, answered that they would neither submit to him nor receive him. Thus Lanfranc came leading the Abbot, 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 Abbot 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 9th hour, but that if they delayed longer, they would not be allowed free entrance, but be treated as renegadoes. Having heard this message they doubted whether to return or to remain, but

at the hour of refection, when they became an-hungered, 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 Abbot. Thus they returned and swore faithfulness and obedience to the Abbot Wido, upon 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 Ælfred, 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 Abbot.

“The same year the dissensions were renewed, and the monks plotted the death of their Abbot, but one of them, named Columban, being taken, Lanfranc caused him to be brought to him.

And as he stood there before him, Lanfranc asked if he desired to murder his Abbot. 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 19th 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 Abbot Wido, 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 Abbot with much difficulty escaped unhurt from amongst them, and fled for refuge to the

mother church of Canterbury (Christ Church). On the report of this disturbance Walkelm Bishop of Winchester, and Gundulf 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 enquired 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 Church, moved with piety, pleaded against this 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 Church, Wido 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 24 monks of Christ Church were substituted in their place,

together with the prior, named Anthony, who had been sub-prior at Christ Church. The townsmen who entered the Abbot'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 2d of the nones of March, the Archbishoprick of Canterbury was given to Anselm Abbot 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 7th of the calends of October, his earlier arrival having been prevented by many sufficient causes, and he was consecrated on the 2d of the nones of December.”

1071.

This year Earl Ædwin and Earl Morker withdrew themselves and wandered through the woods and fields. Then Earl Morker took ship and went to Ely; and Earl Eadwin was slain treacherously by his own men: and Bishop Egelwin, and Siward Bearn, 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 Egelwin and Earl Morker, 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 treasure; and he disposed of the men as he would; and he sent Bishop Egelwin to Abingdon, where he died early in the winter.

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. And Bishop Egelric died; he had been consecrated to the Archbishoprick of York, of which he was unjustly deprived, and the see of Durham was given to him; this he held as long as he would, and then resigned it and went to the monastery of Peterborough, and there he spent 12 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.

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 again.

1074.

This year King William went over sea to Normandy ; and Childe Edgar came thither from Scotland, and the King received him and all his men into the protection of the law, and he remained at Court, enjoying such privileges as the King granted him.

1075.

This year King William gave the daughter of William Osbearn's son in marriage to Earl Ralph : the said Ralph was a Welchman on his mother's side, and his father was an Englishman named Ralph, who was born in Norfolk. Then the King gave the Earldom of Norfolk and Suffolk to his son, who brought his wife to Norwich, but there the bridal feast was the bane of all : for Earl Roger and Earl Waltheof were there, and

Bishops and Abbots, 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 Welch 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; he also seized Earl Waltheof. And soon afterwards 200 ships arrived from Denmark, commanded by two chieftains, Cnut the son of Swegn, and Earl Hacon, but they durst not risk a battle with King William, and they bore away for Flanders. And the lady Eadgith



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 Welchmen who had been at the bridal feast at Norwich were brought to justice; some were blinded, and others banished. Thus were put down the traitors to William.

1076.

This year Swægn King of Denmark died, and Harold his son succeeded to the kingdom. And the King gave Westminster to Vithelc, who had before been Abbot of Bernay. Earl Waltheof was beheaded at Winchester, and his body was carried to Croyland. And the King went over sea and led his army into Brittany, and besieged the castle of Dol, and the Bretons defended it till the King of France came up, and then William departed, having lost both men and horses and much treasure.

1077.

This year a peace was made between the King of France and William King of England, and it lasted but 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

this year Ægelwig Abbot of Evesham died on the 14th of the calends of March. Bishop Hereman died also on the 10th of the calends of March.

1079.

This year, between the two feasts 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. And the same year King William fought against his son Robert without the borders of Normandy near a castle called Gerborneth (Gerberoy), and there King William was wounded, and the horse on which he sat was killed, and his son William was also wounded, and many men were slain.

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 Lorrain. The Northumbrians perpetrated this in the month of May.

1081.

This year the King led an army into Wales, and there he set free many hundred persons.

1082.

This year the King arrested Bishop Odo. And there was a great famine this year.

1083.

This year a quarrel arose in Glastonbury between the Abbot Thurstan and his monks. It was first caused by the Abbot'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 Abbot would none of this, and wrought them evil, and threatened worse. One day the Abbot went into the Chapter-house, and harangued 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

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\* He would have substituted the chant of William of Fescamp for that of Gregory.

Florence of Worcester,

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 72 pence upon every hide of land.

1084.

This year Wulfwold Abbot of Chertsey died on the 13th of the calends of May.

1085.

This year men said and reported as certain, that Cnut King of Denmark, the son of King Swægn was bent hitherward, 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 might 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 Christmas 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 bishoprick of London, William to that of Norfolk, and Robert to that of Cheshire; they were all chaplains of the King. After this the King had a great con-

sultation, 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 Abbots, and his Earls, and, that I may be brief, what property every 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.

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 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 Ætheling left him, because he received no great honour from him: may Almighty God give him glory hereafter. And the Ætheling's sister Cristina 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 went worse and worse with the people: may Almighty God mend them, when such is his will.

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, 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. O 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 lived piously. 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. O 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. O how false, how unstable is the good of this world, He, who had been a powerful King and Lord of many territories, He, then, of all his lands, possessed not 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 de-

scribe 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, Abbots, and Earls, Thanes, and Knights. So also, was he a very stern and a wrathful man, so that none durst do any thing

against his will, and he kept in prison those Earls who acted against his pleasure. He removed Bishops from their sees, and Abbots 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 Baieux, 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 possession, and how much it was worth, and this he afterwards entered in his register. The land of the Britons (Wales) was under his sway, and he built castles therein; moreover he had full dominion over the Isle of Mann (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 concerning 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 shew 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 Anphos (Alfonso), 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

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\* A Church at Odensee, dedicated to St. Alban, whose relics had been brought from England by this Canute.

also many great men died in this land : Stigand Bishop of Chichester, and the Abbot of Saint Augustine's, and the Abbots 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 as King in Westminster by Archbishop Lanfranc three days before Michaelmas : 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 valuables 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 re-

leased. And the King was at London during Christmas.

1088.

This year the land was much disturbed, and filled with treason, for 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 Wulfstan 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 500 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, 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 mean time 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 Bishoprick 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.

## 1089.

This year the venerable father and patron of monks Archbishop Lanfranc departed this life, but we trust that he hath entered into the kingdom of heaven. There was also a great earthquake throughout England on the 3d of 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.

## 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 wretched brother Robert, and win Normandy from him. To this

end, he gained the castle and port of St. Valeri 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 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.

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

Fescamp, 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 Ætheling 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 Ætheling mediated a peace between the Kings, on condition that King Malcolm should repair to our King, and become his vassal, 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 Ætheling 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 Wight and sailed to Normandy, and Edgar Ætheling with him.

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 Englishmen thither with their wives and cattle, that they might settle there and cultivate the land.

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 his future life he would lead 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 Archbishoprick of Canterbury, which he had hitherto kept in his own hands, to Anselm who was before this Abbot of Bec, and the Bishoprick 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 Ætheling 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 Moræl of Bamborough, 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.

1094.

This year, at Christmas, King William held his 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 Argentses (Argentan) in which he seized Roger the Poitevin and 700 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 Longueville, and there the King of France turned off through treachery, and on this the whole army dispersed. In the mean time King William sent for his brother Henry who was in the castle of Domfront, 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 Southampton 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 them-

selves 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.

1095.

This year King William was at Hwitsand 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 of the calends of April, and after Easter, on the night of the feast of St. Ambrose the 2d of 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 Bamborough, 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 Bamborough, 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 Bamborough 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 mean time the King was told, that the Welch 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 Welch 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 found that 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 Bamborough, and to put out both his eyes, unless the besieged would surrender the castle, which was defended by his wife, and his steward Moreal, who was also his kinsman. On this, the castle was given up, and Moreal 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 Alba, 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.

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 Epiphany. There Geoffrey 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 Flanders and of Boulogne, and many other chieftains. 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.

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 Welchmen 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 Welch had revolted from the King they chose several leaders from among themselves, one of these was named Cadugan, he was the more 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 of 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 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 Ætheling, with the King's aid, led an army into Scotland, and won that country by hard fighting, and drove out the King Dufenal, and established his kinsman Edgar the son of King Malcolm and Queen Margaret, as King holding of William, and then he returned into England.

1098.

This year King William was in Normandy at Christmas ; and Walcelin Bishop of Winches-

ter, and Baldwin Abbot of St. Edmund's, both died during this festival. This year also died Turolde Abbot of Peterborough. Moreover in the summer of this year a spring of blood burst out at Finchamsted, 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.

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 Bishoprick of Durham to his chaplain Rannulf, who had long been the chief manager and director in 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.

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 Bishopricks 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 Archbishoprick of Canterbury, the Bishopricks 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 sheweth, 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, and he forthwith gave the Bishoprick 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 Rannulf 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 Mahald 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 joy-



fully received by all the people, excepting those in the castles which were garrisoned with King Henry's men, and these he made many efforts to win.

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 mean time 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 staid in this land. This year also, at Candlemas, Bishop Rannulf escaped by night from the Tower of London, in which he was confined, and went to Normandy. It was at his incitement chiefly, that Earl Robert was spirited up to invade this land.

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 Abbots, 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.

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 Mathias Abbot of Peterborough, who had not lived more than one year after he was made Abbot. After Michaelmas, on the 12th of the calends of November, he was received in procession as Abbot, and the same day the year following he died at Gloucester, and there he was buried.

1104.

This year, at Christmas, King Henry held his Court at Westminster, at Easter at Winchester,

and at Pentecost again at Westminster. This year the first day of Pentecost was on the nones of June, and on the Tuesday after, at mid-day, 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 England, 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 harrassed.

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 Baieux 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 Mortaigne, and which he harrassed continually as much as harrass 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.

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 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 of the calends 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 Tinchebray. 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 Ætheling 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.

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 Bishopricks 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 its light waxing and waning contrary to nature. This year died Maurice Bishop of London, and Robert Abbot of St. Edmund's Bury, and Richard Abbot 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.

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.

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 of the calends of April, and the first day of Easter was on the greater Litany.

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 its light waned by little and little, and early in the night it was so wholly gone that neither light, nor circle, nor any thing at all of it was to be seen, and thus it continued till near day, and then it appeared shining full and bright; it 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 whilst living held Maine 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.

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 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.

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.

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.

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 Welch 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 Archbishoprick of Canterbury to Ralph Bishop of Rochester; and Thomas Archbishop of York died, and the King's Chaplain Turstein 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 mean while he sent his writ to Ernulf Abbot 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 Bishoprick of Rochester; he withstood them long, but his resistance availed nothing. And the King commanded the Arch-

bishop to take him to Canterbury, and to consecrate him as Bishop whether he would or not.— This was done in the town called Burne (Sittingburn?) on the 17th of the calends 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 Sees 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 of the calends of October, at the town called Rugenor (Rowner, near Gosport); and the same day the King took ship at Portsmouth.

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 Abbot of Rome, the nephew of Archbishop Anselm, and John Abbot of Peterborough, brought the pall from Rome.

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 (Odiham). And this year 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 2d of the nones of August.

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 of the calends of December; and on the 3d night of 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 of the

calends 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 Gilebert Abbot of Westminster died on the 8th of the ides of December, and Farits Abbot of Abingdon died on the 7th of the calends of March. And the same year —

## 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 harrassed 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 Mahald (Matilda) died at Westminster on the calends of May, and was buried there. And Robert Earl of Mellent also died this year. This year also, on St. Thomas' day, there was so exceedingly high a wind that none who then lived remembered a greater, and this might be seen every where from the state of the houses and of the trees. Pope Paschal also died this year, and John of Gaieta, whose other name was Gelasius, succeeded to the Popedom.

1119.

All this year King Henry remained in Normandy, and was greatly harrassed 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 had kept their castles 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 Mahald 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 afterwards came to Rheims, in France, on the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist, and held a council there. And Turstein 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 Archbishoprick, 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. Cnut, King of Denmark.

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 Turstein Archbishop of York was reconciled to the King through the Pope, and he came to this land, and was put in possession of his Archbishoprick, though much against the will of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

1121.

This year, at Christmas, King Henry was at Bramtun (Brampton?), 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 of the nones of April, being the 14th day of the moon And

the King was at Berkeley 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 Welch 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.

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 it burned the whole monastery, and all the treasures in it, excepting a few books and three vestments: this happened on the 8th of the ides of March. And there was a very high wind on the Tuesday after Palm Sunday, the 11th of the calends of April: and after this many strange tokens were noticed throughout England, and many ghosts were seen and heard. And on

the night of the 8th of the calends of August, there was a great earthquake throughout Somersetshire and Gloucestershire. Again on the 6th of 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 13th of the calends 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 7th of the ides of December.

1123.

This year King Henry was at Dunstaple at Christmas, and the messengers from the Earl of Anjou came to him there, and he proceeded thence to Woodstock, and his Bishops and all his Court with him. Now it fell out on a Wednesday, being the 4th of 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, “ 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 Abbots, 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 monks’ rules,



but were ever against the monks and their rules also. 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 Corboyl, he was a canon of a monastery called Cice (St. Osith); and they brought him before the King, who gave him the Archbishoprick, and he was received 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 Abbot of the monastery of St. Jean d'Angely. He came for the Romescot; and he 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 Abbot of Glastonbury, and Anselm Abbot of St. Edmund's, and John Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Gifard who was the King's 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 Archbishoprick 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 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 Bishoprick of Bath to the

Queen's Chancellor, named Godfrey ; he was of Louvain : this was done at Woodstock on the day of St. Mary's Annunciation. Soon afterwards the King went to Winchester, where he remained during the festival of Easter ; and while there he gave the Bishoprick 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 staid 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 Hamalri, and Hugh of Montfort, and William of Roumare, 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-au-de-mer, 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 14th of the calends of June.

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 befel on the day of St. Mary's Annunciation that Waleram Earl of Mellent was going from one of his castles called Beaumont, to another, Watteville, and Amalri 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 evil 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 Abbot of Peterborough, died on the ides of March. Thereafter died Alexander King of Scotland, on the 9th of the calends 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 of the calends 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 Hundhoge (Huncot), 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 put out the eyes of six.—Many men of truth said that several there 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 own, 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.

1125.

Before Christmas, this year, King Henry sent from Normandy to England, and commanded that all the moneyers of England should be deprived of their limbs, namely of their right hands.—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 Bishopricks 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 Abbots, 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 Lothene (Glasgow), and Geoffrey Abbot 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 Abbot of Peterborough died on the 2d of the ides of October.

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 put into hard 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.

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, Abbots, 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 Alein Fergan; and he caused her to be wedded to the son of the Earl of Anjou,

named Geoffrey Martel. Howbeit this displeased all the French and the English, but the King did it to obtain peace from 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 Abbot named Henry of Poitou, who was in possession of the Abbacy of St. Jean d'Angely; 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 Abbot 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 clerkship he was Bishop of Scesscuns (Soissons), afterwards he was a monk at Cluny, then Prior of the same monastery, and next he was Prior of Savenay; 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'Angely. Afterwards by his great craft he obtained the Archbishoprick of Besançon, and kept possession of it three days; and then lost he it right worthily, in that he had gotten it with all injustice. He then obtained the Bishoprick of Saintes, which was five miles from his own Abbey, and he kept this for nearly a week, but here again the Abbot of Cluny 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 a broken-down, 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; no good there he did, nor any did he leave 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 to Peterborough; it was on the Sunday when men sing “*Exsurge 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 loathly, 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 20 or 30 horn-blowers.— This was seen and heard from the time that the Abbot came thither, all that Lent, until Easter. Such was his entrance, of his exit we can say nothing yet : God knoweth it.

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 of the calends of August. The same year died Randulf Passeflambard Bishop of Durham, and he was buried there on the nones of September. And this year the aforesaid Abbot 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 of 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.

1129.

This year the King sent to England after Earl Waleram, and after Hugh the son of Gervais; 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 Abbots, 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 Loudon 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 of the calends of February; and after Michaelmas the King gave the Bishoprick to his Nephew Henry Abbot of Glastonbury, and he was consecrated by William Archbishop of Canterbury on the 15th of the calends 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 Cluny, 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 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' night, a little before day.

1130.

This year the monastery of Canterbury was consecrated by Archbishop William, on the 4th of the nones of May. The following Bishops were there: John of Rochester, Gilbert Uni-



versalis 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, Andoenus of Evreux, in Normandy, and John of Seez. On the 4th 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 Abbot of Angely came to Peterborough after Easter, and said that he had wholly given up that monastery. After him, the Abbot of Cluny 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 Abbot Henry promised that he would obtain for him the monastery of Peterborough, and that it should be annexed to Cluny; 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 Abbot of Cluny went home to his own country.

1131.

This year, on a moonlight night after Christ-

mas, 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 affrighted than ever they were before; this happened on the 3d of 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 latter feast of St. Peter. The same year before Easter the Abbot Henry went from Peterborough over sea to Normandy, and there he spoke with the King, and told him that the Abbot of Cluny 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 Abbot from among themselves, and brought him into the church in procession; they sang

*Te Deum laudamus*, they rang the bells, and they set him on the Abbot's seat, and they did all obedience to him, even as they would to their Abbot; and the Earl and all the chief men and the monks drove the other Abbot 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 Cluny, and there they kept him, so that he could go neither east nor west; the Abbot of Cluny saying that they had lost St. Jean 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 Cluny, a church-warden, 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.

1132.

This year King Henry returned to this land : then the Abbot Henry came, and accused the monks of Peterborough to the King, because he desired to subject that monastery to Cluny ; 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 Abbot dealt treacherously. When he could do no more, he wished that his nephew might be Abbot 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.

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 quickly 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 aught but good. In the mean time 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 Corboyl, 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

Wessien,\* but, notwithstanding his array, messengers passed between them, and they came together, and made an agreement, though it availed little.

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 no faith kept they; all became forsworn, and broke their allegiance, for every rich man built his castles, and defended them against him,

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\* Carlisle?

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 writhed 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 19 years that Stephen was King, and ever grew worse and worse. They were continually levying an exaction from the towns, which they called Tensery,\* 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 Abbots, nor of Priests; but they robbed the monks and the clergy, and every man plun-

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\* A payment to the superior Lord for protection.



dered his neighbour inasmuch as he might. 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 19 years because of our sins. Through all this evil time the Abbot Martin held his Abbacy for 20 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 23d year after the fire. And he went to Rome and was well received there by Pope Eugenius, and 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 Cottingham and Easton from William Malduit, who held Rockingham castle, and from Hugh of Waltville he won Hyrtlingberi (Artleborough), and Stanwick, and sixty shillings yearly out of Aldewingle (Oldwincle). 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 befel 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 is called St. William.

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.

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 of the calends of April, and the people were greatly astonished. After this William Archbishop of Canterbury died, and the King made Theobald Abbot of Bec Archbishop. Then there arose a very great war between the King and Randolf 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 Romarc

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 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 Randolf were reconciled 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 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 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.

1154.

This year King Stephen died, and he was buried with his wife and his son at Favres-field (Feversham) ; 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 Abbot of Peterborough should have gone thither he sickened, and he died on the 4th of the nones of January. And that day the monks chose another Abbot from among themselves. He is named William de Waltville, a good clerk, and a good man, and well beloved of the King and of all good people: and they buried the Abbot honourably in the Church, and soon afterwards the Abbot Elect and the monks went to the King at Oxford, and the King gave him the Abbacy, and thus he departed, having received \* \* \* \* \*

*Finis.*



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923 taken - - - -	130
1068 } sacked - - - -	{ 211
1069 }	{ 212
952 Yric King of Northumberland -	136
954 expelled - - - -	136
1016 Yric Earl of Northumberland -	177
1017 confirmed in his government -	181
1046 Yrling plunders Sandwich -	192
905 Ysopa, Hold, killed - - -	118
1070 Ywar Churchwarden of Peterborough	214

## ERRATA.

Page 9, for 410 read 418.

22, for *Ætheric* read *Æthelric*.

32, line 9, for *Oswin* read *Oswiu*.

43, for *Wilver* read *Wilverth*.

49, for *St. Æthelfrith* read *St. Ætheldrith*.

56, for *Beorht* read *Beorhtfrith*.

58, for *Ealdberht* read *Eadberht*.

69, for *Æthelbald* read *Æthebald*.

180, note, for *Ashdon, &c.* read *Assington, near Rochford*.

181, for *Æthelwold* read *Æthelword*.





