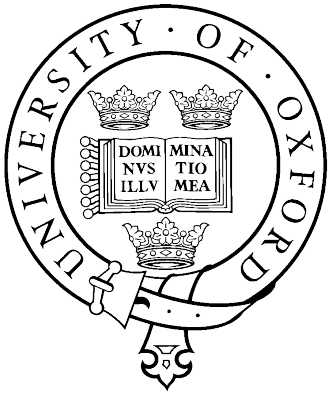
Tributarius and Terminological Variation in the Anglo-Saxon Diplomas of Worcester and Selsey



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In memory of Andromache

To those who helped me make it this far

— Mom & Dad especially —

you have my heartfelt gratitude.

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Abstract

This thesis considers variations in the choice of terminology used to describe and quantify the landscape in Anglo-Saxon diplomas, with the aim of addressing whether these variations are due to temporal or geographic factors, and to what extent such factors are co-dependent. The twenty-three terms used for numerical land assessment form the basis of this investigation: their etymology is explored, together with analysis of concordance data from the 1,932 known diplomas, to assess the geographic and temporal range and relative frequency of their use alongside other words and phrases from the charters in which they occur, in order to discern textual parallels and diplomatic links between documents from different periods and scriptoria. From this, it is possible to observe trends in usage, which can then be considered against the social and political context of the production of the charters in question.

Following this overview of textual and linguistic development, the main focus of this investigation is the uncommon Latin term *tributarius,* chosen due to its compact sample size (twenty-three extant examples) and number of analogous terms (*mansus* and *cassatus* being the most prevalent). The diplomas are discussed in detail, with close reading and comparison of their style and content. To aid this textual analysis, transcriptions, translations and critical commentary of the texts are provided. The overarching theme of the *tributarius* corpus is that of archival reuse and 'improvement' to suit the needs of later generations, particularly in cases of disputed ownership and alienation of ecclesiastical land.

From this examination of the *tributarius* diplomas, it has become apparent that there are diplomatic links between the houses of Worcester and Selsey, from whose archives a significant proportion of the diplomas originate. As these houses were situated at such a geographic remove (in central Mercia and southern Sussex respectively), their diplomatic connection must involve factors other than proximity: ecclesiastical links, namely the involvement of St Wilfrid in the foundation of both houses; the 'Mercian Supremacy' of the long eighth century, which saw socio-political influence extend from the Midlands to the south coast; and the reuse of archival material, reviving a

term which had fallen from prominence due to the increased centralisation of diploma production, but had been preserved in the archives of various ecclesiastical houses.

Text and translations of the *tributarius* diplomas

The twenty-three *tributarius* diplomas are provided after each section of Part Two to help illustrate the discussion to which they pertain. Arranged according to their Sawyer Number for ease of reference, their operative details (date of grant, identity of donor and recipient, size and location of land, language, and archive preserved in, together with notes on the style and diction of each charter)[1] are listed prior to a transcription of the original text, together with a translation.

A Note on the Transcriptions

The source used to produce the transcription, whether the original diploma or a published edition, is identified in the footnotes. Where it was possible to consult the diploma in person, transcriptions were made directly from the manuscript copy, otherwise printed editions were used. The preferred editions are those provided by W. de Gray Birch in his *Cartularium Saxonicum,*[2] due to its faithful reproduction of the original texts; where these differ from the transcriptions provided by J. M. Kemble in the *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici* (which tend to 'correct' the spelling and grammar of the original texts),[3] or those of the British Academy's 'Anglo-Saxon Charters' series,[4] the alternative reading is given as a footnote. These differences may be due to human error (such as minim confusion) on the part of a scribe at any point in the text's transmission history, or the modern transcriber; differing treatment of the text by the modern editor (in particular, 'correcting'

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[1] Unless otherwise stated, this summary is drawn from 'Revised Sawyer / Electronic Sawyer (*eSawyer*)', ed. S. Keynes et. al. (London, 2018) http://www.esawyer.org.uk.

[2] W. de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum: A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History*, reprint (Cambridge, 2012), 3 vols.

[3] J. M. Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici,* reprint (New Jersey, 2009), 6 vols.

[4] N. Brooks, and S. E. Kelly, *The Charters of Christ Church Canterbury Part 1,* Anglo-Saxon Charters 17 (Oxford, 2013); A. Campbell, *The Charters of Rochester*, Anglo-Saxon Charters 1 (Oxford, 1973); S. E. Kelly, *The Charters of St Augustine's Abbey Canterbury and Minster-in-Thanet,* Anglo-Saxon Charters 4 (Oxford, 1995), *The Charters of Shaftesbury Abbey,* Anglo-Saxon Charters 5 (Oxford, 1996), *The Charters of Selsey*, Anglo-Saxon Charters 6 (Oxford, 1998), *The Charters of Abingdon Abbey*, Anglo-Saxon Charters no. 7 & 8 (Oxford, 2000 & 2001); S. Miller, *Charters of the New Minster, Winchester*, Anglo-Saxon Charters 11 (Oxford, 2001); P. H. Sawyer, *The Charters of Burton Abbey*, Anglo-Saxon Charters 2 (Oxford, 1979).

the grammar, spelling and syntax of the original text); basing the transcription on an alternative manuscript copy, or conflating the text of multiple copies; or simply variant expansions of abbreviations and suspensions. Observations relating to grammar, vocabulary and identity of textual sources, in addition to features noted in the main discussion, are also included here.

Transcriptions are formatted to preserve original elements of manuscript layout where possible (particularly in arrangement of witness-lists), but extensive blocks of prose text have been split into paragraphs for ease of consultation. Line breaks have also been added to assist reference.

Where lacunae resulting from physical damage to the manuscript have caused text to be lost, and it cannot be reasonably restored, the lacuna is indicated with […]. Where previous editors have emended or attempted to restore the original text, this is noted together with any known variations.

Capitalisation and punctuation have been preserved when their presence in the original text has been confirmed via first-hand transcription; if published editions are not consistent in their presentation, these have been normalised (for example, personal names have been consistently capitalised) and simplified.

Abbreviations, where present, have been silently expanded, due to the varying treatment of the texts through their differing transmission histories.

Originally runic letterforms *þ* (thorn) and *ƿ* (wynn) have been preserved when their presence in the original text has been confirmed via first-hand transcription; if published editions are not consistent in their presentation, these have been normalised to *th* and *w* respectively. Conventions such as the writing of 'uu' for 'w' have likewise been preserved where confirmed.

Latin text is printed in regular Baskerville font, *whilst Old English is printed in Chancery font* in order to replicate the scribal convention of utilising distinct systems of scripts for each language.

A Note on the Translations

Translations have been made directly from the transcriptions provided, and informed by published editions where available.

All place-names are given in their modern form in the translated texts if their identity is known (for example, *Wimnicas* is given as Much Wenlock, S1798) or assumed (*Icheanog* is thought to represent ?Iken, Suffolk, S1798), but kept in the original form if unknown, and normalised between occurrences.

Variant spellings of personal names are normalised where possible, taking the form preferred by PASE (for example, the scribal error *Scotinerchelim* is corrected to Merchelm, S1798).[5]

Titles such as *þegn* and *dux*, together with the twenty-three units of land measurement (both Latin and Old English) considered here, are italicised but left untranslated in order to retain their differentiation.

[5] 'The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England Database (*PASE*)', ed. Nelson, J. L., S. Keynes et. al. (London, 2010). http://www.pase.ac.uk.

Introduction & Methodology

The Anglo-Saxon diplomatic corpus comprises those documents which record grants of land and privilege made by royalty, ecclesiastics and the nobility, which purport to date from the seventh to the eleventh century, and are preserved within the archives of ecclesiastical houses throughout England.[1] Whilst these diplomas are fundamentally legal administrative documents whose purpose is to provide proof of a transaction taking place, preserving its terms for posterity, both the text conveying this and the manuscript itself impart a wealth of information as to the personal and political relationships between named individuals, the establishments they represent, and the land over which they claim ownership. As such, the diplomatic corpus constitutes an almost continuous witness to the changing socio-political landscape of Anglo-Saxon England, attesting to overarching themes of expansion of influence (both political and ecclesiastical) resulting in the conferral of land and privilege, and a concern for the justification of such expansion, manifesting in the retrospective claims of such grants through emendation of the archival record.

To this end, each of the 1,932 Anglo-Saxon diplomas extant in some form (be this whole, fragmentary, or preserved only in name) has been appraised in the course of this survey, regardless of assessment as original or copy, authentic or spurious. This has been facilitated by the use of comprehensive catalogues compiled by W. de Gray Birch, J. M. Kemble, and P. Sawyer, which provide transcriptions and critical commentary of the majority of the diplomatic corpus.[2] These catalogues are not, however, exhaustive, with each omitting reference to diplomas included by the other, and they frequently disagree as to the readings of the texts, owing to the consultation of variant manuscript copies of the same diploma or simply alternative treatment of text as it has come down to us: for example, Kemble tends to 'correct' or normalise the spelling and grammar of the original texts in the transcriptions he provides, whereas Birch gives a more faithful reproduction

[1] 'Diplomas' being the collective term to include charters of land possession, leases of estates, personal wills and royal correspondence. Likewise, the term 'Anglo-Saxon' is used here for brevity, to encompass the documents produced in England between the seventh and eleventh centuries, written in Old English and Anglo-Latin.

[2] These are *Cartularium Saxonicum: A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History*, reprint (Cambridge, 2012), 3 vols; *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici,* reprint (New Jersey, 2009), 6 vols; and 'Revised Sawyer / Electronic Sawyer (eSawyer)', ed. S. Keynes et. al. (London, 2018) https://esawyer.lib.cam.ac.uk/ respectively.

of the texts. Therefore, in order to produce the most comprehensive survey of features relevant to this investigation, the diplomatic texts included in each of these three catalogues have been manually cross-referenced to highlight any variation in content. The resultant data, given here in the form of an extensive Appendix, presents the salient details of every diploma, these being their archive of origin, document type, language(s) and land assessment term(s) employed, arranged by ascending Sawyer number. Although this appendix, representing a significant and original concordance of earlier catalogues, aims to be exhaustive, the diplomatic corpus as it stands is fraught with diplomas apparently conflating multiple other texts, or representing only a fragment of a text extant fully elsewhere, whilst numerous diplomas have received little scholarly attention and so are not included in any printed catalogue, presenting difficulties when aiming to compare these as discrete textual entities, requiring extensive investigation and close-reading of all available sources to resolve.

From this detailed analytical overview, the twenty-three land-assessment terms used within the diplomatic corpus (sixteen Latin and seven Old English) were isolated, with their etymology and origins as units of administration being discussed in Part One, which is sub-divided into a further seven sections. The number of occurrences of each term varies significantly, forming sample sizes too vast or too restricted to elicit a thorough, instructive case-study. For example, the Latin term *mansa* occurs in 427 diplomas, a corpus too large for close analysis within the scope of this thesis, whilst the Old English term *oxgang* occurs only once, preventing its comparison with similar diplomas.[3] Consequently, the term *tributarius* was selected for closer examination due to its sample size (there being twenty-three extant diplomas employing the term, which is therefore manageable for the type of close reading this investigation entails), but unexpected pattern of usage, both temporally and geographically, the operative details of which are given in Figure 5: Diplomas of the Tributarius Corpus below. Furthermore, the full texts of these diplomas are provided here in transcription, drawn from the original manuscript where possible, incorporating printed editions

[3] The frequencies of each term are illustrated in Figure 2 below.

(primarily those of Kemble and Birch, but also Susan Kelly's editions for the British Academy's *Anglo-Saxon Charters* series);[4] these are accompanied by new translations and critical commentary. As these transcriptions and translations are integral to the current investigation, they can be found at the end of the sub-group of Part Two to which each diploma primarily belongs, and are referenced throughout. Drawing on these transcriptions, a textual concordance was generated for the purpose of highlighting shared vocabulary beyond *tributarius* and the other specific terms for land assessment that comprise the focus of this dissertation, as the inclusion of similar words and phrases or even larger-scale textual overlap are indicative of a relationship between diplomas which otherwise may appear disparate, having been produced in different periods or preserved at different archives. Such similarities appear to have arisen from texts being based upon a shared exemplar, being produced in a similar socio-political context, or in response to the same event.

As such, the *tributarius* diplomas have been arranged into six overlapping sub-groups based on thematic similarities, within which the style and contents of each diploma is considered in detail and in conjunction with other members of the sub-group. The *tributarius* diplomas and the socio-political events to which they were witness are thus situated in a wider historical context. This investigation forms the subject of Part Two ('The *Tributarius* Diplomas'), which is likewise sub-divided into a further seven sections. Due to the complex and interrelated nature of both these diplomas as textual artefacts, and the spheres of ecclesiastical and secular influence which necessitated their production, the two parts of this thesis likewise hinge upon each other, with these socio-political factors influencing the distribution of land assessment terminology, which forms the subject of the following discussion.

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[4] S. E. Kelly, *The Charters of St Augustine's Abbey Canterbury and Minster-in-Thanet,* Anglo-Saxon Charters 4 (Oxford, 1995); *The Charters of Shaftesbury Abbey,* Anglo-Saxon Charters 5 (Oxford, 1996); *The Charters of Selsey*, Anglo-Saxon Charters 6 (Oxford, 1998); and *The Charters of Abingdon Abbey*, Anglo-Saxon Charters no. 7 & 8 (Oxford, 2000 & 2001).

Part 1: The Terminology of Land Assessment

1.1: Introduction: Origins of the Anglo-Saxon Diploma

As a fundamental component of any administrative system, the measurement of land was crucial for both legal matters of ownership and possession, and the assessment of obligations and dues. In a number of diplomas, especially those produced in the seventh and eighth centuries, the area of land thus conveyed is identified simply by name, or as an estate found at a location in regards to cardinal points, other named settlements, and geographic features (these being the predecessors of the prose vernacular boundary clause which would become commonplace by the tenth century). For example, in a charter issued in AD 857 by King Burgred of Mercia (r. 852–873×4),[1] the land in question is identified as *aliquam paruam portionem … in uico Lundonie · hoc est ubi nominatur Ceolmundingchaga qui est non longe from Uuestgetum*, 'some small portion [of land] … in the settlement of London, this is where it is named *Ceolmundingchaga* [the homestead or enclosure of the people of Ceolmund] which is not far from Westgate',[2] with no further specificity as to the size and nature of the land being exchanged.

This lack of operative and locative detail could be a consequence of charter technology developing from the more symbolic, oral land-transfer rituals they came to replace, such as the placing a sod of earth from the land in question upon an altar, which are in fact mentioned in some early charters. For example, S1164, a charter of King Cenred of Wessex dated AD 670×676, states *Nam earundem supradictarum cespites pro ampliori firmitate euuangelium superposui*, 'Now I have placed for increased security sods of the above-mentioned lands on the gospels'; similarly, in S1258, an agreement between Archbishop Æthelheard and Abbess Cynethryth made in AD 798, King

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[1] S208, London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. XIII, ff. 1–118, f. 19r–v. This charter has been selected due to its apparent authenticity, and for dating to the reign of King Burgred, who is discussed again in relation to the 'Running Commentary' *tributarius* diplomas below.

[2] The spelling of *Ceolmundingchaga* is potentially a misreading of the genitive plural 'a' for 'c' by the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe responsible for copying the text into the cartulary, being more familiar with Anglo-Caroline script than the Insular script the original diploma would have been written in. The place-name should therefore be read as *Ceolmundingahaga*. The Anglo-Saxon form of place-names are favoured throughout this dispositive clause, with *longe from Uuestgetum* not only lapsing into Old English, but also preserving the correct grammar (with *Uuestgetum* in the dative).

Æthelbald of Mercia is recorded as having conducted the same ritual, *utque illius donacio perseuerancior fieret, ex eadem terra cespitem et cunctos libellos prememorati cenobii per uenerabilem uirum Cuthbertum archiepiscopum misit, et super altare saluatoris pro perpetua sua salute poni precepit,* 'so that his donation might be more enduring, he sent a sod of earth from the same land and all the deeds of the aforementioned monastery to the venerable man Archbishop Cuthbert, and commanded that they be placed upon the altar of the Saviour for his eternal salvation'; and S33, recording a grant by Sigered king of half Kent to Eardwulf, bishop of Rochester in AD 761×764, where *placuit michi hanc paginam condere, et una cum cespite terre praedicte tradere tibi,* 'it has pleased me to arrange this document, and to give it to you together with one sod of the aforementioned land'.[3] The incorporation of existing practices into the transfer process thereby represents a period of transition and compromise between oral, pre-Christian, and written, Church-sanctioned practices. A similar compromise is acknowledged by Bede in his account of the letter sent by Pope Gregory to Abbot Mellitus on his departure for Britain in AD 601, where *quia boues solent in sacrificio daemonum multos occidere, debet eis etiam hac de re aliqua sollemnitas immutari; ut die dedicationis, uel natalicii sanctorum martyrum, quorum illic reliquiae ponuntur,* 'since they [the Anglo-Saxons] have a custom of slaughtering many oxen in sacrifice to devils, let some other solemnity be substituted in its place, such as a day of Dedication or the Festivals of the holy martyrs whose relics are enshrined there',[4] showing the adaptability of the missionaries' imported practices to encourage assimilation with the preexisting Anglo-Saxon society.

From these perfunctory early documents, more expansive (and, due to the inclusion of greater situational information, useful to posterity) diplomatic texts evolved under the auspices of the Church, the producer and prime beneficiary of the earliest land grants,[5] necessarily adapting pre-existing oral traditions and the written diploma to suit the purpose of both grantor and beneficiary

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[3] The first two examples referenced by S. E. Kelly, 'Anglo-Saxon Lay Society and the Written Word', in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe,* ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge, 1990), 44. For discussion of the performative aspect of land transfer, see D. A. E. Pelteret, 'The Religious Elements in the *Textus Roffensis* Charters', in *Textus Roffensis: Law, Language, and Libraries in Early Medieval England,* ed. B. R. O'Brien & B. Bombi (Turnhout, 2015), 292–6.

[4] *Ecclesiastical History of the English People (Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum),* trans. B. Colgrave & R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969)

[5] W. de Gray Birch, paraphrasing Kemble, 'The Anglo-Saxon Charters of Worcester Cathedral' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 38 (1882), 27.

(namely, native rulers and Church personnel respectively), which over time would develop into the eloquent, intentionally verbose documents of the later Anglo-Saxon period.[6] Later occasions of land-transfer may therefore have involved their own style of ceremony, with the diploma being read aloud, sanctified by the invocation, and witnesses making the sign of the cross as a counterpart to their signatures before the diploma is handed over to the recipient, representing the land thus granted. Contemporary manumissions were likewise carried out before a church altar in the presence of witnesses, so the conferral of landed wealth would justifiably require equal, if not greater, fanfare.[7] Subsequent to the initial transaction, the ceremonial reading of diplomas could further be employed to great effect, as when Bishop Wilfrid recited the (now lost) records of endowments to Ripon minster at its dedication:

> *Stans itaque sanctus Wilfrithus episcopus ante altare conversus ad populum, coram regibus enumerans regiones, quas ante reges pro animabus suis et tunc in illia die cum consensu et subscriptione episcoporum et omnium principum illi dederunt lucide enuntiavit.*
> Then St Wilfrid the bishop stood in front of the altar and, turning to the people, in the presence of the kings, read out clearly a list of the lands which the kings, for the good of their souls, had previously, and on that very day as well, presented to him, with the agreement and over the signatures of the bishops and all the chief men.[8]

This public recitation could therefore be seen not only as a dedication of the new minster, but likewise as a re-dedication of the grants made by 'the kings for the good of their souls', showing their words and pious deeds to carry weight in perpetuity, preserved in the archival record of the Ripon community.

Whilst the question of 'Who Introduced Charters into England?', which has occupied scholars of Anglo-Saxon diplomatic for over a century,[9] does not form the subject of the present

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[6] The 'hermeneutic' style of Latin favoured in the second half of the tenth century is concerned with the interpretation and application of Biblical texts, characterised by obscure vocabulary, lengthy, allusive sentences drawing on primarily Biblical sources, and complex grammatical constructions is discussed below in the 'Tenth-Century Anomalies' section of Part Two, with reference to *tributarius* diplomas S526, S874, S892 and S1291.

[7] Pelteret, 'Religious Elements', 298–300.

[8] Stephen of Ripon, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid (Vita Sancti Wilfridi),* ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927), 36–7.

[9] Quotation taken from the title of P. Chaplais' paper, 'Who Introduced Charters into England? The Case for Augustine', *Prisca Munimenta,* ed. F. Ranger (1973), 88–107.

investigation, it is necessary to consider it in relation to the nature of the documents which may have formed the earliest exemplars for native scribal tradition, thus contributing to our understanding of how the terms for land assessment being explored here may have entered the Anglo-Saxon diplomatic corpus. As the adoption of the diploma as a record of land transfer in Anglo-Saxon England coincided with the activity of Augustine and the Gregorian Mission (began AD 597),[10] this seems to suggest that charters, both the concept and the physical documents, were imported by these missionaries to provide means of legitimising endowment to the newly-established Church. The prominence of kings as donors in the first century of diplomatic production can be attributed to the fact that only they had the power to free land from secular dues, effectively changing its status from secular to ecclesiastical use. Whilst the acquisition of 'substantial temporal wealth' appears at odds with the monastic ideal of renouncing all property and recusing oneself from worldly affairs, it was essential that a religious house be in 'permanent possession of an adequate landed endowment for the collective support of the community',[11] with donors receiving prayers and the promise of heavenly rewards for their earthly generosity. The proem and superscription of the diploma reinforced such sentiments, with the phrase *pro remedio animæ meæ,* 'for the good of my soul' being the stock phrase employed to explicate the grant of the donor.[12] It is therefore appealing to interpret the *codices plurimos,* 'very many manuscripts', Bede describes as having been sent by the Pope to Augustine in England,[13] as including Continental diplomas to serve as models for legitimising the endowment of the fledging Church.

However, this does not entirely tally with the archival evidence. There is a marked difference in linguistic and textual sophistication between contemporary Continental documents and early

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[10] In the *Historia Ecclesiastica* I.23, Bede states that Pope Gregory the Great (in office 3 September 590–12 March 604) *misit seruum Dei Augustinum et alios plures cum eo monachos timentes Dominum praedicare uerbum Dei genti Anglorum,* 'sent a servant of God [named] Augustine, and several other God-fearing monks with him, to preach the word of God to the English race'. 'Gregory 1' and 'Augustine 1', *The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England Database (PASE)*, ed. J. L. Nelson, S. Keynes et. al., (London, 2010).

[11] S. Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600–900* (Cambridge, 2006), 87.

[12] G. T. Dempsey, *Aldhelm of Malmesbury and the Ending of Late Antiquity* (Turnhout, 2015), 201.

[13] *Historia Ecclesiastica* I.29.

Anglo-Saxon charters, with late sixth- and early seventh-century Italian diplomas (the obvious candidates for exemplars to be imported by Augustine's mission) going so far as to include details of the regnal year and *completio* clauses (naming the scribe responsible for penning the document), features absent from genuine Anglo-Saxon diplomas of the seventh and eighth centuries.[14] There is also little discernible difference in presentation between royal and ecclesiastic diplomas, or even those where the grantor or recipient is a private individual, a distinction which was apparent on the Continent.[15] Chaplais takes this further in suggesting that the absence of these textual features commonly found in contemporary 'Italian private deeds' from Anglo-Saxon diplomas is indicative that Insular charter production 'may already have been in existence for some time when Theodore arrived and that its form was settled by then'[16], although this assertion finds little definite support in the archival record. Whilst Jones concurs that 'the underlying tradition [of granting land via charter] can be traced back to the later Roman Empire', there is a lack of evidence for its continuation in post-Roman Britain, reflected in the time elapsed between the end of Roman occupation and the production of the earliest extant Anglo-Saxon diplomas.[17] It is necessary to note that, despite its frequent use in scholarship of this period, 'Late Roman / Italian private deed' is a convenient, if unspecific, term for a variety of legal documents originating from Italy towards the end of, and the period immediately following, the Roman Empire's dominance: it does not refer to a standardised format of document or unified purpose.[18]

Some degree of innovation and departure from a received exemplar would not be unexpected, but the contrast between the products of the missionaries' home scriptoria and those

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[14] The case of *tributarius* charter S230, where the scribe is self-identified as Aldhelm, is discussed further in the 'Selsey-Canterbury Group' section of Part Two. P. Wormald, *Bede and the Conversion of England: the Charter Evidence* (1985), 13.

[15] B. Snook, *The Anglo-Saxon Chancery: the history, language and production of Anglo-Saxon charters from Alfred to Edgar* (Woodbridge, 2015), 267.

[16] P. Chaplais, 'The Origin and Authenticity of the Royal Anglo-Saxon Diploma', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 3 (1965), 50 n. 24. Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury was consecrated in Rome on 26 March 668 but did not arrive in Kent until 669, and died on September 19th, 690. *PASE:* 'Theodore 1'.

[17] M. E. Jones, 'The Legacy of Roman Law in Post-Roman Britain', in *Law, Society, and Authority in Late Antiquity,* ed. R. W. Mathisen (Oxford, 2001), 58 & 60.

[18] F. M. Stenton, *The Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period* (Oxford, 1955), 33.

they were to establish suggests the influence of other traditions, be these oral, pre-Christian Anglo-Saxon, Roman Imperial diplomatic conventions or otherwise. Snook deems this the 'natural selection' model:

> The practice of charter-writing arrived over the course of the seventh century in dribs and drabs, now filtering in to one region by one means, now arriving in another via a different means altogether, gradually being introduced (and perhaps reintroduced) throughout England as Christianity spread by whoever happened to be spreading it at the time.[19]

In this way, the earliest scribes at Canterbury would have encountered exemplars imported from the Continent by Augustine, whereas houses established near the Welsh border may have retained vestiges of Anglo-Roman or Brittonic documentary culture (for which the education of Gildas provides support),[20]or those in Northumbria whose primary influence were Irish missionaries. Irrespective of the various modes by which diplomatic culture was disseminated, the Church played an intrinsic role in the production of these documents, both physically and textually. Early diplomas were composed entirely in Latin, with exceptions made only for 'locative vocabulary':[21] place-names, which may consist of Latinised forms of Old English terms, or simply the Old English name inserted in its entirety (as with *Ceolmundingchaga* and *Uuestgetum* from the charter of King Burgred referenced above), whilst the text itself is written in Uncial, the monumental script otherwise reserved for the highest-status gospel books and similarly prestigious ecclesiastical manuscripts, in order to 'instil in [the diploma] some of the ecclesiastical authority of those documents'.[22]

This stylistic inheritance is exemplified by S8, a charter of King Hlothhere of Kent (r. 673–680),[23] issued in May 679, recording a grant of land at *Westana* on the Isle of Thanet to Abbot

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[19] B. Snook, 'Who Introduced Charters into England? The Case for Theodore and Hadrian', in *Textus Roffensis: Law, Language, and Libraries in Early Medieval England,* ed. B. R. O'Brien & B. Bombi (Turnhout, 2015), 263–4.

[20] J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), 11. In reference to the persistence of Anglo-Roman education into the late fourth and early fifth century, as experienced by Gildas, M. E. Jones states that 'such training necessarily would have included exposure to the language and procedures of the Roman law courts'. 'Legacy of Roman Law', 62–6.

[21] R. Gallagher, 'The vernacular in Anglo-Saxon charters: expansion and innovation in ninth-century England', *Historical Research* 91 (2018), 212.

[22] Snook, 'Who Introduced Charters?', 280.

[23] *PASE:* 'Hlothhere 1'.

Beorhtwald.[24] Surviving as an original single-sheet manuscript (one of very few authentic diplomas from the seventh century), S8 is in fact the earliest extant authentic diploma of the Anglo-Saxon diplomatic corpus, and thus is not only a reliable witnesses to this early period of development, but necessarily provides a *terminus ad quem* for the (re-)introduction of charter technology.[25] Written in Uncial script, *texta continua* with minimal punctuation, on regularly-shaped vellum of a portrait aspect, the charter closely resembles a folio of a contemporary (ecclesiastical) manuscript, strongly suggesting the scribe's familiarity with gospel-books of the type imported by the Augustinian Mission.[26] Such features can be seen in Figure 1 below.

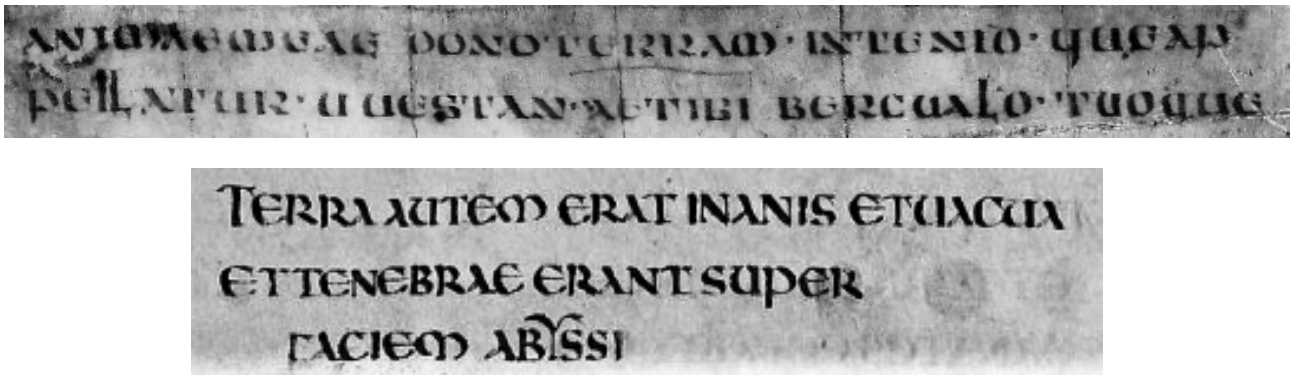

Fig. 1: Comparison of script between S8 and the *Codex Amiatinus.*
Above: extract from S8, reading *animae meae dono terram · in Tenid · que appellatur · Uuestan · ae tibi Bercuald · tuoque,* 'for [the good of] my soul give the land in Thanet that is called Westana to you, Beorhtwald and [to your monastery]'. London, British Library, Cotton Augustus ii. 2, recto.
Below: extract from Genesis 1:2, *Terra autem erat inanis et uacua, et tenebrae erant super faciem abyssi,* 'And the earth was void and empty, and darkness was upon the face of the deep'. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Amiatino 1, f. 11r.

When compared, for example, to the monumental C*odex Amiatinus* pandect,[27] produced at Wearmouth–Jarrow under Abbot Ceolfrith (AD 642–716),[28] the visual similarities are striking: Figure 1 above shows excepts from both manuscripts containing similar vocabulary for comparison.

[24] London, British Library, Cotton Augustus ii. 2.

[25] A. W. Clark, 'The West Saxon boundary clause in context: Celtic and Continental connections', *Early Medieval Europe,* vol.31:1 (2023), 73–4.

[26] Clark highlights the similarity of the quadripartite (cardinal point) bounds of the earliest Kentish charters to the fifth-century North African 'Albertini tablets', drawn up by Roman *agrimensores* (land surveyors). 'The West Saxon boundary clause', 74.

[27] Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Amiatino 1 (the 'Codex Amiatinus') s. vii ex. or viii in. (before 716), Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, prov. Continent s. viii, prov. abbey of Monte Amiato, Italy (by s. ix or x?). H. Gneuss & M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up To 1100* (Toronto, 2014), 589.

[28] *PASE:* 'Ceolfrith 1'.

The earliest complete Latin Bible, the *Codex Amiatinus* is referenced for comparison here due to its near-contemporaneous date of production with S8, and known scriptorium of origin, despite this being at a significant remove from Kent. Both manuscripts are written in stately Uncial script (see in particular the characteristic bowed 'M' and sharp-bowed 'A' which almost resembles a lambda), although the letters of S8 are less cramped within the word, yet have a squarer aspect and so appear rather more squat, as in the 'RR' of *terram,* compared to those of *terra* in the first line of Genesis.

Furthermore, the text of S8 not only opens and closes with an exhortation, but is:

> sanctioned … by the penalties of the next world rather than this, and by the use of a cross not as a witness's mark, but as a solemn symbol defying perjury or contradiction; motivated as many are by concern for the spiritual welfare of donor, beneficiary and others.[29]

The sanction of S8 (*Quisquis contra hanc donationem uenire temptauerit sit ab omni christianitata separatus · et a corpore et sanguini Domini nostri Iesu Christi suspensus,* 'Should anyone attempt to contravene this gift, let him be separated from all Christendom and suspended from the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ') is unusual in being supported by a further statement to the same effect in the subscription of King Hlothhere (*Si aliquis aliter fecerit a Deo se damnatum sciat · et in die iudicii rationem reddet Deo in anima sua,* 'If anyone would do otherwise [than uphold the terms of this diploma], let him know that he is damned by God, and that he will in his soul render an account to God on the Day of Judgment'). Even as the drafting of diplomas developed from a mechanism for endowment of the Church, eventually coming to record transactions made outside the Church's auspices and being produced by the secular 'Royal Chancery', the sanction clause would remain a standard component of charters, leases and grants throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, being absent only from the intentionally perfunctory writs which came to fulfil some of the same function from the latter half of the tenth century (the prose style of which is discussed further below). Furthermore, the specific form of the invocation of S8, *In nomine Domini nostri saluatoris Iesu Christi,* 'in the name of our Lord the saviour Jesus Christ', is associated with the councils and Continental diplomas of Archbishop

[29] Wormald, *Bede and the Conversion*, 9.

Theodore, and can likewise be found in a charter of Gregory the Great for his establishment of the monastery of St Andrew in Rome,[30] strongly indicating his influence on the drafting of this early Anglo-Saxon diploma. As such, Anglo-Saxon documentary culture 'was established through the acceptance of a foreign language that carried the authority of the Christian religion'.[31]

1.2: Bishop Wilfrid and the Beginnings of Anglo-Saxon Diplomatic Tradition

As demonstrated by the earliest extant Anglo-Saxon charters (most notably S8, issued in May 679 by King Hlothhere of Kent (r. 673–680), recording a grant of land at *Westana* on the Isle of Thanet to Abbot Beorhtwald),[32] a number of influences converged to shape the nascent Anglo-Saxon diplomatic tradition. Oral, pre-Christian rituals in recognition of the transfer of land were assimilated with the administrative system inherited from the late Roman Empire, which had endured both in Britain and on the Continent, and demonstrably informed the administrative efforts of native rulers and provided terminology with which their lands could be assessed.[33] Meanwhile, Italian diplomatic styles advanced beyond this to produce documents of a textual complexity unparalleled by concurrent Anglo-Saxon diplomas, showing that those documents introduced as exemplars by the Gregorian Mission (began AD 597) were not the sole models available to the scribes of diplomas such as S8. Nor was the acquisition of exemplars a single, concerted event, but a process driven by Church personnel in their travels between houses within

[30] Dempsey, *Aldhelm of Malmesbury,* 201 & 266.

[31] F. Tinti, 'Latin and Germanic Vernaculars in Early Medieval Documentary Cultures: Towards a Multidisciplinary Comparative Approach', in *The Languages of Early Medieval Charters: Latin, Germanic Vernaculars, and the Written Word,* ed. R. Gallagher, E. Roberts & F. Tinti, (Leiden, 2021), 5.

[32] London, British Library, Cotton Augustus ii. 2.

[33] Examples of diplomas acknowledging their origination from these traditions are given in the 'Introduction: Origins of the Anglo-Saxon Diploma' section of Part One.

England and even foundations on the Continent, facilitating the exchange of both ideas and written material between a network of religious communities.[34]

Through the examination of the Anglo-Saxon diplomatic corpus and subsequent focus on the *tributarius* diplomas in particular, the role of such personnel in forging connections between houses and, by extension, their archives, becomes apparent. The archives containing *tributarius* diplomas form two distinct groups: those at the core of the Mercian kingdom, centred around Worcester, and those in greater Wessex. The Mercian houses are tightly clustered within the diocese of Worcester, strongly suggesting some level of oversight by the main scriptorium, but the three southern houses are disparate by comparison. Upon consideration of the *tributarius* diplomas originating from greater Wessex (eight from Selsey, two from Christ Church Canterbury, and one each from New Minster and Old Minster Winchester), this group can be further subdivided: those concerned with South Saxon land which would originally have fallen under the purview of Selsey (namely the eight Selsey diplomas, together with S230 from Canterbury), and those concerned with traditionally West Saxon land (the two Winchester diplomas, and S132 from Canterbury).

The number of diplomas originating from Selsey and Worcester themselves (eight and six respectively) make these the largest contributors to the *tributarius* corpus in their own right and within their respective regions, suggesting the presence of an historic diplomatic link for the shared use of this otherwise uncommon term. Geographically, the houses of Worcester and Selsey have very little to connect them, being located in central Mercia (originally as bishopric of the Hwicce) and southern Wessex (as bishopric of the South Saxons) respectively, at a remove of approximately 137 miles. The identities of the early donors to each house are similarly localised, with all grants to Worcester being made by rulers of the Hwicce or of Mercia, and all those to Selsey by rulers of the

[34] For discussion of the potential for exchanging specialised learning, see J. Blair, 'Grid-Planning in Anglo-Saxon Settlements: The short perch and the four-perch module', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 18 (2013), 30.

South and West Saxons.[35] However, viewing these diplomas in conjunction with the contemporary history of the houses can offer some illumination as to the context in which such shared vocabulary could have arisen.

Written c. 731, Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* is a near-contemporary witness to the late-seventh century events and, whilst Bede's affiliation with the Church coloured his perspective on historic events, it need not affect the veracity of basic information such as dates and numeric assessments of land to the same degree as that of a later scribe emending such information to the benefit of their house. Within the *Historia,* Bede provides a tangible link between the Hwicce and Selsey via Bishop Wilfrid. Although scattered between multiple chapters of the *Historia,* a relatively coherent and linear timeline for the activities of Bishop Wilfrid can be reconstructed. After joining the monastery of Lindisfarne at the age of fourteen, Wilfrid's early career in the Church culminated in his being ordained as Bishop of Northumbria around the age of thirty-three, in AD 664: *accipiente Uilfrido episcopatum totius Nordanhymbrorum prouinciae,* 'Wilfrid received the bishopric of the whole province of Northumbria'.[36]

However, prior to assuming the bishopric, the 'aggressively eloquent young St. Wilfrid'[37] made multiple journeys to the Continent (staying in Gaul for three years after studying in Rome at the Papal Court) and visited the royal courts and ecclesiastical establishments of Kent and Northumbria. During this overview, Bede states that *adulescens animi uiuacis diligenter his, quae inspiciebat, discendis operam daret,* 'the active-minded young man would diligently devote himself to learning those things which he observed' whilst at the court of King Earconbert of Kent, c. 652–3.[38] Although some hyperbole is to be expected, and this portion of Wilfrid's career is only attested in the *Vita*

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[35] Nothgyth, the donor of land in S1172, was the sister of Nothhelm (Nunna), king of the South Saxons (r. 690×710–717×724) and also describes the land as *præfatam terram illam quæ michi hæreditarie per manus consanguineorum meorum,* 'that aforesaid land which was given as inheritance to me by the hands of my relatives', most likely her brother. The only tenth-century diploma from either house, S1291, is made to Selsey by Eadwig, king of England (r. 955–9), as by this time the practical division between kingdoms had diminished. *PASE:* 'Notthelm 1' and 'Eadwig 4'

[36] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* V.19. *PASE:* 'Wilfrid 2'.

[37] P. Wormald, *The Times of Bede: studies in early English Christian society and its historian* (Malden, 2006), 267.

[38] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* V.19, and P. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600–800*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England (Cambridge, 1990), 194.

Sancti Wilfridi by Stephen of Ripon (dated 709×c. 720), Wilfrid was undoubtedly exposed to the diplomatic practices of Kent which, at this early point in their development, would likely have differed markedly from those of his native Northumbria, though the dearth of written material to survive from the north means it is difficult to state categorically how the two traditions compare. It is important to note that the *Vita Sancti Wilfridi* is not only a hagiographical text, but was indeed written by a member of Wilfrid's community of Ripon (where the saint's body was also interred). The author thereby had a strong vested interest in presenting Wilfrid's career in favourable terms, not only as an act of veneration, but also to protect the legacy of Ripon.[39]

Nevertheless, Wilfrid's sojourns with Bishop Dalfin of Lyon and Archdeacon Boniface the Papal Counsellor in Rome, involved study of ecclesiastical matters *et alia multa, quae in patria nequiuerat, ecclesiasticis disciplinis accommoda, eodem magistro tradente percepit; et cum menses aliquot ibi studiis occupatus felicibus exegisset, rediit ad Dalfinum in Galliam, et III annos apud eum commoratus,* 'and many other matters of ecclesiastical discipline which were unknown in his own country. After he had spent some months occupied in beneficial study, he returned to Dalfin in Gaul, and stayed with him for three years',[40] study which necessarily entailed texts written in Latin, in manuscripts produced at Continental scriptoria, and Roman Christian customs which differed from the Celtic-influenced Christianity of contemporary Northumbria, such as using Dionysian computation for the dating of Easter,[41] and subsequent inclusion of an Incarnation date (derived from Easter Tables) in the drafting of diplomas.[42]

Furthermore, Bede identifies his travelling companion for the first visit to the Continent as Benedict Biscop, the prolific collector and distributor of manuscripts:

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[39] C. Cubitt, 'Universal and local saints in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West,* ed. A. Thacker & R. Sharpe (Oxford, 2002), 432.

[40] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* V.19.

[41] H. Mayr-Harting, 'St. Wilfrid in Sussex', in *Studies in Sussex Church History,* ed. M. J. Kitch (London, 1981), 2; and P. Sims-Williams, 'St Wilfrid and two charters dated AD 676 and 680', in *Britain and Early Christian Europe* (Aldershot, 1995), 164.

[42] K. Harrison, 'The *Annus Domini* in some Early Charters', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 4:7 (1973), 551–2, and C. Cubitt, 'St Wilfrid: a man for his times', in *Wilfrid: abbot, bishop, saint. Papers from the 1300th anniversary conferences*, ed. N. J. Higham & S. Tyas (London, 1995), 331.

> *superuenit illo alius adulescens, nomine Biscop, cognomento Benedictus, de nobilibus Anglorum, cupiens et ipse Romam uenire … Huius ergo comitatui rex sociauit Uilfridum, utque illum secum Romam perduceret, iussit,*
> 'Another young man then arrived named Biscop, known as Benedict, from a noble English family, also eager to travel to Rome … So the king therefore gave Wilfrid to Benedict as a travel companion, and instructed him to accompany him to Rome'.[43]

Biscop (d. 689) would make five journeys to Rome during his lifetime, in addition to holding the abbacy of SS Peter and Paul (St Augustine's) Canterbury, founding Monkwearmouth-Jarrow and serving as its first bishop.[44] In this way, it is apparent that the early career of Bishop Wilfrid was spent engaged in study, with access to manuscripts from a variety of sources almost unparalleled at the time. Such an experience would certainly have informed his approach to scribal practice, if not directly provided manuscript exemplars from multiple traditions, both Insular and Continental, to expand the repertoires of the houses at which he resided.

A number of years after being appointed Bishop of Northumbria, it is recorded that Wilfrid was expelled from the See by King Ecgfrith of Northumbria:

> *Anno dominicæ incarnationis DCLXXVIII, qui est annus imperii regis Ecgfridi VIII., … orta inter ipsum regem Ecgfridum et reuerentissimum antistitem Uilfridum dissensione, pulsus est idem antistes a sede sui episcopatus, et duo in locum eius substituti episcopi, qui Nordanhymbrorum genti præessent.*
> 'In the 678th year of the Lord's incarnation, which is the eighth year of the reign of King Ecgfrith … through a dissension that arose between the selfsame King Ecgfrith and the most reverend Bishop Wilfrid, the said bishop was put out of the See of his bishopric and two bishops appointed in his place to be over the people of the Northumbrians'.[45]

After travelling to Rome to petition the Pope for reinstatement, Wilfrid then returned to England: *et si propter inimicitias memorati regis in patria siue parrochia sua recipi non potuit, non tamen ab euangelizandi potuit ministerio cohiberi; siquidem diuertens ad prouinciam Australium Saxonum,* 'though he could not be received

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[43] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* V.19. Stephen of Ripon instead gives *Biscop Baducing,* Benedict Biscop's secular name. *Vita Sancti Wilfridi*, 8.

[44] *PASE:* 'Biscop 2'; Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* IV.18.

[45] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* IV.12, also Stephen of Ripon, *Vita Sancti Wilfridi,* 48–51.

back into his own native land and diocese, owing to the hostility of the king, yet nothing could hinder him from the ministry of preaching the gospel'.[46]

Thus far in his career, Wilfrid had been uniquely placed to observe the diplomatic traditions of Northumbria (at his home monastery of Lindisfarne),[47] Kent (during his sojourn at the court of King Earconbert), Gaul (studying under Bishop Dalfin of Lyon) and Italy (studying under Archdeacon Boniface in Rome). When establishing the monastery at Selsey, it is highly plausible that an ecclesiastic so dedicated to study and well-versed in written culture might have furnished his newly-established house with manuscripts acquired during his travels. As such, Wilfrid represents a conduit by which examples of any and all of the diplomatic styles he had come into contact with were made available at Selsey, and could therefore account for (amongst other terms, phrases and styles) the use of *tributarius* at Selsey in particular.

Following the foundation of Selsey, Wilfrid is recorded as having returned to Northumbria, at which time the South Saxon kingdom was at least nominally conquered by Wessex. This resulted in the authority of Selsey devolving to the bishop of Winchester until c. 705, when Eadberht, Abbot of Selsey, was elevated to bishop of the South Saxons with his seat established at his former monastery.[48] Whilst this brief period of subordination to Winchester does not seem to have generated a significant volume of contemporary textual evidence, it introduces the possibility that practices initiated at the Selsey scriptorium by Wilfrid, and facilitated by the provision of exemplars procured by him earlier in his career, were then introduced to Winchester via the exchange of such manuscripts. As Selsey is the largest source of *tributarius* diplomas amongst the southern archives, it therefore follows that a proportionally high number of diplomas containing this term once existed, increasing the likelihood that a no-longer extant *tributarius* exemplar entered the Winchester archive

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[46] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* IV.13.

[47] It is difficult to assess the impact of Northumbrian diplomatic on the archives of the southern kingdoms due to the lack of surviving pre-tenth century exemplars for comparison, but it can be assumed that 'Wilfrid and those of his followers who remained at Selsey are likely to have been most familiar with the nascent Northumbrian diplomatic style'. S. E. Kelly, *The Charters of Selsey*, Anglo-Saxon Charters 6 (Oxford, 1998), xlvii.

[48] Kelly, *Selsey* xxvii.

around this time, allowing the term to subsequently be revived there in the tenth century, with the production of S526 and S874.

Between Wilfrid's second expulsion from Northumbria in c. 691 (only five years after his reinstatement, according to Bede)[49] and his resumption of the bishopric of Hexham in AD 706, there is a lengthy gap in his recorded career. Both Bede's *Historia* and the near-contemporary *Vita Sancti Wilfridi* by Stephen of Ripon offer little information regarding this period,[50] whilst the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* by William of Malmesbury, composed in the early twelfth century, states that *Wilfridus ad regem Mertiorum Ethelredum amicum suum discessit. Sub eo ergo llurimo conuersatus tempore, Sexwlfo Licitfeldensi episcopo defuncto, episcopatum illum rexit,* 'Wilfrid went off to his friend Æthelred king of the Mercians. He spent some time in his orbit and when Seaxwulf bishop of Lichfield died he governed that See'.[51] There is an almost complete lack of categoric contemporary evidence for this assertion, except for the *tributarius* diploma S53, recording a grant made in AD 693 by Oshere, king of the Hwicce, to Abbess Cuthswith of 15 *tributarii* at *Penintanham* (probably Inkberrow, Worcester) for the foundation of a minster, as discussed in the 'Diplomas of the Mercian Supremacy' section of Part Two.[52] This is the only extant charter from a Mercian archive to be attested by Wilfrid, and here he is styled only as 'bishop' (*Ego Uuilfridus episcopus consentiens subscripsi,* 'I Wilfrid, bishop, consenting, have subscribed'). However, his attestation is placed directly below that of Archbishop Beorhtwald of Canterbury (in office 692–731)[53] and above those of six other Southumbrian bishops,[54] suggesting a level of seniority which may accord with that of a prominent local ecclesiastic: the

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[49] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* V.19.

[50] Bede mentions this period in IV.23, but omits any reference to a stay in Mercia when giving an overview of Wilfrid's life in V.19.

[51] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum,* ed. M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 2007), iii.104.

[52] London, British Library, Harley 4660, f. 3v (s. xvii).

[53] *Ego Berehtuualdus archiepiscopus consentiens subscripsi,* 'I Beorhtwald, archibishop, consent and have subscribed'. *PASE:* 'Beorhtwald 6'.

[54] C. Cubitt proposes that this witness-list demonstrates that the grant was promulgated before a synod of Southumbrian bishops, presided over by Archbishop Beorhtwald, although the date of such a synod can only be inferred from the dates each witness held office. *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650–c. 850* (London, 1995), 259.

Lichfield diocese abuts the northern border of the Worcester diocese, with Lichfield Cathedral being located approximately thirty-eight miles from Inberrow, itself only twelve miles from Worcester.

Early diplomatic links between dioceses associated with Wilfrid may also be apparent in S45, the Selsey diploma to which S1172 was appended (see the 'Selsey–Canterbury Group' section of Part Two), and the non-*tributarius* diploma S56, thought to be an authentic, original single-sheet diploma produced at Worcester in AD 759. Kelly compares phrases found in both of these diplomas, proposing that 'the wording of these passages in S45 and S56 seems to depend upon a very early Italian model, perhaps imported by the earliest Roman missionaries'[55], thereby accounting for the disparate centres of these diplomas' production. Following the superscription in S56, the text reads *prætio redemptionis animæ nostræ non ignorantes in futuro prodesse si quid Christi membris libenter inpendimus,* whilst S45 includes the comparable *pro remedio anime mee, sciens mihi in futuro prodisse, quicquid Christi menbris de mea propria possessione impendo.* These two diplomas also share a similar phrase containing unusual vocabulary in their anathemas: *in examine districti justique judicis præsumtionis suæ pænam incurrat* in S56 and *sciat se in districto omnipotentis Dei iudicio penam presumptionis sue incurrere* in S45, 'likely… derived from a very early model available to Wilfrid and his followers'.[56]

The witness-list of S53 offers the name of a further individual whose career linked multiple dioceses: Oftfor, Bishop of the Hwicce. In this diploma his See is not specified, being styled only as *episcopus,* a title similarly given in the three other diplomas he is recorded as witnessing. S76 and S77 both record grants of land within Worcestershire (at Hanbury and Fladbury respectively) made by King Æthelred of Mercia to Oftfor in AD 691×692, but even in these the house over which he presides is not named, although from context can be assumed to be Worcester. This is confirmed by Bede, who records Oftfor as the successor to Bosel, bishop of the Hwicce, whose seat was located at Worcester: *propter quod omnium iudicio praefatus uir in episcopatum pro eo electus, ac iubente Aedilredo rege per Uilfridum beatae memoriae antistitem,* 'so [Oftfor] was appointed bishop in [Bosel's] place with universal

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[55] Kelly, *Selsey,* 16.

[56] Kelly, *Selsey,* 17–8.

approval and was consecrated at Æthelred's command by Bishop Wilfrid of blessed memory'.[57] His career followed a similar pattern to that of Wilfrid, originating from the Northumbrian monastery of Whitby under Abbess Hild, before studying under Archbishop Theodore in Kent and travelling to Rome in pursuit of further edification, prior to his appointment to the Hwicce.[58] Although there is no record of a particular connection between Oftfor and Abbess Cuthswith or her monastery at Inkberrow, the fact that he was bishop of the Hwicce at the time of its foundation (as demonstrated by S53 above) means that he would have exercised some level of oversight there. In the same manner by which Wilfrid would likely have endowed the newly-founded Selsey with manuscripts acquired during his travels, so too may Oftfor have contributed to the holdings of Inkberrow. This is particularly pertinent to the fifth-century Italian uncial copy of Jerome's *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* bearing the inscription *Cuthsuuithæ · bæc · thæræ abbatissan,* 'a book of Cuthswith the abbess', on folio 1r.[59] If this Abbess Cuthswith is assumed to be one and the same as the recipient of the grant in S53,[60] her acquisition of a prestigious, imported codex can feasibly be attributed to the actions of 'some seventh-century book collector and traveller … with Hwiccian connections',[61] namely, Wilfrid or Oftfor.[62]

The somewhat tumultuous career of Bishop Wilfrid can therefore be seen as a continuation of the Gregorian Mission, in that his numerous journeys within England and to the Continent would have provided ample opportunity for the acquisition and dissemination of manuscript exemplars, whilst his elevation to at least three bishoprics in three different kingdoms, irrespective of tenure, allowed for his personal influence to be exercised at houses throughout England, having established

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[57] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV.23. William of Malmesbury likewise includes Oftfor in his list of the bishops of Worcester. *Gesta Pontificum* IV.136.

[58] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* IV.23.

[59] Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. p. th. q. 2.

[60] Evidence in favour of this identification is discussed above in the 'Diplomas of the Mercian Supremacy' Part Two.

[61] Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature,* 193.

[62] P. Sims-Williams, 'Cuthswith, seventh-century abbess of Inkberrow, near Worcester, and the Würzburg manuscript of Jerome on Ecclesiastes', *Anglo Saxon England* 5 (1976), 13.

regnum ecclesiarum, 'monastic empire',[63] over which he had nominal (if not consistently secure) headship.[64] The activities of Wilfrid and his near-contemporary Oftfor not only centre on houses at which *tributarius* diplomas can be found, but are also intrinsically associated with study and, by extension, diplomatic culture, suggesting that at least one of these enterprising ecclesiastics was responsible for the introduction and dissemination of a *tributarius* diploma amongst the houses to which they were linked.

1.3: Roman Administrative Inheritance

Thus far we have seen the influence of Continental and ecclesiastical documentation on the development of early Anglo-Saxon diplomatic, but the particular terminology employed, coupled with the relatively perfunctory style of prose which 'in some respects [resembles that of] ancient papyri, more especially in grammatical solecisms and erroneous constructions'[65] seem, to a great extent, to have evolved from the remains of the Roman Imperial administrative system in the west of the empire. To again use the Hlothhere charter S8 as an example, the text of the first transaction to be recorded within the charter concludes with the dating clause *in mense Maio indictione septima* ('in the month of May, in the seventh indiction'), following the Roman system of a fifteen-year taxation cycle, which came to be used as a conventional apparatus for dating documents in the later Empire (being introduced in AD 312),[66] here equating to AD 679. Furthermore, administrative continuity is demonstrated by the terminology used for the assessment of land being transferred under the terms of the diplomas, namely, the units of measurement by which the land was quantified. In an Imperial context, the unit of measurement was a *caput* (literally, 'head') or *iugum* (relating to a yoke, plough

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[63] Stephen of Ripon, *Vita Sancti Wilfridi*, Chapter XXI, 42–3.

[64] Foot, *Monastic Life*, 258 & 263.

[65] Birch, 'Charters of Worcester', 27. Even in the first quotation from S8 included above, *christianitata* should be emended to *christianatate* (as suggested by Birch); and *sanguini* should instead be the ablative *sanguine,* to agree with *corpore.*

[66] D. Woodman, *The First King of England: Æthelstan and the Birth of a Kingdom* (Princeton, 2025), 78.

crossbeam, or the requisite draught animals) when land was assessed for the payment of *tributum* (land-tax).[67]

When used as a unit of measurement, the *iugum* represents the area able to be ploughed in one day, specifically 240×120 Roman feet, an area also referred to as a *iugerum.*[68] Greater terminological variation was, however, shown towards the fringes of the Empire, so that in Gaul, land measuring one *mansa* was occupied by a family, the *manentes,* and thus subject to the same *tributum.*[69] This land-tax or *tributum* had not been assessed in the core of the Empire since 167BC, when Roman Italy became exempt: provinces could thus be subject either to the *ius Italicum* (of the same exemption as Italy), or continue to be liable for *tributum,* as in the example of Gaul.[70] Likewise, in early Anglo-Saxon England, Hutchinson states that:

> If, however, a term be found in use after the Barbarian Invasion, which can be traced back unmistakably to Roman times and Roman conditions, the argument for Roman influence in shaping later institutions will be greatly strengthened… there is such a term in the word *tributarius,* which occurs in the laws of the later Empire as an equivalent for *colonus,* from whom the *tributum* was collected, and continued in use throughout Europe till the later Middle Ages.[71]

The term *tributarii* can be found in Frankish laws (*Pactus Legis Salicæ* attributed to King Clovis in the first decade of the sixth century, but likely containing older material)[72], the *Leges Visigothorum* (mid-sixth to mid-seventh century) and Bavarian laws (from the fifth to the ninth century), initially as the *tributum* paid in kind by a *colonus,*[73] before being applied as a title to a socio-economic class from whom such payments were due. Likewise, in his *Decem Libri Historiarum* (completed c. 591), Gregory

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[67] H. P. R. Finberg, *Lucerna: studies of some problems in the early history of England* (London, 1964), 9.

[68] *DMLBS: s.v. iugum,* sense 4a, and *iugerum,* sense 2, are identical.

[69] *DMLBS: s.v. mansa,* sense 1, 'a measure of land, hide; estate, manor'; *tributarius:* subject to tribute, tax, rent, or other obligation to make payment; measure of land (held by tenant farmer).

[70] T. H. Watkins, '*Coloniae* and *Ius Italicum* in the Early Empire', *The Classical Journal* 78 (1983), 319.

[71] L. Hutchinson, 'Roman and Anglo-Saxon Agrarian Conditions', *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* (1893), 205.

[72] L. Bothe, 'From subordination to integration: Romans in Frankish law', in *Transformations of Romanness: Early Medieval Regions and Identities,* ed. W. Brandes et. al. (Berlin, 2018), 346.

[73] *DMLBS: s.v. tributum,* 'tribute, tax, or rent (typically paid to fellow ruler or to overlord in exchange for land, security'; *colonus*, 'settler, peasant, farmer (of various or unspecified status); serf'.

of Tours uses the term *tributum* to denote both taxes and other duties to be rendered.[74] This tax could be paid in kind, and was 'based on written assessments of the population, which apparently excluded widows, orphans, the poor and the infirm', thereby being based upon the expected productivity of the land being worked by the able-bodied populace inhabiting it.[75] Both *tributarii,* 'tax-payers' and *colonii,* 'tenant farmers', occur in Romano-British sources, the earliest being the *Codex Theodosianus,* an edict issued by Emperor Constantine to Pacatianus, Vicar of Britain in AD 319, where the terms signify groups of people liable for the payment of taxes: *unusquisque decurio pro ea portione conveniatur, in qua vel ipse vel colonus vel tributarius eius convenitur et colligit; neque omnino pro alio decurione vel territorio conveniatur,* 'Every *decurio*[76] shall be sued for only that portion of land in respect to which either he or his *colonus* or his *tributarius* is sued and collects [the profits of], and no *decurion* shall be sued at all on account of another *decurio* or for the territory of another'.[77]

Whilst the unit *caput* is not found in the context of land assessment in the Anglo-Saxon diplomatic corpus, derivatives of *iugum / iugerum* occur 42 times, *manentes* 195 times, and *mansae* are the most frequently occurring term, being found in 427 diplomas, or approximately 22% of the extant corpus.[78] These statistics therefore support the assertion of W. de Gray Birch, that:

> The peculiar habits and disposition of each individual people, and manifold accidental circumstances, had undoubtedly tended to introduce great variations into the received system; but in the main the formularies were those of the Empire and the Church.[79]

As fundamentally sound as this statement remains, it lacks recognition of the sheer number of variant terms for land assessment found within the diplomatic corpus, with their respective

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[74] Bothe, 'From subordination', 352.

[75] C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400–800* (Oxford, 2005), 107.

[76] *DMLBS: s.v. decurio,* 'commander of ten men; royal official'.

[77] *Codex Theodosianus* XI.7.2., quoted by Jones, 'Legacy of Roman Law', 52; and I. Ivarsen, 'King Ine (688–726) and the Writing of English Law in Latin', *The English Historical Review* 137 (2022), 26.

[78] The exact figures and relative frequencies of each term are discussed fully below, whilst the extant corpus is tabulated in the Appendix: Terms of Measurement in the Anglo-Saxon Diplomatic Corpus.

[79] Birch, 'Charters of Worcester', 28.

frequencies and contexts of use being elucidated through statistical analysis, as the current investigation aims to demonstrate.

In this way, the continuity of Roman Imperial terminology and somewhat archaic form of textual composition, coupled with distinctly Church-influenced textual components and script style, therefore suggest that the Augustine missionaries did not introduce charter technology as a new concept, but rather revitalised a process which had survived the two centuries since the Roman Empire's withdrawal (having fallen into disuse and therefore failed to undergo the same level of development as on the Continent), providing manuscripts of a variety of forms and origins, which would serve as fresh exemplars for script and ornamentation.[80] The extant diplomatic corpus, in particular its earliest authentic diplomas, thereby demonstrate the extent to which the wide range of available exemplars – inherited Imperial administrative systems, imported Continental models of various origins, and native Anglo-Saxon practices, themselves influenced in certain regions by Irish and Brittonic written culture – were combined to create hybrid documents designed to meet a specific and immediate need (the endowment of newly-established ecclesiastical foundations), which over a matter of centuries would develop into a distinctly Anglo-Saxon diplomatic style.

1.4: Anglo-Saxon Land Assessment

As demonstrated above, the framework of Anglo-Saxon land assessment developed from the combination of inherited Roman Imperial administration, more recent Continental influences (these themselves deriving to an extent from the Imperial system), and comparable vernacular systems. The archival record supplies numerous documents relating to early administration and land assessment, challenging T. M. Charles-Edwards' assertion that:

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[80] Blair, *The Church,* 85; J. Blair, 'The Limits of Bookland', *Anglo-Saxon England* 49 (2020), 246; Pelteret, 'Religious Elements', 292; Snook, *The Anglo-Saxon Chancery,* 260; and Tinti, 'Latin and Germanic', 4.

> There is no evidence that early Anglo-Saxon kings had the necessary administrative resources to carry out the task of surveying their kingdoms and creating a unit of assessment for exacting taxes or food-renders.[81]

The earliest such administrative document is the 'Tribal Hidage', a list of the area of land encompassed by thirty-four kingdoms and people-groups south of the Humber.[82] Beginning with *Myrcna landes is · þrittig þusend hyda,* 'the land of the Mercians is thirty thousand *hida*', the list goes on to name a further 28 people-groups (ranging in size from 300 to 7000 *hida* and located within the greater Midland area)[83], and concludes with five entire kingdoms (East Anglia at 30,000; Kent at 15,000; Essex at 7000; Sussex at 7000; and Wessex at 100,000 *hida*). The figure of 7000 *hida* is also found in *Beowulf,* where Hygelac *him gesealde seofan þusendo / bold ond bregostol,* 'gave to him [Beowulf] seven thousand [*hida* of land] / a hall and princely throne' (*Beowulf* lines 2195–6),[84] showing that such an area of land was considered fitting for a worthy son of nobility.[85] The territories ascribed to each people or kingdom are given in round figures, implying that the assessments were rudimentary, rather than the product of a precise administrative enterprise in the manner of Domesday Book. The title 'tribal' is potentially misleading, as the people-groups could refer simply those governed from a particular place, rather than a distinct ethnographical populace, so that the significant variation in size of people-groups mentioned seems to suggest a conflation of two different administrative tiers: individual holdings or estates which comprise a kingdom, and the whole kingdoms themselves.[86] This is further supported by diplomas recording grants to named individuals and ecclesiastical establishments of similar extents to the smallest named groups in the Tribal

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[81] T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'Kingship, Status and the Origins of the Hide', *Past & Present* 56 (1972), 4, see also M. Gelling, *The West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester, 1992).

[82] The earliest surviving copy of the Tribal Hidage can be found on folio 6v of London, British Library, Harley MS 3271 (s. xi 1, Winchester NM?) an eleventh-century collection of assorted grammatical and computistical texts, including Ælfric's *Grammar,* apparently compiled for antiquarian interest. *GL,* 357.

[83] S. Bassett proposes the smaller, more obscure people-groups be referred to as *regio,* following the terminology of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica,* rather than their traditional designation of 'kingdom'. 'In search of the origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms', in *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms,* ed. S. Bassett (Leicester, 1989), 17.

[84] G. Jack, ed., *Beowulf: A Student Edition* (Oxford, 1997).

[85] M. G. Welch, *Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, British Archaeological Record, British Series 112 (Oxford, 1983), 75.

[86] J. Campbell, *The Anglo-Saxon State* (London, 2000), 5–6.

Hidage, such as the 300 units (*tributarii* and *cassatae*) each to the brothers Oswald and Osric in *tributarius* diploma S70.[87] Nevertheless, this list appears to represent an administrative record with which the landed possessions, and thereby the taxable wealth, of each named group could be assessed and tribute exacted.

The prominence of Mercia in the list, coupled with the level of detail provided for the Midland area, suggests that the Tribal Hidage originated from Mercia itself, at a time when their geo-political power facilitated, however briefly, the taxation of peoples outside of the greater Midlands, namely, the 'Mercian Hegemony' of the seventh and eighth centuries, particularly during the reign of Offa (r. 757–96).[88] Such a list would therefore suggest a concern with the enumeration of lands and people-groups who had coalesced — with some inducement — into 'Greater Mercia', a process begun, or at least hastened, by the expansionist activities of successive Mercian rulers from Penda (c. 632–55)[89] onwards, not least to provide a buffer between themselves and neighbouring Wales.[90] N. Brooks takes the alternative view that, as Mercia is afforded prominence in the list, the Tribal Hidage was unlikely to have been produced under the auspices of its king, suggesting instead a Northumbrian origin, owing to the absence of assessments for Deira and Bernicia.[91] However, the more widely accepted interpretation is that of a Mercian origin. The ruler under which it was compiled, therefore, may not have had the administrative framework sufficient to compile a detailed enumeration equal to that of the Roman Empire or Domesday Book, but 'he is quite equal to demanding from Sussex a tribute of 7,000 pence, or a multiple thereof, leaving the king of Sussex and his advisers to determine how it shall be raised from the occupants of Sussex land'.[92]

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[87] This diploma is discussed further in the 'Running Commentary' section below.

[88] *PASE:* 'Offa 7'. See also P. Wormald, 'The Age of Offa and Alcuin', in *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. A. Campbell (Oxford, 1982), 101–31.

[89] *PASE:* 'Penda 1'.

[90] Bassett, 'In search of origins', 6.

[91] N. Brooks, 'The formation of the Mercian kingdom', in *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms,* ed. S. Bassett (Leicester, 1989), 159.

[92] H. P. R. Finberg, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Volume I.II, A.D. 43–1042* (Cambridge, 1972), 413.

Regarding the language of the Tribal Hidage, this perfunctory list is composed in the vernacular (hence the assessment in *hida*), contrasting with contemporary diplomas, of which the surviving authentic examples are written almost exclusively in Latin. H. P. R. Finberg asserts that:

> when an Anglo-Saxon king made a grant of land and the grant came to be put in writing, the *hide* clothed itself in the terminology of the Imperial successor-states. Its occupants were called *manentes*, *cassata,* or - still more significantly - *tributarii*.[93]

I. Ivarsen takes a similar view, stating that 'lawmakers were deliberately attempting to evoke Roman, biblical and / or Frankish models',[94] both in the choice of Latin and the act of committing the transaction to writing. This is perhaps a rather romanticised explanation, as the adoption of Latin terminology in this context is not itself indicative of Anglo-Saxon pretensions of imperial grandeur (as compared, for example, to the royal styles frequently adopted by kings). Furthermore, the nuances of such terms would inevitably be lost, as 'centralised power and developed economies could not be imported along with the words describing them',[95] so that the various Latin terms inherited from late-Roman administration became effectively interchangeable within an early Anglo-Saxon context.

As discussed above, charter production was initially implemented by and for the Church: even by the late eighth century, towards the close of the approximate timeframe for the Tribal Hidage, the Church was still the primary beneficiary of land grants, be this directly from a king, or via nobility who wished to patronise local ecclesiastical houses. As such, despite recording grants by secular political leaders, the diplomas as written documents very much remained a technology of the Church, and thus employed the language of the Church: Latin. Conversely, the Tribal Hidage is a purely secular document concerned only with administrative functionality and, by extension, the exercise of political influence.

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[93] Finberg, *Lucerna*, 9.

[94] Ivarsen, 'King Ine', 37.

[95] Blair, *The Church,* 51.

This is comparable to the Laws of Ine, king of the West Saxons (r. 688–726).[96] Dated AD 688–94, the seventy-six extant laws set forth a wide-ranging system of governance and administration covering taxation, fines, *wergild*, and the relative worth of various livestock (presumably for their value as alternative forms of payment). Although the transmission history of the Laws of Ine, via reference in the vernacular law-codes of successive Anglo-Saxon kings, makes it likely that they are not preserved accurately or in their entirety,[97] it is important to note in this context that only the prologue and first four Laws make overt reference to the Church and religious practices (the following of Christian rule; baptism of children; observing Sunday as a day of rest; and the payment of church-*scot*), whilst the fifth law recognises the physical buildings of ecclesiastical houses as places of sanctuary from even secular punishment. As such, those Laws of Ine which reference the Church do so in a way which navigates how Church authority interfaces with that of the king on a socio-economic, rather than spiritual level. Both the Laws and the Tribal Hidage are therefore functional administrative documents, transmitted in the vernacular, intended to support secular rulers in the exercise of their power, relatively unconnected to the Church both in content and language.

In the earliest centuries of Anglo-Saxon diplomatic production, it is thereby apparent that Old English was the language of primarily secular administration, whilst Latin was employed in those documents produced by and for the Church. What is less clear, however, is why one of the analogous, equivalent Latin terms would be chosen over another in an Anglo-Saxon context, and therefore whether the terms actually possessed greater nuance than is initially apparent. Of the sixteen Latin terms found within the diplomatic corpus to denote a measurement of land, four of these (*mansus, manentes, iugera* and *tributarii*) find parallels in Roman Imperial and Continental administration, as noted above, whilst the other terms are drawn from a variety of sources,

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[96] *PASE:* 'Ine 1'. See also H. Edwards, *The Charters of the Early West Saxon Kingdom*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 198 (Oxford, 1988).

[97] I. Ivarsen proposes, following analysis of linguistic features, that the Laws of Ine were originally composed, partially or entirely, in Latin (perhaps based on a Frankish model), before being translated into the vernacular in the ninth century and subsequently appended to the law-code of King Alfred and his successors. 'King Ine', 2 & 7–9.

including agricultural terminology and standard Latin vocabulary. The etymology of these terms can roughly be divided into three groups.

Mansae, cassatae, mansiones and *mansiunculae* are derived from the concept of the household as the basic taxable unit of society, all translating to some variation on 'a measure of land; an estate or manor; a dwelling', the original nuance of their definitions having become somewhat obscured with use.[98] The *mansiuncula,* for example, literally translates to 'little house' or cell, seeming to have monastic or religious reclusive connotations, despite being utilised outside of this context. In addition to these, *manentes* originally referred to the inhabitants of the *mansa,* but came to function as a unit of assessment in its own right, interchangeable in meaning with those from which it had derived. Similarly, the *tributarius* appears to reference the *tributum* (land-tax) of the Empire, indicating that the unit of land is 'subject to tribute, tax, rent', or held by a tenant farmer.[99] In the ninth-century Old English translation of Orosius's *Historiae Adversus Paganos,* the terms *tributarius, vectigalis* and *deditio,* used in the sense of peoples being subject to or made tributaries of Rome, are all translated as *gafolgylda,* the term likewise employed in the Laws of Ine to denote a person from whom tribute was due, upholding the original, Imperial sense of the term.[100]

A significant number of the Latin land assessment terms originated from agricultural terminology, with *aratrum* connoting 'a plough; ploughland' and *quarentenae* being 'a field, or portion of a larger common field';[101] whilst *iugera, perticae* and *uirgatae* refer respectively to the yoke by which a team of oxen would pull a plough, and the rod by which the resulting furrow would be gauged.[102] Similarly, *segetes* simply refers to 'a field or crop of standing corn', so by extension could mean the

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[98] *DMLBS: s.v. mansa,* sense 1, 'a measure of land; an estate or manor; a dwelling, house or manse'; *casata,*'a measure of land (appurtenant to household)'; *mansio,* sense 5, 'a place or dwelling; house or manor; measure of land'; *mansiuncula,* sense 1, 'a measure of land; an estate or manor'.

[99] *DMLBS: s.v. tributarius.*

[100] *DOE: s.v. gafolgylda,* 'tributary, payer of tribute' (sense 1), 'one who pays rent' (sense 2), the latter sense being found in the Laws of Ine. See also Ivarsen, 'King Ine', 23–4.

[101] *DMLBS: s.v. aratrum,* sense 1c, and *quarentena,* sense 2.

[102] *DMLBS: s.v. jugum, jugus, juga,* 'measure of land, originally equivalent to one day's ploughing'; *pertica,* sense 3c, '(wooden) rod, pole, stick, bar: linear measure, perch'; *virgata,* sense 2, 'measure of land equal to a square rod, pole, or perch' or 'unit of land tenure usually equal to a quarter of a hide, yardland, virgate'.

area of arable land sown with said crop.[103] The remaining four terms are rare or unique within the corpus, and invite some suspicion as to their authenticity. When used as a unit of measurement, the *pes* (literally 'a foot') is usually applied to distance, in the sense of a journey travelled on foot, but can also be used to quantify the square measurement of a product such as glass or lead: its one occurrence in the diplomatic corpus, charter S346,[104] seems to take the latter sense.[105] The *territorium* is not strictly a unit of measurement, but reference to the title-deeds of a piece of land usually quantified elsewhere;[106] whilst both the *leucaras (leugatae)* and *carucatas* defy confident definition, seeming to derive respectively from *lucarius*, 'forest or forest-tax' (or is potentially a misreading of *iugera*, as 'c' for 'g' substitution was not uncommon in Anglo-Latin script) and *carrus*, 'cart' (or indeed the more common term *cassatae*)[107].

Whilst the Latin units discussed above tend to owe their origins to a combination of administrative functions inherited from the Roman Empire, particularly the assessment of taxation or tribute, and the agricultural practices by which such tribute would be produced, the seven vernacular terms show almost exclusive derivation from agricultural practices, with the physical act of cultivating the land influencing the units of its' measurement. The *sulung*, *furlang* and *oxgang* clearly retain elements of agricultural terminology, literally translating to 'plough-length', 'furrow-length' and 'ox-course' respectively and thus equating to 'the length of the drive of the plough before it is turned',[108] whilst the *geocled* derives from the *geoc*, 'yoke' by which a team of oxen would pull a plough, thus connoting 'land which can be ploughed by one yoke (of oxen) during a fixed

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[103] *DMLBS: s.v. seges*, sense 1, 'field or crop of standing corn (as produce or commodity)', sense 2b, 'arable land, land sown with corn; measure of land'.

[104] London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. XIII, ff. 1–118, ff. 18r–19r (s. xi).

[105] *DMLBS: s.v. pes*, sense 7, '(as linear measure) a foot'.

[106] *DMLBS: s.v. territorium*, sense 1, 'piece of land'.

[107] *DMLBS: s.v. leugatae*, sense 2, 'measure of distance, league'; *carrucata*, sense 3, 'carrucate, 'plough-gate', area of land that can be ploughed in a season by one ploughteam (8 bovates, usually 80–120 acres; equated with 'hide'); in Domesday Book, a taxable unit not directly proportionate to area'.

[108] *DOE: s.v. sulh*, 'plough'; *furh*, 'furrow'; *lang*, 'length, height, extent'; *gang* (noun) 'journey, path or course'; *furlang* sense 1.

time'.[109] Taking a slightly different approach, *æcer* represented 'a field, land, sown land', but came to likewise indicate 'a definite quantity of land which a yoke of oxen could plough in a day'.[110] In this way, the assessment of land appears to be based upon the capabilities of a plough-team, with the area able to be tilled in one day providing the standard unit. The *gyrd,* 'a staff, rod or twig' could likewise have some foundation in agriculture (a switch or crook), but the derivation is less transparent. Possibly the earliest instance of *gyrda* signifying 'yardland, a yard of land' in this sense can be found in the Laws of Ine, 67. Blair draws attention to use of *gyrda* as a measuring rod in Anglo-Saxon texts relating to surveying, proposing a northern Germanic (Saxon) origin for the term;[111] alternatively, it may stem from the Latin term *uirga, uirgata* mentioned above, namely the measuring rod laid across a furrow to gauge its width and length.

The final Old English term, *hid,* 'hide', is by far the most frequently occurring vernacular unit of measurement, and also one of the more complex etymologies, derived from the term *hiwisc* or *hiwiscipe,* 'a family unit or household'.[112] It is found in this form, and apparently with this meaning, in the Laws of Ine 44.1: *gafolhwitel sceal bion æt hiwisce vi pæninga weorð,* 'the blanket paid as rent from each *hiwisce* shall be worth six pence'.[113] Here, *hiwisce* clearly represents a taxable unit, and thus could refer either to a measure of land (a 'hide'), or the household to which that land belongs, in a similar manner to the Latin *manentes*. The term *hiwisce* is, however, rare within the diplomatic corpus, with *hida* being vastly more prevalent for the same meaning.[114] In this way, the land was conceptualised by how many households it could theoretically support, rather than its quantitative area (or, necessarily, the number of households actually present).[115] That the assessment in *hida*

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[109] *DOE: s.v. geoc* and *geocled.*

[110] *DOE: s.v. æcer,* sense 2.

[111] *DOE: s.v. gyrd,* sense 2. J. Blair, S. Rippon and C. Smart, *Planning in the Early Medieval Landscape* (Liverpool, 2020), 101; and Blair, 'Grid-Planning', 19.

[112] *DOE: s.v. híd.*

[113] The Laws of Ine, 44.1. *DOE: s.v. gafolhwitel = gafol + hwitel,* 'tribute, payment' + 'piece of (un-dyed, ie. white) fabric'.

[114] In the non-*tributarius* diploma S303, a dubious record of land and privileges granted by King Æthelwulf of Wessex in AD 854, *hida* and *hiwisce* are used concurrently in the brief vernacular bounds.

[115] F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond: Three Essays in the Early History of England* (Cambridge, 1921), 359.

represented the maximum, rather than realistic, yield of the land is further reinforced by the Laws of Ine 64: 'he who has twenty *hida* must show twelve *hida* of sown land when he wishes to leave' (i.e. when his tenancy agreement is concluded), acknowledging that not all land could be productive simultaneously, as portions (typically one-third) must periodically be left fallow, effectively removing these from the quantitative area of arable land belonging to the household. Laws 65 and 66 extrapolate this for smaller landholders, so that an estate of ten *hida* must have six sown, and three *hida* have 1.5.

The concept of the *hiwisce* or *hida* therefore accords with the assessments of land offered by Bede in the *Historia Ecclesiastica,* who describes the size of estates granted, land masses and even kingdoms in terms of *familiarum,* 'of or belonging to households'.[116] It is worth noting however that the *familiarum* or *hid* equating strictly to the land held by a single household is unlikely to be a static measurement, when even as early as the end of the seventh century, Bede's community of Wearmouth–Jarrow, numbering 600 monks plus servants, were supported by 'the land of 150 families', equating to one-quarter *hid* per family.[117] These tend to be given in round figures in a similar manner to the Tribal Hidage above, suggesting that a similar document was used to provide these estimations.[118] On four of the ten occasions the term *familiarum* is used, Bede qualifies it as being *iuxta aestimationem Anglorum,* 'according to the English way of reckoning', as estimation by household was also used by Germanic and Celtic peoples (although not employing the term *familiarum*), but not Roman Imperial administration:[119]

> I.25, *Est autem ad orientalem Cantiae plagam Tanatos insula non modica, id est magnitudinis iuxta consuetudinem aestimationis Anglorum, familiarum sexcentarum,* 'There is also at the eastern side of Kent a large island called Thanet, which by the English method of reckoning is 600 *familiarum* in extent'.

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[116] *DMLBS: s.v. familia,* sense 8, 'amount of land regarded as (capable of) supporting one household, hide', where *familiarum* is the genitive plural.

[117] Finberg, *Agrarian History*, 415, citing the *Life of Ceolfrid* ch.33.

[118] J. Campbell, 'The First Christian Kings', *The Anglo-Saxons,* ed. J. Campbell (London, 1982), 61.

[119] A. Williams, *Kingship and Government in Pre-Conquest England c. 500–1066* (London, 1999).

> II.9, *nongentarum LX familiarum mensuram iuxta aestimationem Anglorum,* 'containing 960 *familiarum* according to the English method of reckoning'.
> III.4, *Neque enim magna est, sed quasi familiarum quinque, iuxta aestimationem Anglorum,* 'It is not large, being only around five *familiarum* according to the English method of reckoning'.
> IV.14(?16), *Est autem mensura eiusdem insulae, iuxta aestimationem Anglorum, mille ducentarum familiarum; unde data est episcopo possessio terrae CCCarum familiarum,* 'The size of the island is 1,200 *familiarum* according to the English method of reckoning, so the bishop was given 300 *familiarum'.*

Indeed, in the Old English version of the *Historia Ecclesiastica,* the term *familiarum* is rendered as *hid*: for example, 1:14 of the Old English version, equating to 1:25 of the original Latin quoted above, reads *Þonne is on easteweardre Cent mycel ealand Tenet, þæt is syx hund hida micel æfter Angelcynnes æhte,* 'There is to the east of Kent a large island, Thanet, containing six hundred *hida* according to the English way of reckoning'.[120] This use of the term is likewise seen in the diplomatic corpus, with *familiarum* occurring as the unit of assessment in the dispositive section of three Latin, non-*tributarius* diplomas:

> S258: *Ego Cuthredus rex de terra juris mei aliquantulam portionem juxta mensuram scilicet · x · familiarum … impendo,* 'I Cuthred, king, grant from the land under my jurisdiction a certain portion according to the measure, which is to say that of ten *familiae*'.[121]
> S259: *Ego Cuthredus rex de terra juris mei aliquantulum portionem juxta mensuram scilicet · vii · familiarum … impendo,* 'I Cuthred, king, grant from the land under my jurisdiction a certain portion according to the measure, which is to say that of seven *familiae*'.[122]
> S423, *in loco quem solicole æt Westtune uocitant · id est · v · familiarum,* 'in the place which inhabitants call Stalbridge Weston, that is five *familiarum*'.[123]

Such usage of *familiarum* is therefore clearly comparable to the Latin terms *mansae, cassatae,* and *tributarii* discussed above. By emphasising the purpose of the land as a means of producing sustenance and income for the populace, this goes some way to explaining one of the central issues when considering the terms of assessment: a portion of flat, fertile land in a favourable area would

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[120] T. Miller, ed., *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People,* The Early English Text Society 95 & 96 (London, 1890), 56–7.

[121] London, British Library, Add. 15350, f. 33r–v.

[122] London, British Library, Add. 15350, f. 113r. H. P. R. Finberg attributes the use of *familiarum* in S258 and S259, both composed in AD 749 for Cuthred, king of the West Saxons (r. 740–56), to the scribes having read the *Historia Ecclesiastica,* owing to the phrase's absence from any other extant, contemporary source. *Agrarian History,* 413. *PASE:* 'Cuthred 7'.

[123] London, British Library, Add. 46487, ff. 12r–13v.

be able to yield a greater amount of crops than a steep, rocky or waterlogged area of equal size. As such, the 'measure of land considered adequate for the support of one household' would necessarily be larger in the low-yield area, in order to provide the same level of food or income.

This therefore seems to challenge the concept of *mansa, hida* and other terms as indicative of standardised units, but need not: whilst these do not conform to a universal numerical assessment, its foundation in the family unit remained consistent, so that the area of land itself is not assessed numerically, but rather its yield (and thus the number of families it can support). As early as the time of Diocletian (r. 284–305), the payment of *tributum* (land-tax) could be made at least partially in produce, giving historical precedent to the direct equation between productivity as a quantifiable resource, and the household as a taxable unit; the Laws of Ine likewise stipulate the 'food-rent' due per estate of ten *hida,*[124] forming the predecessor of a system which would endure throughout (and beyond) the Anglo-Saxon period with the payment of *feorm,* 'provisions given (by an estate) to a person or institution as a levy, food-rent, fixed contribution of food'.[125] This bottom-up method of dividing the land according to the needs of the community dependent upon it demonstrates a fundamental understanding of the land itself, in a way that standardised numerical assessment does not.

There is little contemporary evidence for the quantitative size of each unit of measurement, with the shift to a standardised area value for each unit developing over time, as even those units which are usually applied to distance rather than area show variation in their quantitative value: for example, the *pes / pedes* represents variously twelve, fifteen or sixteen inches, although the first is the most common.[126] The problem of measurement variation is acknowledged in the law-code issued by King Edgar (r.959–975) 'And there shall be one system of measurement, and one standard of

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[124] Laws of Ine 70.1: 'As a food-rent from 10 *hida*: 10 vats of honey, 300 loaves, 12 'ambers' of Welsh ale, 30 of clear ale, 2 full-grown cows, or 10 wethers, 10 geese, 20 hens, 10 cheeses, an 'amber' full of butter, 5 salmon, 20 pounds of fodder and 100 eels'. D. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents, c. 500–1042,* 2nd edn. (London, 1996), 407.

[125] *DOE: s.v. feorm,* sense 1c. Finberg, *Agrarian History,* 400.

[126] *DMLBS: s.v. pes.*

weights, such as is in use in London and in Winchester',[127] illustrating that standardisation had not been implemented even by the later tenth century. This is supported by the use of multiple terms apparently interchangeably within a single diploma: in the *tributarius* diploma S116, King Offa of Mercia grants a total of thirty–five *tributariorum iugera*, comprising four separate estates, assessed at five *manentes,* ten *cassatae,* ten *mansiones,* and ten *manentes* respectively:[128]

> *hoc est · Teottingtun qui situs est iuxta riuulum [**fluuium**] quod nuncupatur [**uocatur**] Cærent · V · manentium ; huic adiacet uiculus qui nominatur æt Uuassanburnan[129] qui habet ab oriente uadum qui dicitur **æt** Geolwaforde · et ab occidente fontanum quod nominatur Gytingbroc · X · cassatorum ; tertius uiculus est in monte quem nominant incola [**qui dicitur**] mons Huuicciorum æt Codesuuellan æque · X · mansionum; et quartus uiculus hoc est Norðtun · X · manentium iuxta riuulum qui nuncupatur Tyrl*
>
> 'that is five *manentes* at Teddington which is located next to the stream [**river**] which is named [called] called Cærent; ten *cassatae* in the adjacent village which is named Little Washbourne which has to the east a ford which is called **at** *Geoluuaford,* and to the west a spring which is named *Gytingbroc;* an equal ten *mansiones* in the third village Cutsdean which is in the mountain which is called by the inhabitants [**which is called**] the Mountain of the Hwicce*;* and ten *manentes* at the fourth village this is Bredons Norton next to the stream which is known as the *Tyrl*'.

Were the various terms used for the individual estates' assessments truly intended to reflect different systems of measurement, it would therefore not be possible to reconcile these to provide a cumulative total in this way. For example, if the individual assessments of S116 were given in miles (5+10+10+10 = 35 miles), but the cumulative total in kilometres (namely, two functionally comparable systems of distance measurement), this would equate to 56.3 kilometres, demonstrating the systems to be incompatible. By contrast, the individual assessments of the charter text, despite the variation in terms, add up to the same total as given in *tributarii* ('seven times five' = 35), demonstrating these terms to be considered analogous. Clearly, by AD 780 (the charter's purported date of the production), these terms were all considered to be equivalent, as the individual

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[127] III Edgar 8.1.

[128] The two variant manuscript copies of S116 are represented in the above extract: text in bold can be found in the Nero–Middleton Cartulary but not in the *Liber Wigorniensis,* whilst text which is underlined can be found in the *Liber Wigorniensis* but not in the Nero–Middleton Cartulary. Plain text is common to both manuscript copies. The significance of this textual variation is discussed in the 'Diplomas of the Mercian Supremacy' section of Part Two.

[129] The place name is rendered as *Wasseburne* by the Nero–Middleton scribe.

assessments correctly add up to the overall total, despite being given in four different units. In order for this diploma to be functional, the appraisal of these estates had to be accurate and demonstrable, so this equivalence must have been recognised sufficiently widely for this to be viable.

Similarly, in S70, the dispositive clause states *id est · ccc · tributariorum at Gleaweceasore Osrico, et altera similiter · ccc · cassatorum at Pershoram, hoc est, ut Osric acciperet illud obe Gleaweceasdre, Oswald etiam et Pershoram haberet,* 'that is 300 *tributariorii* at Gloucester to Osric, and second, likewise 300 *cassatae* at Pershore, that is, in order that Osric should receive that at Gloucester, and Oswald will also have Pershore', where *similiter* together with the identical figure of 300 [units] implies the express purpose of the brothers benefitting equally, in which case the units *tributarii* and *cassatae* must be interchangeable. The choice of term, therefore, appears to be somewhat at the discretion of the scribe, so that 'if a clerk has to describe several different tenements, he will write *manentes* in one clause and *cassatae* in the next, merely because a repetition of the same term would be inelegant'.[130] The variation of terms for stylistic effect, not only in units of measurement but also, for example, verbs of attestation in diploma witness-lists, becomes particularly prominent in the late tenth-century, as discussed in the 'Tenth-Century Anomalies' section of Part Two.

There has been a great deal of debate surrounding the actual area of land represented by each term, and how these interact with each other. Vinogradoff offers the following assessment:

> 1 *hid* = land cultivable by an eight-oxen plough-team
> 1 *uirgatus* = one-quarter hide, or a two-oxen team 'contributed by the holder to the full plough-team'
> 1 *oxgang* = one-eighth hide, or one ox.[131]

This assessment, though plausible, cites only undated records of Glastonbury and Evesham, which give a *uirgatus* as forty *æceras,* and a *hid* as 160 *æceras.* By contrast, the non-*tributarius* diploma S1483 (the will of a certain Ælfgar),[132] more closely dateable to 946 × 951, states *And ic Athelgar an an hide lond þes þe Aeulf hauede be hundtuelti acren,* 'I [grant] to Æthelgar a *hid* of 120 *æceras* of land which Aeulf

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[130] Maitland, *Domesday Book,* 359.

[131] P. Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England: Essays in English Medieval History* (Oxford, 1892), 238. *DOE: s.v. hīd.*

[132] D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills,* ed. H. D. Hazeltine (Cambridge, 2011), 8–9.

held', offering a significantly different equivalence to the records Vinogradoff cites. Regarding the interpretation of the Domesday assessment of Middlesex, M. Sharp offers the equivalence that 'the *centuria* of 50 *jugera*, with its known area of 31.158 acres, was identical with the *virgate* of the Saxon period'.[133]

Whilst this variation could be attributed to changes in assessment over time, the assumption that terms such as *mansae* and *hida* represented a standardised area of land does not take into account the distribution of 'appurtenances', namely, land bearing natural resources which could be utilised in any sense besides arable. Seven of the *tributarius* diplomas include reference to such appurtenances: fields, meadows, pastures, woodlands, hills, rivers, streams, springs, fisheries, and the right to catch birds are all presented as features which may be found within the portion of land being granted, and are thus bestowed under the terms of the same grant:

> S43: *cum totis ad eam pertinentibus in campis in siluis montanis pascuis piscariis* 'with all things pertaining to them, fields, woods, hills, pastures, and meadows'.
> S47: *cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus, campis, pratis, fluminibus,* 'with all its appurtenances, fields, meadows, rivers'.
> S48: *cum totis ad eam pertinentibus rebus, campis, siluis, pratis, fluminibus, fontanis, et siluaticia*, 'with all things pertaining to it, fields, woods, meadows, rivers, springs, and woodlands'.
> S53: *cum campis syluisque cum piscariis pratisque et cum omnibus […]aris quæ ad eam sunt pertinentia,* 'with fields, woods, fisheries and meadows and with all […] appurtenances which (belong) to it'.
> S526: *cum omnibus ad se rite pertinentibus, campis, pascuis, pratis, riuulis,* 'with all that lawfully pertains to it, fields, pastures, meadows, streams'.
> S874: *id est, in campis seu pascuis, pratis nec ne robore siluis*, 'that is, in fields and pastures, meadows nor even the solid woodlands'.
> S1183: *cum omnibus ad eam iure pertinentibus rebus, campis, siluis, pascuariis, aucupiis,* 'with all things lawfully pertaining to it, fields, woods, pastures, and the right to catch birds'.

A further two diplomas recognise the presence of appurtenances without any further specification: S892 (*cum omnibus bonis ad illam terram rite pertinentibus*, 'with all good things which lawfully pertain to it') and S1291 (*cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus,* 'with all things pertaining thereto'). Such natural resources constituted a significant boon in addition to cultivated crops, through the direct provision

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[133] M. Sharp, 'Centuriation in Middlesex', *The English Historical Review* 33 (1918), 491.

of raw materials, game, and fodder for livestock:[134] this is highlighted by a unique reservation clause included in the non-*tributarius* diploma S54,[135] dated AD 706, in which Æthelweard, sub-king of the Hwicce, granted land to Ecgwine, bishop of Worcester, free of all public dues (*omni publico uectigali*), except for *si quando in insula eidem ruri pertinente prouentus copiosior glandis acciderit; uni solummodo gregi porcorum faginæ pastus regi concederetur,* 'whenever the island belonging to that same estate should produce an unusually large crop of acorns, beechmast sufficient for one herd of swine should be reserved to the king'.

Indeed, phrases detailing the right to these appurtenances are somewhat formulaic in appearance, tending to employ the same terms in a similar order despite differing dates and locations of production, although these did not become formularised to the point of rote. This seems, both textually and literally, to form a counterpoint to the *trinoda necessitas,* 'Three Common Burdens' to which all land was subject, unless given explicit dispensation: in this way, the right to access these appurtenances can be viewed as a common privilege.[136] For example, as the land granted in *tributarius* diploma S47 measures only 0.5 *tributarii* (of arable land, following the discussion above), it seems unlikely that an area this small would itself encompass 'fields, meadows, [and] rivers', but instead, tenancy of this land gives the beneficiary the right to access these resources as are available to the surrounding community. Pasture land in particular would have been considered an invaluable shared resource, as this would provide for the team of oxen necessary for the ploughing of cultivable land: each household would not possess their own plough-team, but rather could contribute an animal to the team in exchange for their service, so that the burden and reward were both shared by the community.[137] As shared resources such as this are difficult to assess per household, the generalised phrasing of the appurtenance clauses thereby acknowledges the

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[134] These are discussed at length by Finberg, *Agrarian History*, 402–10.

[135] London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian B. XXIV, ff. 25v–26v (s. xii).

[136] The 'Three Common Burdens' are also discussed in relation to the *tributarius* diploma S230 of the 'Selsey–Canterbury Group' in Part Two.

[137] Maitland, *Domesday Book*, 388; similarly, Finberg, *Agrarian History*, 411.

landholder's right to access, and obligation to maintain, these resources without need for the same specificity as included in the assessment of arable land. Furthermore, when such appurtenances were conveyed via diploma, the civilians already engaged in working that land would implicitly be conveyed along with it, providing the manpower necessary to harness its resources on behalf of the new owner.[138] Whilst not explicitly linked, this harkens back to the origins of terms such as the Imperial *tributarius* and the *hiwisc* of Bede, which once signified both the land and the people it supported.

When delineating the boundary encompassing the estate being disposed of (in order to identify its location and extent) there are references – infrequent, but consistent in content – to the physical walking or riding of the perimeter in order to record its features. These references tend to occur within the vernacular portion of the diploma, providing context for the boundary clause which resulted from the perambulation, and so predominantly date from the tenth century onwards, when such vernacular components became commonplace. For example, the vernacular document S1441 records a petition made in AD 896 by Bishop Wærferth of Worcester, before the Mercian council, to restore to his community the woodland at Woodchester, which had previously been granted to them in perpetuity by King Æthelbald (presumably by royal charter), now alienated by inhabitants of the neighbouring settlements.[139] In order to prove Worcester's ownership of the land, Wærferth was able to produce *þam aldan bocum*, 'the old charters', to support his claim. Although the nature of these charters is not specified, they can be assumed to include the original charter of King Æthelbald. It is altogether likely that this charter is still extant: S103 is a charter of Æthelbald dated 716×745, which grants 3 *cassatae* of woodland at Woodchester to the church of St Peter, Worcester. This charter includes Latin bounds in the form of cardinal points, but also names additional settlements to the west, perhaps showing some development from the earliest, most perfunctory

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[138] Foot, *Monastic Life*, 93.

[139] Preserved on folios 43r–44r of the *Liber Wigorniensis* (London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. XIII, ff. 1–118). London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. XIII, 'Hemming's Cartulary' c. 1016 and c. 1096, Worcester. Contents: two cartularies (c.1016 and c. 1096); homily (s.xi eulogy of Bishop Wulfstan II + * (s. xi ex.). *GL*, 292.

styles.[140] Furthermore, the evidence was not simply consulted by the council, but the boundary clause actually perambulated: *7 heht his geneat Ecglaf hatte ridan mid Ceastersetna preoste Pulfhun hatte · 7 be hine þa gelædde ealle þa gemæru spa he him of þam aldan bocum rædde hu hit ær Æþelbald cyning gemærude 7 · gesealde,* 'And he [Æthelwold] ordered his *geneat* [?yeoman], whose name was Ecglaf, to ride with a priest from *Ceastersetna* named Wulfhun; and he was led by him along all the boundaries, as he [Wulfhun] read to him [Ecglaf] from the old charters, how it had been made known and granted previously by King Æthelbald'.

The prose vernacular boundary clause, with its repetitious and rather stilted style, was designed specifically to aid in the circumnavigation of the estate bounds. The first unimpeachable occurrence of perambulatory bounds composed in Old English is in S298, a charter of King Æthelwulf of Wessex, dated AD 847 (for 846).[141] Whilst Latin prose bounds, more detailed than the early cardinal point references, did occur both in England and on the Continent prior to this date, the narrative vernacular boundary clause appears to be a distinctly Anglo-Saxon development.[142] Indeed, when perambulatory vernacular bounds are found in contemporary Continental diplomas, these tend to have been produced at houses with strong West Saxon links, suggesting a reversal in the direction of scribal influence from the sixth and seventh centuries. As in S1441 cited above, references to physical surveys of the bounds indicate that such detailed descriptions would guide surveyors literally step by step, in a language intelligible to all present: whilst Wulfhun the priest was likely able to read both Latin and Old English, Ecglaf the *geneat* may have been entirely illiterate, but obviously able to speak and understand the vernacular, hence the stated dictation (but no translation) of the bounds.[143] Boundary features are presented as a narrative account of a perambulation, usually taking the form of 'from A to B, then from B to C, along C until D' until the entire estate has been traced, whilst the features themselves are occasionally varied by use of

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[140] S103, *eSawyer*.

[141] Example cited by Gallagher, 'The Vernacular', 230.

[142] Clark, 'The West Saxon boundary clause', 90–1.

[143] Tinti, 'Latin and Germanic', 3.

compounds and simplexes to alleviate the otherwise repetitious prose (for example, in the phrases *to hæahhwellan of þam wyllan,* 'to the high spring, from the spring' and *þæt on hreodbroce of þam broce,* 'then to the reedy brook, from the brook' from the bounds of *tributarius* diploma S892, *hæahhwellan* becomes *þam wyllan* upon repetition, and *hreodbroce* becomes *þam broce*).

This case clearly demonstrates the rationale behind formulating the boundary clause as a continuous list of observable features, in order to guide such a perambulation. This also proves the practical function of the boundary clause in the settlement of disputes, enabling the identification of that specific estate and thereby refuting any claims by the opposing parties to land falling within the border thus delineated.[144] The boundary clauses of the earliest charters would have less practical application in a case such as this as, although sufficient to identify the general location of an estate, by their very nature cardinal points provide no descriptive detail for the boundary extending between them: returning to the example of S8, the estate thus granted is recorded simply as *terram · in Tenid · que appellatur · Uuestan,* 'the land in Thanet which is called Westan', lacking any details as to its size or boundary features. Such details must necessarily have been announced or at least agreed orally during the formal act of granting the land, as alluded to in the dispositive section by the phrase *iuxta notissimos terminos a me demonstratus et procuratoribus meis,* 'in conformity with its very well-known boundaries pointed out by me [Hlothhere, King of Kent] and my *procuratores* [?reeves]'.

In both S8 and S1441, the overall size of the land in question is not specified (in the case of the latter, perhaps due to the existence of the original grant including such operative details, together with the bounds). This contrasts with the non-*tributarius* diploma S567, recording a grant of land made in AD 955 by King Eadred to Abbot Æthelwold,[145] the prose vernacular boundary clause of which concludes with the phrase *ðys twentigum hidum, ða ic sylf stundum gerad stundum gereow,*[146] *ond rumoðlice gescarode me sylfum ond minum foregengum ond eftyrgengum,* 'these twenty *hida,* that I myself

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144 D. Hooke, *The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1998), 90.

145 London, British Library, Cotton Claudius B. VI, ff. 33r–34v; an earlier version of the bounds alone is preserved in London, British Library, Cotton Claudius C. IX, ff. 105–203, f. 196r.

146 The alliterative pairing of *stundum gerad stundum gereow* and first-person narration seem to emulate the poetic style of of the Latin prose preceding it, which is typical of the latter half of the tenth century.

sometimes rode over, sometimes rowed, and graciously granted for myself and my ancestors and descendants': here, the size of the estate is presented in summary of the extensive list of boundary features, effectively providing all available means of identifying the land thus granted. However, although we have documentary evidence of the manner in which the boundary details were acquired (via perambulation and subsequent committal to writing), there are no comparable records of the process by which estate size was calculated. This is particularly pertinent when considering the nature of the land being granted, and therefore how this impacts upon the term(s) used in its assessment.

As such, it is apparent that prior to the adoption of diplomas as a means of recording land transfer in an Anglo-Saxon context, a number of both Latin and Old-English units of assessment had been in circulation, each having at its core a specific concept, be this an agricultural practice, a societal norm or an administrative function, dependent on origin. Over time, these original nuances were lost, expedited by the amalgamation of Church and secular systems, and the necessity of finding equivalence between them. In this way, although the units *hida* and *mansae, sulung* and *aratra*, *gyrda* and *uirgatae* were not initially identical to each other, their common meanings led to the units, and therefore the area of land they denote, being interchangeable. This was not only a consequence of language, but also of regionality, where the consolidation of the hitherto disparate Anglo-Saxon kingdoms likewise necessitated the harmonising of regional systems and terminology based on dialect, as demonstrated by the distribution of such terms throughout the surviving archives.

1.5: Distribution of Terms

Throughout the Anglo-Saxon diplomatic corpus, sixteen different Latin terms and seven Old English measurement terms are used, seemingly interchangeably, to denote areas of land. These vary drastically in frequency of use, with some exhibiting trends or 'clusters' in usage, both geographically (being found predominantly in the archives of certain scriptoria) and temporally. In order to produce the following data, every extant Anglo-Saxon diploma (regardless of assessment as original or copy, authentic or spurious, whole or fragmentary) has been appraised and the term(s), if any, used to quantify the land being disposed of noted, together with the language(s) of the surrounding text, and details of the diploma's purported date of production and archive in which it was preserved: the resulting concordance can be found in the appendix. Of the 1,932 diplomas extant in some form, 640 do not contain a unit of area measurement. This may be due to the nature of the transaction they record (such as the grant of privileges not pertaining to land, or the confirmation of an earlier land-grant without restating its terms) or the state of their preservation.

The Glastonbury archive is particularly problematic in this respect, as a significant proportion of the archive was lost and the texts not copied or published in full: 116 of the 177 known diplomas from the Glastonbury archive are recorded only as notes in an archival summary list, the *Index Chartarum*. Identified almost universally as 'charters', their language is not specified, and what measurements are included are in *hida*, although the perfunctory nature of these notes suggests that *hida* may have been given for simplicity, rather than accuracy, thereby obscuring the original units employed.[147] By contrast, many Anglo-Saxon diplomas contain multiple units, be this a consequence of variation of Latin terms within the same grant, or the text being bilingual (using a Latin term in the main text and an equivalent Old English term in the vernacular bounds or endorsement). This form of bilingualism is exhibited by *tributarius* diploma S874, where the dispositive clause describes the land thus granted as *·xv. tributaria in eo loco cui solicolae scibile Wudatun appellamen indiderunt*, 'fifteen *tributarii* in that place to which the denizens of the land gave the known appellation Wootton St

[147] The pre-Conquest archival material of Glastonbury is surveyed by L. Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury: Church and Endowment* (Woodbridge, 1996).

Lawrence', whilst the vernacular endorsement reads *Ðis is ðara ·xv. hida boc æt Wudatune*, 'This is the charter of the fifteen *hida* at Wootton St Lawrence'.

Fig. 2: Number of occurrences of Latin and Old English terms

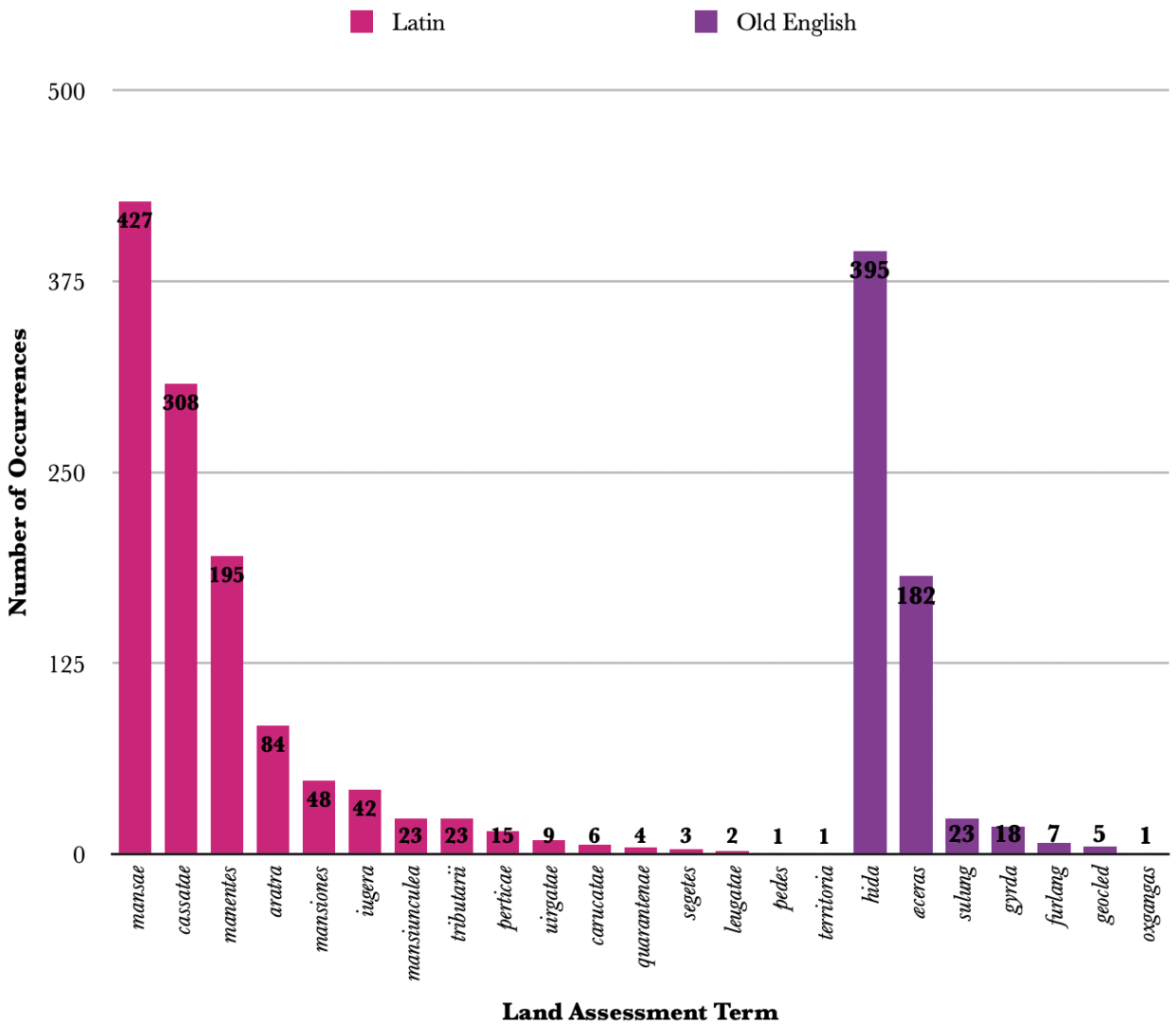

Figure 2 above shows the number of occurrences of each term within the diplomatic corpus, separated into Latin and Old English (denoted by pink and purple respectively). Each diploma in which a particular term is found is classed as one occurrence, regardless of whether the term is repeated within the same document; when multiple different terms occur within the same diploma, it counts as one occurrence of each term, hence the cumulative total of all land assessment terms being higher than the total number of diplomas in the corpus. This method of data collection and presentation therefore imposes limitations on the scope of inquiries possible to undertake (in particular, the difficulty in isolating those diplomas containing multiple terms without already having

a target term to begin with), but is more than adequate for the present investigation, and provides a solid base for future work. It is immediately apparent that both languages have a dominant term, these being *mansae* (at 427 instances, or 36% of all Latin measurements) and *hida* (at 395 instances, or 63% of all vernacular assessments) respectively, with a variety of uncommon or infrequently used terms occurring in only a handful of diplomas. The distribution of these terms can be considered both temporally, via the date range within which diplomas containing a term (or terms) purport to have been, or were actually, produced; and geographically, by the archives in which diplomas containing a term are preserved, or likely originated from.

Let us consider the Old English term *sulung*, which demonstrates the strongest geographical clustering of any vernacular term: all but one of the twenty-three diplomas occur within Kentish archives (sixteen at Christ Church, Canterbury; five at Rochester; and one each at Crowland and New Minster, Winchester, with the latter still being a southern house, but outside of Kent), and predominantly date to (or purport to have been issued in) the ninth and tenth centuries. The strong regionality of the vernacular *sulung* could be explained as a consequence of dialect, but no other Old English term exhibits a similarly localised use: *geocled* is likewise restricted to Kent, with all five examples occurring within diplomas preserved at the Christ Church, Canterbury archive, but this small sample size is difficult to extrapolate as a case study.

This restricted geographical distribution is, however, mirrored by that of the Latin term *aratrum* (also literally 'plough' and, by extension, 'plough-land'),[148] with which is was commonly equated: of its eighty-four occurrences, forty-six are preserved at Christ Church, Canterbury (five of these originating from Lyminge and two from Reculver); twenty at St Augustine's, Canterbury (three of these originating from Minster-in-Thanet and one from Reculver); and sixteen from Rochester. Only two occurrences of *aratra* come from archives outside of Kent, with one example each from Malmesbury and Worcester, both in Mercia. Whilst the effects of regional dialect could feasibly contribute to the geographical clustering of Old English terms, the same is not true of Latin terms,

[148] *DMLBS: s.v. aratrum*, sense 1c; this is discussed fully in the 'Anglo-Saxon Land Assessment' section above.

which should not exhibit the same rarefaction as the spoken (and written) vernacular: instead, Latin terms exhibit differences in term of register and form. In this instance, the close correlation between the distribution of *sulung* and *aratra,* coupled with their shared etymology, suggests that the terms were considered directly equivalent between the two languages, in a way that, for example, *sulung* and *mansae* (the latter being derived from Roman Imperial terminology for a house or dwelling) would not be.[149] It would therefore follow that a pre-existing vernacular system of land assessment employing the term *sulung* was translated into *aratra* for the purposes of Latin diplomatic composition, with the translation noted within the text for clarification.

This distinct regionality also has practical repercussions, with a number of the *sulung* diplomas offering an insight into the assimilation of two different but concurrent administrative systems.[150] In the early ninth century, owing to the expansion of Mercian overlordship, King Coenwulf of Mercia (r. 796–821) was seen to grant portions of land in Kent, with two royal charters surviving in authentic, genuine manuscript form. The superscription of the earliest charter, S161 (dated to AD 805),[151] reads *Ego Coenuulfus ex donis Dei rex Merciorum simul etiam et Cuðredus rex Cantuuariorum,* 'I Coenwulf, by the gifts of God king of the Mercians, and likewise also Cuðred king of the Kentish people', according primacy to Coenwulf, but maintaining the position of the native ruler Cuðred as a king in his own right. By AD 812 however, Coenwulf is presented as sole ruler in S169,[152] being styled *gloriosissimi Merciorum regis*, 'most glorious king of the Mercians' with no mention or attestation of a Kentish ruler, showing the subjugation of Kent on a political level.[153] Despite this, there is continuity between the charters: in S161, the kings jointly grant two *manentes* at *Sueordhlincas* (Swarling) and one *mansiuncula* at *Ecgheanng lond* to the priest Wulfhard, *beate memoriae Aeðelheardi*

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[149] Vinogradoff offers the equivalence of 4 *iuga* / *iugera* = 1 *sulung,* and therefore also presumably 4 *iugera* = 1 *aratra.* 'Sulung and Hide', *The English Historical Review* 19 (1904), 283.

[150] Clark describes pre–800 Mercia, Wessex, Kent and Northumbria as 'unique cultural zones, with distinctive local practices'. 'The West Saxon boundary clause', 70.

[151] London, British Library, Stowe Charters 9.

[152] Canterbury, D.C., C 1278.

[153] S169 is attested by a *Cuðredi presbyteri,* 'Cuðred, priest', but there is no reason to identify this individual with the former king.

arhciepiscopi famulo deuoto, 'devoted servant of Archbishop Æðelheard of blessed memory', whilst in S169, the same land is returned to Coenwulf in exchange for a comparably-sized estate elsewhere in Kent.

Irrespective of the changed political dynamic, both charters assess the land primarily in *manentes* and *mansiunculae,* followed by a conversion of the units into *ritu Saxonica* or *ritu Cantiae,* 'the manner or custom of the Saxons or Kentish', which are then given in *sulung* and *geocled.* Furthermore, these charters demonstrate that the Kentish terms were not merely vernacular alternatives to the more prevalent *manentes* and *mansiunculae,* but actually represented an independent system of measurement based upon different metrics where, at this point in time, two *manentes* were considered to be equivalent to one *sulung*, thereby necessitating conversion between systems, whilst *mansiunculae* and *geocled* appear to be functionally comparable, as the numeric figures are not altered between units.[154] The dispositive section of S161 reads:

> *aliquam in Cantia partiunculam terræ hoc est duorum manentium ubi Sueordhlincas uocitantur · iuxta distributionem suarum utique terrarum ritu Saxonica an sulung seu in alia loco mediam partem unius mansiunculae id est an geocled ubi ab incolis Ecgheanng lond appellatur.*
> 'a certain piece of land in Kent, that is two *manentes* at the place called Swarling, according to the custom of the Saxons about the distribution of their lands, is certainly one *sulung* [at] *Seu,* in another place the middle portion of one *mansiuncula* that is one *geocled* at the place the inhabitants call ?Iken'.

Likewise, the dispositive section of S169:

> *aliquam terrae partiunculam · hoc est duarum manentium in loco ubi Sueord hlincas uocitantur iuxta distributionem suarum utique terrarum ritu Cantiae an sulung dictum Seu in alio loco mediam partem unius mansiunculae id est an ioclet ab incolis ibi Ecgheang lond appellatur.*
> 'a certain piece of land, that is two *manentes* at the place called Swarling, according to the custom of the Kentish about the distribution of their lands, one *sulung* called *Seu*, in another place the middle portion of one *mansiuncula* that is one *ioclet (geocled)* at the place the inhabitants call ?Iken'.

Some light can perhaps be shed on this by considering the etymology of the various land assessment terms, as *manentes* originally referred to the inhabitants of the *mansa,* and is thus derived from the

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[154] This equivalence is also discussed by Vinogradoff, 'Sulung and Hide', 284.

system of assessing land by the number of households it could theoretically support, whereas *sulung* is derived from agricultural practices and thus based on the plough-length, as discussed previously.

Notably, five of the extant diplomas to use the term *sulung* are composed entirely in Old English: in these, *sulung* is the only term used, with smaller increments being measured as fractions (for example, in S1482, *an half swulung,* 'half a *sulung*') rather than employing another vernacular term such as *geocled* in the examples above (in the manner of 'half a foot' as opposed to 'six inches'), with no conversion given to Latin units or another vernacular system. Exclusive use of the vernacular could reflect the nature of these diplomas, being two bequests, two personal wills, and one record of a legal dispute, demonstrating a narrower or more informal purpose than a royal grant or bequest more befitting of Latin prose.[155] By the mid-tenth century, the Kentish system is still recognised as linguistically distinct, but this has ceased to have an administrative function: in S512 (dated AD 943), King Edmund (r. 939–46) grants land of *VI · mansas quod Cantigene dicunt · VI · sulunga,* 'six *mansae,* which is said by the Kentish to be six *sulung*', the same phrase being repeated in S497 (AD 944), another charter of Edmund, and S535 (AD 948), issued by his successor King Eadred (r. 946–55), all of which were preserved in original single-sheet form within the Christ Church, Canterbury archive.[156]

In addition to geographic clustering caused by the more frequent use of certain land assessment terms at particular scriptoria (and thus preserved in the archives of that house), patterns of usage can also be seen to arise temporally. The clearest of these is the use of Old English terms, as their occurrences in the diplomatic corpus proliferate with the inclusion of prose vernacular boundary clauses, which do not regularly or reliably appear in the archival record until the latter half of the ninth century; indeed, the inclusion of prose vernacular bounds in those diplomas which profess to have been issued at an earlier date is often indicative of interpolation or forgery. Prior to this form of boundary clause, Old English land assessment terms tend to occur as endorsements,

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[155] These diplomas are are S1188 (AD 805×810–815), S1482 (AD 833×839), S1195 (c. AD 850), S1211 (c. AD 959), and S1472 (AD 1044×1045).

[156] These are London, British Library, Stowe Charters 24; London, British Library, Stowe Charters 25; and London, British Library, Stowe Charters 26 respectively.

contemporary or retrospective, summarising the operative details of the diploma, and often subsumed into the main text via copying and subsequent transmission. This is demonstrated repeatedly in the *Liber Wigorniensis* cartulary, where endorsements and marginal notes, including the identities of lessees subsequent to the original recipient of the tenure, have been amalgamated into the main text. The grants by King Coenwulf mentioned above are a notable exception, reinforcing the significance of their assimilation of vernacular Kentish and Latin (Mercian) systems of assessment. Furthermore, the type of document undoubtedly influenced which language was appropriate to employ. From the earliest extant authentic, original diplomas such as the Hlothhere charter S8, it is apparent that these documents were treated reverentially both as a manifestation of the king's power, and a symbol of the Church's landed possessions, demonstrating that the named estate had been devoted to religious purposes,[157] hence their language and presentation being reminiscent of contemporary biblical codices (see discussion of S8 above).

By contrast, the adoption of writs in the closing decades of the tenth century as a more informal (being missives directly from the king, rather than a document ratified by assembly),[158] but no less authoritative form of royal correspondence came to somewhat replace the production of diplomas in a number of instances: indeed, Domesday book refers to the *brevis et sigillum,* 'brief and sealed' missives (i.e. writs) of King Edward, rather than to the *carta* or *privilegium.*[159] These frequently perfunctory documents are overwhelmingly written in the vernacular, with only twenty of the 129 extant writs being composed wholly in Latin, and a further twenty being bilingual to some extent. 'Fully' bilingual writs comprise the same text written in both Old English and Latin (seemingly being translated and copied verbatim), whilst others are written predominantly in one language but contain phrases, usually land assessment terms, topographical features and place-names in the other: these are indicated in the appendix. Functionally, fifteen of these constitute a bequest (confirmation of a posthumous grant); fifty take the form of a charter (granting land directly to a named recipient,

[157] Stenton, *Latin Charters,* 31.

[158] Woodman, *The First King of England,* 70.

[159] F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester, 1952), 37.

to be held in perpetuity); whilst fifty-two convey privileges (including, but not limited to, freedom from or ability to collect specified dues and taxes), all functions which had hitherto been carried out exclusively by charter. However, they lack many of the set textual features characteristic of formal charters, omitting the invocation, proem, sanction and witness-list (instead being authenticated by the seal of the sender),[160] thereby becoming essentially secular and significantly more direct.

The function of the remaining twelve writs is difficult to categorise, with some being simply notes of intent to carry out an action, such as S946, a writ of King Æthelred dated AD 984×1001,[161] declaring that a certain piece of land measuring one *hid* is 'to be assessed for the discharge of all the obligations upon it'. This writ thereby records an interim stage in the process of land assessment, rather than the initial royal grant or the confirmation of pertinent privileges or obligations. This example likewise highlights the difference in prose style between the royal charter proper and that used for composing these royal missives, opening with a personal greeting by the king (the equivalent of the formal Latin third-person epistolary opening) before lapsing into the first person, as in King Alfred's Preface to the Old English Pastoral Care: *Ælfred kyning hatեð gretan Wærferð biscep his wordum luflice ond freondlice; ond ðe cyðan hate ðæt me com swiðe oft on gemynd,* 'King Alfred bids that Bishop Wærferth be greeted lovingly and in friendship with his words; and bids you to know that it comes very often to my mind'. The opening lines of S946 read:

> *Æþelred cynig gret Ælfric ealdorman ond Wulmær. ond Æþelweard ond ealle þa þegenas on Hamtunscire. frunlice. ond ic cyþe þe ond eow eallum þæt Ælfheah biscop sende to me þæs landes boc æt Ciltancumbe. ond ic hi let redan ætforan me.*
> 'King Æthelred greets with friendship *ealdorman* Ælfric and Wulmær and Æthelweard and all the *þegns* of Hampshire, and I announce to him and to all of you that Bishop Ælfheah sent to me the land-book (charter) of Chilcomb and I had him read it before me'.

Whilst the use of vernacular land-assessment terms is to be expected in documents composed in vernacular prose, such as wills and royal writs, and the presence of such terms in vernacular boundary clauses as a counterpart to the preceding Latin text, the occasional use of vernacular

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[160] Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, 35.

[161] S946, *eSawyer*.

terms in otherwise wholly Latin diplomas is less simple to rationalise. Where endorsements are present, these have also been indicated in the appendix, and can usually account for anomalous instances of Old English terms occurring in Latin texts. Unfortunately the method of data gathering used for this survey does not distinguish which portion of the diploma a particular term occurs in, as this can usually be inferred from context (for example, Latin terms in the Latin prose dispositive section, Old English terms in the vernacular bounds), although this is not infallible. The 75 detached bounds are, however, problematic in this way as, despite being classed as individual diplomas for the purposes of this survey, they are more difficult to assess as they may be incorrectly associated with another diploma (be this extant or lost) or duplicate records of bounds from extant diplomas (produced via translation or emendation), and as such have complex transmission histories which render them difficult to extract useful data from. They exhibit an admixture of vernacular terms in Latin prose, but also in two instances (non-*tributarius* S1542 and S1567) use only Latin terms in Old English prose bounds.

This pattern is likewise seen in the approximately fifty-one surviving Anglo-Saxon wills, where only seven are composed entirely in Latin; five are to some degree bilingual; and a further two appear to contain elements of Middle English alongside Old English. The preponderance of the vernacular in these documents likely reflects the fact that they were intended to be read aloud to the beneficiaries, representing a declaration on behalf of the testator, therefore needing to be intelligible to the assembled.[162] Half of these (twenty-six wills) dispose of land: of the four Latin wills to include land assessment terminology, two of these (S1497 and S1503a) actually use the Old English *hida* within the Latin prose, rather than a Latin equivalent. The two other Latin wills to include land assessment terms are S1206, which uses *cassatae* and *manentes,* and S1217, which uses *cassatae* and *mansae.* The remainder of these wills employ a mixture of terms in both languages comparable to the detached bounds. None of the extant wills predate the ninth century, with the majority dating to the tenth and early eleventh century. Although the rate of survival for later diplomas is necessarily

[162] Gallagher, 'The Vernacular', 212.

much higher than those from the early Anglo-Saxon period, this proliferation further suggests that the technology of document production had become more widespread and accessible to wealthy laypeople, as opposed to the preserve of Church and State. In this way, the purpose of the document (as a practical instruction for the reader, or an inviolate record for posterity) and status of the manuscript itself (for immediate use or reference, or to be archived for future necessity) dictate the style and language in which the text was composed, and thus inform the land assessment terminology employed.

A further theme influencing the distribution of terminology is that of archival preservation and reuse. Considering the diplomatic corpus as it stands, the disproportionately small number of documents originating from houses located north of the Humber (two diplomas each from Beverley, East Yorkshire, and Ripon, North Yorkshire; and twelve from York itself) is testament to the impact that destruction of archival material has upon the data, and therefore limits the conclusions it is possible to draw in regards to documentary practices from this area. It is safe to assume that houses such as York and Wearmouth–Jarrow would at one time have possessed ample archives, but that these were lost primarily as a consequence of Viking incursions, the brunt of which were borne by the Northumbrian coast from the late eighth century, with the first recorded attack on a monastery being *earmlice heðenra manna hergung adiligode Godes cyrican in Lindisfarena ee, þurh reaflac and mansleht*, 'the harrying of the heathen miserably destroyed God's church in Lindisfarne by rapine and slaughter', in AD 793.[163] Because of this preservation bias, it is difficult to extrapolate patterns of terminology use from the remaining material, as their contribution is overshadowed by the comparatively extensive archives of Mercian and West-Saxon houses.

This disparity is compounded by the process of archival reuse, both via the provision of exemplars and models for forgery. When scribes sought to emulate the style and content of an early charter in order to provide historic 'proof' of possession, they might turn to documents preserved in that house's archive from the target era to serve as models from which vocabulary, phrase

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[163] G. N. Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London, 1962), 56.

construction and the names of witnesses could be lifted to lend an appearance of legitimacy to the forged diploma. Hypothetically, if the diploma which served as the model employed a relatively uncommon unit of assessment, such as *tributarii*, and this was then replicated in the forgery, this would skew the record by creating an anachronistic or inauthentic occurrence of the term.[164] If, for example, such a term then occurs in a cluster at a particular archive, in multiple spurious diplomas purporting to date from the seventh century but showing palaeographical hallmarks of being products of the tenth century, it would not be unreasonable to propose that a tenth-century scribe of that house had access to an exemplar dating to around the seventh, upon which they modelled their forgeries.

Similarly, when a smaller or hitherto independent house was brought under the aegis of a more powerful and wealthy sister establishment, its archive may have been transferred along with the landed possessions it details, as is the case with the twelve diplomas originating from Minster-in-Thanet, but preserved in the archive of St Augustine's, Canterbury. Although this is apparent from the identity of named donors and beneficiaries within the diplomas thus transferred, these imported documents would thereby provide a new reserve of potential exemplars for reuse. Should retrospective 'improvement' of the inherited archival material take place (for example, to legitimise the change in ownership of the land, as in the 'Selsey–Canterbury Group' of *tributarius* diplomas below), this could introduce terminology into material purporting to originate from an archive which had in reality favoured alternative vocabulary.

This raises the question of whether only those diplomas considered to be authentic be included in the dataset for this investigation. As authenticity is difficult to demonstrate categorically, especially in the case of later copies of genuine diplomas where any diagnostic palaeographical features have been lost, the corpus would be significantly restricted by the exclusion of any questionable diplomas. Furthermore, the close-reading and comparison of questionable diplomas can shed light on when such documents were produced and from what exemplars, providing

[164] Four such diplomas (S43, S47, S122 and S132) are discussed below under 'Miscellaneous Forgeries'.

evidence for the historical relations between archives and the diplomas they contain. The conscious choice to emulate the vocabulary of an exemplar not only speaks to the nature of that exemplar (which may no longer be extant), but also to the tone the scribe wished to achieve with their forgery. Considering the motivation behind the production of such documents can, moreover, provide insight into the social, political and economic milieu in which they were produced, and the ways in which communities conceived of their history. For precisely these reasons, interpolated and spurious diplomas have been retained in this dataset. In a less problematic form of archival reuse, scribes might consciously select obscure or archaic terminology for stylistic flair, particularly during the latter half of the tenth century, provoking a resurgence of vocabulary which had fallen out of favour centuries prior. Such vocabulary might be drawn from a variety of sources, including Biblical texts, contemporary and classical authors, and pre-existing archival material. This is again exemplified by the term *tributarius*, where there are four isolated tenth-century instances of use after an 85 year hiatus, in diplomas comprising dense Latin prose replete with the obscure vocabulary and complex grammatical constructions which characterise the hermeneutic style.[165]

The distribution of the twenty-three land assessment terms found within the Anglo-Saxon diplomatic corpus can therefore be attributed to a variety of interconnected factors. The earliest diplomas, composed entirely in Latin, set the precedent for the formal portions of diplomas to continue to be composed as such, with conventions of structure and textual elements becoming formulaic over time. Within this, Latin units of land assessment persist throughout the diplomatic corpus so that the most common Latin terms, *mansae* and *cassatae*, have a relatively consistent temporal distribution throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, whilst less common terms such as *tributarius* appear to have fallen out of fashion prior to the tenth-century revival of archaic vocabulary. Temporally, Old English units of measurement are uncommon within the corpus prior to the development of vernacular boundary clauses, after which they proliferate. As a consequence of dialect, some Old English terms demonstrate strong regionality, as exemplified by the Kentish

[165] These are S526, 874, S892 and S1291. The 'hermeneutic' style of Latin is discussed below in the 'Tenth-Century Anomalies' section of Part Two.

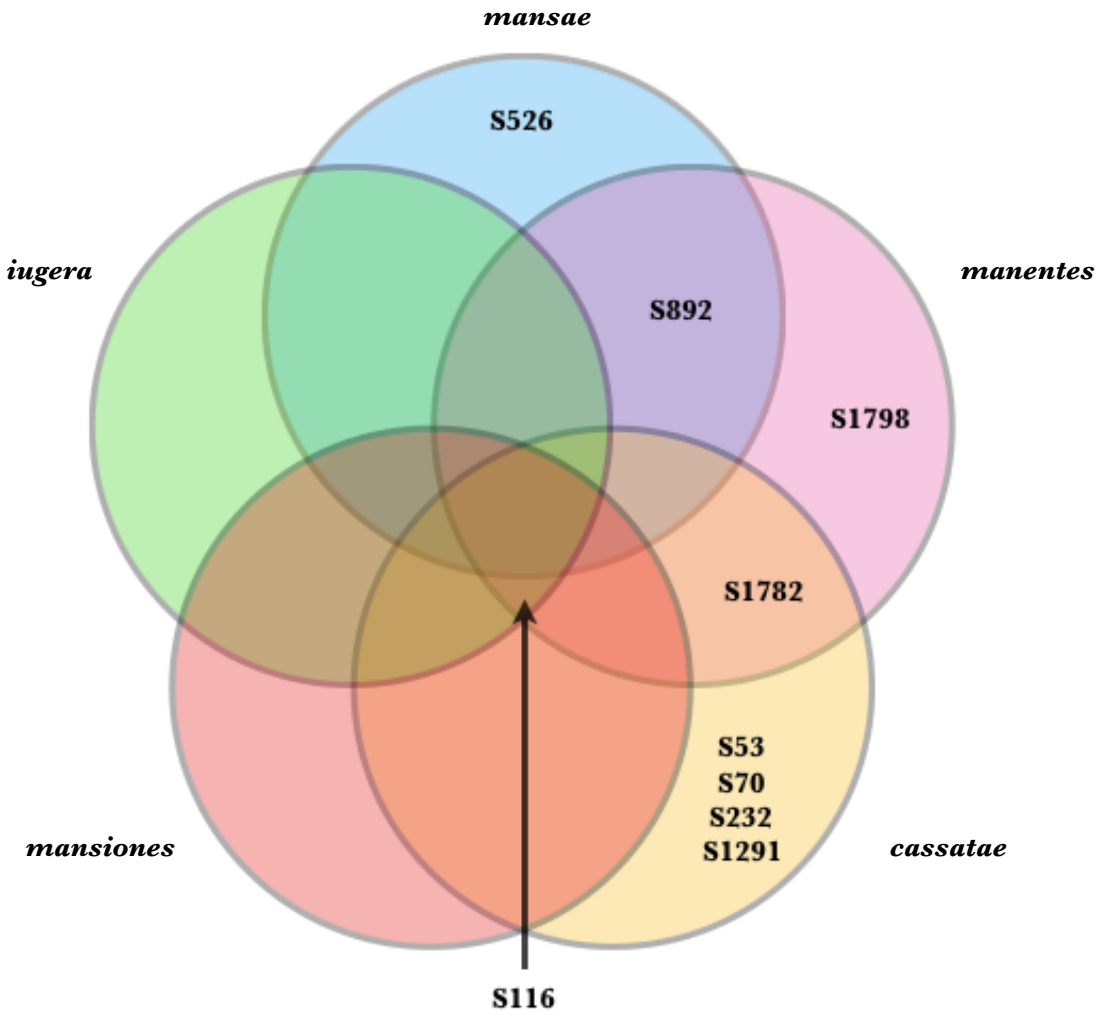
sulung: matching regionality of the Latin terms *aratra* and *iugera* can be posited as an attempt at harmonising this specifically Kentish vernacular measurement system with that of Latin diplomatic tradition. The apparent regionality of other Latin terms cannot, however, be so directly understood, as the Latin language should not exhibit the same pronounced localisation of dialect as the vernacular. From this, is is apparent that archival reuse, in particular the 'fossilisation' of a particular term within a house's archive and subsequent reemergence as a consequence of textual borrowing from an exemplar, is responsible for the geographical clustering of certain Latin terms such as *tributarius*.

1.6: *Tributarius* in Focus

From the survey above, the Latin land assessment term *tributarius* stands out for its pronounced geographical clustering and distinct pattern of temporal usage. Furthermore, it is uncommon within the Anglo-Saxon diplomatic corpus as a whole, with only twenty-three extant diplomas employing it as a unit of measurement (these are summarised in Figure 5: Diplomas of the Tributarius Corpus). These diplomas range in purported date of production from approximately AD 680 to 998, with a proliferation in the eighth century. Although it is of course necessary to acknowledge that the rate of survival for such early diplomas is not high, so that it is altogether likely more *tributarius* diplomas once existed, the ratio of these to diplomas using the alternative units of assessment need not be affected. However, due to the low survival rate of genuine, authentic early diplomas and the contemporary desire to promote historic rights to landed possessions, the proportion of interpolated or entirely spurious diplomas purporting to have been produced in the seventh and early eighth centuries is high by comparison to later additions to the corpus. As discussed above, spurious diplomas are included in this investigation for the light they can shed on archival reuse and attitudes towards historical landownership: the potential contexts for their production are examined in the following sections.

Let us then consider why *tributarius* was chosen in these twenty-three diplomas in preference to the fifteen other Latin terms available to the scribe. There is no apparent correlation between the size of the grant to denote which term is used, as the number of *tributarii* being disposed of ranges from 0.5 in S47 (*aliquam partem terræ iuris mei … id est dimidium tributarium,* 'a certain portion of land of my jurisdiction, that is half a *tributarius*') to 300 in S70 (*aliquam partem telluris, id est · ccc · tributariorum,* 'a certain piece of land, that is 300 *tributarii*'), the latter being equal to the assessment of the smallest people-groups' land-holdings in the Tribal Hidage. Neither the identity of donor or beneficiary, nor the nature of the transaction (being either a grant or lease) seems to influence the term used. Within this corpus, fourteen of the diplomas use *tributarii* exclusively, whilst the remaining nine use the term in conjunction with at least another unit, as shown in Figure 3 below.

Fig. 3: Diplomas employing Latin terms used in conjunction with *tributarii*.



Moreover, of the nine charters employing both *tributarii* and at least one other unit of measurement, five of these provide a cumulative total of the area of land being granted, in summary to the individually enumerated estates. For example, the dispositive section of S892 reads:

> *id est ·VII. tributariorum et dimidium non tamen in uno loco sed in tribus uillulis in Supham · III · mansas et in Hlodbroce Hreodburnanque · IIII · manentes et inter illos dimidium unius manse.*
> 'that is seven and a half *tributarii* not however in one place but in three villages: in Southam three *mansae* and in Ladbroke and Radbourne four *manentes* and between them half of one *mansa*'.

Four of these (S116, S232, S892 and S1291) use *tributarii* for the total area of land being granted, whilst the alternative term(s) give the area of land of the individual estates which comprise the overall grant; *tributarius* is used as the subsidiary term only in S1798, where the overall total is given in *manentes*. This implies that *tributarius* was considered to have a slightly different function to the other terms, perhaps preserving an element of its original meaning of tribute or taxation, where it 'gives a strong flavour of rating and assessment',[166] as opposed to, for example, *manentes* referring initially to the people subject to those dues, thereby making the term particularly suited to presenting an overall summary. Amongst the other Latin terms present in these diplomas, there is no discernible pattern either geographically or temporally to their usage, with their relative frequencies generally matching that of the diplomatic corpus as a whole: the most commonly occurring terms being *cassatae* and *manentes,* with *mansae* surprisingly, given its overall prominence, only occurring twice. Furthermore, the specifically Kentish term *aratra* and its vernacular equivalent *sulung* do not appear in any of the *tributarius* diplomas, whilst the only Old English term to be used is *hida* (twice in an endorsement and once in prose vernacular boundary clause),[167] again matching the proportionate usage in the corpus as a whole.

Regarding geographic distribution, the twenty-three *tributarius* diplomas are preserved predominantly in the archives of Worcester and Selsey, which possess six and eight respectively.

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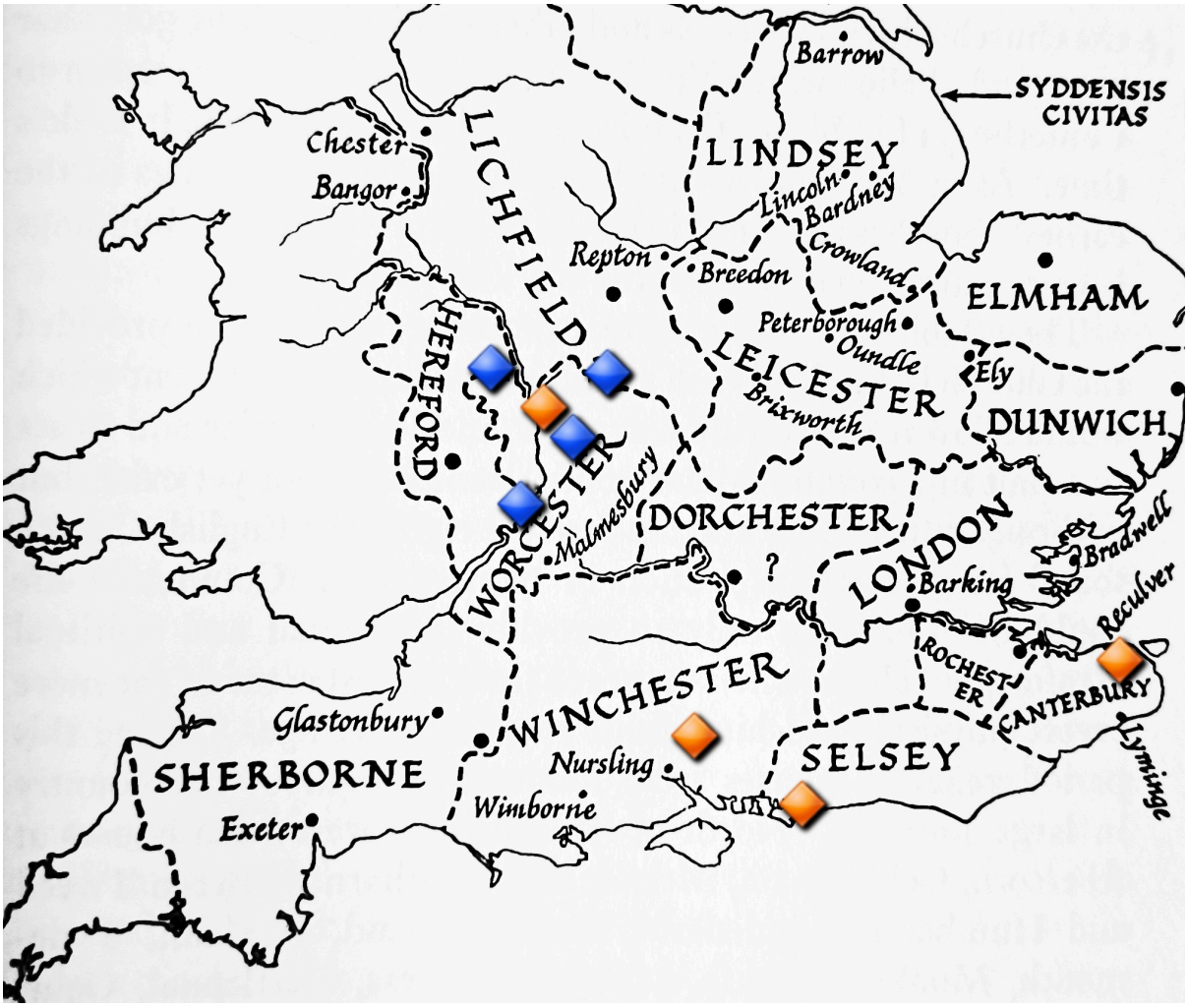
[166] E. John, *Orbis Britanniae and Other Studies* (Leicester, 1966), 105.

[167] The bounds of S60 feature the phrase *bennic æcer* 'Bennic's acre', which is treated as the name of an estate bordering the land in question, rather than a numeric measurement of that estate.

Christ Church Canterbury and Gloucester housed two of these charters each, whilst the archives of New Minster and Old Minster Winchester, Much Wenlock, Evesham and Coventry also possess one each. These houses form two distinct groups: those located in the south-western area of Mercia,

Fig. 4: Approximate diocesan boundaries c. AD 750, with archives containing *tributarius* diplomas indicated.



roughly equating to the diocese of Worcester, and those within greater Wessex. Figure 4 below shows the approximate extent of the diocesan boundaries in the mid-eighth century; bishoprics are indicated in orange (left to right, these are Worcester, Winchester, Selsey and Canterbury), with subsidiary houses marked in blue (left to right, these are Much Wenlock, Gloucester, Evesham and Coventry).[168]

[168] Map emended from that printed in P. H. Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1956), 145.

Rather than a product of dialect (as *tributarius* has no close etymological correlation to any vernacular terms, nor do any vernacular terms demonstrate a similar geographic spread), this tight cluster of Mercian houses strongly suggests a sphere of influence by Worcester, where the geographic proximity of the four subsidiary houses would certainly have allowed the Worcester scriptorium to influence the practices of local houses through the exchange of documents and personnel. Coventry, located on the north-eastern border of the diocese with that of Lichfield, is approximately forty-one miles from Worcester; Much Wenlock, at the northern edge of the diocese's border with Hereford, is approximately thirty-six miles from Worcester; Gloucester, at the south-western edge, is approximately twenty-five miles; whilst Evesham is only around fifteen miles from Worcester: each of these houses would therefore have been accessible to Worcester personnel within a two-day journey.

The See of Worcester was founded in AD 680 during the restructuring of the Anglo-Saxon Church under Archbishop Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury (in office 668–690),[169] with the intention of serving the Hwicce, so that its original diocese 'would presumably have been coterminous with [that] kingdom'.[170] The previously expansive Mercian See was subdivided, establishing bishoprics at Worcester for the Hwicce and at Hereford for the Magonsætan: as such, the boundaries of the diocese are thought to reflect the original extent of the Hwiccian kingdom.[171] Attempts to chart the sphere of influence of Hwiccian rulers by mapping the estates granted by them, with their consent, or by the bishop of Worcester, as attested in the archival record, show that these mostly conform to the Worcester diocese, with only a few anomalies (particularly concerning the foundation of St. Peter at Bath).[172]

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[169] *PASE:* 'Theodore 1'.

[170] Bassett, 'In search of origins', 6.

[171] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England,* 44.

[172] Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon Landscape,* 15; also A. H. Smith, 'The Hwicce', *Franciplegius: medieval and linguistic studies in honor of Francis Peabody Magoun, Jr.,* ed. J. B. Bessinger Jr. & R. P. Creed (1965), 59–60, on the distribution of place-names containing *hwic / wich* elements.

The regional dominance of Worcester increased over time, bringing smaller local houses and their landholdings under its control (as in S116), until by the time of Domesday Book, the community of Worcester acted as landlord for 25% of Worcestershire, with previously independent houses hitherto functioning as family monasteries for local nobility becoming episcopal manors.[173] For example, Bredon was founded in AD 716 by Eanulf, cousin of King Æthelbald of Mercia, but its last mention as an independent house occurs in the mid-ninth century, after which its functionality was likely absorbed by Worcester.[174] In Byrhtferth of Ramsey's *Life of St. Oswald* (written c. 1000–5),[175] it is recorded that seven monasteries were established (or brought under) Oswald's rule with royal sanction.[176] Although these are not named, they are thought to be Evesham, Pershore, Deerhurst, Winchcombe, Westbury (priory of) and either Bath or Tewkesbury, the first two of which are linked to *tributarius* diplomas S122 and S70 respectively. This tightening control over the houses of greater Mercia, coupled with the renewal of personally-driven connections with Northumbria (as previously established by bishops Wilfrid and Oftor) therefore increased the opportunity for the exchange of personnel and written material between the associated houses. Such an exchange of scribes and their exemplars would necessarily encourage some level of homogeneity between houses, explaining the geographical clustering of the term *tributarius* within the Mercian archives.[177]

The same is not true of the southern houses, which are located at a significant remove from Mercia and from each other, so that use of the term *tributarius* within their scriptoria is unlikely to be attributable to the influence of Worcester (or vice-versa) through concurrent exchange of manuscript exemplars. From Worcester, the distance to Winchester is 100 miles, to Selsey

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[173] Maitland, *Domesday Book*, 227; also Dyer, *Lords and Peasants,* 11.

[174] Stubbs, W., 'The Cathedral, Diocese and Monasteries of Worcester in the Eighth Century', *The Archaeological Journal* 19 (1862), 246.

[175] Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine,* ed. M. Lapidge (Oxford, 2009).

[176] Referenced by I. Atkins, 'The Church of Worcester from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century, part I.' *Antiquaries' Journal* 17, no. 4 (1937), 385.

[177] M. P. Brown, 'Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10861 and the Scriptorium of Christ Church, Canterbury', *Anglo-Saxon England* 15 (1986), 132.

approximately 137 miles, and to Canterbury 169 miles, whilst the distance between Selsey and Canterbury is 104 miles, and Winchester to Canterbury 117 miles, all necessitating lengthy journeys and posing a practical impediment to exchange between the houses. The nearest houses, Winchester and Selsey, are located at a remove of approximately forty miles, similar to that between Worcester and Coventry, suggesting that these would have fallen within each other's sphere of influence. Possible reasons for the shared use of the uncommon term *tributarius* at such disparate centres must therefore be explored through close reading of the diplomas themselves, and consideration of historic links between the houses contributing the context of these diplomas' production.

1.7: Conclusion: *Tributarius* and the Assessment of Land

From this overview of the twenty-three units of land assessment present in the Anglo-Saxon diplomatic corpus, it is apparent that their origins lie in agricultural practice, and the quantification of this productivity for the purposes of taxation, regardless of language. As such, these terms originally possessed some distinction in meaning and function owing to their etymology, but this nuance was lost over time, leading to the terms becoming functionally equivalent. Within the archival record, the preservation of certain terms demonstrates geographical clustering: in the case of vernacular terms such as *sulung*, whose usage is restricted to the archives of Kent, this can be attributed to dialect, whilst its equation with the Latin term *aratrum* on the grounds of shared definition result in a similar clustering being shown by the non-dialectic Latin term. As such, whilst the distribution of Old English terms can be somewhat explained by regional dialect, the distribution of Latin terms must be based on scriptorium preference. Here, the availability of exemplar material becomes crucial, in dictating the array of terminology available to the scribe responsible for drafting any given diploma. Furthermore, as a 'ruthless promoter of all things Roman',[178] it is quite plausible that Wilfrid encouraged the adoption of the term *tributarius* at the

[178] Blair, 'Grid-Planning', 54.

scriptoria of his bishoprics, due to its Imperial overtones. The distinct regionality of this term's preservation (at a cluster of houses within the orbit of the bishopric of Worcester, but also at three disparate southern centres) coupled with its relatively infrequent usage, mean that the circumstances of its dissemination and preservation warrant closer investigation, as conducted below.

Part 2: The *Tributarius* Diplomas

The Anglo-Saxon diplomatic corpus as it exists today numbers some 1,932 individual documents, preserved in a range of forms at a number of archives. Of the 1,292 containing at least one unit of measurement (for the assessment of land being exchanged under the terms of the transaction they record), only twenty-three employ the term *tributarius*.[1] The etymology of this term, which has distinct connotations of taxation or the calculation of renders due, has been discussed above in relation to the twenty-two alternative, and to some degree interchangeable, land assessment terms present elsewhere in the corpus. In order to elucidate why *tributarius* was chosen by the scribes of these twenty-three diplomas, it is useful to consider the term within the text of the diploma as a whole. From this, the *tributarius* diplomas can be seen to form six distinct but overlapping groups within the sub-corpus, based on shared stylistic features, contexts of production, or associated events. Such shared features can thus highlight relationships between documents and, by extension, the scriptoria and archives at which they were produced and preserved.

For ease of reference, the twenty-three *tributarius* diplomas have been tabulated below (Figure 5: Diplomas of the Tributarius Corpus, extending over four pages) in ascending Sawyer number, along with their Kemble and Birch numbers (where extant). The specific details of each diploma (date of production, archive, and language, together with the identities of the donor and recipient) are included, alongside their operative details, namely the location and measurement of the estates granted, and the terms of assessment thus employed. The sub-group(s) to which each diploma belongs is likewise indicated.

[1] Transcriptions and translations of these texts are provided immediately following each of the relevant groups below.

Figure 5: Diplomas of the Tributarius Corpus

Sawyer	Kemble	Birch	Date	Grantor	Recipient	Archive	Grant	Diploma Type	Language	Group
43	**1000**	**144**	775 (for 705×717)	Nunna, king of the South Saxons (r. 690×710–717×724)	Eadberht, bishop (c. 705×?709–716×?)	Selsey	20 *tributarii* / *hida*	Royal charter	Latin; OE boundary clause & endorsement	Miscellaneous Forgeries
44	**1001**	**145**	705×(?716)	Nunna, king of the South Saxons (r. 690×710–717×724)	Berhfrith, 'servant of God'	Selsey	4 *tributarii*	Royal charter(s)	Latin	Running Commentary
47	**1011**	**212**	-	Æthelberht, king of the South Saxons (r. ?733–57)	Wilfrid, bishop (c. ?681–?685)	Selsey	0.5 *tributarii*	Royal charter	Latin, (cardinal) bounds	Miscellaneous Forgeries
48	**1008**	**198**	762 (for ?765)	Osmund, king (r. 765–72)	Walhere, *comes*	Selsey	12 *tributarii*	Royal charter	Latin	Selsey–Canterbury
53	**36**	**85**	693	Oshere, king of the Hwicce (r. 680–93), with his son Ædilheard	Cuthberht, *comes,* for Cuthswith, abbess	Worcester	15 *tributarii;* (?) *cassatae*	Royal charter	Latin	Mercian Supremacy
58	**117**	**202**	767	Uhtred, sub-king of the Hwicce (r. 759–777×779), with permission of Offa, king of the Mercians (r. 757–96)	Æthelmund, *minister,* son of Ingeld, *dux* and *præfectus* (d. 802)	Worcester	5 *tributarii*	Royal charter	Latin	Aston
59	**-**	**203**	770	Uhtred, sub-king of the Hwicce (r. 759–777×779), with permission of Offa, king of the Mercians (r. 757–96)	Æthelmund, *minister,* son of Ingeld, *dux* and *præfectus* (d. 802)	Worcester	5 *tributarii*	Royal lease	Latin, (cardinal) bounds?	Aston

Sawyer	Kemble	Birch	Date	Grantor	Recipient	Archive	Grant	Diploma Type	Language	Group
60	**118**	**204**	770	Uhtred, *regulus* of the Hwicce (r. 759–777×779), with permission of Offa, king of the Mercians (r. 757–96)	Brethren of St. Mary's, Worcester	Worcester	10 *tributarii*	Royal charter	Latin; OE boundary clause	Aston
70	**-**	**60**	671 (for ?679)	Æthelred, king of the Mercians (r. 675–704)	Osric & Oswald, *ministri*	Gloucester	300 *tributarii;* 300 *cassatae*	Royal charter	Latin	Running Commentary
116	**140**	**236**	780	Offa, king the Mercians (r. 757–96)	St. Peter's Minster, Bredon	Worcester	35 *tributarii iugera* (5 *manentes* + 10 *cassatae*+ 10 *mansiones* + 5 *manentes*)	Royal charter	Latin	Mercian Supremacy
122	**147**	**244**	784	Offa, king of the Mercians (r. 757–96)	Esme, *comes* and *præfectus*	Evesham	3 *tributarii*	Royal lease(?)	Latin	Miscellaneous Forgeries
132	**159**	**265**	790 (for ?795)	Offa, king of the English (r. 757–96)	Æthelheard, archbishop of Canterbury (c. 792–805)	Christ Church Canterbury	90 *tributarii* (60 +30)	Royal charter	Latin	Miscellaneous Forgeries
185	**215**	**368**	798×821 (probably 814)	Coenwulf, king of the Mercians (r. 796–821)	Deneberht, bishop (798×800–822) & the *familia* of Worcester	Worcester	30 *tributarii*	Royal lease(?)	Latin	Running Commentary
230	**18**	**50**	680 (for ?685)	Cædwalla, king (r. 685–8)	Wilfrid, bishop (c. ? 681–?685) & the brethren of St. Andrews	Christ Church Canterbury	70 + 10 *tributarii*	Royal charter	Latin, (cardinal) bounds	Selsey–Canterbury

Sawyer	Kemble	Birch	Date	Grantor	Recipient	Archive	Grant	Diploma Type	Language	Group
232	**992**	**64**	673 (for ?683)	Cædwalla, king (r. 685–8)	Wilfrid, bishop (c. ?681–?685) & his followers	Selsey	55 *tributarii;* 6 + 6 + 6 + 8 + 4 *cassatae* = 32 (?) *tributarii*	Royal charter	Latin, cardinal bounds	Selsey–Canterbury
526	**-**	**824**	947	Eadred, king of the English (r. 946–55)	Eadwulf, priest	New Minster, Winchester	10 *mansae* (5 + 5 *'tributarias mansas')*	Royal lease	Latin; OE, ME & Latin boundary clause	Tenth–Century Anomalies
874	**673**	**-**	990	Æthelred, king of Britain and the English (r. 978–1016)	Æthelweard, *minister*	Old Minster, Winchester	15 *tributarii / hidas*	Royal charter	Latin; OE boundary clause & endorsement	Tenth–Century Anomalies
892	**-**	**-**	998	Æthelred, king of Britain and the English (r. 978–1016)	Leofwine, *dux*	Coventry	7.5 *tributarii* (3 *mansae* + 4 *manentes* + 0.5 *mansae*) / *hida*	Royal charter	Latin; OE boundary clause	Tenth–Century Anomalies
1172	**1060**	**79**	692×709	Nothgyth, 'servant of Christ'	Wilfrid, bishop (c. ?681–?685)	Selsey	33 *tributarii*	Royal charter	Latin	Selsey–Canterbury (Running Commentary)
1183	**1016**	**262**	(771×780) ×786	Ealdwulf, *dux* of the South Saxons (c.765–91) with the permission of Offa, king of the Mercians (r. 757–96)	Church of St. Peter	Selsey	3 *tributarii*	Charter	Latin	Mercian Supremacy
1291	**464**	**997**	957	Byrhthelm, bishop (953×956–956×963) & Eadwig, king of the English (r. 955–9)	Bishopric of Selsey	Selsey	42 *tributarii;* 7 + 6 + 8 + 4 + 9 *cassatae*; = 32 *tributarii*	Royal charter	Latin; OE boundary clause	Selsey–Canterbury (Tenth–Century Anomalies)

Sawyer	Kemble	Birch	Date	Grantor	Recipient	Archive	Grant	Diploma Type	Language	Group
1782 & 209	**-**	**503 & 535**	862	Burgred, king of the Mercians (r. ?852–873×4)	St Peter's, Gloucester	Gloucester	(*tributarii, cassatae* & *manentes*)	Royal confirmation & privilege	Latin, endorsement	Running Commentary
1798	**-**	**-**	675×690	Æthelheah, abbot of Icheanog	Mildburg, nun (d. 715)	Much Wenlock	144 *manentes* (97 + 12 + 30 *manentes* + 5 *tributarii*)	Charter	Latin	Mercian Supremacy

2.1: The Selsey–Canterbury Group (S48, 230, 232, 1172 and 1291)

The five charters which are grouped together here span a date range of three centuries and were preserved in two separate archives. Despite these significant differences, the charters otherwise demonstrate a notable degree of similarity, with all being concerned with the landed possessions of Selsey: these diplomas refer not only to a number of the same estates, but also share formulae within the main body of the charter text, features which raise suspicion regarding the context and purpose of these charters' production.

Both S230 and S232 purport to be charters of the late seventh century (being dated 680 (? for 685) and 673 (? for 683) respectively) in which King Cædwalla (ruler of the West Saxons 685–8),[2] disposes of large tracts of land at numerous named locations.[3] Dating discrepancies for the transactions recorded are due to inconsistencies between details given in the Dating Clause, and known dates of witness' career spans or whereabouts at that date. Such discrepancies can often be attributed to scribal error (through the inclusion or omission of a Roman Numeral), rather than intentional emendation. S230 and S232 exhibit a significant degree of textual overlap, sharing an identical invocation, proem (opening with the phrase *Nihil intulimus in hunc mundum uerum nec auferre quid poterimus* from 1 Timothy),[4] superscription, parts of the dispositive section (differing only in the named recipients and operative details of the estates) and sanction (including the phrase *in inferno inferiore* from Psalm 85:13). Whilst there are some minor grammatical and spelling differences within these shared passages, such as *impendo* and *suggerere* in S232 compared to *impendi* and *sugerere* in S230 and, for example, the use of *possumus* in S232 where S230 uses *poterimus,* these can be attributed to transmission errors.

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[2] 'Cædwalla 1', *The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England Database (PASE)*, ed. J. L. Nelson, S. Keynes et. al., (London, 2010). This spelling of the personal name is generally preferred, although not unanimous (as in R. Sharpe, 'King Ceadwalla and Bishop Wilfrid', in *Cities, Saints, and Communities in Early Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of Alan Thacker,* ed. S. D. Gregorio & P. J. E. Kershaw (Turnhout, 2020), 195–222) and will be used here throughout. There are, however, twenty-five different attested spellings of Cædwalla's name within the archival record.

[3] The earliest extant copy of S230 is London, British Library, Cotton Augustus ii. 86 (s. x). S232 exists in five copies dating to the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; the copy from which the appended transcription is taken is MS1, Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Episc. VI/1/1, ff. 23v–24r (s. xiv 2).

[4] Entries for S230 and S232, 'Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: World Wide Web Register *(Fontes)*' (2020).

Furthermore, the primary beneficiary of both charters is Bishop Wilfrid (Bishop of Selsey ? 681–?685): in S230 he receives seventy *tributarii,* intended *ad suffragium uitæ suæ fratrumque suorum qui secum conuersarentur,* 'for the support of his own life and those of the brethren who might dwell with him', with a further ten *tributarii* allocated to the brethren of St. Andrews, so that *hinc necessaria corporalis usus specialiter prebeantur,* 'the necessities of their bodily requirements may be especially provided therefrom'; S232 also names Wilfrid and his followers as recipients, but here the land is *ad suffragium famulorum Christi, qui uitam cœnobialem degant, et ad construendum monasterium in loco qui uocatur Seolesige,* 'for the support of the servants of Christ so that they might lead a monastic life, and for the construction of a monastery in the place which is called Selsey', without further specification.

This marked similarity becomes all the more significant when considered in light of the charters' differences: S230 is preserved in the archive of Christ Church Canterbury, whilst S232 is from Selsey; scriptoria at such a geographical remove that this degree of textual overlap suggests that these charters were modelled on the same exemplar, or even drafted simultaneously and finalised at the individual houses. This is particularly remarkable during this early period of diplomatic history when no case is made for a centralised 'chancery' or similarly co-ordinated production, as in the tenth century, which could otherwise explain some homogeneity in charter formulae. Although there is 'good evidence to suggest that Alfred (King of Wessex 886–99), continuing a process that had been begun by his father, brought [diploma] production 'in house', placing responsibility for [diploma] drafting in the hands of a secretariat attached to the court',[5] the homogeneity which indicates co-ordinated production does not reach its peak until the reign of Æthelstan (r. 924–39).

Much of the discussion surrounding S230 has centred on its use of the unique phrase *trinoda necessitas* to refer to the 'Three Common Burdens' of military service, bridge and fortress building

[5] B. Snook, *The Anglo-Saxon Chancery: the history, language and production of Anglo-Saxon charters from Alfred to Edgar* (Woodbridge, 2015), 30–1.

(thereby codifying the duty of landholders to contribute to local defence),[6] the concept of which is not reliably found in charters until the middle of the eighth century: the earliest authentic diploma(s) to reserve the public dues of bridge and fortress building (two of the 'Three Common Burdens') are S58 and 59 of the 'Aston Group' below, dated AD 767 and 770 respectively.[7] The phrase, shared by both diplomas, reads *hanc terram liberam esse ab omni tributo paruo uel maiore publicalium rerum et a cunctis operibus uel regis uel principis [præter] instructionibus pontium uel necessariis defensionibus arcium contra hostes,* 'this land is free from all tribute, small or great, from public affairs and from all services whether to king or *princeps* except for repairing bridges and the necessary defences of fortresses against enemies'.

G. T. Dempsey proposes that this unusual phrase can be attributed to Aldhelm, who, according to the witness-list, drafted S230. Aldhelm's remarkable attestation includes 'a truly ceremonial elaboration (including a rhythmical poem) of the hereditary rights over this land to *beato viro Uulfrido*',[8] although the surrounding text 'bears no traces of his pedantic and turgid style'.[9] *Necessitas,* meaning 'obligation', could be a misinterpretation of the Theodosian Code, which Aldhelm could have encountered during his study of Roman Vulgar law under Archbishop Theodore at Canterbury,[10] whilst *trimoda* is 'a particularly scholarly word that springs from the rhetorical milieu which influenced Aldhelm's famous prose style'.[11] Abels recognises the potential influence of the Theodosian Code on this phrase, but instead suggests its presence here is a product

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[6] R. Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England* (Berkeley, 1988), 52 and Dempsey, *Aldhelm of Malmesbury and the Ending of Late Antiquity* (Turnhout, 2015), 266–8. Whilst *trinoda necessitas* has become the accepted spelling of this phrase in pertinent scholarship (see, for example, G. T. Dempsey, 'Legal Terminology in Anglo-Saxon England: the Trinoda Necessitas Charter', *Speculum* 57 (1982), 843–49; and W. H. Stevenson, 'Trinoda Necessitas', *The English Historical Review* 29 (1914), 689–703), the manuscript of S230 appears to read *triinoda,* whilst Kemble gives *trimoda,* the latter being the correct spelling of the term meaning 'threefold', as is intended here. *DMLBS: s.v. trimodus.*

[7] N. Brooks, 'The Development of Military Obligations in Eighth- and Ninth-Century England', in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. P. Clemoes & K. Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), 78.

[8] Dempsey, *Aldhelm of Malmesbury*, 245.

[9] Stevenson, 'Trinoda Necessitas', 693.

[10] Dempsey, *Aldhelm of Malmesbury,* 202.

[11] Dempsey, 'Legal Terminology', 848. The 'complex and self-conscious style of Aldhelm which evidently had its origins at least in part… in Latin metrical verse' is discussed further by A. Orchard, 'Latin and the Vernacular Languages: The Creation of a Bilingual Textual Culture', in *After Rome*, ed. Charles-Edwards, (Oxford, 2023), 212.

of contact between Mercia and the Continent, specifically Frankia and Merovingian Gaul, during cross-channel trade of the mid eighth-century.[12]

Whilst the identification of scribes within the texts is unusual in the Anglo-Saxon diplomatic corpus, it was a common late Roman and Frankish practice,[13] and Aldhelm is likewise self-identified as the scribe of another extant diploma, in which Centwine, king of the West Saxons, grants land to the abbot of Glastonbury.[14] The fact that the phrase *trimoda necessitas* is located in the attestation of Cædwalla (which functions as an immunity clause), rather than in the main text of the grant, is also highly unusual,[15] suggesting that this passage, together with the attribution to Aldhelm which follows from it, may have been interpolated. E. E. Barker takes the opposing view that:

> The insertion of these phrases, which are an essential part of later charters, at the end in this awkward fashion, shows that this charter does genuinely date from an early period when formulae were less rigidly laid down and charters might be made up almost offhand.[16]

Barker does not, however, look critically at the other suspicious features of the charter, preferring to see them as unusual or early instances of usage, so this interpretation should perhaps be read with caution. This debate is relevant here only in that it lends support to the identification of S230 as a later fabrication, exhibiting features which appear anachronistic for its alleged date of AD 680. For example, the bounds are described in unusually extensive detail, with place-names and landscape features given in their Old English form, thereby appearing more akin to the vernacular boundary clauses of the ninth and tenth centuries than the perfunctory cardinal point references more common in the seventh and eighth centuries, if indeed any bounds were provided at all.[17]

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[12] Abels, *Lordship*,, 53. See also C. Rauer, 'Old English Literature before Alfred: The Mercian Dimension', in *The Age of Alfred: Rethinking English Literary Culture c. 850-950,* ed. A. Faulkner & F. Leneghan (Turnhout, 2024), 58 & 63.

[13] N. Brooks & S. E. Kelly, *The Charters of Christ Church Canterbury Part 1,* Anglo-Saxon Charters 17 (Oxford, 2013), 277, and Dempsey, *Aldhelm of Malmesbury*, 200.

[14] S237, issued in AD 682, survives only in a sixteenth-century copy, with a similarly divisive assessment as S230, having an authentic basis but evidence of later revision and interpolation.

[15] Stevenson, 'Trinoda Necessitas', 691, and Brooks & Kelly, *Christ Church Canterbury Part 1,* 277–8.

[16] E. E. Barker, 'Sussex Anglo-Saxon Charters, I', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 86 (1947), 58 n. 51.

[17] For discussion of early West Saxon examples of detailed Latin boundary clauses and their orthography, see S. E. Kelly, *The Charters of Selsey*, Anglo-Saxon Charters 6 (Oxford, 1998), 8–9, who concludes that the boundary clause of S230 is a genuine product of the later eighth or early ninth century, incorporated into a much later fabrication.

The dating clause is likewise problematic, as AD 680 is 'impossible to reconcile' with recorded history,[18] for Wilfrid was unlikely to have reached Sussex prior to 681, and Cædwalla did not become king until 685/6,[19] suggesting that the witness-list was compiled from contemporary synodal documents and perhaps Stephen of Ripon's *Vita Sancti Wilfridi,* in conjunction with an exemplar diploma.[20] Creating a composite forgery via the substitution of details (particularly estate, donor and recipient names) from multiple sources originating from roughly the target period is not unique,[21] as will become apparent through the diploma sub-groups below, but use of synodal documents seems to have been a less common method, and thus may be attributed to the location of production (Christ Church Canterbury) where such documents would be accessible. S230 also contains a number of vocabulary features besides *trinoda necessitas* which are suspicious in a seventh-century document, such as the rare verb *perstringere* (in the form *perstrinxi*, within the attestation of Cædwalla)[22] and the phrase *sub estimatione,* 'rate by estimate', which introduces the total assessment of hidage. Brooks states that the phrase *sub estimatione* is 'drawn from the "chancery" diplomas of King Æthelstan', being a commonly used phrase by a tenth-century scribe, but unexpected in a genuine seventh-century diploma.[23] As these anachronistic features appear to be confined to the immunity clause and the operative details of the dispositive section, this could suggest that it is only these sections which were interpolated, thereby potentially preserving in the remainder of the text an essentially genuine seventh-century charter.[24]

Moreover, those features which are characteristic of an early date, such as the use of Latin characters in instances where runic letterforms would later be preferred (namely 'uu' for 'ƿ' and 'th'

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[18] Stevenson, 'Trinoda Necessitas', 693.

[19] *PASE:* 'Wilfrid 2' and 'Cædwalla 1'. N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (Leicester, 1984), 240.

[20] Brooks & Kelly, *Christ Church Canterbury Part 1,* 277.

[21] F. Tinti & D. A. Woodman, 'Framing the Past: Charters and Chronicles at Worcester, c. 1050–c. 1150', in *Constructing History Across the Norman Conquest: Worcester, c. 1050–c. 1150,* ed. F. Tinti & D. A. Woodman (York, 2022), 7–8.

[22] *DMLBS:* s.v. *perstringere,* sense 4, 'To bind a gift or charter with a sign of security.'

[23] *Early History,* 317. This phrase is also discussed by Brooks & Kelly, *Christ Church Canterbury Part 1,* 276.

[24] Kelly, *Selsey*, 102–3.

or 'd' for 'þ' or 'ð'),[25] text written continuously (without word spacing) and parallel to the short side of the parchment (features illustrated by Figure 6 below, showing the attestation of Cædwalla), were 'evidently not natural to the scribe',[26] implying that these were adopted in an attempt to give credence to the date of 680. There is, however, no imitation of an earlier script, being written 'in a heavy, compressed hand of the latter part of the tenth century … [which] retains traces of the pointing of letters characteristic of the middle of the tenth century. It may, therefore, be ascribed to some date near 975'.[27] This distinctive hand has thus been identified as that responsible for another Canterbury charter, S110 MS1,[28] recording a grant made in AD 774 by Offa, king of the English, of five *aratra* at Higham Upshire, Kent, to Archbishop Jænberht.

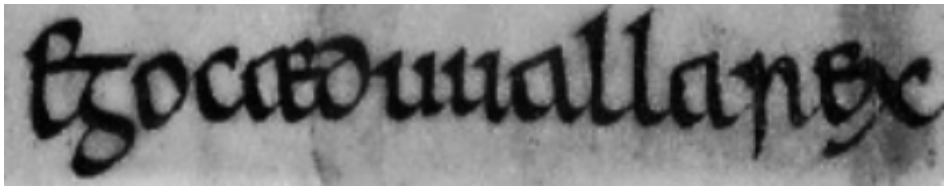

Fig. 6: The attestation of King Cædwalla, written in *scriptura continua*, demonstrating the use Latin characters 'uu' for 'p', and the pronounced, pointed wedges applied to the otherwise heavy, square letterforms described above. London, British Library, Cotton Augustus ii. 86 [image from http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer]

Although not a *tributarius* charter, it has been deemed a tenth-century fabrication based on a genuine eighth-century charter, suggesting that S230 may likewise be the product of a programme of 'improvement' to the Christ Church, Canterbury archive during the later tenth century. Further evidence in support of this can be found in the occurrence of the terms *perstringere* and *sub estimatione* (mentioned above) in S110, a parallel which is unlikely to be a coincidence, given the rarity of these terms elsewhere in the diplomatic corpus, and then predominantly in charters actually or purportedly of the tenth century. This can be compared to S232 which, despite sharing so much of

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[25] Brooks, *Early History of Canterbury*, 317.

[26] Stevenson, 'Trinoda Necessitas', 695.

[27] Stevenson, 'Trinoda Necessitas', 692 n. 18.

[28] The text is in Latin, with bounds, and exists in four copies, the earliest of which is London, British Library, Cotton Augustus ii. 99 (s. x). 'Revised Sawyer / Electronic Sawyer *(eSawyer)*', ed. S. Keynes *et. al.*, (London, 2018). For discussion of the shared scribe, see Brooks, *Early History of Canterbury*, 240; Kelly, *Selsey*, 102; J. A. Robinson, *Somerset Historical Essays* (London, 1921), 52; and Stevenson, 'Trinoda Necessitas', 692 n. 18.

its text with S230, does not contain these terms, strengthening the theory that the two charters were drafted together but completed at Selsey and Canterbury respectively.

Because of their similarity, many of the issues regarding authenticity found in S230 are also evident in S232. The latter charter likewise exhibits a number of tenth-century features, in particular the phrase *Prædicta siquidem tellus his terminis circumcincta clarescit,* 'Indeed, the aforesaid land is clearly described by these bounds', which 'appears to have first been used in the early 930s and to have been devised by the draftsman known as 'Æthelstan A''.[29] Kelly deems the witness-list 'preposterous', concluding that the two attestations by individuals named Wilfrid are in fact both intended to represent Bishop Wilfrid, with him being incorrectly styled *archiepiscopus* in the first instance.[30] There is no categoric explanation for the presence of two 'Wilfrids', beyond either the genuine existence of two prominent churchmen bearing the same name (of which there is no record), or an inattentive scribe. Furthermore, the bounds themselves are unusually detailed, but lacking the features suggestive of an eighth- or ninth-century date found in that of S230.[31]

The dating clause of S232 is particularly problematic, as the year 673 does not agree with the given indiction (11th), but this can be rectified by emending the year to 683, and attributing the discrepancy to scribal error.[32] This year is thus plausible for a grant to Bishop Wilfrid, who was in Sussex 680/1–685/6, but (as with S230) is too early for the reign of Cædwalla, and could also not have been witnessed by Brihtwald of Canterbury (in office 692–731),[33] who did not become

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[29] Kelly, *Selsey*, 7; Stevenson, 'Trinoda Necessitas' 694 n. 24; and D. Woodman, *The First King of England: Æthelstan and the Birth of a Kingdom* (Princeton, 2025), 87. This alliterative phrase (note the repetition of the sibilant 'c' + hard 'c' pairing in *circumcincta clarescit*) can be found (wholly or in part), introducing the boundary clause in many of the charters attributed to 'Æthelstan A': S379, S403, S412, S413, S416, S417, S418, S419, S422, S423 and S425.

[30] *Selsey,* 6.

[31] Kelly references a comment by the scribe of Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Episc. VI/1/2, one of the extant alternative manuscript recensions of S232, that *Tunc sequuntur limites et bunde terrarum predictarum in lingua Saxonica uidelicet in carta originali,* 'Then follow the borders and bounds of the aforementioned land in the Saxon language clearly in the original document', which the scribe has instead chosen to translate into Latin, in a decision which may account for the Old English forms of the place-names in this diploma. As extensive vernacular bounds were not commonly found until the ninth century, this is a further indication of the diploma being a much later fabrication than its purported seventh-century date. *Selsey,* 7.

[32] Hence the date of production of S232 being given as '673 (? 683)' above. Kelly prints *dcclxxiii,* 673, in *Selsey,* 5.

[33] *PASE:* 'Beorhtwald 6'.

archbishop until after the death of Cædwalla (d. 688).[34] As both S230 and S232 survive only in later copies, it is possible that their text was revised at some stage in their transmission history, most plausibly when Cædwalla seized control of Wessex, in order to reflect the changed political hierarchy. The incorrect date could therefore be attributed to the re-drafting of an original, authentic diploma under the auspices of Cædwalla, simply inserting his name at the appropriate juncture rather than emending the operative details of the diploma to match. However, the sheer number of other discrepancies and anachronistic features present in the two diplomas point to a much later date of wholesale fabrication.

The dating clause of S232 does however comprise identical wording and the same calendar date (August 3rd) as S48,[35] another *tributarius* charter, and one of the few Selsey charters to provide this level of detail.[36] Kelly proposes that whilst 'a case can be made that Wilfrid and his followers were familiar with this method of dating', its use here seems more likely to be another instance of later practices being imposed on a fabricated text.[37] In this way, there is a clear parallel in the contents of S232 and S230, seemingly interpolating the dating clauses of charters extant at their respective houses into the main text which was borrowed from their shared exemplar. Kelly has proposed that, on the basis of formulation, these charters are modelled on an exemplar from the second half of the eighth century, suggesting a hypothetical, no-longer extant eighth-century diploma, itself a fabrication, based on a seventh-century diploma in favour of the community at St Andrew's church at Pagham, and thus repurposed to explain the later acquisition of this land by Selsey.[38] However, this argument seems somewhat convoluted and relies on a certain amount of speculation. Because of the dating clause of S232, it is altogether possible that this exemplar was in

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[34] P. Chaplais, 'Some Early Anglo-Saxon Diplomas on Single Sheets: Originals or Copies?' *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 3 (1968), 316; Kelly, *Selsey*, 6; Stevenson, 'Trinoda Necessitas', 694 n. 24; and Brooks & Kelly, *Christ Church Canterbury Part 1,* 277.

[35] Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Episc. VI/1/2, f. 17r (s. xiv).

[36] Chaplais, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Diplomas', 316.

[37] *Selsey*, 6 & 8.

[38] Kelly, *Selsey*, 7–8 and 9–11.

fact S48. This charter records a grant made by King Osmund of the South Saxons (r. 765–72)[39] to his *comes* ('earl' or '*þegn*') Walhere, in AD 762 (?765). The date of issue is given as the third year of the indiction, AD 762, an error which can be corrected by assuming the copyist misread 'ii', instead of 'v', the numeral of the exemplar perhaps having become creased or faded.[40] Although a much briefer text than either of the Cædwalla charters, the majority of its phrases (except for the proem, identities of the donor and beneficiary, and operative details of the dispositive section), find close, if not exact, parallels in S230 and S232.[41]

Further support to the theory that S48 served as an exemplar for the emendation or forgery of diplomas is provided by the non-*tributarius* charter S50.[42] Also purporting to have been issued in AD 765, the proem of this charter is identical to that of S48, with only the name of the donor (King Ealdwulf of the South Saxons, r. 765–91)[43] and recipient (Hunlaf) being unique:[44] the text of both charters reads:

> *Idcirco ego* [donor's name] *rogatus a comite meo* [recipient's name] *ut sibi aliquantulam terram ad construendum in ea monasterium largiri dignarer · Cuius precibus accommodans eandem terram de qua suggerere uidebatur pro remedio animæ meæ imperpetuum tradens libenter impendo.*
> 'Therefore I, [donor's name] have been asked by my *thegn* [recipient's name] that I should deign to grant him a certain little piece of land for the construction of a monastery on it; and in answer to his pleas I grant him the same land which he seemed to indicate, freely and in perpetuity handing it over for the good of my soul'.

S50 does not contain a detailed dating clause for comparison, but it should be noted that it is preserved in the Christ Church, Canterbury archive, and is believed to originate from Selsey, thereby according with the charters already discussed in this group. The 'complex formula after the

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[39] *PASE:* 'Osmund 2'.

[40] Barker, 'Sussex Charters, I', 83 n. 9

[41] Text that is shared verbatim between S230 and S232 is highlighted in the transcriptions and translations included below.

[42] London, British Library, Add. 33182, f. 8v (s. xvi; ex 2).

[43] *PASE:* 'Ealdwulf 8'.

[44] Observed by M. G. Welch, *Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, British Archaeological Record, British series 112 (Oxford, 1983), 326.

superscription',[45] *Idcirco ego* [named donor] *rogatus a* [named beneficiary] *ut sibi aliquantulam terram ad* [stated purpose] *largire dignarer*, can likewise be found in both S230 and S232, despite being otherwise uncommon. In this way, the closely related charters S230 and S232, which claim to date from the late seventh century, appear to actually comprise late eighth-century material drawn from the same authentic exemplar, S48, at the same point in the tenth century, which was then altered and expanded upon to suit the needs of Canterbury and Selsey respectively, in a programme of archival re-use demonstrated throughout the diplomatic corpus, as exemplified by the non-*tributarius* charter S50.[46]

The next charter in this group, S1172,[47] also purports to be a charter of the late seventh century (being dated 692×709), in which a certain Nothgyth, *famula Christi,* '(female) servant of Christ', gives land to Bishop Wilfrid upon her entrance into the religious life. This charter does not detail the land thus granted, referring only to *præfatam terram illam quæ michi hæreditarie per manus consanguineorum meorum,* 'that aforesaid land which was given as inheritance to me by the hands of my relatives,', in a clear allusion to another charter with which S1172 must have been closely associated. This charter is S45,[48] dated 692, in which Nothhelm (Nunna), king of the South Saxons (r. 690×710–717×724),[49] grants a number of estates to his sister Nothgyth (the donor of S1172) for the foundation of a monastery, in which case the phrase quoted above therefore links these two documents. S45 is considered to be 'essentially authentic',[50] including a number of features indicative of an early date (such as a relatively vague pseudo-cardinal point location details), although with some signs of later emendation. For example, the dispositive section reads *id est ·xxxiii. cassatos in locis qui appellantur hoc est in,* 'that is thirty-three *cassatae* in the place which is called this is in',

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[45] Kelly, *Selsey*, 7.

[46] For a detailed analysis of the hypothetical texts which served as exemplars in the drafting and revision of the composite document(s) as they exist now, see Brooks & Kelly, *Christ Church Canterbury Part 1,* 273–8.

[47] Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Episc. VI/1/2, f. 16v (s. xiv).

[48] Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Episc. VI/1/2, f. 16v (s. xiv). This is not a *tributarius* charter but is included here for the context it provides to S1172.

[49] *PASE:* 'Nothhelm 1'.

[50] Kelly, *Selsey,* 16.

with both the phrases *in locis qui appellantur* and *hoc est in* serving the same function of introducing the named estates which follow. Kelly suggests this as a product of imprecise harmonisation of two exemplars by a previous scribe.[51] Of particular interest is a numerical error in S45, where the total area of land granted is given as thirty-three *cassatae*, whereas the individual assessments of each estate are 12 + 10 + 11 + 2 + 3 = 38. It seems that this was a scribal mistake in the original single sheet (writing XXXIII for XXX[V]III), rather than a transmission error by the cartularist, as in S1172 the *præfatam terram* is also assessed as thirty-three *tributarii*, preserving the numerical error of S45, a mistake unlikely to have been made twice by the same copyist.

The details of the dispositive clause of S1172 were therefore drawn directly from that of S45, which has led to the suggestion that Nothgyth's grant was actually added as an endorsement to the original single sheet detailing her acquisition of the estates, rather than a separate document.[52] Taken together with the addition of later confirmations by successive rulers – Offa, king of the Mercians (r. 757–96), Ceolwulf, king of the Mercians (r. 821–3), and Æðelwulf, king of the West Saxons (r. 839–856)[53] – S1172 essentially forms a 'running commentary' in a similar manner to those discussed below, despite not being treated as such historically. The subordinate nature of S1172 may have been preserved in the layout of these diplomas respective to each other in the cartulary: whilst S45 is provided with a rubricated title, given as a long line at the head of the diploma text proper (a layout convention employed predominantly throughout the cartulary), the rubric of S1172 is instead given as two half-lines inserted into the body of the text (see Figure 7 below), seemingly denoting this distinction to be of lesser significance (namely, a subheading within a collated text).

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[51] *Selsey,* 17.

[52] H. Edwards, *The Charters of the Early West Saxon Kingdom*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 198 (Oxford, 1988), 255–6; also E. John, *Land Tenure in Early England*, rev. edn (Leicester, 1960); and Kelly, *Selsey,* 13–15.

[53] *PASE:* 'Offa 7', 'Ceolwulf 5' and 'Æðelwulf 1'.

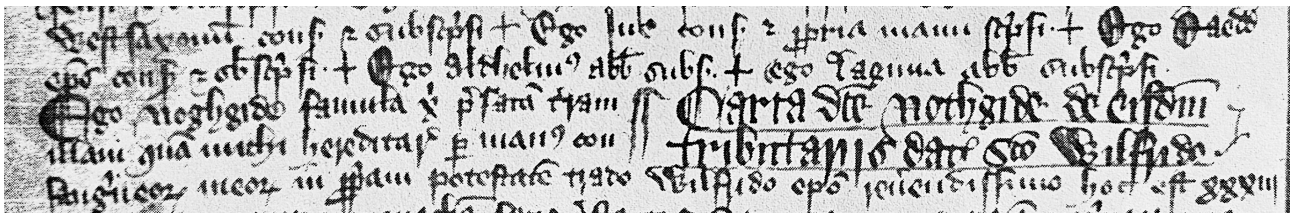

Fig. 7: Five lines from Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Episc. VI/1/2, f. 16v, covering the final attestations of S45, and the opening of S1172 (*Ego Noghgide* at the beginning of the third line), together with inset rubric to S1172 (large underlined text spanning the second halves of lines three and four). [image provided by West Sussex Record Office]

The diploma which follows immediately after S1172 in the cartulary (the non-*tributarius* diploma S42, also a grant by Nunna but otherwise unconnected to S45 and S1172), has two blank, inset half-lines identically placed to receive a rubric, although this was never added. Whilst the authenticity of S45 is broadly accepted, that of S1172 is questioned in light of the fact that the estates overlap with those named in S232 as comprising part of Selsey's primary endowment: if S232 is interpreted as a fabrication, or at least an 'improved' version of a genuine charter, the fabrication of an endorsement describing the return of these estates to the hands of Bishop Wilfrid would therefore support the claim of Selsey to this land by providing 'proof' of their ancient endowment.[54] Furthermore, Nothgyth gives her land to Wilfrid *in propriam potestatem,*[55] that is, in perpetual free possession, which appears to be a safeguard against claims of hereditary possession that came with the system of bookland,[56] and could thus be seen as a countermeasure against the alienation of property seen in the final diploma in this group.

The document which therefore seems to shed light on the preservation, or indeed production, of the three charters discussed above is S1291.[57] This is not a record of a land grant, but rather of

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[54] The view that S1172 was fabricated for this purpose is taken by Brooks, *Early History of Canterbury,* 242, and Edwards, *Charters of the Early West Saxon Kingdom*, 255–6. Kelly suggests that S1172 constitutes a re-working of authentic text, whilst F. M. Stenton dismisses it as 'an obvious forgery' without any further explanation. *Selsey,* 15-18, and 'The Supremacy of the Mercian Kings', *English Historical Review* 33 (1918), 438 n. 24.

[55] *DMLBS: s.v. proprius,* sense 6, 'one's own property or possessions'. *proprius* sense 1, 'one's own person', also occurs in the attestation of Æðelwulf later in S1172.

[56] E. John, *Orbis Britanniae and Other Studies* (Leicester, 1966), 91, and P. Wormald, *The Times of Bede: studies in early English Christian society and its historian* (Malden, 2006), 271–2.

[57] This charter exists in three copies dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; the copy from which the appended transcription is taken is MS1, Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Episc. VI/1/1, ff. 23r–v (s. xiv 2).

lands being returned to Bishop Byrhthelm of Selsey via the agency of King Eadwig (r. 955–9),[58] in exchange for a payment of 100 *mancuses,* a transaction explained at length within the main text of the charter. Bishop Byrhthelm is otherwise unknown, however 'there is room for [a bishop of this name] between Alfred and Eadhelm in the Selsey list, for Alfred's last appearance is in 953 and Eadhelm's first is 983',[59] thereby according with the date of this diploma. Despite the discursive nature of the Latin prose, the content and structure of the charter is relatively straightforward, as the necessity of the charter's drafting are noted (confirming the restoration of land that *fraudulenter … arrepta fuerat,* 'had been deceitfully snatched'), along with the names and sizes of the various estates in question, and statement of privileges bestowed by King Eadwig (notable for being couched in the first person). The circumstances surrounding the alleged alienation of these lands are, however, more problematic. The individual charged with this crime is a certain 'Ælfsine', thought to be synonymous with Ælfsige, Bishop of Winchester 951–9 and Archbishop of Canterbury in 959. Variant spellings of personal names are commonplace within the archival record, due in part to Latinisation of their Old English elements (for example, there are forty-six different spellings of Eadwig, the overseer named in this charter),[60] meaning that the equation of 'Ælsinus' with Ælfsige is entirely plausible on linguistic grounds.

Ælfsige's career appears to have been tumultuous: Byrhtferth of Ramsey's *Vita Oswaldi* (I.7) records him striking the tomb of Archbishop Oda (*uirgaque quam manu gestabat tumbam indigniter tetigit*, 'and he struck the tomb insultingly with the staff which he was carrying in his hand'),[61] whilst William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* (I.17) not only repeats this, but adds that he attained the archbishopric through bribery and forgery.[62] Of further interest is the statement within

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[58] *PASE:* 'Eadwig 4'.

[59] D. Whitelock, 'The Appointment of Dunstan as Archbishop of Canterbury', in *Otium et Negotium: Studies ·.. presented to Olof von Feilitzen*, ed. F. Sandgren (Stockholm, 1973), 235. Brooks suggests that Byrhthelm was appointed to the See in AD 956. *Early History,* 241. The approximate dates of office, 953×956–956×963, are proposed in *PASE:* 'Beorhthelm 20'.

[60] *PASE:* 'Eadwig 4'.

[61] Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine,* ed. and trans. M. Lapidge (Oxford, 2010), I.7.

[62] *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum,* ed. M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 2007) I.17.

S1291 that his actions were *contra decretum sanctorum patrum Niceni consilii* ('in a manner contrary to the decree of the holy fathers at the Council of Nicea'), which seems to be a reference to the 12th canon of the Second Council of Nicaea (787), forbidding any alienation of the lands of episcopal churches,[63] a condemnation which would be all the more relevant in the context of crimes committed by a member of the clergy. However, Bishop Ælfsige appears to witness the charter (*Ego Ælsinus præsul sigillum agiæ crucis inpressi,* 'I Ælfsine, prelate, have impressed the seal of the sign of the holy cross'), so challenging this interpretation of the text.[64] E. E. Barker offers a more pragmatic view, stating:

> The Nicene canons seem to contain nothing relating to improper seizure of church lands. In 816 the English Council of Chelsea, in its 7th canon, enjoined that monastic property was not to be alienated … but even this was not observed in the tenth century, as is shown by the many leases for three lives granted by St. Oswald, bishop of Worcester (961–92).[65]

In this way, whilst the crimes of Bishop Ælfsige were condemned in theory, the reality of contemporary episcopal landholding may have been significantly more fluid than official edicts would imply.

There has not been much debate regarding the authenticity of S1291, although this is clearly of significant importance, as discussion has focussed almost entirely on its contribution to our understanding of the tenth-century relations between Selsey and Canterbury. D. Whitelock states that it 'cannot be accepted as it stands', citing the lack of evidence for a Bishop Brihthelm, which may indicate that the name is an interpolation.[66] Kelly also considers this charter to be suspicious, but notes that 'The authenticity of the received text of [S1291] is a matter of debate, although there can be little doubt that a genuine contemporary document lies behind it'.[67] By contrast, Brooks gives

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[63] Brooks, *Early History of Canterbury*, 376 n. 113.

[64] Kelly, *Selsey*, 91.

[65] E. E. Barker, 'Sussex Anglo-Saxon Charters, III', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 88 (1949), 86 n. 9.

[66] 'Appointment of Dunstan', 235.

[67] *Selsey*, 88.

the diploma a more positive reception.[68] S1291 is therefore included in this group because of its links to S232 and, by extension, S230 and 1172. The list of estates restored to Selsey in S1291 is almost identical to those granted to the See in S232: those at 'Medemenige' and 'Bessenheie' do not feature in S1291 (which may account for the reduction of the total area from fifty-five to forty-two *tributarii*), whilst the individual assessments of the remaining estates have only minor variations in estate size (Aldingborne and Lidsey number seven *cassatae* in S1291 rather than six, whilst Mundham has nine rather than eight). Textually, the dispositive clauses of both charters are remarkably similar, sharing identical phrasing: [total figure] *tributarios in illis locis qui uocantur* [list of estate names] *cum aliis uillis sibi cohærentibus, et cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus. Necnon terram illam quæ appellatur* [further estate names], '[total figure] *tributarii* in those places which are called [list of estate names] with other towns adjacent to them, and with all things pertaining thereto. And also of that land which is called [further estate names]', differing only in the operative details of the named estates. The only variation in composition between the two clauses is grammatical, with S1291 reading *terræ illius* where S232 reads *terram illam.* Considering the two charters allege to have been issued almost three hundred years apart, this level of agreement is certainly suspicious. Furthermore, four of the estates listed in both S232 and S1291 form the grant by King Nothhelm recorded in S45 and thus re-granted by Nothgyth in S1172, although the size of these estates has since altered: Aldingbourne and Lidsey comprise twelve *cassatae* together, whilst Westergate (which had six *cassatae* in both S232 and S1291) has ten and Mundham eleven. S45 grants a further two *cassatae* in the *orientali plaga,* 'eastern region' and three *in occidentali,* 'in the west': together, these could be synonymous with the four at Coldwaltham given in both S1291 and S232.[69]

If S1291 is taken to be essentially reliable, a sequence of events explaining the connection between these charters can thus be proposed: during the tenth century, a large area of land was

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[68] *Early History,* 240–1.

[69] For convenience, the estates are here referred to by their modern names as the spelling varies quite significantly between the charters in question: in S1291 these are *Ældyngburna, Ludesya, Mundeham, Geinstedesgate* and *Waltham*; in S232 they are *Aldyngborne, Hludeseye, Mundeham, Geinstedegate* and *Waldham*; in S45 (S1172) they are *Aldyngborn, Lydeseye, Mondehame* and *Genstedegate*.

alienated from Selsey. Bishop Byrhthelm, in order to reclaim the See's possessions, enlisted the aid of Canterbury 'where the cult of Wilfrid, the apostle of Sussex, had been so recently established'.[70] To provide evidence of Selsey's ancient claim to these estates, S232 was fabricated to prove that they comprised the original endowment of the See upon its foundation. However, the primary endowment of Selsey was stated by both Stephen of Ripon and Bede to have been eighty-seven *hida*, granted by the South Saxon king Æthelwalh (regnal dates unknown).[71] In the *Vita Sancti Wilfridi* (a text which would have been available at Christ Church, Canterbury, after the translation of Oda's relics),[72] Stephen of Ripon records that:

> *Rex namque mitis et pius per Deum factus, villam suam propriam, in qua manebat, ad episcopalem sedem cum territoriis postea additis LXXXVII mansionum in Seolesiae.*
> The king, who had been made gentle and pious by God, gave his own estate, in which he lived, to be an episcopal See, adding to it afterwards eighty-seven *mansiones* in Selsey.

The identification of the original endowment of Selsey as having been the king's own royal estate was perhaps intended to demonstrate the enthusiasm with which the king and his court embraced Christianity and, by extension, Wilfrid and his community, literally accepting them into the heart of the kingdom.[73] Although Bede does not mention this detail, his account is otherwise in agreement:

> *Quo tempore rex Aedilualch donauit reuerentissimo antistiti Uilfrido terram LXXXVII familiarum, ubi suos homines, qui exules uagabantur, recipere posset, uocabulo Seolesige quod dicitur Latine insula uituli marini… Hunc ergo locum cum accepisset episcopus Uilfrid, fundauit ibi monasterium*
> 'At this time, King Ethelwalh granted the most reverend Bishop Wilfrid land of eighty-seven *familiarum* so that he could maintain his exiled companions. This land lay at Selsey, known in Latin as the Isle of the Sea-Calf… Bishop Wilfrid therefore accepted this land, and built a monastery'.[74]

Bede also states that Æthelwalh *non multo ante baptizatus in prouincia Merciorum*, 'had been baptised in the kingdom of Mercia not long previously', and whose wife, Queen Ebba, *in sua, id est Huicciorum*

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[70] Brooks, *Early History of Canterbury*, 241.

[71] *PASE:* 'Æthelwalh 1'.

[72] Brooks, *Early History of Canterbury*, 240.

[73] D. P. Kirby, 'The Church in Saxon Sussex', in *The South Saxons*, ed. P. Brandon (London, 1978), 168.

[74] *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV.13.

prouincia fuerat baptizata, 'had already been baptised in her own kingdom of the Hwicce', indicating that the Hwicce and likely other Mercian people-groups had been converted 'in an unobtrusive and utterly unmemorable way by the Britons among them'[75] prior to the arrival of Wilfrid (and indeed perhaps also the Continental missionaries), although any firm evidence of this has subsequently been overwritten.[76] However, the details of Wilfrid's career included in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, written c. AD 731, may have been 'largely based on Stephen's', likely composed shortly after AD 712, which would explain the high degree of correspondence between the two accounts.[77]

The extensive grant recorded by Bede and Stephen of Ripon would thus appear to be the subject of *tributarius* diplomas S230 and S232, which record Bishop Wilfrid receiving an array of estates within Sussex for the support of his community and the construction of a monastery, so that these diplomas represent the foundation charter(s) of Selsey.[78] The grantor of these diplomas is Cædwalla, King of the West Saxons AD 685–8,[79] as opposed to the Æthelwalh named by Bede, Stephen of Ripon and, in the twelfth century, by William of Malmesbury. Neither witness list includes an attestation by Æthelwalh, nor is he named as a grantor within the main text. However, a detail mentioned by William of Malmesbury could account for this discrepancy:

> *Idemque, tota Westsaxonia potitus, ut magistrum et dominum omni rego prefecit Wilfridum … Denique et amplissimas in Wehta insula possessiones dedit, et quae ante habuerat libens edicto firmauit.*
> Taking control of all Wessex, he put Wilfrid in charge of the kingdom as lord and master … For instance, he gave him vast properties in the Isle of Wight, and was happy to confirm his previous possessions by grant of an edict.[80]

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[75] *Historia Ecclesiastica,* IV.13.

[76] Pretty, K., 'Defining the Magonsæte', in *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms,* ed. S. Bassett (Leicester, 1989), 178.

[77] C. Cubitt, 'St Wilfrid: a man for his times', in *Wilfrid: abbot, bishop, saint. Papers from the 1300th anniversary conferences*, ed. N. J. Higham & S. Tyas (London, 1995), 312–3.

[78] The dispositive section of S232 begins *Quapropter ego Cæduualla disponente domino rex rogatus a uenerando Uuilfrido episcopo uti sibi aliquantulam terram ad suffragium famulorum Christi, qui uitam cœnobialem degant, et ad construendum monasterium in loco qui uocatur Seolesige,* 'Wherefore I, Cædwalla, king by the grace of the Lord, have been asked by the venerable Bishop Wilfrid that I should deign to grant him a little piece of land for the support of the servants of Christ so that they might lead a monastic life, and for the construction of a monastery in the place which is called Selsey'. S230 does not include the caveat of constructing a monastery, describing the land only as *ad suffragium uitæ suæ fratrumque suorum qui secum conuersarentur,* 'for the support of his own life and those of the brethren who might dwell with him'.

[79] *PASE:* 'Cædwalla 1'.

[80] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* iii.103.

Here, Æthelwalh is presented as retrospectively confirming the grants made by his predecessors, presumably including that by Cædwalla, in a manner likewise demonstrated by Mercian kings during the long eighth century.[81]

To reach the historically-attested figure of eighty-seven *hida*, Nothgyth's estates were therefore added to Selsey's possessions via the terms of S1172, which was fabricated or emended for this purpose. The naming of Wilfrid as the recipient of a spurious grant could have occurred at any time, and on multiple occasions, in the house's history, as association with the founder would have added gravitas to the document.[82] In repayment for their assistance, Canterbury received a number of Selsey's reclaimed estates, necessitating the production of S230 to provide a similarly ancient claim to lands, despite there being no other extant evidence for archiepiscopal estates in Sussex prior to 957.[83] This assessment is supported by the second endorsement added to the manuscript of S230 in a tenth-century hand, which reads *Uuilfridus æpiscopus cartulam hanc · multimodasque et humillimas Theodoro archiepiscopo in Christo salutes,* 'Bishop Wilfrid gives this charter in the name of Christ to Archbishop Theodore [of Canterbury] with multiple humble greetings.', thereby providing 'the first explicit textual link between Pagham and Canterbury, since the document on the face makes no reference to a Canterbury claim'.[84] If however S1291 is interpreted as a spurious text, it could, according to S. E. Kelly:

> reflect the interpolation and re-writing of a text which originally dealt with a more modest restoration to Selsey in 957, under the influence of S230 … [these charters] could reflect, not simply an episode of seizure and restoration in the 950s, but a later and broader preoccupation with providing documentation for the episcopal endowment, and for claims to estates that had slipped away from Selsey's control.[85]

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[81] The practice of retrospective attestation as a statement of authority is discussed in the 'Diplomas of the Mercian Supremacy' group below.

[82] Edwards, *Charters of the Early West Saxon Kingdom*, 255–6.

[83] Brooks, *Early History of Canterbury,* 242.

[84] Brooks & Kelly, *Christ Church Canterbury Part 1,* 273.

[85] Kelly, *Selsey*, 89–90.

A detail in support of this conclusion is the sheer extent of lands allegedly alienated by Ælfsige: wrongfully claiming possession of seventy-four *hida*, at sites within the core territory of the See (including that of the church itself) seems an improbable feat for an individual, whereas the retrospective interpolation of this figure into the pre-existing record of Ælfsige's less extensive acquisitions could offer a more plausible explanation. Furthermore, this diploma provides the only record of this 'catastrophic event',[86] a crime of such magnitude that it would be expected to have featured in, for example, the proceedings of a contemporary Synod. Whether S1291 is entirely or partially authentic, this group of charters nevertheless bears witness to a series of forgeries and interpolations designed to improve the archives of Christ Church Canterbury and Selsey, seemingly in collaboration, with the aim of strengthening the houses' claims to their territorial possessions.

[86] Brooks & Kelly, *Christ Church Canterbury Part 1*, 274.

S48 / B198 / K1008

Date: A.D. 762 (probably for 765)

Operative details: Osmund, king, to Walhere, his *comes*; grant, for the construction of a minster, of twelve *tributarii* at Ferring, Sussex.

Language and archive: *Latin*, Selsey.

Source of transcription: images of Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Episc. VI/1/2, f.17r, (s.xiv) provided by West Sussex Record Office. Where damage to the manuscript has resulted in lacunae, these have been supplemented by Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, vol. 1, 281.

Style and Diction: There is little of particular note in this rather simple charter, though it seems that the form *siluaticia* is an error for *siluaticis*, likely due to the *-a* of *Coponora* that follows. According to *eSawyer*, the term *retributor* ('rewarder'), as applied to God, is relatively rare in the charter corpus.

Transcription

Carta Osmundi regis de XII tributariis in Ferrings ·

+ In nomine domini Ihesu Christi saluatoris ·

Esto nobis adiutor Deus quem credimus et diligimus et scimus[87] retributorem operum nostrorum · Idcirco ego Osmundus rogatus a comite meo Walhere ut sibi aliquantulam terram ad construendum in ea monasterium largire[88] dignarer · Cuius precibus accommodans eandem terram de qua suggerere uidebatur pro remedio animæ meæ imperpetuum tradens libenter impendo id est · XII · tributarios terræ quæ appellantur Ferring · cum totis ad eam pertinentibus rebus, campis, siluis, pratis, fluminibus, fontanis, et siluaticia, Coponora et Titlesham · Scripta est hæc cartula anno ab incarnatione domini · DCC.LXII · indictione tertia · mensis Augusti die tertio ·

+ Ego Osmundus hanc donationem propria manu subscripsi ·

+ Ego Osa episcopus consensi et subscripsi · etc. — Testes[89] in lingua Saxonica ·

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[87] The syntax of this phrase is inconsistent: whilst it appears correct, the scribe has assumed *credo* takes the accusative, rather than the dative, as it should in this instance (by Classical standards).

[88] By Classical Latin standards this should be read as *largiri,* whilst by the medieval period, deponent verbs often appear with active infinitives as here. See *DMLBS: s.v. largiri, largire*.

[89] Kelly suggests *Testes* (witnesses) may be an error for *Termini* (bounds), although either would be appropriate at this juncture in the text. *Selsey,* 42.

Translation

Charter of king Osmund of 12 *tributarii* in Ferring.

+ In the name of our lord and saviour Jesus Christ.

Be our helper, O God, in whom we believe, and esteem, and know to be the rewarder of our acts. Therefore I, Osmund, have been asked by my *comes* Walhere that I should deign to grant him a little piece of land for the construction of a monastery on it; and in answer to his requests I grant him the same land which he seemed to indicate, freely handing it over in perpetuity for the healing of my soul, that is, twelve *tributarii* of land which are called Ferring, with all things pertaining to it, fields, woods, meadows, rivers, springs, and woodlands at *Coponora* and *Titlesham*. This charter was written in the year 762[90] from the incarnation of the Lord, the third of the indiction, on the third day of the month of August.

+ I, Osmund, have subscribed to this grant with my own hand.

+ I, Osa, bishop, have consented and subscribed. etc. Witnesses in the Saxon language.

[90] Error for DCCLXV (765) which agrees with the indiction, caused by erasure breaking the 'v'. Barker, 'Sussex Charters I', 83 n. 9.

S230 / B50 / K18

Date: A.D. 680 (? for 685).

Operative details: Cædwalla, king, to Wilfrid, bishop; grant of seventy *tributarii* at Pagham, Shripney, Charlton, Bognor, Bersted, North Bersted, Crimsham, North and South Mundham, all in Sussex, and to the community at St Andrew's church situated on the east of Pagham Harbour, grant of ten *tributarii* at Tangmere, Sussex.

Language and archive: *Latin with bounds,* Canterbury, Christ Church.

Source of transcription: from digital images of London, British Library, Cotton Augustus ii. 86 (s. x); supplemented by Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 1, 81–3.

Edition: those portions of the Latin text in **bold** are shared verbatim (except for occasional grammatical variation) with S232.

Style and Diction: There are a number of unusual features to the literary language of this charter, such as the use of *taxauimus*, here alliterating with *tributariorum*, where the verb itself clearly has the sense 'to assess for tax, rent, or other payment or duty' (*Dmlbs: s.v. taxare*, sense 2), and is a reminder of the tributary origins of the term *tributarii* itself, while according to *eSawyer*, this form is uniquely found here in the charter corpus. Likewise rare is the closing poem, comprising eight lines of octosyllables, with pairs of lines linked by end-rhyme, of a form closely associated with Aldhelm (who supposedly is responsible for the charter's composition) and his followers (*CLASP* N.Cart050.Octo). In this context, it is important to differentiate Aldhelm's style of octosyllables from that of Bishop Hæddi of Winchester (*c.* 676–705), another of the witnesses to this charter. It is notable that, beyond this charter, comparable octosyllabic poems are only found at the end of three other diplomas (S590, 624, and 635), all dated to AD 956, each of which, however comprises only two lines (see *CLASP*, poems N.Cart932.Octo, N.Cart961.Octo, and N.Cart962.Octo). A further alliterative phrase '***in infer****no* ***infer****iore*' likewise has a restricted distribution, being found elsewhere in the charter corpus (according to *eSawyer*) in 8 other charters (S8, 355, 514, 583, 974, 1208, 1637, and 1642). The bounds are a mixture of Latin and Old English place-names.

Transcription

+ In nomine saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi · Nihil intulimus in hunc mundum uerum nec auferre quid poterimus.[91] Idcirco terrenis et caducis æterna et cœlestia supernæ patriæ premia mercanda sunt. Quapropter ego Cædualla disponente domino rex rogatus a uenerando Uuilfrido æpiscopo ut sibi aliquantulam terram ad suffragium uitæ suæ fratrumque suorum qui secum conuersarentur et in diuino seruitio huius peregrinationis quam uir uenerandus diutius peregit **pro relaxatione criminum et perpetui premii receptaculo largiri dignarer · cuius precibus annuens terrenam sibi possessiunculam de qua sugerere uidebatur pro remedio animæ meæ libenter impendi[92]** · et hanc libertatem sub estimatione · lxx · tributariorum taxauimus in illo loco qui dicitur Pecgan ham · aliisque locis circumquaque adiacentibus hoc est Scrippan eg · Ceorla tun · Bucgan ora · Beorgan stede · north Beorgan stede · Crymes ham · se northra Mundan ham · other Mundan ham · et hæc omnia uenerabili uiro Uuilfrido cum consensu et deuota confirmatione Ecgualdi subreguli **in potestatem propriæ dominationis** pro suæ nimiæ sanctitatis[93] conuersatione · et nostrorum peccatorum relaxatione redigimus · insuper addidimus fratribus suis Deo seruientibus ad æcclesiam sancti Andreæ super ripam positam[94] orientalem portus qui dicitur Uedring mutha · terram quæ dicitur Tang mere · x · tributariorum ut eis quamdiu fides catholica regnet hinc necessaria corporalis usus specialiter prebeantur. **Si quis uero quod absit contra hæc decreta firmiter statuta contraire et ea soluere conatus fuerit nouerit se ante tribunal examinis Christi rationem redditurum et habere partem cum Iuda traditore domini** nostri Iesu Christi · **in inferno inferiore ·**

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[91] Quotation from the Vetus Latina version of 1 Timothy 6:7, and can also be found in the invocation of S892, *Fontes.* This verse is likewise quoted in approximately thirty-four other Anglo-Saxon diplomas, and a variety of sources including Cyprian, Pelagius and the Book of Armagh. Dempsey, *Aldhelm of Malmesbury,* 201.

[92] Both S230 and S232 give this form of the verb (*DMLBS: s.v. impendere*, sense 2c: 'to give, grant, bestow [land or sim.])', which in Classical Latin is more usually *impensi.*

[93] Kemble gives *sancitatis,* either in mis-transcription or as an alternative expansion of a suspension in the manuscript. *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 1, 23.

[94] Kemble gives *positum,* likely by alternative expansion of an abbreviation or suspension in the manuscript. *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 1, 23.

Haec[95] sunt territoria ad Pecgan ham pertinentia primitus ab occidente Uedrigmutha · per illum portum ad locum qui dicitur holan horan fleot et sic ducitur in lang port, inde ad aquilonem to unning lande · sic ad orientem on fleot super illud quod dicitur inufes ford · inde in locum qui dicitur cynges uuic · et sic ad locum qui dicitur langan ersc · inde on loxan leage · et sic in locum qui dicitur bebbes ham · inde in pontem thel brycg · et sic ad aquilonem iuxta palustria loca · super hæc ad locum qui dicitur hylsan seohtra et sic ad orientem in uuærmundes hamm · hinc in uuadan hlæu · ab illo loco in fisc mere · et sic in brynes fleot · sicque dirigitur in mare. Sed et hi sunt termini pertinentes ad tang mere · primitus of hleap mere per uiam puplicam ad terram heantunensem ad angulum circianum · inde in locum horsa gehæg. et sic ubi dicitur hean erse · hinc ad ælrithe · ab ipso riuo ad fraxinum unum · et sic ad locum ceale mere · hinc ad headan scræf ab illo loco · to lulan treouue · et sic in tatan ham · sic ad risc mere · ab illo loco to hleap mere · et sunt pascua ouium in meos dune pertinentia ad tang mere.

Anno dominicæ incarnationis · dclxxx · Ego Cædualla a rex prefato rogatus æpiscopo hanc donationis meæ cartulam scribere iussi[96] · et absque triinoda[97] necessitate totius Christiani populi id est arcis munitione · pontis emendatione · exercitu[98] congestione liberam perstrinxi ·

Ego Ecguuald subregulus mente deuota consensi et subscripsi ·

+Ego Æthelredus domino prestante rex pro remedio animæ meæ hanc donationem corroboraui ·

+Ego Hæddi episcopus consensi et subscripsi ·

+Ego Ercenuualdus episcopus consensi et subscripsi ·

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[95] Kemble omits this entire paragraph from his transcription, noting after *in inferno inferiore,* 'here follow the boundaries, inserted in Latin, and in the same hand'. *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 1, 24.

[96] By Classical standards, verbs being ordered should take the passive infinitive, *scribi* or *scribus esse,* but here is given as the active infinitive *scribere,* following the precedent of the Old English *het scrifan,* where the active infinitive is standard.

[97] Kemble, Brooks & Kelly give *trimoda,* attributing the above spelling to minim-confusion (reading *m* as *i+n*). *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 1, 24, and *Christ Church Canterbury Part 1,* 272.

[98] Kemble, Brooks & Kelly both give *exercitii,* likely due to minim-confusion (reading *ii* for u or vice-versa) *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 1, 24, and *Christ Church Canterbury Part 1,* 272.

+Ego Aldhelmus scolasticus archiepiscopi Theodori hanc cartulam dictitans prout regis maiorumque imperia[99] statuerunt scribere iussi[100] · illisque sancientibus constitutum est · ut beato uiro Uuilfrido liberum remaneret arbitrium in uita sua de hac ruris possessiuncula · et post obitum cuicumque uoluerit in æternam possessionem iure hereditario derelinqueret ·[101]

Pax[102] cunctis legentibus ·

Consensumque prebentibus ·

Sitque laus utentibus[103] ·

Luxque perpes credentibus ·

Uirtus uita fauentibus[104] ·

Rite constet senatibus

Anglorum atque cetibus

Qui dona firment nutibus ·

Endorsement:

+PACGAN HAMM (tenth–century hand)

+Uuilfridus æpiscopus cartulam hanc · multimodasque et humillimas Theodoro archiepiscopo in Christo salutes (tenth–century hand)

Rex ceduuala dedit Paggenham Sancto Wilfrido episcopo · latine (twelfth–century hand)

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[99] Kemble gives *inperia,* due to either minim confusion or as an alternative expansion of a suspension in the manuscript. *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 1, 24.

[100] Repetition of this phrase from the extensive attestation of Cædwalla seems intended to draw a connection between the king and Aldhelm.

[101] Although this ascription to Aldhelm is doubtful, the inclusion of an eight-line octosyllabic poem does emulate his works, such as the *Carmen Rhythmicum.* As discussed by A. Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm* (Cambridge, 1994), 26–8. Its reiteration and confirmation of the intent of the diploma is highly unusual within the diplomatic corpus.

[102] Presumably for *Pax sit,* to give the requisite octosyllabic line: see *CLASP*, N.Cart050.Octo.

[103] *Utentibus,* 'using' a document is unusual within the Anglo-Latin diplomatic corpus, but reflects the vernacular *brucan,* 'to use or have the benefit of', where the diploma may later be 'used' in the settlement of disputes or the tracing of bounds.

[104] In early Old English poetry, 'v' and 'f' were considered alliterative.

Translation

In the name of our Saviour Jesus Christ. We have brought nothing into this world, and it is true that we can carry nothing out. Therefore the eternal and heavenly rewards of the homeland on high are to be purchased instead with earthly and transitory things. Wherefore I, Cædwalla, king as the Lord disposes, have been asked by the venerable Bishop Wilfrid that I might deign to bestow unto him a little piece of land for the support of his own life and those of the brethren who might dwell with him, and in the divine service of this pilgrimage which the venerable man has for rather a long time made for the easing of sins and the receipt of the eternal reward; and I have, in answer to his requests, freely for the healing of my soul granted him that small estate which he had seemed to suggest; and this jurisdiction we have rated by estimate at 70 *tributarii* in the place which is called Pagham and other places around and adjacent to this, that is, Shripney, Charlton, Bognor, Bersted, North Bersted, Crimsham, North Mundham, the other (South) Mundham; and all this we grant to the venerable man Wilfrid with the consent and pious agreement of sub-king Ecgwald, in the power of his own rule, for the frequent use of his outstanding holiness and loosening the bonds of our sins. In addition, we have granted to his brethren, serving God at the church of St. Andrew, situated on the eastern shore of the harbour which is called Withering, the land of 10 *tributarii* which is called Tangmere, that as long as the catholic faith reigns the necessities of their bodily requirements may be especially provided therefrom. And if however, God forbid, anyone should attempt to go against and contravene this firmly established decree, let him know that he will have to render account before the judgement seat of Christ, and will take his place with Judas, the betrayer of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the lower depth of Hell.

These are the lands belonging to Pagham, firstly from the west the mouth of Withering, by that harbour to the place which is called hollow bank stream, and thus it leads to the long village,[105] thence northwards to Unna's land, so eastward to the stream and over it at the place called Ufa's

[105] Brooks & Kelly suggest 'long port' or 'long market', perhaps a stretch of river at which ships could dock to trade beside the road. *Christ Church Canterbury Part 1,* 280.

ford, thence to the place called king's farm, and thence to the place called long-ploughed earth,[106] thence to Loxa's wood-clearing, and so to the place called Bebba's farm, thence to the bridge called plank-bridge, and thus northwards beside the marshy places, over this to the place which is called Aldingbourne Rife[107] and thence east to Wærmund's meadow, thence to Wada's barrow, from that place to the fish pond, from there to Byrni's stream, and so the line turns to the sea. And these are the bounds belonging to Tangmere, firstly from Leapmere along the highway to the land of the Easthampnett people, to the angular bend,[108] thence to the horse paddock, thus to the place called the high ploughed land, thence to the eel brook, from that brook to the single ash-tree, and thus to the place called the chalky pool, thence to the ?deep cave,[109] from that place to Lula's tree, and thus to Tata's farm, thus to the rushy pool, and from there to Leapmere. And there are sheep in pastures belonging to Tangmere at moss-hill.[110]

In the year of our Lord's incarnation 680 I, Cædwalla, king, at the request of the aforesaid bishop, have ordered this grant of mine to be drawn up as a charter, and made it free, except for the three burdens common to the whole Christian populace, that is, the arming of forts, the repairing of bridges, and the raising of troops.

I Ecgwald, sub-king, have consented and subscribed with devout mind.

+ I Æðelred, king through the granting of the Lord, have corroborated this grant for the good of my soul.

+ I Hæddi, bishop, have consented and subscribed.

+ I Ercenwald, bishop, have consented and subscribed.

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[106] The term *ersc* denotes 'arable land in areas which were not entirely suitable for crop growing'. Brooks & Kelly, *Christ Church Canterbury Part 1,* 281.

[107] The meaning of the original name is unclear, appearing to be the personal name Hylsa in the genitive, + *seohtre,* 'drain'. Brooks & Kelly, *Christ Church Canterbury Part 1,* 281.

[108] Brooks & Kelly suggest 'north-west corner', with *circianum* being derived from *circius,* 'a west-north-west wind' (*s.v. DMLBS*). *Christ Church Canterbury Part 1,* 282.

[109] *Headan* could instead represent the personal name Headda in the genitive, making this 'Headda's pit'. Brooks & Kelly, *Christ Church Canterbury Part 1,* 283.

[110] These bounds contain an unusually high proportion of uncommon compound nouns, which act as place-names. Barker, 'Sussex Charters, I', 50–4.

+ I Aldhelm, student of Archbishop Theodore, have dictated this charter and had it written out in accordance with the orders of the king and of the elders. And with the sanction of these men it was decided that the holy man Wilfrid should retain full control over this portion of land during his lifetime, and after his death should leave it in eternal possession as a legal inheritance to whomsoever he wished.

Let there be peace on all who read this and agree with it, and praise to those who use it, and perpetual light on all who believe it, virtue and life to all those who look favourably upon it. Properly may it have the support of the councils and gatherings of the English who support the gift by agreement.

Endorsement:

+ Pagham

+ Bishop Wilfrid gives this charter in the name of Christ to Archbishop Theodore with multiple humble greetings.

+ King Cædwalla gave Pagham to Saint Wilfrid bishop; Latin.

S232 / B64 / K992

Date: A.D. 673 (?for 683), 3 Aug.

Operative details: Cædwalla, king, to Wilfrid, bishop, in order to found a monastery at Selsey; grant of fifty–five *tributarii* at Selsey, Medmerry, Wittering, Itchenor, Birdham, Egesawde, Bessenheie, Brinfast and Sidlesham, with six *cassatae* at Aldingbourne and Lidsey, six at Geinstidegate (? Westergate), eight at (North) Mundham, eight at [Amberley and] Houghton and four at Coldwaltham, all in Sussex.

Language and archive: *Latin with bounds,* Selsey

Source of transcription: from images of Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Episc. VI/1/1, ff. 23v–24r (s. xiv) provided by West Sussex Record Office. Where damage to the manuscript has resulted in lacunae, these have been supplemented by Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 1, 98–100.

Edition: those portions of the Latin text in **bold** are shared verbatim (except for occasional grammatical variation) with S230.

Style and Diction: This is a much more simple charter than the previous one, from a purely stylistic perspective, despite the overlapping diction. Even the notable use of alliteration at the beginning of the bounds (***t****ellus* … ***t****erminis* ***c****ircum****c****incta* ***c****larescit*), repeated below in S1291, is in fact simply formulaic, being found a further 19 times in the charter corpus, according to *eSawyer* (S379, 403, 413, 418, 419, 422, 423, 425, 651, 654, 655, 660, 692, 705, 725, 864, 896, 915, and 1604).

Transcription

+ In nomine saluatoris nostri Ihesu Christi · Nihil intulimus in hunc mundum uerum nec auferre quid possumus idcirco terrenis et caducis æterna et cœlestia supernæ patriæ præmia mercanda sunt.

Quapropter ego Cæduualla disponente domino rex rogatus a uenerando Wilfrido episcopo uti sibi aliquantulam terram ad suffragium famulorum Christi, qui uitam cœnobialem degant, et ad construendum monasterium in loco qui uocatur Seleseya[111] **pro relaxatione criminum et perpetui præmii receptaculo largiri dignarer cuius precibus annuens** eandem **terram de qua suggerere uidebatur pro remedio animæ meæ libenter impendo[112] +** id est · LV · tributarios in illis locis qui uocantur Selesey et Medmenye, Withringes, Icchenore, Bridham, Egesawde, simulque Bessenheye, Brimefasten, Siddlesham, cum aliis uillis sibi cohærentibus, et cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus. Necnon terram illam quæ appellatur Aldyngborne, et Hludeseye · VI · cassatos,[113] et in Geinstedegate · VI · et in Mundeham · VIII · in Amberla[114] et Hoctone · VIII · et in Waldham · IIII · id est · XXXII · tributariorum cum consensu Wlfridi archiepiscopi et Æthuualdi subreguli, cæterorumque cum episcoporum ducum optimatumque Anglorum **in potestatem propriæ donationis** dabo **+ Si quis uero contra hæc decreta firmiter statuta contraire et soluere conatus fuerit, nouerit se ante tribunal examinis Christi rationem redditurum et habere partem cum Iuda traditore domini in inferno inferiori +** Scripta est autem hæc cartula anno ab incarnatione domini · DC · LXXXIII[115] · indictione · XI · mensis Augustu die · III ·

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[111] The Latinisation of Old English place-names throughout this diploma varies significantly between the extant manuscript recensions. The other variant forms are noted by Kelly, *Selsey,* 3–5. As Kelly's edition seeks to harmonise four different recensions of the diploma's text, these variations are footnoted according to the pertinent manuscript, but in some instances these do not seem to be supported by the reading of Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Episc. VI/1/1, ff. 23v–24r (Kelly's manuscript 'D') which has produced the above transcription.

[112] See parallel note to S230.

[113] This numeral and unit of assessment are added above the line.

[114] *In Amberla* is added above the line, and partially illegible.

[115] Kelly corrects this to *dcclxxiii. Selsey,* 5. This dating discrepancy is discussed in the 'Selsey-Canterbury Group' above.

Prædicta siquidem tellus hiis terminis circumcincta clarescit. Ab introitu portus qui appellatur Anglice Wynderinges post retractum mare in Cumenehore sic uersus occidentalem plagam iuxta mare usque Rombrigge[116] in ante iuxta litus maris usque Cheneston inde in ante iuxta litus usque Heremuthe et inde uersus septentrionalem plagam in longum fluuii usque Wyalesflet sursum et Wyalesflet usque quo Brumesdif exit inde uersus orientem in longum prædicti fossati in Woflet inde uersus orientem in longum fluuii et sic uersus australem plagam usque Wuderingemuðen +

+ Ego Cæduualha rex a præfato rogatus Episcopo donationis meæ cartulam subscripsi ·

+ Ego Uuilfridus archiepiscopus consensi et subscripsi ·

+ Ego Birhtuualdus archiepiscopus consensi et subscripsi ·

+ Ego Eguualdus episcopus consensi et subscripsi ·

+ Ego Uuilfridus episcopus terras mihi donatas crucis Christi roboratione ·

+ Ego Eadberhtus episcopus consensi et subscripsi ·

+ Ego Ealdulfus dux Suðsaxonum consensi et subscripsi ·

Omnes isti et multi alii consentientes subscripserunt et confirmauerunt.[117]

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[116] This boundary feature also appears in S1291 as *ðribeorgas*, 'three hills or barrows', identified as Rumbridge in Wittering. A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton, & J. E. B. Gover, *The Place-Names of Sussex*, English Place-Name Society 6–7 (Cambridge, 1929-1930), vol. 6, 88–9.

[117] The witness list is omitted from Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Episc. VI/1/1, ff. 23v–24r, but is provided in Birch's transcription.

Translation

In the name of our Saviour Jesus Christ. We have brought nothing into this world, and it is true that we can carry nothing out. Therefore the eternal and heavenly rewards of the Kingdom on high are to be sought instead of earthly and transitory things. Wherefore I, Cædwalla, king by the grace of the Lord, have been asked by the venerable Bishop Wilfrid that I should deign to grant him a little piece of land for the support of the servants of Christ so that they might lead a monastic life, and for the construction of a monastery in the place which is called Selsey, for the forgiveness of sins and the receipt of the eternal reward I might deign to bestow; and I have, in answer to his requests, freely for the healing of my soul granted him the same land which he seemed to indicate; that is, 55 *tributarii* in the places which are called Selsey, Medmeny, Wittering, Itchenor, Birdham, Egesa's wood, also Bessa's hedge, Brimfast, and Sidlesham, with other estates adjoining and with all appurtenances. In addition, with the consent of Archbishop Wilfrid, and sub-king Æthwald, and with the rest of the bishops, dukes and noblemen of England, I will give into his own power this grant, the land which is called Aldingbourne, and Lidsey, of 6 *cassatae,* and 6 at Westergate, and 6 at Mundham, an 8 at [Amberley] and Houghton, and 4 at Coldwaltham, that is 32 *tributarii.* And may it not be if anyone attempts to go against and contravene this firmly established decree, let him know that he will have to render account before the judgement seat of Christ, and he will have his part on the side of Judas, the betrayer of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the depths of Hell.

This charter was written in the year of our Lord's Incarnation 683, the 11th of the indiction, on the 3rd day of the month of August. Indeed, the aforesaid land is clearly described by these bounds. From the entrance to the harbour, which is called in English Withering, round where the sea retreats to Cymen's bank, thus turn westwards along the coast next to the sea all the way to the three barrows, until just before the beach next to the sea at Cwen's stone,[118] then until just before the beach at Hormouth, thence turn northwards along the shore of the long river to Bosham Channel,

[118] Rather than a personal name, *cwen* could also simply mean 'woman'.

and up it to the mouth of Bryni's ditch, thence turn eastwards along that aforesaid trench in the crooked creek, thence turn eastwards along the river and turn south along the coast to Withering.

+ I, Cædwalla, at the request of the aforesaid bishop, have subscribed the charter of my grant.

+ I Wilfrid, archbishop, have consented and subscribed.

+ I Birhtwald, archbishop, have consented and subscribed.

+ I Ecgwald, bishop, have consented and subscribed.

+ I, Wilfrid, bishop, corroborate the lands granted to me with the strength of the cross of Christ.

+ I, Eadberht, bishop, have consented and subscribed.

+ I, Ealdwulf, *dux* of the South Saxons, have consented and subscribed.

All these and many others consenting, have subscribed and confirmed.

S1172 / B79 / K1060

Date: A.D. 692 × 709.

Operative details: Nothgyth to Wilfrid, bishop; grant of land at Lidsey, Aldingbourne, Genestedegate (?Westergate) and Mundham, Sussex, which she had been given by her brother Nothhelm (cf. S45). With later confirmations by Offa and Ceolwulf I, kings of Mercia, and Æthelwulf, king of Wessex.

Language and archive: *Latin,* Selsey.

Source of transcription: from images of Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Episc. VI/1/2, f.16v (s. xiv) provided by West Sussex Record Office. Where damage to the manuscript has resulted in lacunae, these have been supplemented by Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 1, 114.

Style and Diction: This brief and rather unadorned charter exhibits occasional flashes of alliteration and a single example of polyptoton in *firmiter firmo*, a combination that, according to *eSawyer*, is only found here. There are multiple instances of *c* for *t* substitution, as in *seruicio* (for *seruitio*), line 9, and *racionem* (for *rationem*), line 10, this being a common feature of medieval Latin.

Transcription

Ego Noghgide, famula Christi, præfatam terram illam quæ michi hæreditarie per manus consanguineorum meorum in propriam potestatem trado Wilfrido episcopo reuerendissimo hoc est · XXXIII · tributariorum meque ei monacham facio præstante domino deuota mente paratam peregrinari coram Deo omnipotenti ·

Ego Offa rex Merciorum illam donationem quæ in alia parte huius paginulæ plenissima scripta tenetur cum meis fidelissimis testibus firmiter firmo · Ego Offa rex crucis signum impono + cum aliis testibus ·

Ego Æðelwlf gratia Dei Occidentalium Saxonum rex quæ donaui cum signo crucis Christi propriam manum[119] impono ab omni regali seruicio et omni sæcularium causarum absoluta seruitute · Si hoc quis minuere uel mutare præsumpserit noscat se ante tribunal Christi racionem redditurum nisi prius satisfactione emendauerit ·

Ego Colwlf rex Merciorum hanc præfatam terram secundum petitionem Renired[120] episcopi et eius placabili [pecunia] […] id est in numero · C · mancusæ ab omnibus curis sæcularibus in æcclesiasticam libertatem perdonabo si[121] meis fidelibus testibus et illis rogantibus et consentientibus.

+ Eadbrith[122] episcopus ·

+ Renired episcopus ·

+ Sired dux ·

+ Wulfrd dux ·

Acta sunt hæc in uilla quæ dicitur Deaniton ·

Translation

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[119] Birch gives *propria manu,* having overlooked the suspension marks which are slightly obscured by the underlining of Æðelwulf's name directly above. *Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 1, 114.

[120] Both Kemble and Kelly give *Kenredi* throughout, normalising the Latinised spelling of the Anglo-Saxon personal name. *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 5, 118, and *Selsey,* 14.

[121] Kemble and Kelly give *cum* instead of *si.* Whilst there is no obvious suspension mark warranting the reading as *cu(m)*, the form of *si* is indistinct. *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 5, 118, and *Selsey,* 15.

[122] Kemble and Kelly normalise the Latinised spelling of the witnesses' personal names to *Eadbrithus, Keinredus, Siredus* and *Wulfridus* respectively. *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 5, 118, and *Selsey,* 15.

I Noðgið, female servant of Christ, grant to the most reverend bishop Wilfrid that aforesaid land which was given as inheritance to me by the hands of my relatives, to be in his personal power; that is thirty-three *tributarii,* and I make myself his nun, under the rule of the Lord, prepared with devout mind to perform life's pilgrimage as in the presence of God Almighty.

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

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

I Ceolwulf, king of the Mercians, according to the petition of Bishop Cœnred and his satisfactory payment, that is, 100 *mancuses* in number, will grant the aforesaid land to the Church, free from all secular dues, with my faithful witnesses, at their request and with their consent.

+ Eadberht, bishop.

+ Cœnred, bishop.

+ Sigered, *dux*.

+ Wulfred, *dux*.

These deeds were done in the town which is called Denton.

S1291 / B997 / K464

Date: A.D. 957.

Operative details: Byrhthelm, bishop, records the restoration to the bishopric and minster of Selsey by King Eadwig of lands fraudulently seized by Ælfsige.[123] The lands recovered comprise forty-two *tributarii* at Selsey, Wittering, Itchenor, Birdham, *Egesawyda*, *Brinfast* and *Sidlesham*, seven *cassatae* at Aldingbourne and Lidsey, eight at [Amberley and] Houghton, four at Coldwaltham and nine at (North) Mundham, all in Sussex.

Language and archive: *Latin with English bounds,* Selsey.

Source of transcription: from images of Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Episc. VI/1/1, ff. 23r–v, (s. xiv) provided by West Sussex Record Office. Where damage to the manuscript has resulted in lacunae, these have been supplemented by Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 1, 365–6.

Style and Diction: Overall, this diploma exhibits many of the traits of the 'hermeneutic style'. The reference to Christ as 'the saviour of the world' (*cosmi saluatoris*) employs a Grecism (*DMLBS: s.v cosmos*); the phrase is also found in the non-*tributarius* diplomas S599, according to *eSawyer*. A further Grecism, for example, is *carisma* (*DMLBS: s.v charisma*), signifying 'gift', found elsewhere with this sense and spelling, according to *eSawyer* in three diplomas of Eadwig all dated to AD 956 (S601, 620, and 634). A further charter of Eadwig's from the same year (S610) is one of only two (the other is S374) to use the alternative phrase *capturis piscium* in place of the *piscariis* found elsewhere. The difficulty of the language likely caused scribal consternation: there are two clear examples of dittography at *conditionis conditionis* and *scripta scripta*. The double usage of the second / third-person imperative active here (*Habeto … possideto*) is also rare, and adds an elevated tone; the former is employed widely in the verse of Alcuin (see *CLASP*). A similarly poetic phrase *uitalis flatus,* 'breath of life', which (again according to *CLASP*) is found in one of Tatwine's *aenigmata* (*Aenigma 5* 2), and elsewhere, according to *eSawyer*, in addition to 3 further diplomas (S542, 650, and 778), in each of

[123] Birch describes the diploma as a 'deed by Byrhthelm, Bishop of London or Wells, setting out the proceedings connected with the restoration, by King Eadwig to the See of the Geuuissi or South Saxons at Selsey, of lands seized by Ælfsine at Selsey, and other sites'. *Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 1, 365. The identities of these individuals are discussed in the 'Selsey–Canterbury Group'.

which cases the phrase is connected to a pair of subjunctives (*habeat … possideat*), so highlighting the alternative selection of *Habeto … possideto* here. Also perhaps intended as elevated is the unique form *nostrate*, where *nostre* would be more usual, perhaps modelled on other heightened forms, such as *nostratim* or *nostratius* (see *DMLBS: s.v.*). The phrase *terra uiuentium,* 'land of the living', refers to life everlasting for those saved after death, and, according to *eSawyer*, is found in eleven other diplomas (S27, 149, 188, 263, 290, 294, 294b, 516, 629, 973, and 1206), though the connection to the biblical verse (see below) is only found here. A further potential biblical phrase is *obrizi auri,* 'purified gold', 'fine gold', found in the description of Solomon building his temple (2 Chronicles 3:5), though as a result of its biblical provenance, the phrase is encountered quite widely. The witness list is a notable example of deliberate variation of the basic phrase 'I have consented' for the 9 primary signatories (*concessi … consensi … roboraui … inpressi … confirmaui … adquieui … cosignaui … non renui … conclusi*).

Transcription

In nomine domini Ihesu Christi cosmi saluatoris · Anno secundo imperii Eadwiges totius Albionis insulæ imperantis ego Byrhthelmus diuina dispensatione episcopus humanæ conditionis conditionis[124] non inmemor quam breuis est uita hominis super terram totum me in futurum extendere desidero et ad superna erigere[125] festino ubi nostra abscondita est uita in Christo in deo,[126] atque ut amplior mihi hæreditas in terra uiuentium reddatur tota mentis auiditate crebro scrutatus sum qualiter terram quæ fraudulenter per quendam Ælfsinum nomine contra decretum[127] sanctorum patrum Niceni consilii ab æcclesia arrepta[128] fuerat ubi Geuuisorum id est Australium Saxonum præsul episcopali cathedra sublimari uidebatur , id est · XLII · tributarios in illis locis qui uocantur Selesie, Wystringes[129], Icchenore, Bridenham, Egesawyda,[130] Brinesfastene,[131] Sidleshame, cum aliis uillis sibi cohærentibus et cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus, necnon et terræ illius quæ appellantur Ældyngburna, Ludesya[132] · VII · cassatos, et in Geinstedesgate sex, [in Amberle] et in Hocton VIII ·, et in Waltham quatuor,[133] et in Mundeham IX ·, id est XXXII · tributariorum, pristino cui pertinebat episcopatui restituere ualuissem.

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[124] This word appears to have been duplicated in error (dittography) by the cartulary scribe. Birch omits the duplicate without note. *Cartularium Saxonicum*, vol. 3, 192.

[125] The sense of *erigere* in combination with *superna* to give the sense of spiritual ascension is also found in Bede; see *DMLBS: s.v. erigere*, sense 5: 'to raise (spiritually or mentally)'.

[126] Derived from the biblical verse Colossians 3:3, *mortui enim estis, et vita nostra abscondita est cum Christo in Deo,* 'For you are dead; and your life is hid with Christ in God', *Fontes.*

[127] Kemble gives *decreta,* likely by omitting the expansion of the suspension 'm' in the manuscript. *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 2, 341.

[128] Kemble gives *adempta,* but this finds little support in the manuscript. *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 2, 341.

[129] Birch gives *Wythringe. Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 1, 365.

[130] The name is indistinct in the manuscript, with smudging obscuring the middle letters (*Eges[]yda*). This is not a recorded personal name, but resembles the vernacular terms *egesa* and *wudu*, 'terror' and 'wood'.

[131] This spelling variation is most likely the result of minim confusion, substituting '*in*' for '*m*'.

[132] Whilst Birch gives *Hlidesya*, both the manuscript and Kemble give *Ludesey.* This seems to be due to both an attempt at normalisation of the spelling, and minim-confusion (reading *u* for *l+i*). *Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 1, 365 and Codex *Diplomaticus,* vol. 2, 341 respectively.

[133] The numerical assessment for Hocton is added in the margin, whilst that for Waltham is interlinear.

Dum[134] igitur rimabar quibus uel qualibus carismatibus supradictum regem Eadwig mihi placare potuissem ut mea petitione[135] terra restauraretur præfato monasterio, cessit animo quod centum mancusas obrizi auri[136] in eius deuotionis obsequium attulissem, quod mox factum est. Accepto autem[137] præscripti auri pondere hanc restaurationis cartam scribere iussit et consentientibus episcopis, ducibus, omnibusque nostrate[138] gentis optimatibus placido rex vultu denique me allocutus est, ita[139] dicens Habeto[140] fœliciter et possideto quamdiu uitalis flatus tuum aluerit corpus · Cum autem dissolutionis tuæ dies aduenerit nullus eligatur hæres sed ad eundem ubi episcopalis Australium Saxonum habetur[141] sedes perpetualiter[142] redeat locum, ita ut ex hoc inconuulso iure ipsius et Selesie præsulis usibus præfata terra mancipetur cum omnibus ad se rite pertinentibus campis, pascuis, pratis, siluis, capturis piscium[143] ·

+ Maneat uero hæc possessio immunis ab omnibus secularibus negotiis exceptis tribus, expeditionum, cura pontium, arcisue comperatione[144] + Si quis uero hoc carisma nostrum aliqua machinatione infringere conatus fuerit ueniam non hic mereatur, nec in futuro clauigium regni cœlestis propitium habeat nisi prius hic ad satisfactionem emendare maluerit.[145]

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[134] Kemble gives *Unde. Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 2, 341.

[135] Kemble gives *in ea possessione,* instead of the expected *mea possessione,* likely due to minim-confusion (reading *in* for *m*). Codex *Diplomaticus,* vol. 2, 341.

[136] Literally meaning 'purified gold', the scribe employs this as an elevated simile for money (coin).

[137] Kemble gives *igitur,* likely due to an alternative expansion of the abbreviation. *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 2, 341.

[138] Kemble gives *nostratis,* whilst Birch gives *nostræ,* likely due to an alternative expansion of the abbreviation. *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 2, 341, and *Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 1, 366.

[139] This word is inserted above the line, leading to its omission from Birch's transcription. *Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 1, 366.

[140] Functionally the same as the expected imperative form *habe,* an extra syllable has been added to make the line scan.

[141] Kemble gives *Saxonum Australium habita,* likely due to an alternative expansion of the abbreviation. *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 2, 342.

[142] Kemble gives *perpetuatur,* likely due to an alternative expansion of the abbreviation. *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 2, 342.

[143] Unusually, this list of appurtenances specifies *capturis piscium,* 'the right to catch fish', as opposed to the stock phrase *piscariis,* 'fisheries'.

[144] Birch gives *cooperatione,* either in mis-transcription or as an alternative expansion of the manuscript's suspensions. *Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 1, 366.

[145] Kemble omits the following boundary clause in its entirety.

+ Prædicta siquidem tellus hiis terminis circum cincta clarescit[146] · *Ðis sinde ðæt land gemære to Selesye, aresте æt Wedering muðe þa be sæ on cimeneres horan, swa west be sæ oð þri beorgas,*[147] *forð be stronde to cwuenstane ond forð be stronde hon horemuden norð andlang flotes oð wealeflet · up wealeflet oðþ þer brynes*[148] *dic ut scyt, west andlang dice on woflet, est andlang floetes ond suo suðe to Wyederyng muþan.*

+ Hæc carta scripta scripta est anno dominicæ incarnationis DCCCCLVII · indictione XV ·

Ego Eadwig rex Anglorum indeclinabiliter[149] concessi ·

+ Ego Eadgar[150] eiusdem regis frater celeriter consensi[151] ·

+ Æðelstan dux ·

+ Ædmund dux ·

+ Ego Oda archiepiscopus cum signo sancte crucis roboraui ·

+ Ælfere dux ·

+ Æðelwold dux ·

+ Ælsinus[152] præsul sigillum agiæ crucis inpressi ·

+ Æðelsige dux ·

+ Brihtnoð dux ·

+ Ego Birhelm episcopus confirmaui ·

+ Ælfheah miles ·

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[146] See the parallel note on the Style and Diction of S232 above.

[147] The manuscript appears to give *beowsas,* but the scribe was evidently unfamiliar with the runic characters '*þ*' and '*ƿ*', confusing or mis-transcribing them on multiple occasions. Kelly treats this as a place-name, *Ðribeorgas. Selsey,* 86.

[148] Birch gives *brynes,* which seems sensible, although the manuscript suggests *be ynes,* which may be another scribal error attributable to confusion of letterforms, as above.

[149] Kemble gives *indeclinate,* although the 'abi' portion of the word is relatively clear in the manuscript. *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 2, 342.

[150] The manuscript reads 'Algar'.

[151] *Celeriter* has been inserted above the line.

[152] Kemble gives *Ælfing,* possibly by misreading a 'long-*s*' letterform. Codex *Diplomaticus,* vol. 2, 342.

Æðelgeard[153] miles ·

+ Ego Oscytel episcopus adquieui ·

Ælfric miles ·

Ælfyne miles ·

Ælfred miles ·

+ Ego Cenwald episcopus consignaui ·

Ælfsige miles ·

Ælfwig miles ·

Ælfgar miles ·

+ Ego Owulf episcopus non renui ·

Brihtfurð miles ·

Æðelfrad miles ·

Wulfgar miles ·

+ Ego Æðulf episcopus conclusi ·

Wulfstan miles ·

Ordnoð miles ·

Ædric miles ·

Wulfric miles

+ Æðelsige dux ·

+ Brihtnoð dux ·[154]

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[153] The manuscript appears to read *Andelsand*, but this is difficult to reconcile as an Anglo-Saxon name, so Birch's transcription is used here.

[154] Kemble omits all but seven attestations, whilst one of the attestations that he does include, + *Eadwine dux*, does not appear in Birch. The last two attestations given here appear in Birch, but not in the manuscript. It is possible that two different manuscript versions of the diploma were consulted, with scribal omissions occurring earlier in their transmission histories, creating this discrepancy in the witness lists. Both printed editions also re-order the attestations into order of seniority, whereas the manuscript lists them in the order given above, suggesting that the names were originally organised into three or four columns, which the cartularist simply read across (rather than down), hence the mixed order of rank (see the bishops' attestations interspersed with those of the *þegn* and *dux* at intervals of four).

Translation

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, saviour of the world. In the second year of the reign of Eadwig, emperor of all the island of Albion I, Byrhthelm, bishop by divine dispensation, not unmindful of the human condition, that the life of man on earth is short, desire to prepare myself for the future and hasten to raise myself up towards heavenly things, where our 'our life is hid along with Christ in God': and in order that a greater inheritance may be rendered to me in the land of the living, I have often considered with all keenness of mind how I could restore to the See which it originally belonged, land which had been deceitfully snatched, in a manner contrary to the decree of the holy fathers at the Council of Nicea, by a certain Ælfsine, from the church where the bishop of the Gewisse, that is, of the South Saxons, seemed exalted in his episcopal seat; that is forty-two *tributarii* in those places which are called Selsey, Withering, Itchenor, Birdham, Egesa's wood, Brinfast, Sidlesham, with other towns adjacent to them, and with all things pertaining thereto; and also of that land which is called Aldingborne, Lidsey, seven *cassatae*; and in Westergate six; in Amberley and in Houghton eight; and in Coldwaltham four; and in Mundham nine; that is thirty-two *tributarii*.

As, then, I was pondering with what or what kind of gifts I might gain the favour of the aforesaid King Eadwig, so that through my petition the land might be restored to the aforesaid monastery, it occurred to me that I would take a hundred *mancuses* of purified gold in order to placate him; which was soon done. Having received the weight of gold aforesaid, he ordered this charter of restoration to be written, and, with the agreement of the bishops, the *duces* and all the noblemen of our nation, the king with calm countenance then addressed me, saying: "Have it joyfully and possess it as long as the breath of life nourishes your body. And when the day of your death should arrive, let no heir be appointed, but that it shall return in perpetuity to the place where the episcopal See of the South Saxons is situated, in such a way that from now the aforesaid land may be devoted to the use of the

See and of the bishop of Selsey in irrevocable right with all things properly pertaining thereto, fields, pastures, meadows, woods, and fishing rights".[155]

And let this property remain freed from all secular business, with three exceptions, military excursions and building of bridges and forts. If anyone by any device should attempt to infringe this our gift, let him not deserve mercy here, nor in the future have the favour of the doorkeeper of the heavenly kingdom, unless he has preferred to make satisfactory amends here beforehand. The aforesaid land indeed is clearly surrounded by these bounds.

This is the land boundary belonging to Selsey, first at the mouth of the Withering then by the sea on the Owers, then west by the sea until three hills, from there along by the shore to ?Chenestone and forwards by the shore to Hormouth north along the bay until Bosham Channel. Up on Bosham Channel until Bryni's dyke opens out, west along the ditch on Bosham Channel, along the bay and then south to the mouth of the Withering.

This charter was written in the year of our Lord's Incarnation 957, of the indiction 15.

I Eadwig, king of the English, have irrevocably agreed.

I Edgar, the same king's brother, have swiftly consented.

Æðelstan *dux* ·

Ædmund *dux* ·

I Oda, archbishop, have strengthened it with the sign of the holy cross.

Ælfere *dux* ·

Æðelwold *dux* ·

I Ælfsine, prelate, have impressed the seal of the sign of the holy cross.

Æðelsige *dux* ·

Brihtnoð *dux* ·

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[155] It is unclear where the reported speech of the king concludes: the manuscript includes a cross at the end of the list of appurtenances, and another after the exemption from the Three Common Burdens, either of which may signify the end of the quotation.

I Byrhthelm, bishop, have confirmed it.

Ælfheah *þegn* ·

Æðelgeard *þegn* ·

I Oscytel, bishop, have acquiesced.

Ælfric *þegn* ·

Ælfyne *þegn* ·

Ælfred *þegn* ·

I Coenwald, bishop, have signed it.

Ælfsige *þegn* ·

Ælfwig *þegn* ·

Ælfgar *þegn* ·

I Oswuld, bishop, have not objected.

Brihtfurð *þegn* ·

Æðelfrad *þegn* ·

Wulfgar *þegn* ·

I Æthelwulf, bishop, have closed it.

Wulfstan *þegn* ·

Ordnoð *þegn* ·

Ædric *þegn* ·

Wulfric *þegn* ·

Æðelsige *dux* ·

Brihtnoð *dux* ·

2.2: Miscellaneous Forgeries (S43, 47, 122 and 132)

As the title of this group suggests, these diplomas have little in common besides their clear lack of authenticity. S43 and 47 are royal charters from the Selsey archive, whilst S122 is from Evesham and S132 is from Christ Church, Canterbury: all have been the subject of academic debate, and deemed spurious. S122, however, has received very little scholarly attention. The earliest extant copy is a seventeenth-century transcription, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Dugdale 17 (S.C. 6507), 60, the 'original' diploma from Evesham having been lost, meaning that its transmission history and palaeographical features are unknowable. Claiming to have been issued by King Offa of Mercia (r. 757–96) in AD 784, it records the granting of three *tributarii* at *Eouuengelad* (Evenlode). Unusually for a royal land grant, there is a limitation (of one lifetime) placed upon inheritance of the land: *Rus etiam hoc modo donatum est ut suum masculum possideat et non femininum · et post obitum … data sit tam uilla quam uniuersa terra quæ in sua potestate est ad religiosam æcclesiam quæ nuncupatur Euesham,* 'Also, the land given in this way that it may be held by his male heir but not female, and after death … let this estate together with the entire land which is under its control be given to the religious church which is named Evesham', making this one of around 30 extant examples of a royal 'lease'. Fabrication of such a document would be beneficial to Evesham as it maintains the authority of a royal decree, with the reversion clause justifying Evesham's possession of the estate, in a less obvious (and perhaps, therefore, less likely to be challenged by contemporaries) manner than a direct grant by charter. During a dispute between Wulfstan II of Worcester (in office 1062–95) and Abbot Æthelwig of Evesham (d. 1077),[156] the latter was able to produce 'a neat little group of forgeries to defend the abbey's alleged rights to both Daylesford and Evenlode',[157] resulting from the 'industry of the monks of Evesham' in bolstering their archive with forged diplomas in the twelfth century:[158] it seems altogether probable that S116 was one of the documents in question.

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[156] *PASE:* 'Wulfstan 55' and 'Æthelwig 15'.

[157] F. Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100* (Abingdon, 2016), 185–6.

[158] Bassett, 'In search of the origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms', in *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms,* ed. S. Bassett (Leicester, 1989), 8.

Evesham Abbey was re-founded c. 970, with little to no historical record of the community which had previously operated there, being absent from both Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.[159] Byrhtferth of Ramsey, writing the hagiographical *Life of St. Ecgwine* in the early eleventh century, attributes the original founding of the Abbey to Ecgwine, a descendent of Mercian nobility, in the late seventh or early eighth century, a concern for fortifying the community's history reflected in their extant archive. As the sole *tributarius* diploma from the archive of Evesham Abbey, S122 has been described as a 'complete fabrication',[160] thereby according well with the house's archival record: of the nineteen diplomas preserved there which claim to date from before the tenth century, all have been deemed spurious, whether outright forgeries, or later fabrications having an 'authentic basis'. Maitland, in his discussion of S54, the 'foundation charter' of Evesham (purportedly issued in AD 706 by Æthelweard, *subregulus* of the Hwicce, with retrospective confirmations by Ceolred, Æthelbald and Offa, later kings of Mercia), states that 'nothing that comes from Evesham is beyond suspicion'.[161]

Whilst S230, S232 and indeed S116 were apparently produced in response to a specific legal crisis, the fabrication of foundation charters in particular, as literally the most fundamental archival material of a community, likewise served to 'create a new institutional identity',[162] retrospectively confirming the foundation story as it was remembered by that community at that point in time. The unique presence of the term *tributarius* here is, therefore, especially notable, as none of the extant diplomas from the archive could have served as its exemplar, thus providing the unusual choice of terminology. Evesham Abbey is, however, located only fifteen miles from Worcester Cathedral, a geographic proximity which would certainly have allowed the Worcester scriptorium to influence the

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[159] Lapidge, introduction to Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine,* lxxxiv.

[160] H. P. R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands*, 2nd edn. (Leicester, 1972), 41.

[161] *Domesday Book and Beyond: Three Essays in the Early History of England* (Cambridge, 1921), 236.

[162] C. Insley, in reference to the forged foundation charters of Bishop Leofric of Exeter, produced c. 1060. 'Looking for Charters that Aren't There: Lost Anglo-Saxon Charters and Archival Footprints', in *Problems and Possibilities of Early Medieval Charters*, ed. J. Jarrett & A. S. McKinley (Turnhout, 2013), 175–7.

practices of local houses through the exchange of documents and personnel, thus facilitating the acquisition of a (now unknown) *tributarius* exemplar by Evesham.

The two spurious Selsey charters, S43 and S47, have strong textual links to the diplomas of the Selsey–Canterbury group discussed above: although not the product of such a focussed, collaborative effort by the two houses, the mere fact of their existence is testament to the proliferation of forged documents in the tenth century. S43 survives as a single-sheet manuscript which, despite being in poor condition, offers an invaluable opportunity for palaeographical analysis.[163] Originally measuring approximately 128×360mm, with three horizontal and three vertical folds, the written area of the parchment now measures only 126×183mm, the outer two portions having been lost, presumably by wear to the folds. The remaining text, according to Keynes, is:

> written throughout in AS minuscule. The general aspect of the script suggests a date in the later tenth or eleventh century, but particular letter-forms and ligatures suggest that the scribe was making some attempt to produce a document which might appear eighth-century. In terms of formulation, the charter is plainly spurious; it should be regarded as an example of a fairly incompetent pre-Conquest forgery, which draws on earlier documents in the Selsey archives.[164]

The extract from the dispositive clause shown in Figure 8 below demonstrates the inconsistent style and variety of letterforms: see, for example, the bowed minims of the 'n' and 'm' in *animo,* more akin to the 'cat's claws' of Pointed minuscule, compared to the 'n' of *libenti* with a pronounced, wedged foot. Likewise, the open but pointed aspect of the 'a' in *tributarios,* reminiscent of Insular minuscule; the unusual, long-stemmed version in *animo* which seems almost Caroline minuscule; and the square, extremely open-topped example in *attribuo.* It is also worth pointing out that the inclusion of detailed prose vernacular bounds (here comprising five of the charter's fourteen long lines of text, and written in a smaller script with a narrower pen) is likewise a later development, not being

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[163] Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Cap. I/17/1 (s. x/xi)

[164] S. Keynes, *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Charters*, Anglo-Saxon Charters, Supplementary series (London, 1991), no.23, 8. Kelly takes an opposing view which seems difficult to reconcile with the manuscript, stating that it is 'written in a competent Anglo-Saxon square minuscule of s.x^{2} or s.xi^{1}'. *Selsey*, 26.

regularly found in authentic charters until the tenth century. Similarly, the intentionally varied verbs of witness attestation are couched in the pattern present / perfect and perfect / perfect / present (*munio* / *consensi* and *subscripsi* / *roboraui* / *confirmo*), apparently for stylistic effect, in a manner more reminiscent of the hermeneutic Latin of the tenth century than the more perfunctory prose of the eighth.

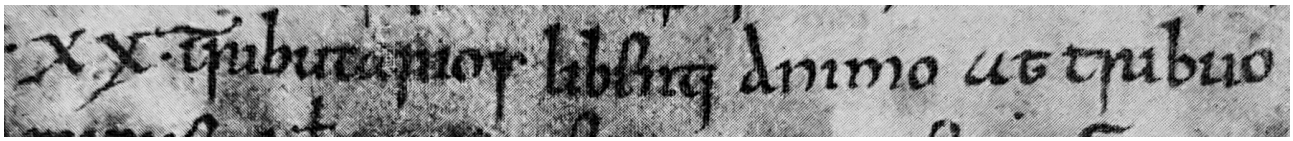

Fig. 8: Extract from the dispositive clause of S43. Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Cap. I/17/1 [image provided by West Sussex Record Office]

It is not only the script and language of S43 that arouse suspicion as to its authenticity: the dating clause is similarly problematic, claiming the charter was issued in the year AD 775, in the second indiction. Firstly, the year is impossible to reconcile, as King Nothhelm (Nunna) of the South Saxons could not have been alive to issue the charter at the date.[165] Birch, assuming scribal error, therefore amends this to AD 725, as being slightly more plausible in regards to Nothhelm's reign (690×710–717×724). This is, however, still inconsistent with the witness-list which, based on the attestation of Bishop Eadberht (who died in or before AD 714),[166] led Sawyer to propose the dating range of c. 705×c. 717. Barker maintains, at length, the reliability of the indiction, using this as a basis for recommending AD 704 as the most likely year of production, although this is not universally agreed.[167] The difficulties of reconciling the dating clause with the witness-list become much more understandable if we instead consider S43 as a fabrication produced by drawing directly on eight-century exemplars. It seems altogether probable that the witness-list was lifted from S45, the authentic, eighth-century, non-*tributarius* charter mentioned previously in the Selsey–Canterbury group for its relationship to S1172. Both allege to record grants made by Nothhelm, and list the

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165 Notthelm is discussed more fully in regards to diplomas of the 'Selsey–Canterbury' group above, and also the 'Running Commentary' group below.

166 *PASE:* 'Eadberht 9', in office c. 705×?709–716×?.

167 'Sussex Charters, I', 69 n. 17.

attestations of King 'Nunna' of the South Saxons, King Wattus, King Cœnred of the West Saxons, Bishop Eadberht and Ine, although in S45 the latter two attestations are reversed, and S45 also names Abbots Aldhelm and Haguna as witnesses, who are excluded from S43. Furthermore, in S45, all witnesses state that *consensi et subscripsi,* 'I have consented and subscribed', whilst in S43 the verbs of attestation are varied, being variously *consensi, subscripsi, roboravi,* 'I have consented, subscribed, confirmed', another feature indicative of a tenth-century date of production.[168]

As such, these textual similarities with S43 therefore make it comparable with the debated Selsey charter S1172 which, as discussed above, appears to be a tenth-century fabrication (or at least an emendation of an eighth-century diploma) intended to continue on from the terms of S45 for the purposes of reinforcing Selsey's claims to the land disposed of in the authentic charter. It is altogether possible, therefore, that S43 was fabricated or amended alongside S1172, using S45 as an exemplar, with a similar aim of strengthening Selsey's (or Canterbury's) archival record. This would explain the inclusion of the otherwise unusual term *tributarius* in both texts, having drawn it directly from their shared eighth-century source.

The other forged Selsey diploma included in this group, S47, is an extremely brief document, with no extraneous text or preamble. Following a standard invocation, King Æthelberht of the South Saxons grants *dimidium tributarium in parte australi Cicestrie iuxta murum,* 'half a *tributarius* in the southern part of Chichester next to the wall', to Bishop Wilfrid. The identity of donor and beneficiary are clearly intended to indicate a late seventh- or early eighth-century date of production for this charter, in the absence of a dating clause. However, the form of the place-name *Cicestrie* appears later than this,[169] and there is no documented connection between Bishop Wilfrid and the city prior to the transfer of the See from Selsey to Chichester c. 1071–1074×5.[170]

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[168] Kelly, *Selsey*, 27.

[169] Mawer et. al., *Place-Names of Sussex,* 10.

[170] Kelly, *Selsey,* 41.

Furthermore, S47 exists in only one copy, where it 'appears to be treated as a coda to the spurious charter of Cædwalla in favour of Wilfrid [S232]',[171] and shares the royal style *rex Australium Saxonum* ('King of the South Saxons') with S43, a style found nowhere else in the diplomatic corpus. Indeed, the majority of the text of S47 is found occupying half-lines in the cartulary adjacent to the witness-list of this copy of S232 (the Chichester archive preserves five copies of S232 of varying date and completeness), and does not appear to possess its own rubric. This high degree of textual overlap with diplomas of the Selsey–Canterbury group, coupled with details undermining its purported early date, strongly suggest that this charter is another product of the tenth-century programme of forgery carried out by these houses. S47 does however exemplify the later — particularly post-Conquest — imperative to 'seek the oldest possible precedent for any privilege sought… Association with a founder suggests that the rights claimed are intrinsic to the institution: it never existed without them'.[172] In this way, the more ancient the privilege or illustrious the beneficiary, the more authority the claim held, even when, as in this case, historical precedent was lacking.

The final diploma to be considered in this group, S132, is remarkable for taking as its exemplar not a charter of the eighth century, but rather, a synodal *actus*. Features which are characteristic of a synodal document, such as the use of direct speech, in the form of first-person musings by King Offa (*cogitans de salute animæ meæ … perueni ad Lundoniam ciuitatem ad conloquium uenerabilis uiri Æþelheardi archiepiscopi et locutus sum cum eo quid pro salute animæ meæ et totius gentis Merciorum Deo omnipotenti darem,* 'mindful of the health of my soul … I came to the city of London to converse with the venerable man archbishop Æthelheard and I spoke with him about what I might give to almighty God for the health of my soul and that of the whole Mercian people'), and naming the bishops in attendance both within the main text and again in the witness-list, meanwhile bear 'no

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[171] Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Episc. VI/1/6, ff. 73r–v (s. xiii med.). Kelly, *Selsey*, 40.

[172] J. Crick, '*Pristina Libertas:* Liberty and the Anglo-Saxons Revisited', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 14 (Cambridge, 2004), 56–7.

resemblance to accepted charters of Offa'.[173] To have ten bishops attesting is remarkable (representing Canterbury, Lindsey, Leicester, Worcester, Hereford, Elmham, Dunwich, Winchester, Sherborne and Rochester, in order of attestation), strengthening the supposition that at least portions of this document are drawn from the *acta* of an otherwise unknown synod. The representative from Lichfield, who at the purported date of production would have been Archbishop Hygeberht, is conspicuous by his absence. It is possible that his name has been intentionally omitted in response to the tension between Canterbury and newly-established Mercian archbishopric.[174]

Furthermore, in the main text, Offa is twice styled as *rex Anglorum,* 'King of the English', despite the direct speech then referring only to the Kingdom of Mercia (see above), and attesting as *rex Merciorum,* 'King of the Mercians'. Whilst Offa is only ever described as *rex Merciorum* in contemporary documents,[175] his predecessor Æthelbald of Mercia (r. 716–57) is styled *rex Sutangli* and *rex Britanniae* in four diplomas. As these titles are found only in products of the Worcester scriptorium, they 'may reveal more of the aspirations of Worcester draftsmen than the Mercian king's own perceptions of his rule'.[176] Such variation within a single diploma could constitute an unusual stylistic choice, but is rather more suggestive of the incomplete assimilation of two texts, or use of multiple exemplars, namely, an authentic synodal record into which excerpts from a royal charter were then interpolated.[177] The erroneous dating clause, giving Pentecost of the incarnation year of AD 790 as the thirty-eighth year of Offa's reign, rather than a product of attempting to reconcile disparate texts, could more simply be attributed to scribal error and amended to AD 795,

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[173] M. Gelling, *The Early Charters of the Thames Valley* (Leicester, 1979), 102; and A. Scharer, *Die angelsächsiche Königsurkunde im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert* (Köln, 1982), 267.

[174] Brooks & Kelly, *Christ Church Canterbury Part 1,* 415–6.

[175] Diplomas styling Offa as *rex Anglorum* are generally considered spurious, as even at the height of his power, genuine diplomas of Offa style him simply as *rex Merciorum,* 'king of the Mercians'. M. Capper, citing arguments by P. Wormald and S. Keynes. 'Titles and Troubles: Conceptions of Mercian Royal Authority in Eighth and Ninth-century Charters', in *Problems and Possibilities of Early Medieval Charters,* ed. J. Jarrett & A. S. McKinley (Turnhout, 2013), 210.

[176] S. Foot, 'The Making of *Angelcynn:* English Identity Before the Norman Conquest', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6 (Cambridge, 1995), 32–3.

[177] Stenton, 'Supremacy', 449.

which would subsequently agree with both Offa's regnal year, and the attestations of Archbishop Æthelheard (792–805) and Bishop Ceolmund of Hereford (787×788–793×798).[178]

The earliest extant copy of S132 is a single sheet dated to the tenth century.[179] As it would be unusual at this time for a genuine copy of an authentic diploma to be made onto a single sheet, rather than into a cartulary, this is indicative that the manuscript as we have it was drawn up for reasons other than archival preservation. The script too, also appears to be an imitation of an eighth- or ninth-century pointed minuscule, clearly modelled on an original exemplar and with an overall aspect 'rather better than [the imitative script of] S230',[180] but still identifiable as a tenth-century hand.

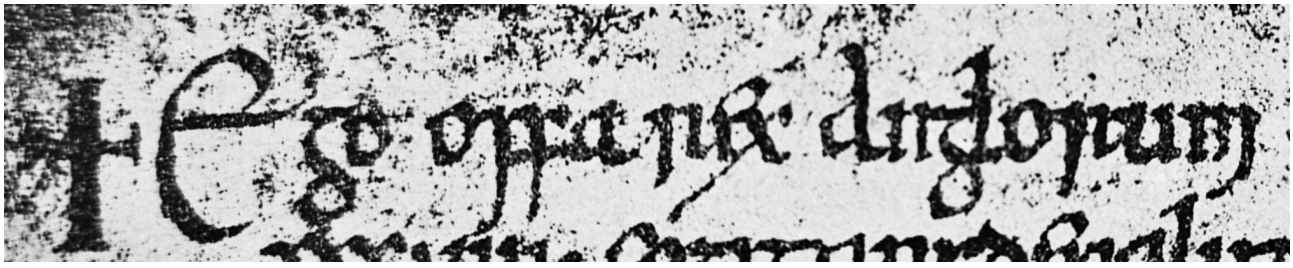

Fig. 9: Extract from the proem of S132, naming the donor as Offa, *rex anglorum.* Image from the facsimile published by W. B. Sanders, *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts photozincographed by command of Her Majesty Queen Victoria* (Southampton, 1878), vol.1, no.3.

Whilst the script presents as Anglo-Saxon pointed minuscule (in Figure 9 above, see in particular the wedges applied to the tops of ascenders, and the curled 'cat's claw' to the final minim of the 'm' in *anglorum*), there are occasionally incongruous features, such as the tall, hooked 'a' in *anglorum,* more familiar from Anglo-Caroline minuscule, which are suggestive of a later imitation. For an example of authentic late eight-century pointed minuscule, see S59 of the 'Aston Group' below.

Unlike the spurious diplomas of the 'Selsey–Canterbury' group, which constitute a response to a specific crisis, these 'miscellaneous forgeries' operate on a much smaller scale, mostly concerning individual estates and single transactions (S132 is, both stylistically and textually, an anomaly) with

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[178] This emendation of scribal error is supported by P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London, 1968), 104–5; Brooks, *Early History of Canterbury,* 320; Brooks & Kelly, *Christ Church Canterbury Part 1,* 415; and Stenton, 'Supremacy', 449. *PASE:* 'Æthelheard 13' and 'Ceolmund 1'.

[179] Canterbury, D.C., C 69.

[180] Brooks, *Early History of Canterbury,* 320, also C. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650–c. 850* (London, 1995), 275.

the intention of reinforcing the ancient endowment of the houses through reference to Bishop Wilfrid, and retrospectively creating connections which would not become crucial until centuries after the transactions allegedly took place (S47). It is, of course, possible that these documents once existed in a similar, cohesive group to the 'Selsey–Canterbury' diplomas, but these have not survived in the corpus to date. Nevertheless, by comparing these forgeries to the 'Selsey–Canterbury' group, it becomes apparent that the same eighth-century exemplar (S45) was reused on more than one occasion (S43 and S1172) and is therefore to some degree responsible for multiple occurrences of the term *tributarius* in the diplomatic corpus.

S43 / B144 / K1000

Date: A.D. 775 for c. 705 × c. 717.

Operative details: Nunna, king of the South Saxons, to Eadberht, bishop; grant of twenty *tributarii* at *Hugabeorgum* and *Dene* (?East and West Dean near Chichester, Sussex).

Language and archive: *Latin with English bounds,* Selsey

Source of Transcription: Images of Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Cap. I/17/1 (s. x/xi) provided by West Sussex Record Office. Where damage to the single-sheet has resulted in lacunae, these have been supplemented by Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, vol. 1, 211.

Style and Diction: The form *perennitus* is not cited as occurring elsewhere in the diplomatic corpus in either *DMLBS* or *eSawyer*, though the meaning is clear. The artfully varied verbs of witness demonstrate a clear pattern: present tense for the primary regal and ecclesiastical witnesses (*munio*; *confirmo*), and perfect for the secondary ones (*consensi et subscripsi … roboraui*; *scripsi*).

Transcription

+ Regnante perennitus[181] Deo ac domino nostro Iesu Christo simulque spiritu[182] sancto par[aclit]o in tribus personis una Deitas sine fine permansura Qua de re unicuique cogitandum quantum sibi sufficiat possessio ut cum rebus transitoriis labentibusque sibi æterna preparet praemia quod huius uitae praesentis quibusque nolentibus uel uolentibus adpropinquat terminus · Quam obrem[183] ego Nunna rex australium Saxonum aliquas telluris partes pro amore Dei et cœlestis patriæ uenerando episcopo Eadberhto in suum et in Dei seruitium liberata[184] assensu sæculari æternaliter conscribo et firmiter ad episcopalem sedem adtingens cum totis ad eam pertinentibus in campis in siluis montanis pascuis piscariis terra quæ uocitatur[185] Huga beorgum et æt Dene · xx · tributarios libenti animo attribuo. Siquis autem successorum meorum quod absit hanc donationem meam in modico uel in magno minuere uel inuadere temptauerit Sciat se in tremendo examine coram Christo rationem reddere nisi ante satisfactione emendauerit.

+ Istis terminibus circumgirata esse uidentur: *andlang dices on ðeodweg norð ofer þone weg to [...] lauingtunes dices east ende · of ðære dic norð [...]e ond þanan east to freccehlince of þam hlince to halignesse beorge of þam beorge east to stæ[...]am garan of þam garan to þam byrgelsan of þæm byrgelsan to billinga byrig ond swa andlang [...]læse · ond ða dænn ærest þær sceales burna ond bollanea hi*

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[181] Kelly gives *perhenniter*; Birch agrees with the above reading of *perennitus*. *Selsey,* 25 and *Cartularium Saxonicum*, vol. 1, 211 respectively.

[182] Kelly gives the dative *spiritui,* but notes that *spiritu* is the correct form. *Selsey,* 25.

[183] Birch gives *Quamobrem,* whilst Kelly gives *Quam ob rem:* both are widely attested in *eSawyer. Cartularium Saxonicum*, vol. 1, 211, and *Selsey,* 25 respectively. This transcription presents the terms as *Quam obrem,* as this appears to be the most accurate reproduction of the manuscript text.

[184] Birch gives *liberato.* Kelly also gives *liberata,* but notes that the variant copy of S43 (Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Ep. VI/1/2 (*Liber B*), 17v (s. xiv)) which is a copy of the single-sheet transcribed here, gives *liberato.* The correct form should be *liberatas* to agree with *partes*, but damage to the manuscript at this point obscures the possible ending of the word past the second 'a'.

[185] Kelly gives *uocitatur æt Hugabeorgum. Selsey,* 25.

gegaderiað on norðhealfe þæs br[...] ond bulan hol ond isenan[186] *æwylm ond Sængelpicos ond feale leag*[187] ·

tibbanhol ·

Scripta est autem hæc cartula anno ab incarnatione domini · DCCLXXV · Indictione · II ·

Testium ergo et consentientium huic donationi signa æterna demonstrabo ·

+ Ego Nunna rex primus crucis Christi signo munio ·

+ Ego Uuattus rex consensi et subscripsi ·

+ Ego Coenredus rex Westsaxonum roboraui ·

+ Ego Eadbirht episcopus mihi terram tribuatam confirmo signo crucis Christi ·

+ Ego Ine consensi et propria manu scripsi ·

Endorsement:

þis is seo landboc þe nunna cyng gebocade eadberhte biscop into hugabeorgum · XX · *hida* ·

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[186] It is unclear from the manuscript copy whether this word reads *isenan* (with a long 's'), or *irenan.* Both are accepted, regional variant spellings of the adjective *isern,* 'iron' (made of or resembling). The *DOE* cites S43 as the only example of *isen* used as an element of a place-name. *DOE: s.v. īsen, īsern, īren* (sense 4).

[187] Although Kelly reads *leag,* translated as 'lying fallow' (*Selsey,* 25), these letters are formed indistinctly: they are either 'b'+ rounded 'e', or 'l'+ pointed 'e', where the point touches the upright stem of the 'l', effectively closing it to resemble the bow of a 'b'. If read as *beag,* 'an enclosed circle of ornamental nature, i.e. a ring, crown or arm band', a different translation may be proposed as 'yellow ring'. *DOE: s.v. bēag* (sense 1).

Translation

+ During the eternal reign of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost and Spirit, the Paraclete, one Deity in three persons remaining without end. Because of this it is for everyone to consider to what extent his belongings are sufficient that he may, with things transitory and slipping away, prepare for himself eternal rewards, since the end of this present life approaches everyone, willing or unwilling. Therefore I, Nunna, king of the South Saxons, for the love of God and of the heavenly kingdom, freed by secular assent, grant in writing in perpetuity to the venerable Bishop Eadberht certain pieces of land freed by secular assent for the service of himself and of God. And with glad spirit I freely assign them as firmly attached to the episcopal See with all things pertaining to them, as regards fields, woods, hills, pastures, and fisheries, that is, in the land called *Hugabeorgum* and East Dean twenty *tributarii.* But if, God forbid, any of my successors attempt in a small or great degree to lessen or encroach upon this my grant, let him know that he will have to render account at the terrible judgement in the presence of Christ, unless he previously shall have made satisfactory amends.

+ These lands are clearly described by these bounds: *along the dyke to the public road, north over the road [...] the east end of the Lavington dyke, from the dyke north [...] thence east to the dangerous hill, from the hill to the sanctuary hill, from that hill east to [the stony place, from the stony place to the] triangle point of land, from the triangle to the tombs, from the tombs to the swordsmen's hill, and so along [the pasture, and the swine-pastures,] firstly where the soldier's brook and the bull's river join on the north side of [...] and the bull's hollow, and the iron spring and the ?thicket-dwelling, and the land lying fallow, and Tibba's hollow.*

This charter was written in the year of the Lord's incarnation 775, the second of the indiction. Therefore I will give the eternal signs of those who witnessed and agreed to this grant.

+ I, Nunna, king, first fortify it with the sign of the cross of Christ.

+ I Wattus, king, have consented and subscribed.

+ I, Cœnred, king of the West Saxons, have ratified.[188]

+ I, Eadberht, bishop, confirm the land granted to me with the sign of the cross of Christ.

+ I, Ine, have consented and subscribed with my own hand.

Endorsement:

This is the charter by which Nunna the king granted twenty hida[189] *at Hugabeorgum to Eadberht the bishop.*

[188] See *DMLBS: s.v. roborare* (sense 4). The sense 'to ratify' is preserved in cases where the attestation is *cum signo sanctae crucis roboraui*, 'I have ratified with the sign of the cross', as in S526, S874 and S1291. In *eSawyer* as a whole, there are 148 attestations of the simple verb *roboraui / roboravi*.

[189] The contemporary rubricator equated the *tributarii* of the main Latin text with *hida*.

S47 / B212 / K1011

Date: Unknown

Operative details: Æthelberht, king of the South Saxons, to Wilfrid, bishop; grant of 0.5 *tributarii* at Chichester, Sussex.

Language and archive: *Latin*, Selsey.

Source of transcription: images of Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Episc. VI/1/6, ff. 73r–v (s.xiii) provided by West Sussex Record Office.

Style and Diction: The language of this charter is uncomplicated and formulaic; the alliteration of ***m****eum* ***m****utare* … ***m****inuere* initially appears coincidental, were it not for the preceding ***f****luminibus* ***f****irmiter* … *im****m****utabiliter per****m****aneat*. The adverb *immutabiliter* is relatively rare for the presumed eight-century date, according to *DMLBS*, and *eSawyer* records only a single other occurrence in a charter of King Æthelstan, dated AD 933 (S422).

Transcription

+ In nomine Dei summi · Ego Æðelberhtus rex Australium Saxonum domino regnante in perpetuum aliquam partem terræ iuris mei uenerabili episcopo Wilfrido donabo pro remedio animæ meæ · id est dimidium tributarium in parte australi Cicestriæ iuxta murum cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus, campis, pratis, fluminibus, firmiter et immutabiliter permaneat ut nullus post obitum meum mutare aut minuere præsumat ·

+ Ego Æðelberhtus rex hanc donationem propria manu confixi et subscripsi ·

+ Ego Wilfredus episcopus consensi et subscripsi ·

Translation

+ In the name of the highest Lord. I, Æðelberht, king of the South Saxons, while the Lord rules in eternity, for the healing of my soul will give to the venerable Bishop Wilfrid a certain portion of land of my jurisdiction, that is half a *tributarius* in the southern part of Chichester next to the wall, with all its appurtenances, fields, meadows, rivers, may it remain so firmly and immutably so that none after my death presume to alter or diminish it.

+ I, Æðelberht, king, have put together and subscribed this grant with my own hand.

+ I, Wilfrid, bishop, have consented and subscribed.

S122 / B244 / K147

Date: A.D. 784.

Operative details: Offa, king of the Mercians, to Esme (Esne), *comes* and *præfectus*; grant, to him and his male heirs, of three *tributarii* at Evenlode, with reversion to the church at Evesham.

Language and archive: *Latin*, Evesham.

Source of transcription: from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Dugdale 17 (S.C. 6507), 60 (s. xvii).

Style and Diction: The unusual combination *almi regnantis* is, according to *eSawyer*, unattested elsewhere, while the simple *regnantis* is witnessed in six non-*tributarius* diplomas (S28, 123, 143, 671, 851, and 1203), and it is tempting to suggest that a unique compound, *almiregnantis*, is being innovated, on the model of the many poetic compounds well-attested in Anglo-Latin verse, such as *almificus*, *almificans*, *almifluus*, *almipater*, *almipotens*, *almisonus*, and *almiuolus* (see further *DMLBS* and *CLASP*).

Transcription

+ In nomine Domini summi · Ego Offa almi regnantis gratia rex Merciorum partem terræ iuris mei quam largiflua beneuolentia dominus gratis donauit Esme comiti præfectoque meo rura trium tributariorum uocata Eowengelad perdonabo · Anno ab incarnatione domini · DCC · LXXXIIII · et regni mei · XXVII · Et sic ager huic prætio emptus est: centum oues · triginta · boues et uaccas · triginta · equos indomitos dedit · Rus etiam hoc modo donatum est ut suum masculum possideat et non femininum · et post obitum prosapiæ illius, data sit tam uilla quam uniuersa terra quæ in sua potestate est ad religiosam æcclesiam quæ nuncupatur Euesham ·

+ Ego Offa ·

+ Ego Cinedred ·

+ Ego Barthunus ·

Translation

+ In the name of the highest Lord. I Offa, by grace of the bountifully-ruling one king of the Mercians, will give a part of the land under my authority, which the Lord has freely granted, to Esme my *comes* and *præfectus* lands of three *tributarii* called Evenlode. In the year of our Lord 784 and year 27 of my reign. And the land has been bought for the following price: he gave 100 sheep, 30 ox and cows, 30 unbroken horses. Also, the land has been given in this way that it may be held by his male heir but not female, and after the death of that lineage let this estate together with the entire land which is under its control will be given to the religious church which is named Evesham.

+ I Offa

+ I Cynedred

+ I Berhthun

S132 / B265 / K159

Date: A.D. 790 for ?795, London.

Operative details: Offa, king of the English, to Æthelheard, archbishop of Canterbury; grant of sixty *tributarii* at Hayes and Yeading and thirty at Twickenham, Middx.

Language and archive: *Latin,* Canterbury, Christ Church.

Source of transcription: from the facsimile of the single-sheet diploma Canterbury, D.C., C 69 (s. x) provided by W. B. Sanders, *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts photozincographed by command of Her Majesty Queen Victoria* (Southampton, 1878), vol. 1, no.3.

Style and Diction: The overall the style of this diploma is elaborate, employing many sub-clauses, although the relationship between which is relatively clear. The biblical quotation from the Book of Wisdom is evidently signalled by the use of the term *scientiam*, a form found in the biblical quotation itself, and employed in two other diplomas (see *Fontes)*.

Transcription

+ Ego Offa rex Anglorum · DCC.XC · anno dominicæ incarnationis nostri autem regni Dei gratia concessi XXXVIII · cogitans de salute anime meæ et de statu regionis Merciorum perueni ad Lundoniam ciuitatem ad conloquium uenerabilis uiri Æþelheardi archiepiscopi et locutus sum cum eo quid pro salute animæ meæ et totius gentis Merciorum Deo omnipotenti darem · Inter hæc postulauit a me uenerabilis archiepiscopus Æþelheard ut darem sibi aliquod supplementum ad æcclesiam sancti saluatoris in urbe Dorobernia · dicens cum omnibus episcopis nostræ regionis · esse inonestum non ditari matrem æcclesiarum a filiabus et filiis suis regibus quos fonte baptismatis regenerauit · ego uero consensi petitioni illius et omnium episcoporum nostrorum · et dedi illi · XC · tributaria terræ bipertita in duobus locis · LX · in loco qui dicitur on Linga hæse · et Geddingas circa ribulum[190] qui dicitur Fisces burna et · XXX · in aquilonali ripa fluminis Tamis · ubi appellatur Tuican ham · ut habeat · LX · ad emendationem æcclesiæ sancti saluatoris · XXX · uero in Tuican hamme ad indumentum fratrum qui seruiunt Deo in illa sancta æcclesia ·

Hanc elemosinam humilis et deuotus ego Offa rex Anglorum pro pignore Christianæ fidei totius gentis nostræ offero Deo omnipotenti ad suam sanctam æcclesiam · ut mei memoria et meæ carissimæ gentis ibi celebretur et Deo commendetur · Erat autem in conuentu nostro celeberrimus dies pentecostes · et conuentus famulorum Dei quorum nomina scripta sunt hic · Æþelheard archiepiscopus · Ceolwulf episcopus · Unwona episcopus · Haþored episcopus · Ceolmund episcopus · Ealhheard episcopus · Elfhun episcopus · Cyneberht episcopus · Deneferþ episcopus · Wermund episcopus · Weohthun episcopus · Omnes isti una mecum clamauerunt ad Dominum in die sancto in æcclesia sancti Pauli · Spiritus Domini qui hodie repleuit orbem terrarum et omnia continet et scientiam habet uocis[191] all[192] · et omnes sancti Dei apostoli qui ab illo spiritu repleti sunt

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[190] For *riuulum.* Brooks & Kelly, *Christ Church Canterbury Part 1,* 413.

[191] Derived from biblical verse Sapientia 1:7, *quoniam spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum; et hoc quod continet omnia scientiam habet vocis*, 'for the spirit of the Lord has filled the whole world; and that which contains all things has knowledge of the voice', *Fontes.*

[192] There is a crossbar applied to both 'll' indicating an abbreviation, but the intended word is unclear. As it stands, the word *all* may be a corruption of a Latin term (perhaps *alii*), although none is missing from the sentence. Its form is that of an interpolated Old English word, but there are no grounds for its inclusion here. Brooks & Kelly instead propose that it be read as an error for *alleluia,* which makes more sense contextually. *Christ Church Canterbury Part 1,* 413.

· tribuat benedictionem sempiternum consentientibus et defendentibus hanc largitatem · et condempnet · et excommunicet · et in hoc sæculo et in futuro eum qui auferat uel minimam partem huius doni ab æcclesia sancti saluatoris quæ sita est in urbe Canteuuariorum · Et respondit omnis chorus · Amen · Ad confirmandum uero hoc largitatis donum hi testes aderant et subscripserunt et confirmauerunt donum saluatori nostro ·

Ego Offa rex Merciorum cum benedictione omnium episcoporum inpono signum sanctæ + ad confirmationem huius doni mihi donanti ad redemptionem ; et minuenti ad æternam condempnationem · et sine ullo remedio in inferno ad æternæ poenæ cruciatum ·

+ Ego Ecgferþ rex consensi et subscripsi · et promisi hoc donum semper firmare et augere ·

+ Ego Æþelheard archiepiscopus signum sanctæ crucis inpono et in nomine sancti saluatoris conscribo ·

+ Ego Colwulf episcopus consensi ·

+ Ego Unwona episcopus consensi ·

+ Ego Haþored episcopus ·

+ Ego Ceolmund episcopus ·

+ Ego Ealhheard episcopus ·

+ Ego Elfhun episcopus ·

+ Ego Cyneberht episcopus ·

+ Ego Deneferþ episcopus ·

+ Ego Wærmund episcopus ·

+ Ego Ealhmund abbas ·

+ Ego Utel abbas ·

+ Ego Forþred abbas ·

+ Brorda princeps ·

+ Bynna princeps ·

+ Esne princeps ·

+ Heardbriht princeps ·

+ Eþelmund princeps ·

+ Eadgar princeps ·

+ Wigga princeps ·

+ Cydda princeps ·

+ Cuđberht princeps ·

+ Ceolmund princeps ·

+ Ubba princeps ·

+ Eobing princeps ·

Endorsement:

hyse ond twiccanham [eleventh–century hand]

Offa rex Merciorum dedit Aðelardo archiepiscopi et ecclesie Christi · XC · tributaria terre · LX · uero ad emendationem ecclesie · XXX · autem ad indumenta fratrum · Anno DCCXC

On lingahese ond twicanham

. LX · on lingahese apud geddinges circa riuulum qui dicitur fisces burnæ · XXX · apud tuikenham [twelfth–century hands]

Translation

I Offa, king of the English, in the year of the incarnation 790 moreover the 38th year of our rule by the grace of God, mindful of the health of my soul and the state of the Mercian territory, came to the city of London to converse with the venerable man archbishop Æthelheard, and I spoke with him about what I might give to almighty God for the health of my soul and that of the whole Mercian people. Amongst the things the venerable archbishop Æthelheard suggested to me that I should grant him something further for the church of the holy Saviour in the city of Canterbury, saying with all the bishops of our region that it was shameful for the mother church whose baptismal font caused them to be born again not to be enriched by the king and their daughters and sons. Indeed, I consented to his request and that of all our bishops, and gave to him 90 *tributarii* of land divided between two places: 60 in the place which is called Hayes and Yeading around the stream which is called *Fisces burna* and 30 on the north bank of the river Thames which is called Twickenham so that he may have 60 to improve the church of the holy Saviour, 30 indeed in Twickenham to clothe the brethren which serve God in the holy church.

I Offa, king of the English, for the security of the Christian faith all our people I offer these alms humbly and with devotion to almighty God for His holy church so that the memory of me and of the people most dear to me may be celebrated there and commended to the care of God. Moreover our assembly was on the most celebrated day of Pentecost, and the assembled servants of God whose names are written here: Æthelred, bishop; Ceolwulf, bishop; Unwona, bishop; Hathored, bishop; Ceolmund, bishop; Ealhheard, bishop; Elfhun, bishop; Cyneberht, bishop; Deneferth, bishop; Wermund, bishop; Weohtun, bishop. All these as one together with me cried aloud to the Lord on the holy day in the church of Saint Paul. The spirit of the Lord which today has filled the globe of the earth and contains all things and has knowledge of the cry Hallelujah and all the holy apostles of God who have been filled with that spirit may bestow everlasting blessings, on those supporting and defending this generosity, and may condemn and excommunicate both in this age and in the future he who may steal or diminish a part of this grant away from the church of the

holy Saviour which is located in the city of Canterbury. And the whole assembly has responded Amen. In confirmation indeed of this generous gift these witnesses were present and have subscribed and have confirmed this gift to our Saviour.

I Offa king of the Mercians with the blessings of all the bishops place the holy sign of the cross + in confirmation of this grant, and for the redemption of me, the grantor; and for the eternal condemnation of he who diminishes it without any relief to the torture of Hell.

+ I Ecgferth, king, have consented and subscribed and promised to always strengthen and increase this gift.

+ I Æhelheard, archbishop, place the sign of the holy cross and write in the name of the holy Saviour.

+ I Colwulf, bishop, have consented.

+ I Unwona, bishop, have consented.

+ I Hathored, bishop.

+ I Ceolmund, bishop.

+ I Ealheard, bishop.

+ I Elfhun, bishop.

+ I Cyneberht, bishop.

+ I Deneferth, bishop.

+ I Wærmund, bishop.

+ I Ealhmund, abbot.

+ I Utel, abbot.

+ I Forthred, abbot.

+ Brorda, *princeps.*

+ Bynna, *princeps.*

+ Esne, *princeps.*

+ Heardbriht, *princeps.*

+ Eþelmund, *princeps.*

+ Eadgar, *princeps.*

+ Wigga, *princeps.*

+ Cydda, *princeps.*

+ Cuðberht, *princeps.*

+ Ceolmund, *princeps.*

+ Ubba, *princeps.*

+ Eobing, *princeps.*

Endorsement:

?Hayes and Twickenham

Offa king of the Mercians gave to archbishop Æthelheard and the church of Christ 90 *tributarii* of land 60 indeed for the improvement of the church, moreover 30 to clothe the brethren. In the year 790

In Hayes and Twickenham

90 in Hayes at Yeading around the stream which is called *Fisces Burnæ,* 30 at Twickenham.

2.3: 'Running Commentary' Diplomas (S44, 70, 185, 1172 and 1782)

Although the link between these charters is less direct than the Selsey–Canterbury group previously discussed, it is useful to consider them in conjunction. Both S44 and S1172 are charters of Selsey which purport to have been issued in the late seventh or early eighth century, but now survive only in the fourteenth-century cartulary 'Liber B'.[193] Despite their similar dates of issue, they have little in common stylistically, and do not dispose of overlapping estates. Structurally however, these charters are notable for being composite documents, forming a 'running commentary' on the ownership of a particular estate over a period of time: the account in S44 is contiguous, whilst S1172 can be considered to follow on from the non-*tributarius* charter S45, which was copied onto the same folio of the cartulary, but presented as a separate entry. The circumstances of their preservation are particularly relevant as, in the process of entering the text of the original single-sheet diplomas into the cartulary, the copyist homogenised the script and layout of the text, thereby obscuring any distinctions between separate entries or additions to the single sheet, making an assessment of their chronology and authenticity on palaeographical grounds impossible.

S44 appears to draw together six separate transactions which can be approximately dated via their witness-lists, thereby effectively providing the history of an estate of 4 *tributarii* at Peppering for a greater part of the eighth century.[194] The first transaction was a grant by Nunna, king of the South Saxons (whom we encountered in relation to the 'Selsey–Canterbury' charter S1172 above), to Berhfrid, *famulo Dei,* 'servant of God': this occupies the text from the invocation to *Deo seruientibus,* 'those serving God', and can be dated to around 690.[195] The second transaction, running from *Denique præfato sene,* 'Then, when the aforesaid man was old', in the middle of the main text to the attestation by Eolla (*Ego Eolla consensi et subscripsi,* 'I Eolla have consented and subscribed'), explains how the estate came to be in the possession of Selsey, as the aforementioned Berhfrid retired to the

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[193] S44, Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Episc. VI/1/2, f. 17v (s. xiv); S1172, Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Episc. VI/1/2, f. 16v (s. xiv).

[194] Kelly, *Selsey*, 31.

[195] Barker, 'Sussex Charters, I', 77 n. 25.

monastery, giving the land to Abbot Eolla. This passage is particularly interesting in that it records both Selsey's acquisition of Peppering, and also its subsequent sale to a certain Wulfhere with the right of perpetual possession (namely, a third transaction), suggesting that these occurred within a short space of time.

E. E. Barker interprets this passage as a separate charter produced to cover the acquisition and sale simultaneously, which has been added to the text of the initial grant by Nunna, omitting the witness-list of the earlier grant and the proem of Eolla's in order to integrate the two texts more smoothly to form a single piece of continuous prose. It is possible that this conflation of the two charters occurred at an early date, in order to clarify the complex transfer of Peppering between lay and ecclesiastical possession, providing insurance against potential future claims of alienation.[196] The sentence *Denique præfato sene sæcularibus se soluente rebus · et Dei soli desideranti seruire in re prædicta · sua omnia cum semetipso Eollano concedebat,* 'Then, when the aforesaid man was old, retiring from worldly affairs, and desiring to serve God alone in the aforesaid matter, he gave away all of his possessions, and himself, to Eolla', the latter phrase signifying that he entered the monastery, occurring at the end of Nunna's grant and prior to *Idcirco ego Eolla,* 'Therefore I, Eolla', a standard formulation to introduce a dispositive clause, could therefore have been interpolated to connect the two grants.

The progression of events leading to the fourth transaction is slightly less straightforward, but it can be assumed that the Beoba now disposing of Peppering was a relation of Wulfhere, and that some time has elapsed since the former's acquisition of the estate: as this transaction occurs with the consent of King Æthelberht (of the South Saxons, r. ?733–57) and Bishop Sigfrid (of the South Saxons, in office 733–747×765),[197] it can be dated c. 733×(747×765). Here Beoba gives Peppering to Beorra and Ecca; in the fifth transaction, King Osmund buys the estate from 'Erra' in order to grant it to Titburh, *Dei famulæ,* 'female servant of God', along with another estate at Henfield, alluding to the sixth and final transaction. It is possible that the 'Erra' named in this transaction is

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[196] Kelly, *Selsey*, 31.

[197] *PASE:* 'Æthelberht 6' and 'Sigefrith 4'.

identical to 'Ecca' of the previous, or may be the heir to Ecca or Beorra (as suggested by the similarity of the names);[198] in either instance, the estate has now returned to the possession of a single owner, without the production (or at least inclusion here) of another charter. The records of these later transactions were clearly never intended to stand alone, merely referring to *hanc terram / eandem terram,* 'this land / the same land', and state the recipient's rights of possession without adding any diplomatic elements of invocation or sanction, suggesting that these were entered as endorsements onto the original single sheet and intended to explain the transfer of Peppering once again from lay to ecclesiastical hands.

In regards to textual content, S44 does exhibit some unusual features. As observed above, the text as it stands may have been interpolated, but the date of these additions or alterations is difficult to ascertain from the cartulary copy. M. G. Welch draws attention to the use of the term *anathematizatus,* 'anathematized', as this and other variants of *anathema* are an 'extreme rarity' in seventh- and eighth-century charters, implying a date of production in the ninth or tenth century.[199] Welch concludes that 'considerable doubt hangs over [the authenticity of] S44', but does not seem to allow for the possibility that its composite structure is a genuine consequence of a complex series of eighth-century transactions, rather than later interpolations. Similarly, the 'curious phrase' *Sic est regalis omnis dignitas,* 'Thus it is the whole royal authority', concluding the witness-list of the fourth transaction is probably an incomplete transcription of the phrase *Sic et regalis omnis dignitas dicit:* … 'Thus too the whole royal authority states: …' also found in S1184,[200] and need not be considered problematic as this error could have arisen at the time of entry into the cartulary (it is possible that the copyist of S44 mistook *et* for *est,* and omitted *dicit* in an attempt to restore the phrase's sense). The statement of powers in the grant by Beoba is also noteworthy, as S. E. Kelly observes:

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198 Barker, 'Sussex Charters, I', 77 n. 25.

199 Welch, *Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, 325–6.

200 Chaplais, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Diplomas', 324. S1184 is not a *tributarius* charter, but was issued in 780 by Oslac, *dux* of the South Saxons and preserved in the Selsey archive in an eighth century copy deemed to be original, so can be considered a reliable testament to the use of the phrase.

> Formulas with similar wording are found in early charters from many areas of Southern England; all these instances depend ultimately upon the common formulation of the late Roman private deeds that were the fundamental models for the earliest Anglo-Saxon charter-scribes.[201]

S44, therefore, appears to be an unusual charter representing a complex series of transactions, but this does not necessarily cast aspersions on the authenticity of its component parts. This composite structure can be compared to S1172 which, although a discrete textual entity representing a single transaction, is so closely related to S45 that it was likely an endorsement to the earlier charter, and thus appears separate only as a consequence of its entry into the cartulary.[202] The circumstances of the production of S1172 have been discussed more fully in relation to the Selsey–Canterbury connection above, but it is worth referencing the charter again here as, had its transmission history been marginally different, it could have been preserved in a similarly composite form (and thus presented a similar 'running commentary') to S44.

This is likewise seen in S185, a charter of King Coenwulf of Mercia (r. 796–821), issued to Bishop Deneberht of Worcester (in office 798×800–822) in AD 798×821 (probably 814) which, despite only surviving in two of the eleventh-century Worcester cartularies,[203] is considered authentic.[204] A relatively brief diploma composed entirely in Latin, it is considered a continuation or 'post-script' of the non-*tributarius* charter S172, which precedes it in the cartularies,[205] as together, they comprise the transmission history of a single estate.[206] In S172, King Coenwulf grants Bishop Deneberht the remission of dues, in exchange for an estate of thirteen *manentes* at Twyning. Coenwulf then goes on to grant, in S185, the reversion of thirty *tributarii* at Fladbury, *propter … istius*

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[201] Kelly, *Selsey*, 33.

[202] Kelly, *Selsey*, 15. For further discussion of S45 (Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Episc. VI/1/2, f. 16v (s. xiv)), see 'The Selsey–Canterbury Group', above.

[203] The *Liber Wigorniensis,* London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. XIII, ff. 1–118, and 'Nero–Middleton' Cartulary, London, British Library, Add. 46204.

[204] D. Hooke, *Worcestershire Anglo-Saxon Charter-Bounds*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History 2 (Woodbridge, 1990), 95.

[205] S185 is found on f.11r of the *Liber Wigorniensis,* and is the first entry to the verso of the 'Oswald Cartulary', whilst S172 can be seen on ff.10r–v and is the last entry on the recto, respectively. Foliation provided by *eSawyer*.

[206] P. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600–800*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England (Cambridge, 1990), 133, Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands,* 99, and Tinti, *Sustaining Belief,* 100.

prænominatæ terræ, 'near that aforementioned land', (namely, Twyning). As the 'aforementioned land' is not specified, S185 was clearly drafted with the expectation that is would be appended to another diploma: this can safely be interpreted as S172. In this way, these two charters were intended to exist as a pair, and have been preserved as such, whilst maintaining their original physical distinction, rather than copying them into the cartulary as a composite charter similar to S44 above.

The remaining two charters in this group, S70 and 1782 are, in fact, related not only to each other, but also to the non-*tributarius* charter S209, creating an especially complex set of overlapping texts which requires some degree of unravelling. As signified by their Sawyer numbers, these have been treated as three separate documents in the *Annotated List and Bibliography,* following the precedent set by Birch, who likewise published them as B60, 535 and 503 respectively in his *Cartularium Saxonicum.* However, S70 and 1782 are recorded solely in the cartulary of St Peter's Gloucester, compiled in the years 1393–7 by Abbot Frocester (the single-sheet exemplars now being lost). In a similar manner to S44 above, the process of committing individual diplomas to a cartulary has again introduced both the possibility of transmission errors, and disruption of the original format of the text. S70 and 1782 are presented as continuous prose spanning folios 1r–2r of the cartulary:[207] it is not until examining the contents that the discrete textual components become apparent.

S70 (folio 1r) purports to be a charter issued in AD 671 (?679) by King Æthelred of Mercia (r. 675–704), grating sizeable estates to the brothers Osric and Oswald:[208] *in prouincia Huicciorum … aliquam partem telluris, id est · ccc · tributariorum at Gleaweceasore*[209] *Osrico, et altera similiter · ccc · cassatorum at Pershoram,* 'in the territory of the Hwicce … a certain piece of land, that is 300 *tributarii* at Gloucester to Osric, and second, likewise 300 *cassatae* at Pershore [to Oswald]'. As discussed in the

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[207] The foliation of these diplomas in Frocester's cartulary, Gloucester, D.C., Reg. A (Davis 455) s.xiv, is usually given as 9r–10r (*eSawyer*). However, the cartulary as it stands presently is foliated as given above. The only published edition to preserve the cartulary format is that of W. H. Hart, in his appendix to the introduction of vol.1 of *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae,* reprint (Cambridge, 2012), vol.1 (lxxi–lxxiv).

[208] *PASE:* 'Osric 2' (later Osric, king of the Hwicce, c. 676–682), and 'Oswald 2' (c. 675–679).

[209] The omission of the medial 't' in *Gleaweceastore* is a manuscript error.

'Anglo-Saxon Land Assessment' section of Part One, the Hwicce were assessed as having 7,000 *hida* of land in the Tribal Hidage,[210] placing them in the middle range of size, and were seemingly an independent political entity in the seventh century. C. Dyer proposes that the Hwicce 'were a political entity created by the kings of Mercia, who installed a ruling dynasty over a mixed British and Anglo-Saxon population. The names of the ruling house of the Hwicce have been used to suggest that they came from a branch of the Northumbrian royal family'.[211] Although the preference for alliterative 'O' names (as with Osric and Oswald in S70) is shared by the royal houses of the Hwicce and Northumbria, and the archaeological record supports the identification of the peoples inhabiting the Severn Valley as being of diverse heritage, the suggestion that the Hwiccian kingdom itself was created by Mercia find little support from any source.

Bede records that Oftfor, Bishop of the Hwicce and witness to S53, *diuertit ad prouinciam Huicciorum, cui tunc rex Osric praefuit,* 'went to the province of the Hwicce of which Osric was at that time king'.[212] Due to the location and inferred date, this Osric is equated with the beneficiary of S70. Furthermore, the sizeable estates being granted (300 *tributarii / cassatae* each) were found at Gloucester and Pershore, both of which are located in the Severn Valley, namely the central artery of the Hwiccian territory over which Osric and his brother had previously ruled. An estate of 300 *tributarii* would not be incongruous for a house such as Gloucester, but seems 'difficult to accept' for a small regional establishment like Pershore. Little is known about the early history and endowment of Pershore, as its archives were predominantly destroyed, leaving no genuine diplomas extant from before the eleventh century.[213] It is therefore possible that Osric already had possession of the land

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[210] The entry reads 'Hwynca, 7000 *hida*'. The form of their name in the Tribal Hidage is unusual, and may simply be an error for *Hwiccena* (genitive plural), as the name of the people group is usually found in the genitive or dative form (*Hwicciorum*), with some variation in spelling due to the lack of standardisation in Old English. This may be further compounded by the name being derived from a Brittonic (pre-Anglo-Saxon) language. R. Coates, 'The name of the Hwicce: a discussion', *Anglo-Saxon England* 42 (2013), 53 & 56.

[211] *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society: The Estates of the Bishopric of Worcester 680–1540* (Cambridge, 1980), 7.

[212] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* IV.23. Taylor cites this sentence from Bede as evidence that this Osric was in fact the same individual who would rule Northumbria AD 718–729, with *cui tunc,* 'at that time', 'as a very strong point in favour of the identification', with Bede completing the *Historia Ecclesiastica* in AD 731 meaning that he and his audience would be contemporaries of Osric of Northumbria. 'Osric of Gloucester', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 26 (Gloucester, 1903), 310. Aside from the shared name, there is little persuasive evidence to support this theory.

[213] Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 134.

at Gloucester, but was required to formally petition King Æthelred for the right to perpetual free inheritance, essentially reinstating his previous mode of tenure.[214] One way of achieving this was to found a family monastery, so that the land officially belonged to the Church, but continued to be administered by representatives of the family who had entered holy orders. From this, it is apparent that 'whatever rank may have been theirs by birth, they owed their authority to [King Æthelred's] gift',[215] so that the production of a charter by King Æthelred served more as a ratification of the new political dominance of the Mercians over the area, than an actual transfer of territory.

Although this diploma begins with a standard, formulaic salutation and proem, following the dispositive section from which the above quotation is drawn, there is an unexpected passage inserted prior to the customary dating clause, which appears to record a subsequent transaction to King Æthelred's initial grant, opening with the phrase: *Postquam ego Etheldredus rex fui rogatus a uenerabili uiro præfato Osrico licentiæ meæ ut monasterialem locum,* 'After I Æthelred, king, was asked by the aforesaid venerable man Osric for my permission [to build] a monastic place'. Despite no land changing hands, there is ample archival evidence for the production of diplomas recording the bestowal of a royal privilege: over forty extant diplomas solely convey royal privileges, and approximately twenty more convey both land and privileges.[216] This unusual passage should, therefore, be considered to constitute a separate diploma, making S70 a 'running commentary' in its own right, as it marks the shift in land usage from an alienable family estate to inalienable property of the church, thereby countering any future claims to it by Osric's kin.[217] Moreover, in granting Osric 'permission [to build] a monastic place', this privilege effectively serves as a precursor to the foundation charter of St Peter's, Gloucester, a significance belied by its conflation with the text of another diploma. The period of elapsed time signified by *Postquam* cannot be determined, due to the two composite sections sharing a dating clause, but its insertion into the original charter demonstrates a conscious

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[214] John, *Orbis Britanniae,* 84.

[215] F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1971), 45.

[216] See the Appendix: Terms of Measurement in the Anglo-Saxon Diplomatic Corpus.

[217] J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), 104.

effort by the scribe to link the records together for posterity, regardless of their temporal remove in reality.

Thus far, we have seen that S70 comprises two transactions, recorded in abbreviated forms so that neither exhibits a full complement of the textual components expected of a diploma. In the editions printed by Birch and Sawyer, the continuous prose concludes with the problematic phrase *et sinodus congregata fuit in loco famosa Ethcealchy de istis rebus sic factis.* The first half of this is notable from a dating perspective, as it refers to 'the synod which had assembled in the well-known place of Chelsea' (*Ethcealchy de* being a scribal error for *æt Cealchyðe,* 'at Chelsea', with the Old English ending *-ðe* being mistaken for the Latin preposition *de,* and thus wrongly added to the ablative absolute which follows),[218] the earliest instance on record being AD 787,[219] but for the moment we shall consider *istis rebus sic factis.* As it stands, this phrase makes little sense, especially if *Ethcealchy de* is considered the incorrectly transcribed conclusion of a relatively formulaic dating and localising passage.

However, the issue is resolved when viewed alongside S1782 (B535), which begins *Osricus prefatus tradidit sorori sua Kyneburge hanc terram,* 'the aforementioned Osric gave to his sister Cyneburh this land'. The errant phrase *istis rebus sic factis,* 'with those matters having been thus concluded', which appears nonsensical when appended to S70, properly belongs to the opening passage of S1782 which follows directly on in the cartulary. Figure 10 below shows the two lines of continuous prose from f.1r of Abbot Frocester's cartulary which constitute the conclusion of S70, *[si]nodus congregata fuit in loco famosa Ethcealchy de istis rebus sic factis,* and opening of S1782, *Osricus præfatus tradidit sorori sua Kyneburgæ hanc terram et*. There is no indication via page layout, punctuation or use of coloured ink that the cartularist intended these diplomas to be considered as separate records.

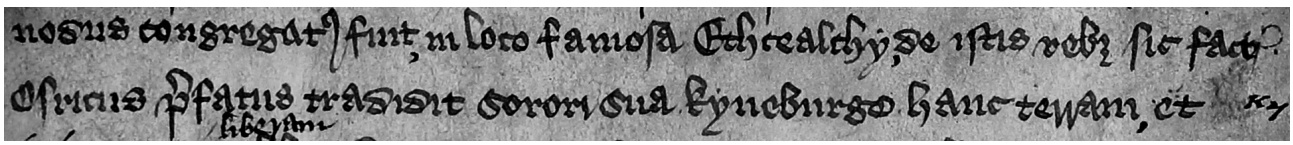

Fig. 10: Gloucester, D.C., Reg. A, f. 1r [image provided by the Gloucester Cathedral Archivist]

[218] Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands,* 160.

[219] D. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents, c. 500–1042,* 2nd edn. (London, 1996), 66.

The subsequent actions of Osric thus introduced, 'the narrative of the foundation is completed',[220] having followed the 300 *tributarii* from the hand of King Æthelred to that of the Gloucester community's first abbess. Although not dated as a separate transaction, we can assume that Osric's gift of land occurred in the late seventh (or possibly very early eighth) century, extrapolating from the given date of AD 671 for his initial receipt of the land from King Æthelred.

S1782 then continues with a list of subsequent benefactions, beginning with *Et Bebingmynstre*, including estates assessed in a mixture of *tributarii, cassatae* and *manentes,* concluding with the statement *Omnes etiam istæ donationes vel hæreditariæ terræ quæ in ista cartula continentur in multis sinodis et conciliis confirmatæ fuerunt … et nunc pertinentes sunt ad illam ecclesiam quæ sita est in Gloucestre*, 'Also all of those grants or inheritances of land which are contained in this charter have been confirmed by many synods and councils … and they are now appurtenances to that church which is located in Gloucester'. This section is, again, undated, but leads into a general confirmation of the lands and privileges belonging to St Peter's by King Burgred of Mercia (r. ?852–873×4).[221] The practice of confirming the grant of an earlier king demonstrates that 'a king's ability to grant land to the Church in perpetuity was dependent upon political circumstances: a change of regime or the intrusion of an overlord could place existing tenurial arrangements in jeopardy'.[222] Burgred's confirmation, therefore, constitutes the fifth and final transaction (or stage of legal transference) included in the composite S70 / S1782 running commentary, providing an approximate date for the compilation of the list and, by extension, a potential date for the conflation of the hitherto separate records of transaction.[223]

Dividing the cartulary prose at the point chosen by Birch and Sawyer is therefore not only arbitrary, but also misleading. Clearly, these diplomas originally existed independently, but over the course of an unknown number of stages in their transmission history of being copied, misread and

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[220] Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands,* 160.

[221] *PASE:* 'Burgred 5'.

[222] Cubitt, 'St Wilfrid', 321.

[223] Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands,* 161.

abbreviated, they now exist as a contiguous running commentary, and it is limiting to view them in isolation without first considering their cartulary context. The text as printed by Hart overcomes the difficulties caused by separating the text into two, thus being a more accurate (and thereby useful) transcription, but maintains the poor placement of *istis rebus sic factis,* so is still not free of complications.[224] The transactions which form this complex 'running commentary' can thus be summarised as in Figure 11 below.

Fig. 11: Transactions included in the composite S70 / S1782 'running commentary'.

Cartulary Folio	Transaction	Sawyer No.	Birch No.
9r	King Æthelred of Mercia to Osric & Oswald, grant of land (*tributarii* & *cassati*)	70	60
9r	King Æthelred to Osric, royal privilege	70	60
9r–v	Early history of endowment of St Peter's, Gloucester's (to mid-ninth century)	1782	535
9r–v	List of benefactions (*tributarii, cassati* & *manentes*)	1782	535
9v–10r	King Burgred of Mercia, to St Peter's, Gloucester: confirmation of privileges	1782	535
–	Alternative copy: King Burgred of Mercia, to St Peter's, Gloucester: confirmation of privileges	209	503

Although not a *tributarius* charter, it is worthwhile to observe that, unlike the earlier transactions with which it is associated, Burgred's confirmation exists in another manuscript copy,[225] preserved independently of the Gloucester charters discussed above, and whose text varies significantly from that of the Gloucester cartulary. Birch prints the entirety of S1782 (B535) as a 'Confirmation by Burgred, King of the Mercians, of No. 60 (S70), AD 872', but fails to draw any connection between its latter portion, and the text of S209 (B503), which he titles 'Grant by Burhred, King of the Mercians, of immunities to the monastery of Gloucester. AD 862'.[226] Sawyer, however, lists S209 (B503) simply as an alternative manuscript copy to the Gloucester cartulary text,

[224] Hart, *Historia et Cartularium,* lxxii.

[225] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Charters, Gloucester b.1 (s. xiv/xv).

[226] Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum* vol.2, 151.

again failing to take into account the impact of transmission history and its relationship to the earlier transactions preserved solely in the cartulary.[227]

S209 is deemed to be 'not of unquestionable authenticity',[228] on the grounds that it includes privileges it seems doubtful Burgred would have conferred: in particular, the clause referring to capital crimes (*ne liceat in antea … penam mortis petit*, 'Unless it is previously allowed … it demands the death penalty'), which is conspicuously absent from S1782, and which Finberg identifies as an interpolation.[229] All published editions of Burgred's confirmation of privileges use the text of S209, identifiable by its inclusion of the clause quoted above. This gives some indication of the diploma's possible transmission history, in that after copies were made from an exemplar (whether the original royal privilege or a subsequent transcription), these circulated independently, with one becoming associated with S1782, and the other being subject to emendation and interpolation, prior to both reaching the form in which they are extant by the early fourteenth century. The version of Burgred's confirmation included in S1782, therefore, appears to be the more reliable, by virtue of displaying fewer anachronistic (or at least, problematic) features, and can thus be presumed to more closely resemble the shared exemplar, having been altered less during its transmission history. It is precisely this comparison and cross-evaluation of documents to assess their relative reliability as sources, and attempt to unravel their transmission, that demonstrates the necessity of viewing individual documents in the context of the diplomatic corpus as a whole, rather than simply dismissing suspect diplomas as forgeries.

In light of this, we can now return to S70. Throughout the composite diploma attributed to King Æthelred, there are inconsistencies in style and chronology which suggest the text has been altered or interpolated. As stated above, the reference to a synod at Chelsea seems anachronistic,

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[227] Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters,* 123–4.

[228] A. W. Haddan & W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland,* vol.3 (Oxford, 1871), 654.

[229] Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands,* 154.

given that there is no record of a synod meeting there until a century after the diploma's purported date of issue. Furthermore, Finberg notes that:

> Another striking feature of the text is its indifference to the elementary rules of grammar … Such discordance of tenses and cases as we find here do not occur in Æthelred's other surviving charters, nor in those of his contemporaries; they belong rather to the degenerate Latinty of the ninth century.[230]

This poor grasp of grammar, whilst troublesome in a supposedly seventh-century document, is perfectly acceptable as a product of a scriptorium in the third quarter of the ninth century, namely, during the reign of King Burgred. For example, immediately after the invocation, the text reads *quoslibet minores gradus ecclesiæ,* 'anyone of a lesser rank of the church', where *minores* should either be read as *minoris*, or take *quoslibet minores* as a grammatical error, with *gradus* in the genitive.

As discussed above, the list of benefactions which *nunc pertinentes sunt ad illam ecclesiam quæ sita est in Gloucestre,* 'they are now appurtenances to that church which is located in Gloucester', coupled with the general confirmation of privileges made by Burgred, suggest that the first iteration of the 'running commentary' was compiled under his auspices. The cartulary copy as it has come down to us therefore represents 'an incompetent foundation history based on authentic, if ill-understood, contemporary materials', where 'the bad 'joins' in [the scribe's] text … suggest that he had more than one charter before him'.[231] Rather than describing an act of fabrication poaching extracts from original documents, this clearly describes the production of a 'running commentary', where the scribe has attempted, albeit unsuccessfully, to harmonise a set of chronological documents to form one cohesive text. Whilst the scribe's interpolations and omissions to this end make the authenticity of the overall document questionable, there nevertheless appear to be substantial sections of early

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[230] Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands,* 158. John likewise describes the Latin as 'the unmistakeable, degenerate stuff of the ninth century'. *Orbis Britanniae*, 84.

[231] John, *Orbis Britanniae*, 85.

text preserved from the scribe's source material, namely, the original, no longer extant, royal diplomas of Æthelred and Burgred.[232]

The 'running commentary' diplomas can therefore be seen to fall into two categories: those which exist as composite documents, where multiple diplomas have become conjoined at some point during their transmission history, and are now presented as a single entity which requires some level of unpacking, as demonstrated by S44, 70 and 1782; the others, S185 and 1172, still exist as discrete diplomas, but are so closely associated with other documents, both textually and physically, that they should be considered in conjunction. These diplomas succinctly illustrate the way in which archives were used contemporaneously, rather than as a repository of source material for forgeries, or to retrospectively justify land claims: they were returned to within the lifetime of the original grantors and beneficiaries, updated via post-scripts rather than interpolations, and used to tell the narrative of estates and the religious houses that owned them, thereby preserving decades' (or even centuries') worth of record in a contiguous account.

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[232] 'It seems probable that … the clerks of Gloucester, at some date not earlier than 816 and not much later than 862, the year of the Wellesborne charter [the confirmation of privileges by Burgred in S1782], compiled their list of benefactions and put together such materials as they could find to illustrate the beginnings of their house'. Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands*, 162. This is likewise the conclusion reached by John, *Land Tenure*, 46; Hooke, *Worcestershire Anglo-Saxon Charter-Bounds*, 19; and Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 94. Stenton, by contrast, makes a typically scathing assessment, labelling it an 'incoherent document', but does however concede that 'It is certainly not a medieval fabrication; a forger would have produced a more grammatical text'. 'Supremacy', 436 n. 18.

S44 / B145 / K1001

Date: A.D. c.705 × ?716

Operative Details: Nunna, king of the South Saxons, to Berhfrith, servant of God; grant of four *tributarii* at Peppering by the river Arun, Sussex; with confirmation by Osmund, king.

Language and Archive: *Latin,* Selsey.

Source of transcription: Images of Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Episc. VI/1/2, f.17v (s. xiv) provided by West Sussex Record Office. Where damage to the manuscript has resulted in lacunae, these have been supplemented by Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 1, 212.

Style and Diction: While the language of this charter is quite plain, there are occasional adornments, principally in the form of alliteration (for example ***p****roueniant … **p**ro … **p**ro **s**æculo **s**emper **s**pecialis … **s**eruientibus con**s**eruetur*; ***s**ene **s**æcularibus **s**e **s**oluente … **D**eo **s**oli **d**esideranti **s**eruire … præ**d**icta*) and polyptoton, the close repetition of the same root (for example *ora*tiones *ora*ntium*; *seru*ientibus *con*seru*etur*).

Transcription

+ In nomine domini Dei saluatoris nostri Ihesu Christi · Quid aliud in hoc mundo adipisci possumus · nisi ut animas nostras Deo offerentes et per beatam spem æternam mereri dignemur uitam · Qua de re ego Nunna rex Suðsaxonum pro remedio animæ meæ · aliquantulam terram in proprias substantias[233] condonabo famulo Dei nomine Berhfrid · in loco qui appellatur Piperyngges · iuxta flumen Tarente · id est · IIII · tributarios · ita tamen ut in eo loco die nottuque[234] ad dominum[235] proueniant[236] orationes orantium pro me · et pro sæculo semper specialis locus Deo seruientibus conseruetur ·

Denique præfato sene sæcularibus se soluente rebus · et Deo soli[237] desideranti seruire in re prædicta · sua omnia cum semetipso Eollano concedebat · Idcirco ego Eolla · pro suscepta pecunia · hanc donationem cum consensu fratrum regisque nostri Nunnani Wlfherio in re præfata in possessionem perpetuam tradam · Si quis homo[238] temeritatis audacia · hæc · aut per uim uecors[239] · auertit decreta · a catholicorum caterua anathematizatus iure diuino · et insolubilis æternæ retributionis uindictam[240] pœnas subiaceat cruciandus imperpetuum ·

Hanc donationem meam ego Nunna rex · consensiens[241] omnibus comitibus una mecum · mea manu subscripsi ·

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[233] Kelly gives the singular *propriam substantiam. Selsey,* 30.

[234] Substituting (or rather, misreading) *c* for *t* was not uncommon in medieval Latin, as the letters were at time indistinguishable. Kelly corrects this to *noctuque. Selsey,* 30.

[235] Kelly gives *Deum.* With this and other variant readings, the difference is likely due to variant expansions. For example, *dominum* given by Birch and *deum* by Kemble and Kelly could both be expansions of the common abbreviation *dn̄. Selsey,* 30.

[236] Kemble gives *ad deum perueniant. Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 5, 43. The abbreviation mark on the stem of the 'p' is indistinct, but appears to form the loop signifying *pro* rather than the simple crossbar of the abbreviation for *per.*

[237] Kelly identifies this as an error for *solo,* although the dative *soli* is more common and fits the grammatical context. *Selsey,* 30.

[238] Kemble gives *uero. Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 5, 44; Kelly gives *homo. Selsey,* 30. The abbreviation symbol is indistinct, but appears to be a 'h' with superscript 'o', hence the expansion of *homo* given above.

[239] Kemble gives *uecordiae,* which makes more sense as a genitive ('through the force of folly'), although the 's' is sufficiently similar to other examples within the text. *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 5, 44.

[240] Kelly gives *uindicta. Selsey,* 30.

[241] This is a variant spelling for *consentiens,* likely in error for *consentientibus.*

+ Ego Osricus consensi et subscripsi ·

+ Ego Eadberhtus consensi et subscripsi

+ Ego Eolla consensi et subscripsi ·

+ Ego Beoba hanc terram iuris mei · quam michi propinqui mei edonabant[242] · cum consensu Nunian regis et Eollan episcopi · consentientibus Æðilberhto rege · et episcopis Sigfrido · Beorran · et Eccam · libenter concedo · ut me uiuente in potestate eorum sit · et post obitum meum habeant licentiam habendi donandique cuicunque illis placuerit ·

Eandem terram ego Osmundus rex pretio redemi ab Errano comite meo cum consensu episcopi nostri cum augmentatione terræ illus quæ appellatur Tytburge Dei famulæ imperpetuam[243] attribuo possessionem ·

+ Ego Osmund rex signum sanctæ crucis expressi ·

+ Ego Osa consensi et subscripsi ·

+ Sic est regalis omnis dignitas ·

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[242] Probably for *condonabant.* Kelly, *Selsey,* 31.

[243] Kemble gives *in perpetuam,* presumably due to minim-confusion (reading *m* for *in / ni,* or vice-versa). *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 5, 44.

Translation

+ In the name of Lord God our saviour Jesus Christ. What else can we obtain in this world, except that in offering our souls to God and through blessed hope, we may be found worthy to win eternal life. On account of this I, Nunna, king of the South Saxons, for the healing of my soul, will grant to the servant of God named Berhfrith, a little piece of land for his own means of subsistence in the spot which is called Peppering next to the river Arun, that is, four *tributarii,* so that day and night in that place the prayers of those praying for me may proceed to the Lord, but that in this way this place may be always and indefinitely reserved especially for those who serve God.

Then, when the aforesaid man was old, retiring from worldly affairs, and desiring to serve only God alone in the aforesaid matter, he gave away all of his possessions and himself to Eolla. Therefore I, Eolla, for money received, will hand over this grant for the aforesaid purpose in perpetual possession to Wulfhere with the consent of the bretheren and of Nunna our king. If any man with heedless daring or foolishly through force overturns this decree, may he be anathematized from the company of Catholics according to divine law, and be tortured forever and undergo the penalty and vengeance of incontrovertible retribution in perpetuity.

+ I, Nunna, king, have subscribed this my grant with my own hand, together with the consent of all the *comites* with me.

+ I, Osric, have consented and subscribed.

+ I, Eadberht, have consented and subscribed.

+ I, Eolla, have consented and subscribed.

+ I, Beoba, freely give this land of my jurisdiction, which my relatives gave me with the consent of King Nunna and Bishop Eolla, to Beorra and Ecca with the consent of King Æðelberht and Bishop Sigfrid; that it may be in their power during my life, and that after my death they may have it with permission to have and to give to whomsoever they please.

The same land I, Osmund, king, have bought for a price from my *comes* Erra with the consent of our bishop, and now allot it with the addition of the land which is called [Henfield] in perpetual possession to Titburh, the servant of God.

+ I, Osmund, king, have formed the sign of the holy cross.

+ I, Osa have consented and subscribed.

+ Thus it is the whole royal authority[244]

[244] This seemingly awkward phrase is likely a consequence of transcription error. A similar phrase *Sic et regalis omnis dignitas dicit*:… 'Thus the whole royal authority states:…' can be found in the non-*tributarius* diploma S1184, issued in 780 by Oslac, *dux* of the South Saxons and preserved in the Selsey archive in an eighth–century copy deemed to be original, so can be considered a reliable testament to the use of the phrase.

S70 / B60

Date: A.D. 671 for ?679, Chelsea.

Operative details: Æthelred, king of the Mercians, to Osric and Oswald, his noble *ministri*; grant of 300 *tributarii* at Gloucester, Gloucs., to Osric, and 300 *cassatae* at Pershore, Worcs., to Oswald; Osric's part being used by him for the foundation of a minster at Gloucester.

Language and archive: *Latin*, Gloucester.

Source of transcription: from images of Gloucester, D.C., Reg. A, f.1r (s. xiv ex.) provided by the Gloucester Cathedral Archivist, supplemented by that of Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, vol. 1, 95.

Style and Diction: There are a number of problematic constructions here, some of which can be explained as medieval alternatives to strict Classical usage, for example the first *uel quis*, likely for *uel quibus*, while others are simply inexplicable, such as *obe*. The otherwise problematic term *suleaurea* can best be explained as a garbled form of Old English *sulhæcer* 'a strip of land for ploughing' (*DMLBS: s.v. suleaurea*), while the lack of agreement between *loco* and *famosa* suggests that one or other should be emended, most likely *famosa* to *famoso*.

Transcription

In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi.

Solet nonnunquam inter multos sacerdotes domini uel quoslibet minores gradus ecclesiæ, et inter ipsos etiam laicos fideles, de possessionibus agrorum uel quis uel ad quamlibet ecclesiæ pertineat, uel quis etiam cuiuslibet magis sit, maxima discordia oriri, quapropter ego Etheldredus, Deo adiuuante, rex Merciorum fui cogitans de remedio animæ meæ ut aliquid fecerim michi in elemosinam pro nomine omnipotentis Dei in sæcula. Concedens autem donabo duobus ministris meis nobilis generis in prouincia Huicciorum, Osrico scilicet et Oswaldo fratri eius in uicarium, cum nostra licentia et consensu, aliquam partem telluris, id est · ccc · tributariorum at Gleaweceasore Osrice, et altero similiter · ccc · cassatorum at Pershoram, hoc est, ut Osric acciperet illud obe Gleaweceasdre, Oswald etiam et Pershoran haberet.

Postquam ego Ethredus rex fui rogatus a uenerabili uiro præfato Osrico licentiæ meæ ut monasterialem locum et uitam in illa ciuitate construere potuisset, et cœnobialem regulam perenniter ibi constitueret; et tunc ita fiebat, et ipse comparauit illam ciuitatem cum agro suo, et ad liberam potestatem omnis rei, cum uno suleaurea, in quo fuit · xxx · milia, sibi in perpetuam hæreditatem possidendum et adhabendum, et post se in suam genelogiam qualicunque manu uoluerit donandam.

Facta uero est hæc conditio in quinto anno regni Ethrelwedi regis Merciorum, hoc est, anno dominicæ incarnationis DC LXXI, tunc fuerunt domini archiepiscopus Deusdedit, et Saxulphus episcopus, gentes Mercini, et sinodus congregata fuit in loco famosa Ethcealchy de istis rebus sic factis ·

Translation

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. It sometimes happens that among many priests of the Lord or anyone of a lesser rank of the church, and even among the faithful lay people, concerning the possession of fields either to whom or to what extent it may pertain to the church, or even more than this, very great disagreement arises, on account of which I Æthelred, by the support of God king of the Mercians, thinking about the healing of my soul, that I should do something as alms for the name of almighty God forever. Granting, moreover, I will give to two of my *ministri* of noble family in the territory of the Hwicce, namely Osric and Oswald standing in for his brother, with our permission and consent, a certain piece of land, that is 300 *tributarii* at Gloucester to Osric, and second, likewise 300 *cassatae* at Pershore, that is, so that Osric should receive that at Gloucester, and Oswald will also have Pershore.

After I Æthelred, king, was asked by the aforesaid venerable man Osric for my permission to build a monastic place and life in that city, and should establish monastic rule there perpetually, and when that was done, and he had himself provided for his city with his land, and with regard to free power in everything, with one strip of land for ploughing, in which was 30 thousand, to him to hold in perpetual hereditary possession, and after him in his family to be given to whichever hand he wishes.

This agreement was made truly in the fifth year of the reign of Æthelred king of the Mercians, that is, the year of the incarnation of the Lord 671, then there were present the lords archbishop Deusdedit, and bishop Saxulphus, the people of the Mercians, and the synod which had assembled in the well-known place *Ethcealchy* [Chelsea]. With those matters having been thus concluded …

S185 / B368 / K215

Date: A.D. 798 × 821, probably 814.

Operative details: Coenwulf, king of the Mercians, to Deneberht, bishop, and his community at Worcester; grant of the reversion of thirty *tributarii* at Fladbury, Worcs., after his own death.

Language and archive: *Latin*, Worcester.

Source of transcription: from digital images of Ms1: London, British Library, Add. 46204, verso (s. xi), and microfilm images of Ms2: London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. XIII, f.11r (s. xi); supplemented by Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, vol. 1, 507.

Edition: The transcriptions provided by Kemble and Birch are both made from Ms2, the *Liber Wigorniensis*. The text of this copy differs slightly from that preserved in Ms1, the Nero–Middleton Cartulary. The transcription below therefore attempts to combine the two variant copies, with the differences in text indicated thus:

Text in **bold** can be found in the Nero–Middleton Cartulary but not in the *Liber Wigorniensis*

Text which is underlined can be found in the *Liber Wigorniensis* but not in the Nero–Middleton Cartulary.

Plain text is common to both manuscript copies.

Style and Diction: The use of the term *etiam* at the very beginning of the charter seems to imply that something has preceded, while the differences between the versions preserved in the Nero-Middleton Cartulary and in the *Liber Wigorniensis* follow the pattern previously discussed with regard to S116. The form *uoluerint* in the anathema, after *Siquis*, is an evident error for *uoluerit*, as the numerous parallels in *eSawyer* make clear, and is presumably the result of an interpolated suspension.

Transcription

+ Ego etiam Coenuulf rex Merciorum eodem honorabili episcopi Deneberhto et eius familiæ Uueogernensis æcclesiæ post uitæ spatium diernum meorum [**meæ**] dabo terram · XXX · tributariorum in loco qui uocatur Flædanburh propter traditionem istius prænominatæ terræ ut perpetualiter perfruantur in euum · et dimidiam partem huius agri possessionis præcipio ut cum illo ad prædictam æcclesiam reddatur quæ illis diebus illic æt Flædanbyrig[245] habeatur · Liberabo quoque terram istam sub testimonio illorum quorum nomina præscripta liquescunt ab omnibus sæcularium rerum honeribus[246] duris ac leuibus · exceptis his arcis · et pontis constructione et expeditione et singulare prætium foras aduersum aliud · ad poenam uero neque quadrantem minutam foras resoluat[247] ·

Siquis autem hoc seruare uel adnuere[248] uoluerint sit benedictus a Deo cœli omnium possessori · Si uero aliquis quod non optamus **aliquis** hoc in aliquo frangere uel minuere temtauerit sciat se anathematum [**alienatum**] a Deo in die magno nisi ante hic correctus cum satisfactione emendauerit **et ad dignam penitentiam uenerit.**

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[245] The Nero–Middleton scribe gives *Flædanburh.*

[246] Kemble gives *oneribus,* of which this is the aspirated form. *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 1, 271.

[247] A similar phrase to *singulare prætium foras… minutam foras resoluat* can also be found in S58.

[248] The Nero–Middleton scribe gives *annuere.*

Translation

+ Likewise I Coenwulf king of the Mercians, to the same honourable bishop Deneberht and the community of the church of Worcester, after the space of the days of my life will give land of 30 *tributarii* in the place which is called Fladbury according to the transfer of the aforementioned land which is being given so that it is continually made use of thereafter and I order half of the possession of this land so that it returns to the aforesaid church held at Fladbury after their lifetime. Also with the testimony of those whose names lie written below I will free this land from every burden of secular things, difficult or trifling except for fortification and bridge construction and military excursions, and should anyone alienate from it for a single price let him pay in punishment not even a tiny farthing[249] to anyone else.

If however someone wishes to keep and consent to this may he be blessed by God the possessor of all things in heaven. If indeed anyone, which let us hope not, should attempt to wish to break or diminish this in any way he will be cursed by God on the great day unless he should have corrected this beforehand and should have come to proper penitence.

[249] Literally, a quarter-penny.

S1782 (& 209) / B535 (& 503)

Date: A.D. 862 (Wellesbourne, Warwicks.).

Operative details: Burgred, king of of the Mercians, to the church of St Peter, Gloucester; confirmation of privileges,; associated list of benefactions to Gloucester Abbey.

Language and archive: *Latin,* Gloucester.

Source of transcription: from images of Gloucester, D.C., Reg. A, ff. 1r–2r (s. xiv ex.) provided by the Gloucester Cathedral Archivist, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Charters, Gloucester b.1 (s. xiv/xv); supplemented by Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 2, 109–11 & 151–3.

Style and Diction: In general, the quality of the latinity is not high: certainly, the number and nature of the notes below highlight an unusual amount of difficulty copying what is a rather straightforward charter, although there is an example of polyptoton (*liberalo… libertatis… libertati*) near the beginning of Burgred's confirmation proper. It is clear that Birch has attempted to rectify several of the errors to Classical standards. The form *heroitorum* for the expected *heroicorum* is another example of *c*/*t* conflation.

Transcription

Osricus præfatus tradidit sorori sua[250] Kyneburgæ hanc terram et civitatem in liberam abbatissæ potestatem habendum,[251] et post illa[252] Eadburt abbatissa cognata ejus accipit[253] eam, quæ fuit regina ante Wlfheri regis Merciorum, et sic post eam Eafe abbatissa monasterium illud cum bona castitate sub ecclesiastica regula bene custodiebat xxxiii. annis,[254] et liberabat illud omnipotentis Dei in cœlis et sanctam Mariam virginis, et libellum terrarum super altare Sancti Petri deposuit, et familiæ præcipiebat ut pro Dei nomine liberi essent domini electione semper in æternum, pro se et suis qui hæreditatem sibi dederunt, et adjunxit Etbebing mynster illic et Onport lande ad illam ecclesiam cxx. cassatorum in occidentalibus Saxonibus, et Bibladene, Otintone, et Beganpurþan.

Adelbadui rex dedisset et pro eo quod percussit Adelmund filium Ospaldi cognatum ejus, et ille rex contedebat ei vii annos refectioni eius ad illo vico et illa Eafe abbatissa adquisivit hanc terram æt Ahie xx. cassatorum, at Pindepillan xx. ovibus[255] suis illic adhauendas;[256] et postea subregulis[257] Huicciorum Aldred dedisset suam hæreditatem illic, hoc est, æt Enneglan lx. manentes illius terram;[258] x. cassatorum æt Fagranforda dedissent Burgredo[259] pro libertate equorum ejus

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[250] Birch gives *suæ. Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 2, 151.

[251] Birch gives the correct Latin form *habendam,* agreeing with *terram. Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 2, 151. This phrase refers to an earlier transaction, recorded in S70 above.

[252] This would make more sense as *illam,* suggesting a suspension marking has been omitted by the scribe.

[253] Birch gives the (more likely) past tense *accepit. Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 2, 151.

[254] The accusative *annos* would be expected when indicating time elapsed.

[255] It seems likely the numerals refer to another area of land, with the unit *mansus* having been omitted, rather than a specified number of sheep.

[256] This should be read as *adhibendas,* with *v* for *b* substitution usually indicative of an earlier date of production; *eSawyer* records no example of *adhabere* for *adhibere.*

[257] Birch gives *subregulus,* although the spelling given above is supported by the manuscript. *Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 2, 151.

[258] *terrae* would be expected to agree with *illius.*

[259] Birch emends this to *dedisset Burgredus. Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 2, 151.

tributariorum;[260] æt Hpicca puda idgut[261] hæres et nominatur; et æt Peapcaurtane xv. cassatorum; et in alio loco æt Ceddanpryde in terra monta[262] ·xv. cassatorum; et in Nymdesfelda iii. manentes; istas terras Aldred subregulus Huicciorum omnes pro se dedisset. Similiter etiam postea Ælmund in Gelding xxx. tributariorum Æeoport dedit, et xxxv. in Lecche familiæ illæ[263] ad suam mensam, concedens et in alio loco Biesingburnan, Stanedis xv. cassatorum, Beornpulf rex sibi in elemosinam illis donabat, æt[264] Nodehardus præfectus et comis[265] regis in Magansetum iiii. manentes on Briencandafelda per illum ad mensam eorum dedisset.

Omnes etiam istas donationes vel hæreditarias terras[266] quæ in ista cartula continentur in multis sinodis et conciliis confirma fuerunt; et Deo liberata ac donata,[267] et cum testimonio et firmatione manu regum Merciorum, id est Æeldredi, Adelbaldi, Offan,[268] et Cyennulfi, et archiepiscorum illorum necnon et aliorum multorum optimatum descripta et liberata et confirmata fuerunt, et nunc pertinentia[269] ad illam ecclesiam quæ sita est in Gloucestre; et iam vero ego Burgredus, Deo Omnipotentissimo concedente et auxiliante, Rex Mercencium, pro remedio animæ meæ mihi in elemosinam sempiternam liberalo[270] civitatem illam et alia monasteriola loca quæ ad se obediunt et pertinent, eadem libertatis causa qua ante fuerunt libertati[271] sub me et antecessoribus meis, et hoc,

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260 Whilst the manuscript reads *equorum tributariorum,* 'tribute-horses' and has been translated as such, this seems likely to be an error for *æqorum tributariorum,* 'equal tribute', intending to denote an equal size donation to that given in the previous grant.

261 *Idgut* is treated as a proper (personal) name in the translation, being otherwise difficult to reconcile with the sentence or suggest a translation.

262 Birch gives *montana,* which may be a correction of the original text. *Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 2, 151.

263 *Illius* would be expected.

264 This should be read as *et,* giving a translation of 'and Nottheard'.

265 Birch gives *comes. Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 2, 152.

266 Birch gives *istæ donationes vel hæreditariæ terræ,* correcting this from the accusative to the nominative. *Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 2, 152.

267 This appears to be a conflation of past participles (which would be *liberate et donatione*) and ablatives (*liberatae et donatae*). Birch gives *liberatæ ac donationæ. Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 2, 152.

268 This is presumably an error for Offani, through minim confusion.

269 Birch emends this to *pertinentes sunt. Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 2, 152.

270 Birch emends this to *liberabo. Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 2, 152.

271 Appears to be an error for *liberata.*

cum consensu et concilio ac licentia omnium optimatum nostrorum, factum est in illo regale[272] vico et concilio quod habebatur æt Pelerburnan; et nullus homo ex nostris ministris non intromittat vel[273] quærat ab illis plus maiorem causam nisi quo ante fuerat donatum et constitutum, ea duntaxat conditione statuta, ut orationes illorum deprecationesque, pro me et pro iustis hæredibus meis, jugiter in illa ecclesia nocte et die memoriter servetur.[274]

Qui vero hanc donationis libertatem hæredum vel antecessorum meorum benigna mentis intentione atque illæsa cogitatione custodierit, æterna claritate coronetur, ornetur, glorificetur, et nomen eius sit scriptum in libro vitæ; siquis autem, quod absit eujuslibet personæ, tyrannico cupiditate instinctus contra hanc diffinitionis libertatisque cartulam sæculari potentia fretus venire nititur, sit sub anathemate inde proditoris Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et illum proiectum et alligatum in æternis pœnis sempiternis flagris fieri dampnatum, nisi hic Deo et hominibus cum bona satisfactione digne emendaverit; et siquis hoc augere vel servare voluerit, benedictioni Dei cœli cum omnibus Sanctis sine fine percipiat in sempiternum. Amen.

+ Hæc fuerunt gesta et renovata anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCC · LXII · indictione X,[275] cum consensu, et beneficientia, et confirmatione piissimi Regis Merciorum Burgredi, et venerabilis archiepiscopi nostri Ciolnodi, et omnium episcoporum et principium et multorum heroitorum virorum[276] quorum nomina et signa hic infra notantur, ut firmior et prolixior hæc res in æternum constitueretur.

+ Ego Burgredus, Rex Merciorum, hanc propriam donationem libertatis et positiue signo crucis impono.

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[272] *Regali* would be the more usual form.

[273] The words *intromittat vel* are inserted above the line.

[274] Birch gives *servarentur,* possibly due to an alternative expansion of a suspension, or mis-transcription. *Cartularium Saxonicum*, vol. 2, 152. The textual overlap with S209 begins with *Qui vero hanc donationis,* and ends with the attestation of *Eadred dux,* whilst S209 includes a further eight attestations and a Latin endorsement.

[275] Birch gives *octingentesimo septuagesimo secundo, indictione quinta,* '872, the fifth indiction', whereas the numerals in the manuscript denote 862, the tenth indiction. The forms of the numerals here are consistent with those given on the previous folio of the cartulary when assessing units of land, so Birch's emendation appears unfounded.

[276] Literally 'men of the heroic class' (*DMLBS: s.v. heroicus*, sense 1), this phrase is relatively rare within the diplomatic corpus, and *eSawyer* gives only 8 attestations (S512, 534, 587, 588, 641, 643, and 660).

+ Ego Cionoldus, gratia Dei archiepiscopus, hanc donationem confirmans subscripsi.

+ Ego Etheldriuda Regina huic donationi regis concessæ signo crucis infixi.

+ Ego Pulfrig episcopus consensi et subscripsi.

+ Ego Ciorred episcopus consensi et subscripsi.

+ Ego Alchun episcopus consensi et subscripsi.

+ Ego Berthred episcopus consensi et subscripsi.

+ Ego Diorlaf episcopus consensi et subscripsi.

+ Ego Biornoð dux consensi et subscripsi.

+ Ego Humberth dux consensi et subscripsi.

+ Ego Milflaf dux consensi et subscripsi.

+ Ego Eamberht dux consensi et subscripsi.

+ Ego Eadred dux consensi.

Et alii tam duces quam abbates subscripserunt.

Translation

The aforesaid Osric handed over to his sister Kyneburg this land and dwelling for the abbess to have power of free possession, and after her the abbess Eadburht her relative received it, who was previously the queen of Wulfhere, King of the Mercians, and so after her Abbess Eafe oversaw that monastery, she governed splendidly with splendid chastity under ecclesiastical rule for thirty-three years,[277] and he [Osric] delivered freely the monastery of Almighty God in heaven and of the blessed Virgin Mary, and placed the land-book upon the altar of St. Peter, and ordered the community that in the name of God they would be free by the Lord's choice, always and eternally, both on their behalf and that of their dependents who granted them the hereditary right of succession, and she annexed there *Etbebing* minster and the land at *Onport* to that church, 120 *cassatae* in the land of the East Saxons, and *Bibladene, Otintone,* and *Beganwurþan*.

The king also granted to Æthelbald,[278] for the reason that he struck his relative Æthelmund, son of Oswald,[279] and that king was striving against him for seven years for his restoration to that estate, and that abbess Eafe acquired this land at *Ahie* of twenty *cassatae*, a further twenty *cassatae* at *Pindepillan* to be used there for sheep, and afterwards Aldred, sub-king of the Hwicce had given his own inheritance there, that is, sixty *manentes* of that land at *Enneglan* were given to Burgred, Burgred granted ten *cassatae* at *Fagranforda* for the freedom of his tribute-horses; at *Hwiccawudu* Idgut is also named as heir; and at *Weapcaurtane* fifteen *cassatae*; and in another place at *Ceddanwryde* in the mountainous land fifteen *cassatae;* and in *Nymdesfelda* three *manentes*; these are all the lands that Aldred, sub-king of the Hwicce, had granted on his own behalf. Similarly, also after Aelmund in *Geldinge* gave thirty *tributarii* at *Aeoport*, and thirty-five *tributarii* to the community in *Lecche* for their sustenance, also granting in another place *Biesingburnan*, Stanedis fifteen *cassatae;* King Beornwulf

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277 The adjectival repetition ('governed splendidly with splendid chastity'), while awkward in translation, is intended to preserve the polyptoton of *bona castitate… bene custodiebat.*

278 Although uncommon, the form 'Adelbad' for Æthelbald is not unprecedented, occurring similarly in the 'D' text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as 'Æðelbad Cynebalding'. By comparison, King Æthelbald of the Mercians (r.716–757) is mentioned by name 97 times, with this being spelled 41 different ways. *PASE:* 'Æthelbald 5' and 'Æthelbald 4' respectively.

279 This would appear to be a fine or penance, with Æthelmund specified as his relative rather than Oswald (which would have been *cognati eius*), so perhaps Æthelmund is Æthelbald's sister's son.

granted them as alms for himself, and Nottheard the *præfectus* and *comes* of the king had given four *manentes* in *Briecandafelda* through him for their sustenance.

Also all of those grants or inheritances of land which are contained in this charter have been confirmed by many synods and councils; with all-powerful God granting and assisting, and with the testimony and confirmation by the hand of kings of the Mercians, that is of Æthelred, Æthelbald, Offa and Cynewulf, and of their archbishops and also by many other nobles have been described and delivered and confirmed, and they are now appurtenances to that church which is located in Gloucester; and now truly I Burgred, King of the Mercians by the permission and aid of the most omnipotent God, for the healing of my soul grant as alms freely and for eternity to that city and other monastic places which obey and appertain to it, the same things for the sake of freedom as the freedoms were previously under myself and my predecessors, and this, with the consent and counsel and permission of all my nobles, it happened in that royal settlement and council that was held at *Welerburnan*; and let no man from among our *ministri* shall interfere or demand from them any greater cause than that which had been given and established before, at least with regard to those things that have been decreed by agreement, namely that their prayers and supplications, for me and for my rightful heirs, will always be observed in memory in that church, night and day.

Indeed whoever will maintain with kind intention in mind and inviolate the deliverance of this grant of my ancestors and heirs, let him be crowned with eternal brilliance, adorned, glorified, and his name written in the book of life; if however anyone, God forbid, incited by tyrannical desire, strives to go against this charter in terms of its bounds and freedoms, relying on secular power, let him thenceforth be under the anathema of the betrayer of our lord Jesus Christ,[280] and let him be cast down and bound in eternal punishments, damned in everlasting flames, unless he shall have made worthy amends to God and men with good satisfaction; and if anyone wishes to increase or preserve this, let him receive the blessings of God in heaven with all the saints eternally without end. Amen.

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[280] i.e. Judas.

These events occurred and were renewed in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 862, the tenth indiction, with the consent, and favour, and confirmation of Burgred, the most pious king of the Mercians, and our venerable archbishop Ceolnoð, and all the bishops and *principes* and many lordly men whose names and signs are noted here, in order that this act might be established more firmly and more widely forever.

+ I Burgred, King of the Mercians, grant this my own gift of deliverance and firmly place the sign of the cross.

+ I Ceolnoð, archbishop by the grace of God, confirming this grant and have subscribed.

+ I Etheldriuda, queen, have affixed the sign of the cross to this grant bestowed by the king.

+ I Wulfrig, bishop, have consented and subscribed.

+ I Ciorred, bishop, have consented and subscribed.

+ I Alchun, bishop, have consented and subscribed.

+ I Berthred, bishop, have consented and subscribed.

+ I Diorlaf, bishop, have consented and subscribed.

+ I Biornod, *dux*, have consented and subscribed.

+ I Humberth, *dux*, have consented and subscribed.

+ I Milflaf, *dux*, have consented and subscribed.

+ I Eamberht, *dux*, have consented and subscribed.

+ I Eadred, *dux,* have consented.

And others, both lords and abbots, have subscribed.

2.4: Tenth-Century Anomalies (S526, 874, 892 and 1291)

These four diplomas have few fundamental details in common, originating from different archives and recording grants by different kings. They are, however, the only four *tributarius* diplomas dated to, and thought to have been produced in, the tenth century. Beyond their similar date of production, these charters are structurally or stylistically distinct from the rest of the corpus, which all purport to have been issued in the seventh and eighth centuries, thereby belonging to a much earlier period in the development of Anglo-Saxon diplomatic. Clearly a number of these purportedly early documents are spurious, and may indeed have been fabricated in the tenth century or even later, but conscious attempts to emulate the style and content of genuine early exemplars mean that these do not generally present as later texts, hence the remarkable aspect of these genuine tenth-century products, which are characterised by hermeneutic Latin and learned allusions.

This style of composition was most notably employed by the royal chancery scribe 'Æthelstan A' (c.928–35), whose 'bombastic' Latin prose (favouring Greek-derived terms and poetic devices such as hyperbaton, chiasmus and assonance) set the precedent for later tenth-century scriptoria.[281] These poetic affectations of vocabulary and style are likely derived from the association of poetry with antiquity and, by extension, antiquity with authority, as the more ancient a diploma can claim to be, the stronger the owner's case in a dispute.[282] The work of 'Æthelstan A' can be compared to that of Ealdred the Scribe who, in his colophon to the Lindisfarne Gospels (for which he was glossator whilst a member of the community of St Cuthberht at Chester-le-Street in the second half of the tenth century) and also the Durham Collectar,[283] 'references both Latin and Carolingian poetry, primarily Ovid, but with allusions to Alcuin and Theodulf of Orleans as well',

[281] R. Gallagher, 'Asser and the Writing of West Saxon Charters', *The English Historical Review* 136 (2021), 784; and D. Woodman, '"Æthelstan A" and the Rhetoric of Rule', *Anglo-Saxon England* 42 (2013), 217–48, and *The First King of England*, 87.

[282] See *þam aldan bocum* of Wærferth, bishop of Worcester, in the 'Anglo-Saxon Land Assessment' section of Part One.

[283] London, British Library Cotton MS Nero D.IV (the 'Lindisfarne Gospels') 687×689, Lindisfarne, prov. Chester-le-Street s. ix ex., Durham s. x ex., OE gloss s. x 3/4 , prob. before 970; Durham, Cathedral Library, A. IV. 19 s. ix/x or x in., S England, prov. Chester-le-Street; s. x prov. whole MS Durham 2 (c. 970), Chester-le-Street; prov. whole MS Durham. *GL*.

demonstrating the breadth of sources available to, and utilised by, these tenth-century scribes:[284] a surviving tenth-century manuscript copy of Aldhelm's prose *De Virginitate,*[285] itself a text demonstrating the author's 'profound learning and extensive reading amongst the Christian Fathers',[286] is heavily glossed in a contemporary hand, showing the scribe to have studied the text not simply to borrow vocabulary, but to understand its proper application.[287] Another notable feature of tenth-century royal diplomas is their extensive witness-lists, often featuring multiple high-ranking ecclesiastics from various Sees throughout England, by contrast to earlier diplomas whose witness-lists tended to be significantly briefer and more localised. Whilst it is only possible to draw conclusions from those documents surviving in their original forms (as witness-lists, like boundary clauses, were obvious portions of text to abbreviate or omit when copying, especially into a cartulary with constraints of space), this reflects the political structure of the country after the ascension of Æthelstan to king of England / the English in AD 927, where the *witan* would be drawn from the leading political and ecclesiastical figures of the country as a whole, rather than the individual kingdom (such as Mercia under Offa or the South Saxons of Nunna) as in previous centuries.

As discussed within the Selsey–Canterbury Group above, S1291 (issued in 957 and preserved at Selsey) is an unusual document for recording the restoration of numerous estates to Selsey via the agency of King Eadwig, rather than documenting an actual grant or lease by the king. Because of this, there are textual components, such as the first-person musings of Bishop Byrhthelm (*tota mentis auiditate crebro scrutatus sum,* 'I have often considered with all keenness of mind') and pronouncement of privileges by King Eadwig (*placido rex uultu denique me allocutus est, dicens*, 'the king with calm

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[284] G. P. Dyson, *Priests and Their Books in Late Anglo-Saxon England,* Anglo-Saxon Studies 34 (Woodbridge, 2019), 69.

[285] London, British Library, MS Royal 7 D. xxiv, ff. 82– 168 s. x 1, S England (Wessex? Glastonbury?), *GL.* The 'linguistic facilities' of Aldhelm are praised in the verse eulogy composed in his honour, which includes Greek and Latin terms embedded within Old English verse, arranged in the alliterative half-line form familiar from Germanic poetry such as *Beowulf.* D. R. Carlson, 'Africa and England c. 700: Aldhelm and P. Optatianus Porphyrius', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 61 (2017), 19. See also M. Lapidge, 'The hermeneutic style in tenth-century Anglo-Latin literature', *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975), 73–5.

[286] H. Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1972), 192.

[287] Woodman, *The First King of England*, 88. C. Rauer discussed the potential influence of the *De Virginitate* on diplomatic language in 'Literature before Alfred', 63.

countenance then addressed me, saying:'), which are additional to the basic structure of a normal charter, elaborating on the standard format of donor's superscription and reservation clause respectively. These unusual features can, to some extent, be explained by the format of the document, as a record of communications resulting in the restoration of land in exchange for monetary payment would necessarily require some explanation further to that of a straightforward grant or lease. It is the prose style of S1291, however, which is particularly notable, and also comparable to the other tenth-century *tributarius* charters. The discursive prose surrounding the list of estates employs a much wider range of vocabulary than is seen in earlier charters, a feature characteristic of the hermeneutic Latin style, 'reserved for the most prestigious saints' lives and other such formal documents',[288] which flourished in the tenth century. Although the draftsman of S1291 does not confine biblical quotations and inclusion of theological concepts to the invocation and sanction, where they are most thematically relevant (such as *abscondita est uita cum Christo in deo,* 'life is hidden along with Christ in God', included in Byrhthelm's explanatory proem), the vocabulary and phrasing are less complex than in other examples of this prose style.

Despite being dated a decade earlier than S1291, the hermeneutic style is much more pronounced in S526.[289] Again, the choice of vocabulary is not the most complex, with little conscious use of Greek-derived terms, but the range of Latin employed by the scribe is of a particularly literary quality, creating vivid descriptive passages in the proem and sanction. The latter section contains standard phrases denouncing any individual who challenges or infringes the terms of the charter (*Si quis autem, quod non optamus, hanc nostram donationem infringere uel mutare satagerit,* 'If anyone, which we hope not, should try to infringe or alter this our grant') and call for their repentance, but rather than simply condemning them to a place beside Judas, instead describes their punishment as *horribiles inferni fusci ualuas sentiat atque terribiles dæmonum cohortes suis obtutibus indesinenter aspiciat,* 'let him perceive the horrible gates of dark Hell below and see with his own eyes the

[288] R. Stephenson, 'Scapegoating the Secular Clergy: the Hermeneutic style as a Form of Monastic Self-Definition', *Anglo-Saxon England* 38 (2010), 107.

[289] Only a fifteenth-century copy of S526 survives: London, British Library, Add. 82931 (formerly Shirburn Castle, Earl of Macclesfield, Liber Abbatiae), ff. 23r–v (s. xv).

unceasingly the terrible cohorts of demons'. Even the numerical assessment of land appears to be presented in a stylised fashion, with the phrase *mansas tribuo* forming a verbal parallel with *tributarias mansas* in the following sentence. The text also contains examples of polyptoton (the repetition within a sentence of words derived from the same root but in a different inflection or case for stylistic effect), such as *largitatis largifluam,* 'generously flowing gift', in the proem (which is, moreover, also an example of alliteration).

The draftsman includes a number of biblical quotations throughout the text: *Date et dabitur uobis,* 'Give, and it shall be given to you', which concludes the proem, can be found in Luke 6:38;[290] *sed in sempiterno graphio deleatur et cum iustis non scribatur,* 'but let him be deleted from the eternal book (of life) and let him not be inscribed alongside the righteous', introducing the sanction is drawn from Psalms 68:29; whilst the proem appears to paraphrase the parable of the talents (Matthew 25:14–30).[291] Whilst a number of the terms and phrases employed by the scribe of S526 were unknown in Anglo-Saxon diplomatic prior to the tenth century, some do however find parallels in Asser's *Life of King Alfred* from the close of the ninth century, for which this is the earliest example of their usage outside of a classical or biblical context.[292]

Preserved in the archive of New Minster, Winchester, the grant of 10 *mansae* which it records was actually made by King Eadred (r. 946–955)[293] to the *uenerabili sacerdoti,* 'venerable priest' Eadwulf for his lifetime, after which 5 *tributarii* would be given to the monastery in which his body was interred, and 5 revert to Nunnaminster. There are no extant charters directly in favour of Nunnaminster, but the abbey stood on a Winchester estate, hence the inclusion of S526 in the archives of New Minster.[294] The provision of a lease for one life in a royal charter was unusual but not unprecedented, and shows that by this point in the development of Anglo-Saxon diplomatic, the

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[290] Entry for 'Charter S526', *Fontes.*

[291] S. Miller, ed., *Charters of the New Minster, Winchester*, Anglo-Saxon Charters 11 (Oxford, 2001), 74.

[292] Gallagher, 'Asser', 781–2.

[293] *PASE:* 'Eadred 16'.

[294] S. Foot, *Veiled Women, II: Female Religious Communities in England, 871–1066* (Aldershot, 2000), 246–7.

standard form of the charter 'normally reserved for estates of bookland, could be adapted for transactions whose effect was the creation of loanland', no mater how temporary.[295] Although surviving in a single, later copy, rendering palaeographical analysis impossible, S526 is unanimously considered authentic on diplomatic grounds, with many of its formulae being present in other contemporary charters, and both witness-list and dating-clause described as 'unobjectionable'.[296]

These circumstances of survival are similar to S874, which is found only in the twelfth-century cartulary *Codex Wintoniensis* from the archive of Winchester Old Minster,[297] and likewise considered authentic. Issued in AD 990, this diploma records the granting of fifteen *tributarii* at *Wudatun* (Wootton St. Lawrence) by King Æthelred (r. 978–1016)[298] to his *minister* ('*þegn*' or '*ealdorman*') Æthelweard. This dispositive section is relatively straightforward, providing the operative details and right to perpetual free inheritance, but even this is delivered in the ponderous, verbose manner characteristic of the hermeneutic style. Meanwhile in the proem, unconstrained by formulaic necessity, Greek-derived vocabulary and Biblical allusions abound, most notable being the reference to Phlegethon, one of the rivers of the Underwold in Greek mythology, found in a Christian context as a byword for hellfire. This usage is attested in the Harley Glossary, and seen also in the twelfth-century writings of Osbern of Gloucester. Phlegethon also appears in the eleventh-century Old English Prudentius Glosses (*de Flegetonte, de fluvio infirni*), although used here literally as the 'infernal river'. The scribe of S874, however, employs the reference adjectivally, in the phrase *Phlegethonticae atrocitatis ualeamus combustiones euadere,* 'we may be able to escape the conflagrations of hellish atrocity', which is unique within the diplomatic corpus. Within the sanction the hermeneutic style likewise

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[295] S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready' 978–1016: a Study in their Use as Historical Evidence*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 3rd series (Cambridge, 1980), 32–3.

[296] 'The verbal invocation, an expansion of a standard form, is seen from 943 to 963 … The first five words of the proem (*Omnipotens factor atque monarchus dispensator*) only recur in two charters of the following year preserved in different archives … The dispositive section of the charter is unobjectionable; the royal style used became common in 944 and was frequent in the mid-tenth century. The sanctions are both contemporary formulas.' Miller, *New Minster*, 74–5.

[297] London, British Library, Add. 15350, ff. 109r–110r. This portion of the cartulary was written by Scribe A in 1129×1139. A. R. Rumble, *Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester: Documents Relating to the Topography of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman City and its Minsters,* Winchester Studies (Oxford, 2002), 205.

[298] *PASE:* 'Æthelred 32'.

flourishes, but it is interesting to note a striking instance of textual overlap between this charter, and three other *tributarius* diplomas discussed above.

Both S230 and S233 of the 'Selsey–Canterbury Group' include the phrase *inferno inferiore*, derived from Psalm 85:13, likely as a consequence of their being drafted together. This is certainly an uncommon phrase to be found in a diplomatic context, but is seen again in the sanction of S874: the surrounding prose differs, but the context (condemning the offending party to punishment in Hell with Satan or Judas) is identical. This terminological overlap, despite a purported three-century difference in production date, and preservation in three different archives, could possibly be explained as a consequence of the Biblical origin of the phrase. This interpretation is somewhat undermined, however, by the use of the highly unusual term *anathematizatus* within the same sentence of the S874 sanction. This term is likewise found in the 'Running Commentary' charter S44 which, as noted in the discussion of this charter above, is extremely rare in products of the seventh and eighth centuries, suggesting a date of production in the ninth or tenth century, namely, a date more aligned with that of S874.

S874 is not only remarkable for the range of obscure vocabulary utilised by the scribe, but also for the level of scribal innovation demonstrated by the inclusion of two highly unusual textual features. Firstly, the scribe provides a 'Prohibition Clause' which, similar to a Sanction, forbids anyone from challenging the terms of the diploma, and condemning any other document they bring forth as evidence: *Si autem tempore contigerit aliquo quempiam hominum aliquem antiquiorem librum contra istius libri libertatem producere, pro nichilo computetur,* 'If however, at some time, it were to happen that some man produces a more ancient document contradicting the freedom of this charter, let it be reckoned worthless'. Clauses resembling this appear to have been developed in the early 950s and are found, with minor variation, in only fourteen diplomas of the later tenth century, including S874.[299] Secondly, the 'Reservation Clause', by which the estate is freed from all obligations except for the

[299] Keynes, *Diplomas of King Æthelred,* 88 n. 20.

'Three Common Burdens', takes an 'extraordinary' form in S874.[300] Despite beginning with the standard phrase *Sit autem istud praefatum rus liberrimum ab omni mundiali obstaculo,* 'Moreover, let this aforesaid land be most free from all worldly hindrance', the scribe goes on to describe the 'Three Common Burdens' in unprecedented terms:

> *tribus, tantummodo rationabiliter, rebus exceptis, quae usuali ritu obseruantur hactenus id est cumglomerata sibi alternatim expeditioni compulerit populari commilitonum confligere castra, atque cum conciuium turma urbium indigent muniri stabiliter septa.*
> except for three things only, as is reasonable, which in accordance with conventional right are observed until now that is, when, after military service of the people has been mutually collected from them, they are compelled to attack the camps of fellow warriors, and when they are asked to swiftly fortify tottering bridges, and they need to fortify the defences firmly with a troop of fellow citizens from the town.

A single comparable Reservation Clause survives, in the text of the non-*tributarius* charter S869, issued two years prior to S874 and preserved in the archive of Winchester New Minster, as opposed to that of the Old Minster. As both charters survive only as later copies, it is not possible to conduct a palaeographical comparison, to assess whether they share a scribe.[301] Viewing the Reservation Clauses side by side, however, their textual overlap is immediately apparent, with S869 reading *tribus tantummodo causis exceptis, que huius incole actenus patrie ritu obseruant legali, id est cum hostium cunei commilitonum corripere compulerint arma uel cum recuperacionem expetunt pontium uada, seu cum arcis municionem uastitas flagitat urbana,* 'except for three such things, that the inhabitants of this country still to this day observe as legal rights, that is, they are compelled to take up arms against the fellow warriors of enemy troops, or when river-crossings require the repair of bridges, or damage to the town requires the mending of the stronghold'. Whilst these clauses are not identical, the language with which they elaborate upon the 'Three Common Burdens' (in particular, the unusual and striking image of troops of enemy warriors) is unquestionably similar. This high degree of commonality, coupled with the very close location and date of production, strongly suggests that a

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[300] Keynes, *Diplomas of King Æthelred,* 93.

[301] S869 is preserved only as a fifteenth-century copy: London, British Library, Add. 82931 (formerly Shirburn Castle, Earl of Macclesfield, Liber Abbatiae), ff. 34r–v (s. xv).

single agency, be that at scribal or scriptorium level, was responsible for these two innovative charters.

This preference for uncommon vocabulary even extends into the vernacular bounds of S874, where the term *milgemæt* (within the phrase *on ðæt milgemæt,* 'to the mile-stone') 'is not found in Anglo-Saxon save in this passage.'[302] The bounds do not name the estate or repeat the assessment of area, but simply launch directly into the list of boundary features: this is not uncommon, either in the *tributarius* corpus, or the diplomatic corpus as a whole. Of note, however, is a vernacular sentence found after, and distinct from, the perambulation, which seems to represent the conveyance of appurtenances not specified in the main charter text: *And · ix · hagan*[303] *on Wintancestre on Tænnere stret, and on Embasinga stocæ an med, and æt Hines clifæ an mylen,* 'And nine messuages in Winchester on Tanner Street, and a meadow at Basingstoke and a mill at *Hinesclifæ*'. Although unusual in its placement between the vernacular boundary clause and Latin dating clause, this sentence has not been identified as an interpolation: G. B. Grundy asserts that 'The survey is at least a copy of one of the Anglo-Saxon age', whilst A. R. Rumble indeed draws attention to this anomalous sentence as being 'indicative of a process of sub-division of the larger urban fiefs in the late Anglo-Saxon period', a process which the limited scope of the *tributarius* corpus does not otherwise reflect.[304]

This is perhaps comparable to the marginal notes appended to a number of the leases issued by St Oswald, Bishop of Worcester (in office 961–92).[305] In response to the house's accumulation of more landed possessions than necessary to support its community, St Oswald undertook an unprecedented programme of leasing out small portions of land, usually for the term of three 'lives' (i.e. the original recipient, and two named successors), with reversion to the Church. These leases

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[302] G. B. Grundy, 'The Saxon Land Charters of Hampshire with Notes on Place and Field Names', *Archaeological Journal* 84 (1927), 314. Grundy continues: '[the] only other mention of a milestone which I have come across in the charters is [S142]. There the term used is *mila stan,* and the reference is probably to a milestone on a Roman road running north from Worcester'.

[303] *DOE: s.v. haga,* sense 1, 'fence or fenced enclosure', is a term more akin to the appurtenances of an estate, which are named but their size not specified, rather than a unit of measurement, so is not included in the list of twenty-three terms considered in Part One.

[304] Grundy, 'Saxon Land Charters', 313, and Rumble, *Property and Piety,* 205.

[305] *PASE:* 'Oswald 8'.

would have been drawn up as single-sheet diplomas, but were subsequently copied into the *Liber Wigorniensis* cartulary (compiled 996×1002–1016, based upon the date of the latest lease entered and the span of the bishopric of Wulfstan II).[306] As this compilation process occurred after approximately one 'life' had elapsed, the terms of these leases were still current: in order to maintain oversight of the leased land, the names of subsequent beneficiaries, who had inherited the land and its terms from the individual cited in the original Oswald lease, were appended to the cartulary copies as marginal notes. It is only in later printed editions that these marginal notes have been conflated with contemporary endorsements, or inserted into the body of the text. There are twenty-four such instances printed by Kemble, with the same precedent followed in Birch. For example, in his edition of the lease S1300 (B1088), issued in 962 by Bishop Oswald to his *minister* Cynhelm for the period of 3 lives, Birch includes the phrase *Cynelm is þe forma man and Godwine is þe oþer,* 'Cynhelm is the first man (beneficiary) and Godwine is the second', between the dating clause and witness-list, although it must originally have constituted a note separate from the main text of the diploma, possibly as an endorsement.[307] The oddly placed vernacular sentence in the *tributarius* charter S874 could, therefore, represent an update to the original text of the diploma to ensure its continued validity, in the manner of the *Liber Wigorniensis* copies of St Oswald's leases, with the palaeographical context of this action now being lost due to the diploma's transmission history.

The final tenth-century *tributarius* charter, S892, is not only judged to be authentic, but also survives as a contemporary single sheet believed to be original.[308] Issued in 998, this charter records a grant of 7.5 *tributarii* by King Æthelred to Leofwine, his *fidelissimo duce,* 'very faithful *dux*'. As there are 'not more than' eight original single sheets extant from Æthelred's 38-year reign,[309] it is difficult to authenticate these charters through palaeographical comparison. However, there is a progression

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[306] Archbishop Wulfstan or Wulfstan II held the See of York 1002–1023, in plurality with that of Worcester 1002–1016. *PASE:* 'Wulfstan 41'.

[307] Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol.3, 318–9.

[308] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. hist. a. 2 (S.C. 31346), no. VI. Two other copies dating to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively preserve only the bounds and endorsements.

[309] Keynes, *Diplomas of King Æthelred*, 135, n. 171.

of the favoured script from Anglo-Saxon Square minuscule to Caroline minuscule over the course of Æthelred's reign, with the last instance of Square minuscule in a royal diploma occurring in 987.[310] Within the framework of this chronology, S892 is shown to be an even more remarkable document, as it is:

> Written throughout in an idiosyncratic version of Anglo-Saxon Square minuscule, with some admixture of Caroline letter-forms; the king's name in the text, and the endorsement, are in square capitals.[311]

Figure 12 below shows an extract from the dispositive clause of S892: the script retains Anglo-Saxon letterforms such as the flat-topped 'g' in *ego* and pointed 'a', whilst demonstrating Caroline influence in relatively squat, spacious aspect and rotundity of the letters. By contrast, the donor's name is presented in square capitals.

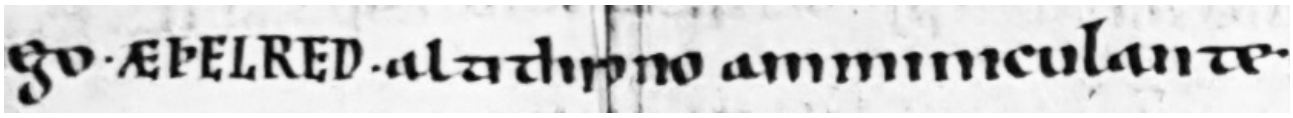

Fig. 12: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. hist. a. 2 (S.C. 31346), no. VI (s. x).

This idiosyncratic script has not been identified as a later imitation, as a similar style is used in S898: although not a *tributarius* charter, it is also an authentic, original single sheet from the Coventry archive, issued in 1001 and therefore a close contemporary of S892.[312] This similarity has repercussions for the theory of a tenth-century 'royal chancery', as the continuation of an archaism such as this within a particular archive would suggest a 'house style', persisting in a smaller scriptorium such as Coventry whilst mainstream diplomatic practice progressed. Again, however, the relative lack of irrefutable contemporary documents makes it difficult to draw any firm conclusions.

The parchment of S892 is likewise old-fashioned, being longer than it is wide (measuring 510×440mm), a layout less common after the early ninth century, and written on the hair side,

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[310] This being the diploma S864, London, British Library Cotton Ch. viii.14. D. N. Dumville, 'English Square Minuscule Script: the Mid-Century Phases', *Anglo-Saxon England* 23 (Cambridge, 1994), 161; 'BL Cotton Ch. viii.14', 'DigiPal: Digital Resource and Database of Manuscripts, Palaeography and Diplomatic' (London, 2014).

[311] S. Keynes, *Facsimiles*, no.13.

[312] London, British Library, Cotton Augustus ii. 22. This similarity is observed by Dumville, 'English Square Minuscule', 161, n. 151.

which was less common from the beginning of the tenth century;[313] the vernacular endorsement, thought to be a contemporary addition, also utilises a 'rather archaic formula':[314] *Ðis is þæra landda boc … þe Æþelred cyning sealde Leofwine ealdorman on ece yrfe,* 'These are the lands granted by charter … that king Æthelred gave to Ealdorman Leofwine in eternal inheritance', *yrfe* here having the same interpretation as the Latin *heres,* implying successive heirs with perpetual possession. This formula is reproduced almost identically, differing only in the choice of verb (*gebocode,* 'booked', rather than *sealde,* 'gave'), in the endorsement appended to S874 above. The full vernacular endorsement of S892 reads *Ðis is þæra landda boc to Suþham (ond) to Hlodbroce (ond) to Hreodburnan: þe Æþelred cyning sealde Leofwine ealdorman on ece yrfe,* 'these are the lands granted by charter to Southam and to Ladbroke and to Radbourne that King Æthelred gave to *ealdorman* Leofwine in eternal inheritance', whilst that of S874 reads *Ðis is ðara ·xv. hida boc æt Wudatune, ðe Æðelred cing gebocode Æðelwearde his þegne on ece yrfe,* 'this is the charter of the fifteen *hida* at Wootton St Lawrence granted by King Æthelred to Æthelweard his *þegn* in eternal inheritance'. Viewing these side by side, it is apparent that, aside from necessary differences in the operative details of estate and beneficiary, the two endorsements employ the same formulation.

In regards to content, the transaction recorded in the main Latin text is a straightforward grant of three estates to be held in perpetuity. The vernacular bounds, however, are interesting for providing additional detail not found in the Latin, explaining that the estates thus granted formed part of the possessions of a certain Wistan, which were *forworhte wiþ þone cyning Æþelred mid unrihtu(m) monslihte,* 'forfeited to the king Æthelred on account of unlawful homicide'. This is one of twenty Anglo-Saxon legal cases known only from 'incidental references in diplomatic documents':[315] as the charter is obviously not a judicial document, the inclusion of this detail here could be a defence against potential future claims of ownership from Wistan's family.

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[313] S. D. Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas: a Palaeography*, Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies (Woodbridge, 2006), 20–1.

[314] C. Hart, 'The Codex Wintoniensis and the King's Haligdom', in *Land, Church and People: Essays presented to Prof. H. P. R. Finberg*, ed. J. Thirsk (Reading, 1970), 23.

[315] P. Wormald, 'A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Lawsuits', *Anglo-Saxon England* 17 (1988), 248.

The hermeneutic style of Latin evident in the other tenth-century *tributarius* charters reaches a peak in S892, which is replete with Greek-derived vocabulary such as *basileus* (referring to the king, Æthelred),[316] *epylempticus* (literally, 'epileptic' or 'leper', here appearing to mean simply crazed or undesirable)[317], *dapsilitatem* ('bountiful, plentiful', related to the term for a sacrificial feast or banquet) and *thesaurum thesaurizare* (again exhibiting biblically-derived polyptoton) within the phrase *suum thesaurum thesaurizare in altis cælorum culminibus*, derived from Matthew 6:20, *thesauriate autem uobis thesauros in cælo,* 'But lay up to yourselves treasures in heaven', with the phrase *culmina cæli altis,* 'lofty vaults of heaven' likewise being familiar from the works of Aldhelm,[318] 'a specialist in that vocabulary of long and exotic words'.[319] The occurrence of such Graecisms appears to have proliferated in the wake of the diplomas produced by 'Æthelstan A'.[320] The extensive and somewhat colourful sanction in which a number of these Greek-derived terms occur finds close stylistic parallels in two other authentic, original diplomas of the 990s surviving in their single-sheet forms, 'proving beyond doubt that such formulation belongs to these years'.[321]

Moreover, a number of uncommon Latin words are included, notably the verb *depingere* ('to paint', found here in the attestation of Bishop Alfwold in the form *depinxi,* to mean 'have signed'),[322] and the unexplained adverb *triuiatim*, which 'occurs in charters of Edgar's [and is] employed in Æthelred's charters in like styles. An examination of the royal styles does not throw any light upon the meaning of *triuiatim*', although it appears to be derived from *triuium,* meaning 'everywhere, far

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316 *DMLBS: s.v. basileus*

317 *DMLBS: s.v. epilepticus*

318 This seems to emulate the phrase *Quae non errantes ad caeli culmina vexit,* 'And takes those who do not stray from it to the summits of heaven' from Aldhelm, *Enigma 59*.

319 Mayr-Harting, *Coming of Christianity,* 193.

320 Woodman, *The First King of England*, 87.

321 These diplomas are S876 (dated to AD 993, preserved at Abingdon) and S880 (AD 994, Exeter). L. Roach, *Forgery and Memory at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, 2021), 125.

322 Stephenson notes of the use of (sometimes abstract) glossary words to achieve the elevated style of hermeneutic Latin, that 'many of the words were chosen for their length and their sound, not for nuances of their meaning'. 'Scapegoating the Secular Clergy', 110.

and wide', which accords with the theme of Æthelred's grandiose royal style here.[323] None of these terms, either Greek or Latin, occur elsewhere in the *tributarius* corpus, showing this charter to be textually unique. This likewise extends into the attestations of the witnesses where, of the seven bishops to sign, only two do so using the same title (*episcopus,* the typical term for 'bishop'): the scribe (or the bishops themselves, if we are to believe these attestations are autographs) employed a range of synonyms in order to avoid repetition. Most notably, *antistes,* a somewhat poetic term originally signifying 'high priest', which is unique amongst the diplomatic corpus (being most familiar from the works of Aldhelm and Bede); and *catascopus,* derived from the Greek for 'scout', which has very restricted usage in Anglo-Latin texts, being found in only a handful of diplomas dating from the second half of the tenth century.[324]

The penchant for obscure and archaic vocabulary which characterises the hermeneutic style of Latin could explain the use of the term *tributarius* in these isolated tenth-century examples. Individually, these instances could be circumstantial: the potentially interpolated text of S1291 may preserve portions of an earlier charter using the term; whilst the apparent archaism of the Coventry scriptorium could likewise have maintained its currency. It is also possible that more *tributarius* charters, dated to the ninth century, once existed, so that these four examples are not so temporally anomalous. Whilst it is unwise to draw conclusions in the absence of evidence, it is interesting to consider that the term *tributarius* was intentionally revived by draftsmen employing hermeneutic Latin to further enhance their repertoire of unusual vocabulary, leading to this outlying sub-group of textually striking diplomas.

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[323] A. S. Napier & W. H. Stevenson, ed., *The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents* (Oxford, 1985), 111. *DMLBS: s.v. triuium.*

[324] *DMLBS: s.v. catascopus.*

S526 / B824

Date: A.D. 947.

Operative details: Eadred, king of the English, to Eadwulf, priest; grant, for life, of ten *mansae* at Leckford, Hants., with reversion of five *tributarii* to Nunnaminster in Winchester and five to the church where he is buried.

Language and archive: *Latin with bounds in Old English, Middle English and Latin,* Winchester, New Minster.

Source of transcription: from London, British Library, Add. 82931 (formerly Shirburn Castle, Earl of Macclesfield, Liber Abbatiae), ff. 23r–v (s. xv), supplemented by E. Edwards, *Liber Monasterii de Hyda: Comprising a Chronicle of the Affairs of England, from the Settlement of the Saxons to the Reign of King Cnut; and a Chartulary of the Abbey of Hyde, in Hampshire AD 455–1023,* (Cambridge, 2012), 161–5; and Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 2, 589–91.

Style and Diction: There are several examples of heightened diction throughout this charter, including frequent use of alliteration, often focusing on rare or unusual terms, such as ***p****raecordia* ***p****enetrabilibus* (see *DMLBS: s.v. penetrabilis*, sense 3). Likewise indicative of stylistic pretension is the use of such evident Grecisms as *monarchus*, *cosmi*, and *gerarchus*, the last with a highly unusual spelling likely influenced by Old English (*DMLBS: s.v. hierarcha*); the term *graphio* also derives from Greek, as does the somewhat conflated form *archons*. The use of polysyllabic adverbs in *-iter* is also considered a mark of hermeneutic style, as exemplified here by *indeclinabiliter* (also found in S1291). There are a number of examples of polyptoton, such as *largitatis largifluam* (the same phrase is found in the non-*tributarius* S852) and *orationis oracula*. The adjective *mellita* is also applied to *oracula* in three further charters, according to *eSawyer* (S471, 482, and 623), all of which are dated to the period 940–56.

Transcription

Privilegium de Leghford, concessum a Rege Edredo, anno primo regni sui.

In nomine Dei et Domini nostri Iesu Christi ueri Redemptoris mundi · Omnipotens factor atque monarchus dispensator quadrifidi autem sceptra cosmi uisibilis liberum arbitrium sibi tradens humanæ tantum creaturæ disponere pie ac misericorditer concessit · Ita ut cœlestis gerarchus[325] diuersis gradibus suæ largitatis largifluam donationem late distribuit regibus episcopis principibus abbatibus præpositis quatenus unusquisque in suo ordine pro terreno lucro sibi commisso talento in die examinationis duplicatum negotium nulla obtinente segnitia repræsentat ·

Nam ego Edredus rex in mei præcordii penetrabilibus uolutans expertus sum quod mercedem æternæ beatitudinis recepturus sim si cunctis uelle Dei subicientibus fauere non recusabo ut ueritas mellita suæ orationis oracula protulit dicens, 'Date et dabitur uobis' ·[326] Quapropter ego Eddredus, rex Anglorum cæterarumque gentium in circuitu persistentium[327] gubernator et rector, uni uenerabili sacerdoti nomine Edulfo, cui memet ipsum in suis sacris orationibus commendo · x · mansas tribuo in loco qui dicitur Leghford, eo pacto ut habeat ac possideat quamdiu uiuat. Cum autem uniuersitatis uiam[328] adierit, Monasterio Monialium quod in Wyntonia urbe situm sit · v · tributarias mansas contradat, alias uero · v · ad monasterium in quocumque eius corpus sepulturæ traditum fuerit cum mentis alacritate utrumque perpetualiter tribuat · Sit autem prædictum rus liber ab omnia[329] mundiali obstaculo cum omnibus ad se rite pertinentibus, campis, pascuis, pratis, riuis, excepto communi labore, expeditione, pontis arcisue coædificatione.

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[325] *DMLBS: s.v. hierarchus,* ruler of the church i.e. the ecclesiastical equivalent to *monarchus,* both being Greek-derived words. Assuming the palatised 'g' of common Old English pronunciation, both spellings would therefore sound the same.

[326] Quotation from the biblical verse Luke 6:38, which is found in approximately 40 Anglo-Saxon diplomas. *Fontes.*

[327] The phrase *cæterarumque gentium in circuitu persistentium*, which can also be found in S892, appears to be a somewhat verbose gloss of the Old English *ymbsittendra,* 'neighbouring people / nation' (literally 'those sitting around'), as in *Beowulf* line 9b.

[328] The idiom *via universitatis* ('the way of all things', i.e. death) is unknown in Anglo-Saxon diplomatic prior to the tenth century, with S526 being one of the earliest extant examples of its use. R. Gallagher discusses the close association of this phrase with Asser's *Life of King Alfred,* and the evidence for it having been coined by Asser originally before being added to the diplomatic repertoire. 'Asser', 784–8.

[329] Miller gives *omni. New Minster,* 73.

Si quis alium antiquum librum in propatulo protulerit nec sibi nec aliis proficiat, sed in sempiterno graphio[330] deleatur et cum iustis non scribatur[331] nec audiatur. Si quis autem, quod non optamus, hanc nostram donationem infringere uel mutare satagerit, horribiles inferni fusci ualuas sentiat atque terribiles dæmonum cohortes suis obtutibus indesinenter aspiciat, nisi prius hic digna satisfactione emendauerit pœnitentia ante mortem ·

Istis terminibus predicta terra circumdata est et girata antiqui ueraci assertione dixerunt.[332] *Ðís synt þa land gemæro þe hyraþ to Leahtforda. Ærest of Leahtforda þæt up to þære dic, þæt þonane on gerihte to haran grafan, þæt þonan on gerihte to renget*[333] *þorne, þonne up to Heardulfes hlæwe, þonne suþ to þære holan dic beniþan Welnabyrig, þonne from þære dic to Ættanho, of Ættanho in þer lu*[334] *on Terstan.*[335] Acta est hæc præfata donatio anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Iesu Christi · DCCCCXLVII ·, indictione · V ·

+ Ego Edredus Rex Anglorum præfatam donationem sub sigillo sancte crucis + indeclinabiliter consensi atque roboraui ·

+ Ego Eadgifu eiusdem regis mater cum signaculo sanctæ cru+cis[336] + confirmaui ·

+ Ego Oda Dorobornensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopus eiusdem regis principatum et beniuolentiam cum sigillo sanctæ cru+cis + conclusi ·

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330 Gallagher draws attention to the use of this phrase, also in reference to the Book of Life, by Asser in his *Life of King Alfred,* chapter 11. 'Asser', 792–3. *DMLBS: s.v. graphio.*

331 Derived from Psalm 68:29, *deleantur de libro viventium, et cum iustis non scribantur*, 'let him be deleted from the book of life and let him not be inscribed alongside the righteous', *Fontes.*

332 The phrase *et girata antiqui ueraci assertione dixerunt* sits awkwardly at this point, suggesting that is was originally a gloss which has become embedded in the main text during copying.

333 Miller gives *senget,* likely a scribal error mistaking an insular 's' for 'r'.

334 Possibly a scribal error for *hlæw,* 'hill, mound, barrow' (Miller, *New Minster,* 74), it seems more plausible that this is the known Welsh loanword *luh,* 'lake, pond'. This is cirucmvented in the Latin translation of the boundary clause by *ab illo termino inferius procedendo recte in Terstan,* 'from that boundary proceeding further on into *Terstan*'.

335 The bounds are subsequently repeated in Middle English and Latin, both later additions. These are included by Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 2, 590–91.

336 Inclusion of a cross symbol within the word *crucis* is highly unusual, and unique to S526 within the *tributarius* corpus.

+ Ego Wulfstanus archons[337] diuinæ seruitutis officio mancipatus Eboracæ ciuitatis archiepiscopus sigillum sanctæ cru+cis + impressi ·

+ Ego Theodred Londoniensis ecclesiæ episcopus corroboraui ·

+ Ego Ælfheah Wyntoniensis ecclesiæ episcopus testudinem[338] sanctæ cru+cis subscripsi et confirmaui

+ Ego Cenwald episcopus consensi ·

+ Ego Ælfric episcopus consignaui ·

+ Ego Æthelgar episcopus confirmaui ·

+ Ego Ælfred episcopus corroboraui ·

+ Ego Wulfsyge episcopus conclusi ·

+ Ego Æthelstan dux ·

+ Ego Eadric dux ·

+ Ego Æthelstan dux ·

+ Ego Wulfgar dux ·

+ Ego Ealhhelm dux ·

+ Ego Athelmund dux ·

+ Ego Ælfgar dux ·

+ Eadmund minister ·

+ Ælfstan minister ·

+ Wlfric minister ·

+ Ælfsige minister ·

+ Wlfric minister ·

+ Æthelgeard minister ·

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[337] This should read either *archōn* or *arcos*, both of which are Greek terms meaning 'leader, ruler': this is the only instance in the diplomatic corpus where both forms are conflated. *DMLBS: s.v. archon,* 'ruler (with reference to king, archbishop or noble)'.

[338] This is likely an error for *testimonem,* 'testimony', as *testudinem,* the term present in the charter text, translates to 'tortoise'. The presumed intended term is given in the translation below. Notably, the scribe of S892 made the same error.

+ Æthelnoth minister ·

+ Bexrhtwold minister ·

+ Ælfric minister ·

+ Ælfred minister ·

Translation

Privilege of Leckford, granted by King Eadred in the first year of his reign.

In the name of God and our Lord Jesus Christ the true Redeemer of the world, all-powerful creator and sole-ruling steward having control of the sceptres of the quadripartite visible universe, handing over free will to His human creation, mercifully granted pious dispensation. In this way, the heavenly Lord has widely distributed the generously flowing gift of his generosity to different ranks,[339] which is to say kings, bishops, *principes*, abbots, provosts, in as much as each one in their individual order for the earthly wealth and gain that has been granted to them, with no fault obtaining a double charge on the day of judgement. For I King Eadred, pondering in the depths of my heart, I am assured that I shall receive the reward of eternal sanctity if I shall not refuse to bestow a favour upon all those willing to subject themselves to God's will, as truth set forth the honeyed oracles of its speech, saying "Give, and it shall be given to you".

Wherefore I Eadred, king of the English and also governor and director of the other peoples that dwell around, to one venerable priest named Eadwulf, to whom I commend myself in his sacred prayers, I bestow 10 *mansae* in the place which is called Leckford, I establish so that he might hold and possess it while he lives. When however he has gone the way of all things, 5 *tributarii mansae*[340] will revert to Nunnaminster which is located in the city of Winchester, also truly 5 will be handed over to the monastery in which his body will be interred with eager mind, let him grant with swiftness of mind each in perpetuity. Let the aforesaid estate be moreover free from all earthly obstructions with all that lawfully pertains to it, fields, pastures, meadows, streams, except for communal labour, military excursions, fortress and bridge construction.

If anyone should bring another ancient document into the open it will be of use to neither him nor to others, but let him be deleted from the eternal book of life and let him not be inscribed nor

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[339] The repetition of 'generously / generosity', while awkward in translation, is intended to preserve the polyptoton of *largitatis largifluam*. The term *donationem*, translated here as 'gift' to fit with the sense of the sentence, is otherwise used to signify the grant of land recorded by the diploma. Its use here invites comparison to the 'generosity' of the grantor to the beneficiary of a land transaction.

[340] This phrase appears to verbally parallel the previous assessment of *10 mansas tribuo.*

even heard alongside the righteous. If anyone, which we hope not, should try to infringe or alter this our grant, let him perceive the horrible gates of dark Hell below and see with his own eyes the unceasingly the terrible cohorts of demons, unless he may have first made satisfactory emends here in this world with worthy repentance before death.

The aforesaid land is surrounded and encircled by these bounds and the folk of old have said this by true assertion. *These are the land boundaries that belongs to Leckford. First from Leckford then up to the ditch, then from there straight on to the hare's grove, then from there go straight on to the spider-webbed ?thornbush, then up to Heardulf's barrow, then south to the hollow ditch below Welnabyrig, then from the ditch to Ættanho, from Ættanho in the lake at Terstan.* The aforementioned grant was made in the year of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ 947, 5th indiction.

+ I Eadred, king of the English, have strengthened the aforementioned grant with the sign of the holy cross + and also irrevocably corroborated.

+ I Eadgifu mother of the same king, with the symbol of the holy cross + have confirmed.

+ I Oda archbishop of the church of Canterbury, of the same pre-eminent and benevolent king, with the sign of the holy cross + have concluded.

+ I Wulfstan, leader entrusted with the office of divine service, archbishop of the city of York have imprinted + the sign of the holy cross.

+ I Theodred, bishop of the church of London have corroborated.

+ I Ælfheah, bishop of the church of Winchester, have subscribed and confirmed this testimony with the holy cross.

+ I Cenwald, bishop, have consented.

+ I Ælfric, bishop, have authenticated.

+ I Æthelgar, bishop, have confirmed.

+ I Ælfred, bishop, have corroborated.

+ I Wulfsyge, bishop, have concluded.

+ I Æthelstan, *dux*.

+ I Eadric, *dux*.

+ I Æthelstan, *dux*.

+ I Wulfgar, *dux*.

+ I Ealhhelm, *dux*.

+ I Athelmund, *dux*.

+ I Ælfgar, *dux*.

+ Eadmund, *minister.*

+ Ælfstan, *minister.*

+ Wlfric, *minister.*

+ Ælfsige, *minister.*

+ Wlfric, *minister.*

+ Æthelgeard, *minister.*

+ Æthelnoth, *minister.*

+ Bexrhtwold, *minister.*

+ Ælfric, *minister.*

+ Ælfred, *minister.*

S874 / K673

Date: A.D. 990.

Operative details: King Æthelred to Æthelweard, his *minister*; grant of fifteen *tributarii* at Wootton St Lawrence, Hants., with nine messuages (*hagan*) in Winchester, a meadow at Basingstoke and a mill at *Hinesclifæ*.

Language and archive: *Latin with English bounds,* Winchester Old Minster

Source of transcription: microfilm images of London, British Library, Add. 15350, ff. 109r-110r (s. xii).

Style and Diction: This ornate charter has all the hallmarks of high hermeneutic style, being replete with Grecisms, hyperbaton, poeticisms, alliteration, and polysyllabic rare terms in almost every sentence. Notable Grecisms include *onomate* (*DMLBS: s.v. onoma*, sense 2) in the opening phrase, setting the stylistic tone of the diploma; likewise, *theo*, *carraxantur*, *cleronomi*, and *taumate*. Also uncommon are two examples of non-aspiration in *isce* and *actenus.*

Transcription

In genitoris ac prolis almique flaminis onomate. Saeuissimi nempe arbitrii ingruente turbine ac dire tempestatis mitante uoragine, luctuosis nobis inpraecandum[341] quaestibus cuncta librantis Christi nouimus clementiam fore, quo circumquaque parma uallati protectionis diuinae uirulentas Flegetontice[342] atrocitatis ualeamus combustiones euadere ac Leuiathan luridi theo protegente phalanges euincere, et Paradisiace contubernio amenitatis adiungi, florigerisque tripudiantium Christi tyronum promereamur cubilibus gratanter adscisci; id quoque sagaciter isce gestientes modulis promereri, ut temporalibus gazis inopum penuriam refrigerantes tantis diuitiis fauste uti iam deprompsimus mereamur adunari.

Quapropter ego Æðelredus famosus totius Brittannice insule imperator, cuidam dilecto michi ministro, Æðelweardo uocitamine, quandam telluris[343] particulam mei iuris, id est ·xv· tributaria in eo loco cui solicole[344] scibile Wudatun appellamen indiderunt, in libertatem adscribo hereditariam, quatinus ille fauste fruatur quamdiu uiuido flatu artuum organa reguntur; et post huius uite excessum cuicunque sibi ratum duxerit cleronomi derelinquat. Si autem tempore contigerit aliquo quempiam hominum aliquem antiquiorem librum contra istius libri libertatem producere, pro nichilo computetur, isto per omnia in sua stabilitate permanente atque uigente. Sit autem istud prefatum rus liberrimum ab omni mundiali obstaculo in magnis ac modicis, id est, in campis seu pascuis, pratis nec ne robore siluis, tribus, tantummodo rationabiliter, rebus exceptis, quae usuali ritu obseruantur actenus id est cum glomerata[345] sibi alternatim expeditioni compulerit populari commilitonum confligere castra, atque cum sua petunt pontis titubantia muniri uada ac cum conciuium turma urbium indigent muniri stabiliter septa.

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[341] *Inpraecandum* is difficult to interpret, but could be derived from *inpraecando,* 'praying, beseeching', *DMLBS.*

[342] A reference to Phlegethon, one of the rivers of the Underworld in Greek mythology, found in a Christian context as a byword for hellfire. Here it is used adjectivally, in a manner unique within the Anglo-Saxon diplomatic corpus (and likely the Anglo-Latin corpus as a whole).

[343] A poetic alternative to *terram. DMLBS: s.v. tellus* (sense 5).

[344] This rare term (*DMLBS: s.v. solicolus,* 'one who inhabits or cultivates the land'), is found almost exclusively in the diplomatic corpus.

[345] In Kemble's transcription this is presented as one word.

Si quis igitur hoc nostrum in aliud quid transmutare praesumpserit donarium, anathematizatus ipse a deo et ab omnibus sanctis eius in inferno inferiori cum Sathana sine fine crucietur, nisi prius hic digna satisfactione emendare maluerit.

Istis terminis ambitur predicta tellus. *Ærest on Wiðigford eastæweardne; ðanon ongehrihtæ on turding sceatt on ðæt milgemæt*[346]*; swa on ðone wrefet; andlang wrefetes on Cynedealle rodæ eastæweardæ; ðanan ongehrihte on Stanhæmstede; swa andlang mearce on ða lampyttas; ðæt andlang mearcæs on broccæs*[347] *hlæw; of broccæs hlæwæ suð on ða hyrnan; swa andlang mearcæ on waddunæ; of waddunæ on Ængelhamstæde westeweardan; swa ongehrihtæ on ðonæ hærepað;*[348] *west andlang hærepaðes on ða hyrnan; swa andlang Fræccændunæ on Cyteling graf westeweardne; ðæt andlang mearcæ on smalan dæne on ðone hærepað; swa utt on sioluc ham; of sioluc hammæ on scobban byrygels wæsteweardan on sagel mære; swa on ða fulan flodas; ðæt andlang mearce on ða wyllas; swa of westæweardan ðam wyllam ongerihte utt on ða lege norðeweardre; swa andlang streames on Wiðigford norðæweardran. And · ix · hagan on Wintancestre on Tænnere stret, and on Embasinga stocæ an med, and æt Hines clifæ an mylen.*

Anno dominice incarnationis · DCCCC.XC · scripta est hec cartula.

Indictione · iii · his testibus consentientibus quorum inferius nomina carraxantur.

+ Ego Æðelredus rex Anglorum huius donationis libertatem regni tocius[349] fastigium tenens libenter concessi.

+ Ego Sigericus Dorouernensis ecclesiae archiepiscopus cum signo sanctae crucis roboraui.

+ Ego Oswoldus Eboracensis ecclesiae archiepiscopus crucis taumate[350] adnotaui.

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346 Whilst this diploma employs a number of unusual terms within the Latin prose, the vernacular term *milgemæt*, 'milestone' (*DOE: s.v.*) is unique in the Anglo-Saxon diplomatic corpus.

347 This spelling of *DOE: s.v. brōc* is unique to S874, but appears similar to forms found in other twelfth-century manuscripts.

348 This relatively common term (*DOE: s.v. here-pæþ,* 'military road; highway' is found almost exclusively in charter bounds.

349 This should be read as *totius,* with *c* for *t* substitution being common in medieval Latin.

350 Another Greek-derived term, used to provide variation from the more common *signo*.

+ Ego Ælfstanus episcopus.

+ Ego Ælfeagus episcopus.

+ Ego Æscwig episcopus.

+ Ego Æðelsinus episcopus.

+ Ego Ælfstanus episcopus.

+ Ego Sigegarus episcopus.

+ Ego Ordbrihtus episcopus.

+ Ego Æðelsinus episcopus.

+ Ego Æðelwine dux.

+ Ego Bryhtnoð dux.

+ Ego Æðelweard dux.

+ Ego Ælfric dux.

+ Ego Ælfweard abbas.

+ Ego Ælfsigæ abbas.

+ Ego Leofric abbas.

+ Ego Ælfære abbas.

+ Ego Leofric abbas.

+ Ego Ælfgar minister.

+ Ego Ælfsige minister.

+ Ego Æðelsige minister.

+ Ego Leofric minister.

+ Ego Ordulf minister.

+ Ego Leofric minister.

+ Ego Ælfric minister.

+ Ego Ælfhelm minister.

+ Ego Leofstan minister.

+ Ego Wulfheah minister.

Endorsement:

Ðis is ðara ·iiii. hida[351] *boc æt Wudatune, ðe þe Eadwig cing gebocode Alfwolde on ece yrfe.*[352]

[351] The contemporary rubricator equated the *tributarii* of the main Latin text with *hidas.*

[352] The scribe of the manuscript copy appears to have appended the wrong rubric to this diploma as, whilst the place-name is correct, the size of the estate conferred and identities of named individuals are not. It should instead read: *Þis is þara ·xv. hida boc æt Wudatune þe Æðelred cing gebocode Æðelwearde on ece yrfe.*

Translation

In the name of the father and the son and the holy spirit. Certainly, assailed with the flashing whirlwind of the fiercest judgement of the dread storm, in acquisitions sorrowful to us we know that there will be the mercy of Christ who weighs up all things, so that on every side protected by the shield of divine protection we may be able to escape the conflagrations of hellish atrocity and, under the protection of God, to conquer the armies of ghastly Leviathan, and to be joined in the comradeship of the delight of Paradise, will be advanced in the flowery resting-places of the rejoicing warriors of Christ; so that we may also deserve, dancing wisely to these measures, in relieving the need of the poor with temporal treasures, to blessedly have the benefit of such riches as we have now shown.

Wherefore I Æthelred, renowned ruler of the whole of the island of Britain, grant to a certain beloved *minister* of mine, Æthelweard by designation, a certain piece of land under my jurisdiction, that is fifteen *tributarii* in that place to which the denizens of the land gave the known appellation Wootton St Lawrence, I attribute free inheritance, in as much as he has the benefit of luck for as long as his organs and limbs are directed by the breath of life; and after the leaving of his present life he may leave it to whomsoever heir he considers fit. If however, at some time, it were to happen that some man produces a more ancient document contradicting the freedom of this charter, let it be reckoned worthless. Moreover, let this aforesaid land be most free from all worldly hindrance both great and small, that is, in fields and fisheries, meadows as well as the solid woodlands, except for three things only, as is reasonable, which in accordance with conventional right are observed until now that is, when, after military service of the people has been mutually collected from them, they are compelled to attack the camps of fellow warriors, and when they are asked to swiftly fortify tottering bridges, and they need to fortify the defences firmly with a troop of fellow citizens from the town.[353] If anyone therefore should presume to change this our gift in any way, let him be

[353] This convoluted statement of the 'Three Common Burdens' (military service, bridge and fortress building) is discussed in the 'Tenth-Century Anomalies' section above.

anathematised by God and by all his saints to be tortured with Satan in hell below without end, unless he should have first made satisfactory amends.

The aforesaid land is bounded by these limits. *First eastward to Wiðigford; then straight on to (?the property of Tur's family) to the mile-stone; then to the Wrefet;*[354] *along the Wrefet to Cynedealle's cross eastwards; then straight on to Stanhæmstede; then along the boundary to the clay-pits; then along the boundary to the brook's mound; from the brook's mound south to the ?promontory then along the boundary to ?woad-hill; from ?woad-hill to Ængelhamstæde westward; then straight on to the military road; west along the military road to the ?promontory; then along Fræccændune westward to Cyteling grove; then along the boundary to the narrow valley to the military road; then out to the ?silk dwelling; from the ?silk dwelling to Scobba's burial-place westward to the ?staff-border; then to the unclean water; then along the boundary to the spring; then westward to the spring straight on out to the burial-place northward; then along the stream northward to Wiðigford.*

And nine messuages in Winchester on Tanner Street, and a meadow at Basingstoke, and a mill at Hinesclifæ.

This charter was written in the year of our Lord's Incarnation 990, in the third indiction, with the consent of the witnesses whose names are listed below.

+ I Æðelred, king of the English, holding the freedom of this whole kingdom, freely give away this grant.

+ I Sigeric, Archbishop of the Church of Canterbury, have corroborated this with the mark of the holy cross.

+ I Oswald, Archbishop of the Church of York, have noted with the sign of the cross.

+ I Ælfstanus bishop.

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[354] Uniquely attested, this could be a Brittonic-derived river name, so is here treated as a proper noun.

+ I Ælfeagus bishop.

+ I Æscwig bishop.

+ I Æðelsinus bishop.

+ I Ælfstanus bishop.

+ I Sigegarus bishop.

+ I Ordbrihtus bishop.

+ I Æðelsinus bishop.

+ I Æðelwine *dux*.

+ I Bryhtnoð *dux*.

+ I Æðelweard *dux*.

+ I Ælfric *dux*.

+ I Ælfweard abbot.

+ I Ælfsigæ abbot.

+ I Leofric abbot.

+ I Ælfhære abbot.

+ I Leofric abbot.

+ I Ælfgar priest.

+ I Ælfsige priest.

+ I Æðelsige priest.

+ I Leofric priest.

+ I Ælfgar priest.

+ I Ordulf priest.

+ I Leofric priest.

+ I Ælfric priest.

+ I Ælfhelm priest.

+ I Leofstan priest.

+ I Wulfheah priest.

Endorsement:

This is the charter of the fifteen hida at Wootton St Lawrence granted by King Æthelred to Æthelweard his þegn in eternal inheritance.

S892

Date: A.D. 998.

Operative details: King Æthelred to Leofwine, *dux,* grant of 7.5 *tributarii* (comprising 3 *mansae* at Southam and 4.5 *manentes* at Ladbroke and Radbourne, Warwicks), which had been forfeited by Wistan for murder.

Language and archive: *Latin with English and English bounds,* Coventry.

Source of transcription: from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. hist. a. 2 (S.C. 31346), no. VI (s. x).

Style and Diction: The opening line contains an obvious example of polyptoton (*moderamino moderando*), and the rather rare adjective *quadrifidus*, 'divided into four', used here of the world (*DMLBS: s.v. quadrifidus*, sense 2b), which, according to *eSawyer*, is not employed elsewhere in the charter corpus. There are a number of Grecisms evident here, including *taumate*, *agie*, *eulogium*, and *catascopus* in the witness-list, as well as *basileus* and the inexpertly composed phrase *epylempticus phyrargirie* (*DMLBS: s.vv. epilepticus*, sense 2, and *philargyria*); the *k*-spellings of *kartula* and *karaxata* are likewise symptoms of an attempt at elevated style, while the use of the passive infinitive *auferri* in place of the active form *auferre* in parallel formulations to S230 and S232 may represent a common conflation of these types of infinitives throughout the corpus as a whole. The aberrant form *consentibus* for *consentientibus* (as in S874) is the result of haplography. On the odd form *testudinem* (for *testem*), see the note on S526. There is also thorough use of alliteration, most notably where *altithrono amminiculante anglorum* emphasises the introduction of Æthelred at the opening of the dispositive section, and an evident attempt to vary the verbs of witnessing, with only a single duplication in 9 attestations (*roboraui … subscripsi … confirmaui … impressi … coroboraui … adposui … confirmaui … prebui … depinxi*); a similar search for variation can be observed in the various terms for the 8 prelates concerned, with only one duplicate (*archiepiscopus … primas … antistes … presul … episcopus … catascopus … pontifex … episcopus*).

Transcription

℣ In nomine dei excelsi qui quadrifida mundi moderamina moderando gubernat.[355] Nobis ergo karissimi in christo illius egregii predicatoris sententia diligenter consideranda est fratribus nihil intulimus in hunc mundum uerum nec auferri quid possumus[356] · Sed sicut illa generalis mater de qua dicitur · terra es et in terram ibis[357] · nos nudos ueraciter procreauit · Sic iterum nos nudos excipere debet · nisi aliquis diuino inpunctus amore ad hoc idoneus sit ut adeptas res · pro omnipotenti deo et expiatione peccaminum · suorum pauperibus et dei seruis · beniuola mente · distribuere uoluerit et suum thesaurum thesaurizare[358] in altis cælorum culminibus[359] ·

Hinc ego · ÆÞELRED · altithrono amminiculante anglorum ceterarumque gentium in circuitu triuiatim persistentium basileus aliquam terre particulam ad donandum curaui Leofwino meo fidelissimo duce id est ·VII. tributariorum et dimidium non tamen in uno loco sed in tribus uillulis in Suþham · III · mansas et in Hlodbroce Hreodburnanque · IIII · manentes et inter illos dimidium unius manse ut habeat et perfruat cum omnibus bonis ad illam terram rite pertinentibus in perpetuam hereditatem et quamdiu lux fulgebit super terram et hanc donationem dabo cum omni libertate nisi arcis et pontis instructione et expeditione et ab homnibus aliis notis ignotisque causis perpetualiter in libertatem compono. Si quis uero tam epylempticus phyrargirie[360] seductus amentia quod non optamus hanc nostre munificentiae dapsilitatem[361] ausu temerario infringere temptauerit · sit ipse alienatus a consortio sancte dei æclesie necnon et a participatione sacrosancti corporis et

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355 The invocation exhibits both hyperbaton (*quadrifida mundi moderamina*) and polyptoton *(moderamina moderando*) with the two schemes linked by alliteration, features which emulate the prose style of Aldhelm.

356 The phrase *nihil… possumus* is taken from I Timotheum 6.7, *Fontes.* This quotation can also be seen in the invocation of S230 and S232 (see note on S230 above).

357 The phrase *terra … ibis* is taken from Genesis 13.19, and appears unique to this diplomas. *Fontes.*

358 Derived from Matthew 6:20, *thesauriate autem uobis thesauros in cælo,* 'But lay up to yourselves treasures in heaven', it is also another example of polyptoton. *Fontes.*

359 Recalls the phrase *Quae non errantes ad caeli culmina vexit,* 'And takes those who do not stray from it to the summits of heaven' from Aldhelm, *Enigma 59*.

360 Usually written as *epilepticus* and *philargyriae,* the purpose of these variations is unclear, beyond emphasising the florid, verbose style of the hermeneutic prose.

361 A Greek-derived term meaning 'bountiful, plentiful' (*DMLBS: s.v. dapsilis*), related to that for a sacrificial feast or banquet.

sanguinis Iehsu Christi filii dei per quem totus terrarum orbis ab antiquo humani generis inimico liberatus est · et cum Iuda Christi proditore sinistra in partæ deputatus · ni prius hic digna satisfactione humilis penituerit[362].

þis syn þara · x · hida longemæra to Suþham þe þa · III · hida binnan synd þe Wistan forworhte wiþ þone cyning Æþelred mid unrihtum monslihte ond fifte healf hid æt Hlodbroce ond æt Hreodburnan þe mid þam oþrum lande forworhte wæron ond he hyra ealra geuþe his ealdormen Leofwine a in ece yrfe · þæt is þonne þær Hlodbroc fealþ on ycænan æfter streame þæt to þæm hyærde wycan fram þam hyerde wycan up to þam ællenstubbe[363] to þam mærstanæ of þam mærstane to þæm gemyþan · ond æfter stream þæt to beornewæaldes hlawe of þam hlawe to þam pytte up to þam beanhlande · ond to þæm pytte ond swa of þem pytte to coccebyle[364] ond to yppescelfe of yppescelfe æfter þæm heafdan to hæahhwellan of þam wyllan to Hlodbroce · æfter þæm broce þæt æft on ycenan. þis syn þa hlandgemære into Hlodbroce ond to Hreodburnan þæt is þonne to wylman forda ond of þam forda efter sealtstrete to þam grenan wege of þam wege þæt æft on wylman broce æfter stream þæt on hreodbroce of þam broce þæt up to þam hlangan þorne of þam þorne æfter þam heafdan þæt on þa wyllan æt Hlodbroce æfter stream þæt þonne up æfter þam heafdan to þam mere of þam mere to þam hlawe on yppescelfe · of þam hlawe to grenan hylle of þam hlawe to cocgebyll of cocgebyll æfter heafdan to þam wætergefeal æfter stream þæt on stanhemeforde of þam fordæ þæt æft on wylman forde.

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362 This appears to be a variant of *DMLBS: s.v. penetrare*, 'to enter'.

363 This compound word is found, with a variety of spellings, exclusively in charter bounds. *DOE: s.v. ellen-stybb.*

364 The phrase *ond swa of þem pytte to coccebyle* has been inserted above the line, with the following *ond* cramped besides, and somewhat joined onto, *to yppescelfe.*

Hæc kartula karaxata[365] est anno dominicæ incarnationis · DCCCC · L · XXXXVIII · huius munificentie singrapha his testibus consentibus[366] quorum inferius nomina secundum uius[367] cuiusque dignitatem caraxantur.

+ Ego Æþelred Britannie rex Anglorum monarchus preformatas propinquarum sed et regum donationes hoc taumate[368] agie crucis roboraui[369] ·

+ Ego Ælfric Dorobernensis eclesie archiepiscopus eiusdem regis beniuolentiam subscripsi ·

+ Ego Aldulf Eboracensis basilice primas hoc eulogium agie crucis taumate confirmaui ·

+ Ego Ælfheah Licetfeldensis coenobii antistes[370] iubente rege tropheum sanctæ crucis impressi ·

+ Ego Ælfheah Wintoniensis æclesie presul canonica subscriptione hoc donum coroboraui ·

+ Ego Wulfstan episcopus Lundoniensis testudinem[371] sanctæ crucis huic regali dapsilitati libens adposui ·

+ Ego Wulfsige Scireburnensis æclesie catascopus[372] donum eiusdem regis confirmaui ·

+ Ego Aþulf Herefordensis æclesie pontifex consensum prebui ·

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[365] The verb *DMLBS: s.v. karaxare* or *charaxare,* 'to write', is derived from Greek and also found in the works of Aldhelm (for example, *in quadrata parietis pagina caraxatis,* 'written on the fourfold page of the wall' (in reference to Daniel and the inscription on the wall at Belshazzar's feast), the prose *De Virginitate,* chapter 21). There is also no letter 'k' in Classical Latin, except for Kalendæ.

[366] *Consentientibus* would be expected.

[367] For *unius.*

[368] This Greek-derived word is also found in the attestations of S874 above.

[369] The last three words of the attestation are inserted above the line, whilst damage to the parchment has resulted in the lacuna *r[ex A]nglorum* (repaired with a patch on the dorse but not re-written).

[370] Originally signifying 'high priest' (*DMLBS*), use of this somewhat poetic term here is unique amongst the diplomatic corpus (being most familiar from the works of Aldhelm, as in *antistes sacrato more dicatus,* 'a bishop summoned in a scared manner' the verse *De Virginitate,* line 985).

[371] This is likely an error for *testimonem,* 'testimony', as *testudinem,* the term present in the charter text, translates to 'tortoise'. The presumed intended term is given in the translation below. Notably, the scribe of S526 made the same error.

[372] Derived from the Greek for 'scout' (*DMLBS*), usage of *catascopus* (literally, 'overseer of the Church') as an alternative for *episcopus* (bishop) is very restricted in Anglo-Latin texts, being found in only a handful of diplomas dating from the second half of the tenth century. A concerted effort has been made by the witnesses, or more likely the scribe, to avoid repetition of the same title.

+ Ego Alfwold episcopus hoc euologium[373] manu propria apicibus[374] depinxi ·

+ Ego Ælfsige abbas.

+ Ego Ælfweard abbas.

+ Ego Wulfgar abbas.

+ Ego Leofric abbas.

+ Ego Æþelweard dux.

+ Ego Ælfric dux.

+ Ego Ælfelm dux.

+ Ego Leofwine dux.

+ Ego Ordulf *minister*.

+ Ego Æþelmær *minister*.

+ Ego Wulfheah *minister*.

+ Ego Wulfgeat *minister*.

Endorsement:

Dis is þæra landda boc to Suþham ond to Hlodbroce ond to Hreodburnan: þe Æþelred cyning sealde Leofwine ealdorman on ece yrfe.

[373] Presumably an error for *eulogium,* as in the attestation of Aldulf above.

[374] Use of the term *apex, apicibus* for 'letter, the written word' is particularly common in the works of Aldhelm (for example, *flexis litterarum apicibus,* 'in the curved letters of a written text', in reference to the same passage as in n. 86 above. The prose *De Virginitate* chapter 21).

Translation

℣ In the name of God on high who governs by his direction the fourfold directions of the world.[375] Therefore the words of that outstanding preacher most beloved in Christ should be diligently considered by the brethren, we have brought nothing into this world, and it is true that we can carry nothing out. But just like that common mother, of whom it is said: you are earth and to earth will return, she produced us naked, and ought to receive us naked, unless someone urged by divine love should be fit to wish for almighty God and the atonement of their own sins, with a benevolent mind to share the things they have acquired with the poor and the servants of God and to pile up their treasure-house in the lofty heights of the heavens.

Hence I Æthelred, with the support of the one throned on high, ruler of the English and the surrounding peoples on all sides. I have cared to present a certain piece of land in particular to Leofwine my very faithful *dux* that is seven and a half *tributarius* not however in one place but in three villages: in Southam three *mansae* and in Ladbroke and Radbourne four *manentes* and between them half of one *mansus* so that he may have and make use of it with all good things which lawfully pertain to it in perpetual inheritance and for as long as light will shine over the earth and this grant that I will give with all freedom except fortress and bridge construction and military excursions and I establish it perpetually and freely from other folk both known and unknown. If indeed someone so frenzied with greed is led astray by madness that they may not desire our plentiful generosity heedlessly in rashness should attempt to infringe it, thus let him be estranged from the community of the holy church of God and from sharing the sacred body and blood of Jesus Christ the son of God through whom the whole globe of the earth mankind was freed from the ancient enemy, and be reckoned with Judas the betrayer of Christ on the left side, unless he shall have first sought worthy reparation.

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[375] The repetition of 'direction / directions', while awkward in translation, is intended to preserve the polyptoton of *moderamina moderando.*

These are the boundary of the ten hida at Southam then the three hida that are within those that Wistan forfeited to the king Æthelred on account of unlawful homicide and fifty half-hida at Ladbroke and at Radbourne that were forfeited together with the other land and he granted them all to his ealdorman Leofwine always in eternal possession. That is then where the Ladbroke falls to the Itchen after following the stream to the herdsman's wick from the herdsman's wick up to the elder-stump to the boundary-stone from the boundary-stone to the mouth of the river, and after the stream to Beornwald's mound from the mound to the pit up to the bean-land, and to the pit and thus from the pit to the Cock's Bill[376] *and to Ippa's tor from Ippa's tor after the headland to the high spring from the spring to the Ladbroke, following the brook afterwards to the Itchen. This is the boundary into Ladbroke and to Radbourne, that is then to Wylma's ford and then from the ford afterwards to the road to the salt-works to the green path from the path then afterwards to Wylma's brook, following the stream to the reedy brook (?Radbourne), from the brook then up to the long thorn-bush from the thorn-bush afterwards to the headland to the lake from the lake to the mound on Ippa's tor, from the mound to the green hill from the mound to the Cock's Bill, from the Cock's Bill after the headland to the waterfall after the stream to the ?stone-edged ford,*[377] *from the ford afterwards to Wilma's ford.*

This charter was written in the year of the Lord's incarnation 998 as a document of this munificence, with the agreement of these witnesses whose names are inscribed below, according to the rank of each individual.

+ I Æthelred, king of Britain, sole ruler of the English have granted and also strengthened earlier grants of neighbouring kings with this symbol of the holy cross.

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376 This is a projection of the parish at its south-eastern corner, the name referring to the shape of the land unit. D. Hooke, *Warwickshire Anglo-Saxon Charter Bounds*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History (Woodbridge, 1999), 72.

377 Hooke suggests 'to the ford of the dwellers of [?Stone]'. *Warwickshire Charter Bounds,* 72.

+ I Ælfric archbishop of the church of Canterbury have subscribed to the generosity of the same king.

+ I Aldulf archbishop of the church of York have given authorisation and confirmed this grant with the sign of the cross.

+ I Ælfheah, presiding priest of the church of Lichfield have sealed this by order of the king with the signature of the holy cross.

+ I Ælfheah, canonical bishop of Winchester with my subscription have strengthened this gift.

+ I Wulfstan bishop of London have happily added the support of the holy cross to this regal generosity.

+ I Wulfsige bishop of the church of Sherborne have confirmed this same gift of the king.

+ I Aþulf bishop of the church of Hereford have provided my consent.

+ I Alfwold, bishop, with my own hand have spelled out this grant in letters.

+ I Ælfsige, abbot.

+ I Ælfweard, abbot.

+ I Wulfgar, abbot.

+ I Leofric, abbot.

+ I Æþelweard, *dux*.

+ I Ælfric, *dux*.

+ I Ælfelm, *dux*.

+ I Leofwine, *dux*.

+ I Ordulf, *minister*.

+ I Æþelmær, *minister*.

+ I Wulfheah, *minister*.

+ I Wulfgeat, *minister*.

Endorsement:

These are the lands granted by charter to Southam and to Ladbroke and to Radbourne that king Æthelred gave to ealdorman Leofwine in eternal inheritance.

2.5: The Aston Group (S58, 59 and 60)

The three Worcester charters S58, 59 and 60 exhibit an unusually high degree of textual overlap, thus forming a distinct sub-group within the *tributarius* corpus. They are all grants made by Uhtred, *regulus* of the Hwicce (r. 759–777×779),[378] with permission of Offa, king of the Mercians, within the space of three years, a similarity of context which would explain their textual concordance were it not for the fact that it appears to be the same estate disposed of in each transaction. This is clearly not a 'running commentary' as in the case of S44 above, but suggests that the Worcester archival record has been interpolated with 'improved' charters in a manner akin to the Selsey–Canterbury Group discussed previously.

S58 and S59 are the most closely related, sharing an invocation, proem, superscription, much of the dispositive section, reservation clause, immunity clause, and sanction, with occasional variation in spelling and grammar, textual overlaps which are highlighted below. For example, S58 states *et quae non uidentur æterna esse,* 'and those which are not seen are eternal', whereas S59 gives *Et ea quibus non uidentur æterna esse,* 'and also those which are not seen are eternal'; whilst *offam regis merciorum,* ('Offa, king of the Mercians', where 'Offa' is inexplicably in the accusative) in S59 appears to be a transcription error (due to minim-confusion of 'n+i' for 'm') for the correct genitive form *Offani regis Merciorum,* '[with the permission] of Offa, king of the Mercians' in S58. A number of words and short phrases towards the end of the main text of S58 are missing from S59, but this can be attributed to the poor physical condition of the latter charter, which survives as a single sheet:[379] a large part of the parchment's left side is missing, with only the first three lines surviving in full, in addition to extensive damage to the edges and and along the centre- fold. The single sheet exhibits a number of unusual physical features, such as being wider than it is long, and written on the flesh

[378] *PASE:* 'Uhtred 2'.

[379] S59 is preserved at Worcester as an authentic, probably original, eighth-century single-sheet: Worcester, Dean & Chapter, Add. MSS (in the safe).

side of the parchment, both of which are less common before the end of the eighth century,[380] but these are not unprecedented features, and need not necessarily be considered suspicious.

The script of S59 is a 'precise, somewhat broad and heavy', horizontally compressed Pointed minuscule.[381] In the extracts shown in Figure 13 below, the narrow aspect of the script is apparent: narrow, sharp wedges applied to ascenders, and bowed, inwardly-curved 'cat's claw' minims (see the 'm' in *nominatur*) are characteristic of Pointed minuscule. This compression is emphasised by the number of abbreviations (especially suspension of 'm' when in the final position) and ligatures (see the 'eg' in *regulus*). A high incidence of ligatures, especially e-ligatures, is an early feature, whilst those involving three letters (of which there are examples elsewhere in S59), are almost entirely found in documents originating from Worcester and Canterbury before the mid-ninth century.[382]

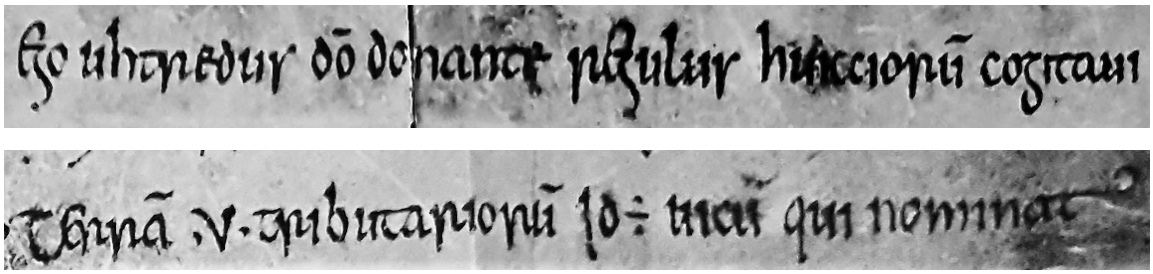

Fig. 13: Extract from the proem of S59, identifying the grantor as Uhtred, sub-king of the Hwicce (*Ego uhtredus domino donante regulus huicciorum cogitaui*, 'I, Uhtred, by the gift of God sub-king of the Hwicce, have considered'); and the dispositive phrase assessing the estate at five *tributarii* (*Terram · v · tributariorum Id est uicus qui nominatur*, 'land of five *tributarii* that is the village which is named'). Facsimile published in Birch, W. de Gray, *On an unpublished charter of Uhtred of the Huuiccas, in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester* (1878).

M. Brown has observed that 'although reminiscent of the simplified Canterbury script of the late 820s, S59 is far closer in detail to the Book of Cerne',[383] highlighting the apparent diplomatic connections between Mercia and Canterbury. Brown also compares S59 to S114, a charter of Offa dated 779 from the archive of Evesham, which exists as an eighth-century single-sheet deemed to be

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[380] Thompson, *Royal Diplomas,* 20–1. Thompson provides a thorough palaeographical and codicological review of S59; A. Bruckner and R. Marichal likewise assess the single-sheet's physical features. *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores: Facsimile Edition of Latin Charters Prior to the Ninth Century* (Olten and Lausanne, 1963–1967)*,* Part IV, 97.

[381] Bruckner & Marichal, *CLA,* xviii.

[382] Thompson, *Royal Diplomas*, 83–4.

[383] M. Brown, *The Book of Cerne: Prayer, Patronage and Piety in Ninth-Century England* (London, 1996), 165.

an authentic original, thus providing a close parallel in terms of script, date and geography.[384] A critical palaeographical evaluation of S59 was first undertaken by P. Wormald, who was 'inclined to date [S59]'s script to the early ninth century', although conceding that there is little irrefutable material for comparison from the West Midlands (hence the importance of the Book of Cerne link made by Brown).[385] On this basis therefore, the single sheet appears to have been produced a number of decades later than 770, the year given in its dating clause. This discrepancy between purported and apparent date could be explained as S59 being simply a replacement copy, perhaps occasioned by damage to the original document. However, the existence of S58, unanimously deemed authentic despite surviving only in later copies, suggests otherwise.[386]

As noted above, large portions of S58 and S59 are textually identical, but with different dating clauses (being dated to 767 and 770 respectively) and witness-lists (although four of the individuals attest both charters, these are couched in different terms). In addition, S59 includes cardinal point bounds with place-names in Old English: *Hii sunt termini donationis istus saluuerpæ cymedes halh huitan stan readan solo,* 'These are the bounds of the donation: Salwarp, 'Cymedes halh', ?White Stone, ?Red Sand'. These appear to be a later endorsement, as they are written in a different ink and the final three words are inserted above the line.[387] Perhaps the most crucial difference between these charters, however, are the terms of the grant they record. In S58, the beneficiary Æthelmund is to hold the land in perpetuity with rights of alienation: *semper possideat et post se cui uolerit heredum relinquat,* 'let him possess it forever and afterwards let him bequeath it to whatever successor he wishes'. S58 is, therefore, a true royal charter. By contrast, S59 restricts these terms, so that Æthelmund may only *tenus se uiuente possideat et post se cuicumque uoluerit duobus heredis*[388] *relinquat,* 'he may possess it while he

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[384] 'Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10861 and the Scriptorium of Christ Church, Canterbury', *Anglo-Saxon England* 15, (Cambridge, 1986), 132 n. 54.

[385] P. Wormald, 'Charters, Law and the Settlement of Disputes in Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. W. Davies & P. Fouracre (Cambridge, 1986), 156.

[386] S58 exists in two seventeenth-century copies (London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. IX, f. 129r (incomplete) and London, British Library, Harley 4660, f. 4r), made from a lost original.

[387] Bruckner & Marichal, *CLA,* 97.

[388] *Heredis* is not abbreviated in the manuscript text, but should read *heredibus* to be grammatically correct.

lives and may bequeath it to two heirs, whomever he wishes, after him', i.e. leasing the land for a fixed period of three lives.

The early scholarship which considered both S58 and S59 to be authentic accounted for this by theorising that S59 represents a revised edition of the earlier charter as, for example, bounds and witness-lists were frequently added once the information became available, subsequent to the drafting of the main text.[389] Furthermore, the indiction used in S58 is incorrect, a mistake which is replicated in S59, suggesting mechanical adjustment of the date from the earlier document, rather than a thorough re-drafting.[390] This led to the 'restoration' in early editions of the corrupt text of S59 using that of S58: indeed, within the archival record, documents which had developed lacunae through damage were often restored by borrowing phrases from other diplomas which may not have been so closely related as the Aston Group. In such instances, this need not be seen as a deliberate altering of the material, but an honest (if not entirely selfless) act of restoration with the most appropriate tools available.[391] However, although technically plausible in the case of S58 and S59, this solution is not methodologically sound, and has somewhat hindered critical assessment of these texts by overlooking, and actively erasing, their differences. The change from charter to lease seems too drastic to simply be a revision between draft and final text, especially when the terms of S59 are examined more closely: once the three lives' lease have elapsed, the land does not revert to the crown (from which is was leased in the recorded transaction, being granted by Uhtred, *subregulus* of the Hwicce), but *reddatur […]eranens æclesiæ agrum cum libris,* 'let the land with the charters be returned

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[389] The view that S59 is a revised or later version of S58 is held by Bruckner & Marichal, *CLA,* 97; Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands,* 93; and Whitelock, *EHD,* 502. The authenticity of S58 is discussed by Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands,* 92; Hooke, *Worcestershire Anglo-Saxon Charter-Bounds,* 28–9; Scharer, *Die angelsächsiche Königsurkunde*, 255–9; and Wormald, 'Settlement of Disputes', 156–7.

[390] Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature,* 155 n. 61; also F. Tinti, 'The Reuse of Charters at Worcester between the Eighth and Eleventh Century: a Case Study', *Midland History* 37 No. 2 (2012), 134.

[391] J. R. Herold, 'Preserving Records and Writing History in Worcester's Conquest-Era Archives', in *Constructing History Across the Norman Conquest: Worcester, c. 1050–c. 1150,* ed. F. Tinti & D. A. Woodman (York, 2022), 80.

to the church',[392] so that Worcester is the ultimate beneficiary of the transaction, eventually holding the estate by ecclesiastical right.

The current prevailing view, following Wormald's revised dating on palaeographical grounds, coupled with the implications of the textual variation between charters, is that S59 is a slightly later forgery intended to 'improve' the terms of S58:

> Suppose that the original of [S58] had survived, whilst [S59] was known only from eleventh- or eighteenth-century copies. The latter, with its anachronistic witness-list, and marked bias towards Worcester, would surely have been discounted as a pious fraud.[393]

In a situation similar to that occasioning the production of the Selsey–Canterbury Group charters above, motive for the possible forgery of S59 can be found in a dispute between the houses of Worcester and Berkeley, which is attested by the Worcester archive.[394] In S58 and S59, Uhtred grants five *tributarii* at Aston (in Stoke Prior) to Æthelmund, his *minister.* Another Worcester diploma, S1187, dated 804, records the bequests of a certain Æthelric, son of Æthelmund, believed to be the individual named in S58 and 59.[395] This identification is based on the recurrence of personal names and named estates, as amongst the estates Æthelric disposes of is that of Aston, the title to which he had presumably inherited from his father, the initial recipient.[396] Æthelric then gave this estate to his mother Ceolburh for use during her lifetime: *dabo Ceolburge matri meæ si diut[ius] vivit quam ego · terram illam æt Westbyri · 7 æt Stoke ut habeat suum diem · et postea reddat ad Wigreceaster · ut ea vivente defensionem habeat contra Berclinga contentione,* 'I will give to Ceolburg my mother, if she should live longer than I, that land at Westbury and at Stoke to have whilst she lives, and afterwards revert to Worcester, so that they may have a living defence against the claims of Berkeley'. Under the terms of S58,

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[392] Birch supplies *[uig]eranens,* although if this is from *uigere* ('to flourish'), this makes little sense in the context of the surrounding sentence.

[393] Wormald, 'Settlement of Disputes', 156.

[394] This dispute has also been discussed in my Master's dissertation (unpublished, University of York, 2016) in the context of the production and preservation of S59 as one of the seven Worcester diplomas to survive as an original single sheet.

[395] S1187 survives in three eleventh-century copies, including both main Worcester cartularies, the *Liber Wigorniensis* (London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. XIII, ff. 49r–50r) and Hemming's Cartulary (London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. XIII, ff. 198v–199v)

[396] *PASE:* 'Æthelmund 2'.

Æthelric's grant to his mother is unremarkable, as the estate was in perpetual inheritance; under S59 however, this would fulfil the terms of the lease, which was for three lives, namely Æthelmund, Æthelric, and finally Ceolburh.

This situation becomes all the more complex however as, in S1187, Æthelric not only acknowledges that ownership of the land should revert to Worcester, but that this is 'defence against the claims of Berkeley'. For this statement to be at all intelligible, S59 would have to have already been produced (confirming Wormald's dating of the script by a narrow margin) and its terms understood to supersede those of S58. After the death of her husband, Ceolburh became the abbess of Berkeley, which had been her family monastery:[397] Æthelric's defensive precautions in S1187 suggest that he wished to ensure that the estate passed directly from his family's possession into that of the Worcester community, rather than it be retained by Berkeley through default. The inclusion of a reversion clause, particularly of family minsters to larger houses or their heads, was more usually made as a defence against the potential claims of secular kin, thereby safeguarding the sanctity of the minster, if not its independence.[398] The revision of the terms of the original grant to Æthelric's father through the production of S59 would therefore have provided a more historic, and as a consequence, ostensibly more legitimate, precedent for the reversion to Worcester, strengthening their case against Berkeley should it prove necessary. Nevertheless, by 824 a dispute had indeed arisen when Berkeley refused to cede Stoke Prior to Worcester. The foundation of a minster at Westbury-on-Trym took place c. 961 under the auspices of Oswald, bishop of Worcester, shortly after his consecration, demonstrating that the land had indeed reverted to the control of the Worcester community by this time.[399]

It is at this point that discussion of the third charter in this group, S60, becomes pertinent. Unanimously considered spurious, S60 survives only in the eleventh-century Worcester cartulary

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[397] P. Wormald, 'The Age of Offa and Alcuin', in *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. A. Campbell (Oxford, 1982), 123.

[398] Blair, *The Church,* 115–6.

[399] Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *St Oswald and St Ecgwine,* III.8, 69.

attributed to Hemming, a monk of Worcester in the late eleventh century.[400] Hemming names himself as the compiler, working under the auspices of bishop Wulfstan, whom Hemming describes as having ordered the opening of Worcester's *scrinium* (document storage chest) to organise and preserve the Worcester archive:

> *res precedenti siue nostro tempore gestas de possessionibus dumtaxat ecclesie nostre … litteris commendare … Aiebat etiam non minimum posteritatis nostre temporibus si litterali memorie commendaretur huic monasterio euenire posse …, sicut e contrario si negligeretur accideret damnum, dum nullus superesset qui memoria recolere posset aut ei etati rerum gestarum ueritatem uel ordinem narrare nosset.*
> 'write down past events … concerning the possessions of our church and those that the monks had witnessed themselves. The bishop had warned them that 'in future times no small benefit … could be gained for this monastery if these things were committed to written record, just as, on the contrary, from neglect loss would be inflicted, as nobody would survive who could recall from memory or find out how to narrate the truth or order of the things done in that time.''[401]

Evidence of a concerted effort to organise and preserve these documents for posterity can be found in the addition of endorsements to a number of episcopal leases (many of which dated from the episcopate of Bishop Oswald, AD 961–92). An eleventh-century scribe has added the name of the king during whose reign the lease was enacted: as episcopal leases did not involve royal authority, this information was not included in the text of the diploma. Consequently, the date of issue must have been cross-referenced with an external record of regnal dates in order to provide this additional point of chronology, demonstrating a scholarly commitment to the proper ordering of the community's archive,[402] and 'an interest in tracing the accumulation of the endowment [of Worcester] over an extended period of time'.[403]

The contents of Hemming's Cartulary, which appears to have been confused during re-binding, was divided into sections ('H' to 'L') by N. R. Ker. S60 can be found in Section 'K' (ff.176,

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[400] London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. XIII, ff. 119–200; S60 occupies ff.145r–146r.

[401] Hemming's *Codicellus Possessionum* and *Enucleatio Libelli*, quoted by F. Tinti, 'Constructing Narrative in the Closing Folios of Hemming's Cartulary', in *Constructing History Across the Norman Conquest: Worcester, c. 1050–c. 1150,* ed. F. Tinti & D. A. Woodman (York, 2022), 94.

[402] Tinti, *Sustaining Belief,* 136.

[403] S. E. Kelly, 'Worcester's Own History: an Account of the Foundation of the See and a Summary of Benefactions, AD680–1093', in *Constructing History Across the Norman Conquest: Worcester, c. 1050–c. 1150,* ed. F. Tinti & D. A. Woodman (York, 2022), 122–3.

114–52 and 154–64) which comprises thirteen charters, all believed to be later fabrications, and thirty Old English boundaries, prefaced by a list of Worcester's bishops and the estates they gave to the priory.[404] It should be noted that a number of spurious diplomas contained in Hemming's Cartulary proper are absent from its predecessor the *Liber Wigorniensis,* illustrating how 'the history of past land transactions was repeatedly reframed to serve specific, newly emerging needs of the Worcester Church',[405] namely, issues which had arisen in the period between the production of these two cartularies, as in the case of S116 and the dispute between Wulfstan II of Worcester (in office 1062–95) and Abbot Æthelwig of Evesham (d. 1077) discussed above.[406]

Although the invocation, proem, superscription, reservation clause and sanction of S60 are basically identical to those of S58 and 59, the draftsman has corrected the grammar of the original Latin text (writing *terreni* for *terrigenis*, *cesset* for *cessat,* using an accusative after *præter* instead of an ablative and correcting the mixed dative-ablative *huic donatione* of S58 to the accusative *hanc donationem*), as the technical accuracy of eighth- and ninth-century draftsmen frequently fell short of classical standards.[407] In typically cutting fashion, Stenton summarises the Latinity of one eighth-century scribe (responsible for S106, a charter of Offa of Mercia dated AD 764 (for 767)): 'The classical tradition was some distance from a clerical who thought that the genitive plural of *pons* was *pontuum* and that *vires* was the nominative plural of *vir*'.[408] Although these alterations could be attributed to a fastidious cartularist, this level of correction is not consistent throughout Hemming's compilation and, in the context of the surrounding spurious charters, raises suspicions about the authenticity of the text of S60.

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[404] Herold, *Memoranda and Memoria: Assessing the Preservation of Acta at Eleventh-Century Worcester Cathedral* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 2008), 169.

[405] Tinti & Woodman, 'Framing the Past', 7–8.

[406] F. Tinti provides the example of an alteration to the order of diplomas between the *Liber Wigorniensis* and Nero-Middleton Cartulary: as the diplomas were arranged to provide a circuit of a county, the bounds of Worcester's estate at Withington have been moved from the section pertaining to Winchcombeshire in the earlier cartulary to that of Gloucestershire in the latter, following a reallocation of the county boundaries, likely c. 1017. 'Si litterali memorię commendaretur: memory and cartularies in eleventh-century Worcester', in *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald,* ed. S. Baxter, J. L. Nelson, c. Karkov & D. Pelteret (London, 2009), 484–5.

[407] J. A. Robinson, *St Oswald and the Church of Worcester*, British Academy Supplementary Papers 5 (London, 1919), 23.

[408] Stenton, *Latin Charters,* 42.

Furthermore, extensive vernacular bounds are included, which are not only anachronistic for a purported date of 770, but frequently abbreviated or omitted entirely in the cartulary, making such a complete entry here unusually conspicuous. However, the most obvious detail which suggests S60 is a forgery is the content of its dispositive section, which differs significantly from those of S58 and 59 by omitting all reference to Æthelmund, granting the land directly to *fratribus Deo seruientibus in monasterio Uuigornensi quod constructum est in honore sanctissimæ uirginis et matris domini nostri Ihesu Christi Mariæ,* 'the brethren serving God in the monastery of Worcester which was built in honour of Mary, the most blessed Virgin and mother of our Lord Jesus Christ'. Not only is attribution to St. Mary's anachronistic, it also provides a clear date after which the forgery must have been produced, for this church was not founded until the episcopate of St Oswald, c. 966. It could not, therefore, have been created in relation to the Worcester vs. Berkeley dispute of the mid-ninth century (and indeed subverts the terms of both S58 and 59), but appears to be a much later attempt to consolidate the archival record and strengthen Worcester's claims to its landed possessions. The development of the dispositive sections of the three diplomas can thus be compared:

> S58: *iure ecclesiastico possidendam libentissime pro domino omnipotenti donabo · quam is semper possideat et post se cui uolerit heredum relinquat,* 'so that he may possess it by ecclesiastical right, that is, let him possess it forever and afterwards let him bequeath it to whatever successor he wishes'.
> S59: *iure æclesiastico possidendum libentissime pro domino omnipotenti […]tenus se uiuente possideat et post se cuicumque uoluerit duobus heredis relinquat Illisque e sæculo migrantibus reddatur […]eranens æclesiæ agrum,* 'in order to possess by ecclesiastical right. […] he may possess it while he lives and may bequeath it to two heirs, whomever he wishes, after him. And when they in their turn have departed, the land with the charter will be returned to the church'.
> S60: *igitur concessi fratribus Deo seruientibus in monasterio Uuigornensi … iure ecclesiastico … omni tempore possidendum,* 'Therefore I grant to the brethren serving God in the monastery of Worcester … by ecclesiastical right to possess for all time'.

Ker observes of this section of Hemming's cartulary that 'No doubt the monks were well entitled to their estates, but the charters on which they based their claims are, as a group,

untrustworthy'.[409] As discussed above, Worcester did appear to be the rightful owner of the Aston estate, via the terms of S58 and the non-*tributarius* S1187, which were combined and simplified by the production of S59. By S60 however, the area of land granted has increased from five to ten *tributarii,* thereby agreeing with the Domesday assessment for Aston and Stoke.[410] This therefore suggests that, during the intervening period, Worcester had acquired land adjacent to the Aston estate and sought to legitimise its claims, modelling a forgery on the exemplar S59 (hence the identical dating clauses) rather than S58 (as this made no mention of the Worcester community) to provide a semblance of authenticity.[411] F. Tinti summarises the contents of Hemming's Cartulary thus:

> The inclusion of eighth- and ninth-century charters is once again meant to demonstrate Worcester's alleged early title to the lands which had now been recovered, but in order to advance such claims the cartulary's compilers had to modify existing charters and fabricate new ones.[412]

As such, the archival record was 'updated' by Hemming in order to provide a succinct acquisition history for the Aston estates but also reflecting Worcester's contemporary holdings, simplifying the previous records in a process of 'creative restoration' rather than deliberate falsification.[413]

Whilst such spurious diplomas may appear similar to the politically-driven interpolations of the Mercian kings due to various stages of transcription during their transmission histories, the purpose of those documents 'written in one age with the intention of making the reader believe that they were written in a previous one' is markedly different.[414] Being able to trace ownership of an estate back to the ancient endowments of the house would, therefore, produce the most

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[409] N. R. Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary: a Description of the Two Worcester Cartularies in Cotton Tiberius A. xiii', in *Studies in Medieval History presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, ed. R. W. Hunt, W. A. Pantin & R. W. Southern (Oxford, 1948), 67–8.

[410] Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands,* 93; also Hooke, *Worcestershire Anglo-Saxon Charter-Bounds,* 68–9.

[411] Tinti, 'Reuse of Charters', 140.

[412] Tinti, 'Constructing Narrative', 105.

[413] Herold, 'Preserving Records', 62 & 82.

[414] J. Barrow, 'How the Twelfth-Century Monks of Worcester Perceived their Past.', in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe,* ed. P. Magdalino (London, 1992), 53.

unimpeachable claim, hence the collection and transferral of archival material into cartularies such as the *Liber Wigorniensis* and Hemming's Cartulary. Not only do these cartularies effectively provide a narrative history of a house's landed possessions, but the process of transcribing these texts also presented the opportunity for improvement of the original text. This concept is summarised by S. Foot, who states that:

> Like a monastery's relic collection, its written archive was an important element in the creation of the community's identity, and had to be carefully preserved to ensure that the texts would continue to confer protection on the community's estates.[415]

It is remarkable that three different diplomas recording the same transaction have survived, as the entire purpose of producing an 'improved' forgery would be undermined if an earlier, more trustworthy document were available to contest it.

In this way, the 'Aston Group' is notable for comprising three versions of essentially the same document, uniquely demonstrating the re-use of archival material to suit contemporary needs. Moreover, the complex relationship between these charters highlights the degree to which the archival record, and thus any conclusions drawn about Anglo-Saxon diplomatic practice, are affected by the existence of spurious, interpolated and otherwise problematic documents. As J. Barrow states:

> Interpolated charters can be considered alongside forgeries, since even the genuine parts of interpolated documents represent a conscious choice to preserve them on the part of the interpolator. Forgeries can be highly polemical and propagandistic, and therefore can illuminate the preoccupations and values of the people who wrote them.[416]

The *tributarius* diplomas are an excellent example of this: if all are considered equally relevant to the current investigation, six of the twenty-three *tributarius* diplomas originate from the Worcester archive (see Figure 14 below, where the archives containing *tributarius* diplomas are arranged

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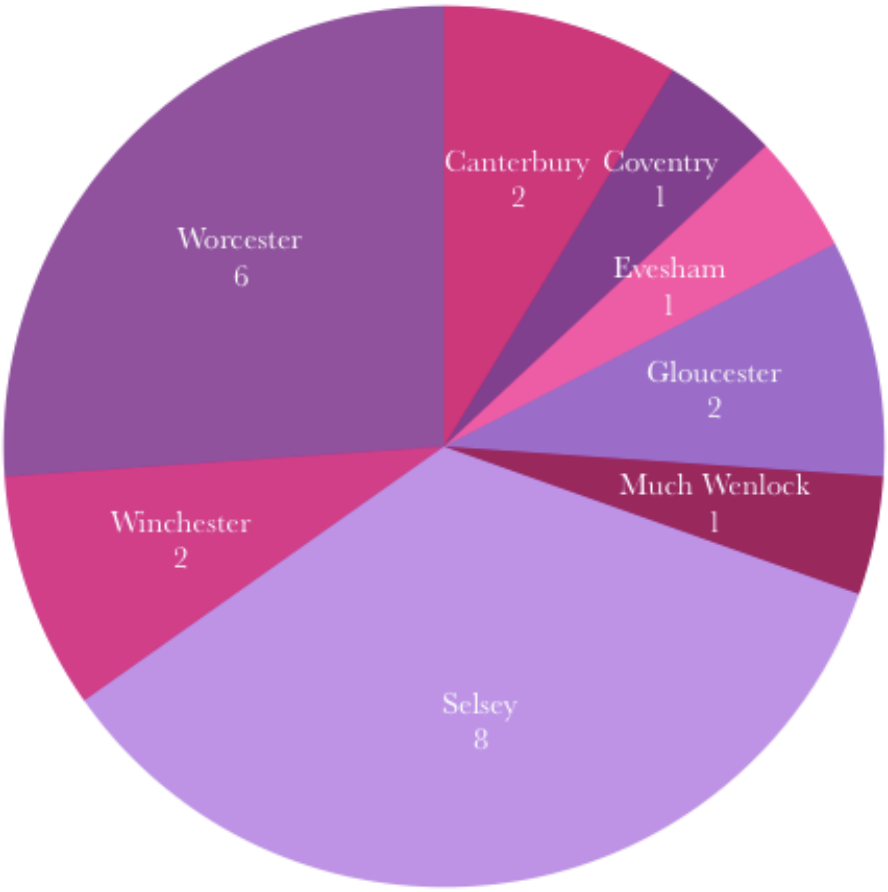
[415] S. Foot, 'Reading Anglo-Saxon Charters: Memory, Record or Story?', in *Narratives and History in the Early Medieval West,* ed. E. M. Tyler & R. Balzaretti (Turnhout, 2006), 42.

[416] J. Barrow, 'The Chronology of Forgery Production at Worcester from c. 1100 to the Early Twelfth Century.', in *St. Wulfstan and his Wor*ld*s* ed J. S. Barrow & N. Brooks (Aldershot, 2005), 106.

clockwise alphabetically). Statistically, Worcester is therefore the second largest contributor to the corpus, after Selsey (with eight charters).

Fig. 14: Archives Containing Tributarius Diplomas



If, however, S59 and S60 are dismissed as mere derivatives of S58, utilising the term *tributarius* as a consequence of copying their exemplar verbatim, the balance of the corpus shifts somewhat, so that Worcester's contribution is more aligned with that of Canterbury and the collected minor Hwiccian houses, and having repercussions for the apparent temporal and geographic distribution of the term. Obviously it is neither practical nor possible to discount all questionable charters from the Anglo-Saxon diplomatic corpus as a whole, but it is necessary to acknowledge their impact, and the complications they cause, especially when considering a small subset, as in the present investigation.

S58 / B202 / K117

Date: A.D. 767.

Operative details: Uhtred, sub-king of the Hwicce, with the permission of Offa, king of the Mercians, to Æthelmund, his faithful *minister*, son of Ingeld, *dux* and *præfectus*; grant of five *tributarii* at Aston in Stoke Prior, Worcs.

Language and archive: *Latin*, Worcester.

Source of transcription: London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. IX, f.129r (s. xvii), supplemented by Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 1, 286–7.

Edition: those portions of the Latin text in **bold** are shared verbatim (except for occasional grammatical variation) with S59 and S60.

Style and Diction: The 'Aston Group' (S58, 59, and 60) are very close-knit, and in terms of style and diction best considered together. A particularly notable variant is the poetic form *terrigenis* found in S58 and S59, where S60 has the simpler *terreni*; the former must be a dative or ablative plural noun, 'land-dwellers', 'locals', 'one who dwells in or belongs to the mortal world' (*DMLBS: s.v. terrigena, terrigenus*), while the latter is a genitive singular or nominative plural masculine or neuter adjective, signifying 'land-holding', 'earthly' (*DMLBS: s.v. terrenus*, senses 5 and 6). The term *terrigena* is widely found in Anglo-Latin poetry (see, for example, *CLASP s.v. terrigen**), but makes little sense here, whereas the simpler *terreni* readily agrees with *regni* immediately following in S60. There are several other grammatical inconsistencies, noted below, for example, the use of *regulos* where *regulus* would be expected.

Transcription

Carta Uhtredi Reguli Huicciorum

+ In nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi · Certissime itaque absque dubitatione constat omnia quae uidentur temporalia esse et quae non uidentur æterna esse[417] · Idcirco ego Uhtredus Deo donante regulus Huuicciorum cogitaui ut ex accepta portione terrigenis regni a largitore omnium bonorum aliquid quamuis minus dignum pro remedio animæ meæ in usus ecclesiasticæ libertatis erogarem · unde fideli meo ministro Æðelmundo uidelicet filio Ingeldi qui fuit dux et præfectus Æðilbaldi regis cum consensu et licentia Offani regis Merciorum simulque episcoporum et principum eius terram quinque tributariorum id est uicum qui nominatur Eastun iuxta[418] fluuium in […] qui dicitur Saluuarpe iure ecclesiastico possidendam libentissime pro domino omnipotenti donabo · quam is semper possideat et post se cui uolerit heredum relinquat · Insuper digno prætio ab eo suscepto pro remedio animæ nostræ[419] et pro amore cælestis patriæ Sciat unusquisque **hanc terram liberam esse ab omni tributo paruo uel maiore publicalium rerum et a cunctis operibus uel regis uel principis** præter instructionibus[420] **pontium uel necessariis defensionibus arcium contra hostes · omnimodo quoque in Dei omnipotentis nomine** interdicimus ut si **aliquis in hac prænominatam terram aliquid foras furauerit alicui** soluere **aliquid nisi specialiter pretium pro pretio** ad terminum ad penam[421] nihil foras[422] **augentem hoc meum**

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[417] Derived from the biblical verse 2 Corinthians 4:18, *quæ enim videntur, temporalia sunt: quæ autem non videntur, æterna sunt,* 'all things which are seen are temporary: however those which are not seen are eternal', *Fontes.* This quotation is replicated in both S59 and S60.

[418] Kemble gives *inxta,* a result of minim confusion between *n* and *u*. Similarly, *Salnuarpe* and *nnusquisq(ue)* shortly thereafter. *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 1, 144.

[419] It is unclear why the plural is used here, particularly when the phrase *pro remedio animæ meæ* can be found in dispositive clauses throughout the diplomatic corpus: *eSawyer* records no other instance of *animæ nostræ* or *anime nostre.*

[420] This term is absent from S59, but present in S60.

[421] The phrase *ad terminum ad penam* does not make grammatical sense, and as such is difficult to reconcile with the surrounding text: the translation below gives the literal meanings of the terms.

[422] Although *foras* literally translates to 'outside; away' (implying motion), it came to mean 'giving (or selling) away into another's hands', i.e. alienation when applied to land and property, which is the sense implied here.

præceptum omnipotens **Deus sua augere bona in æternum non cessat · minuentem quod non optamus** sciat se ante **tribunal Christi rationem redditurum nisi ante ea Deo et hominibus satis emendauerit** · Conscripta est is[423] haec donatio anno ab incarnatione domini nostri Ihesu Christi · DCC · LXVII · indictione VI · lunari · V ·

+ Ego Offa Dei dono rex Merciorum huic donatione consensi et subscripsi ·

+ Ego Uhtredus Huicciorum regulos[424] meam libertatis donationem corroborans scripsi ·

+ Ego Aldred subregulus Huicciorum consensi et subscripsi ·

+ Ego Milredus episcopus Huicciorum consensi et subscripsi ·

+ Ego Eata consensi et subscripsi ·

+ Ego Brorda consensi et subscripsi ·

+ Ego Berhtwald consensi et subscripsi ·

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[423] This is likely an incorrect expansion of the abbreviation symbol for the conjunction *autem,* which makes more sense within the phrase.

[424] This ungrammatical form should be read as *regulus.*

Translation

Charter of Uhtred, sub-king of the Hwicce.

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, it is agreed most certainly and without doubt that all things which are seen are temporal, and those which are not seen are eternal. For that reason I, Uhtred, by the gift of God sub-king of the Hwicce, have considered that for the healing of my soul I should give something for the sake of the ecclesiastical freedom, even if it is of little worth, from the portion of the earthly kingdom that I received from the Grantor of all good things. Thus I will grant very freely for Lord Almighty, to my faithful *minister* Æthelmund, that is the son of Ingeld who was *dux* and *præfectus* of King Æthelbald, with the consent and permission of Offa, king of the Mercians, and also of the bishops and *principes* themselves, land of five *tributarii* that is the village which is named Aston next to the river [on the eastern side?] which is called Salwarp, so that he may possess it by ecclesiastical right, that is, let him possess it forever and afterwards let him bequeath it to whatever successor he wishes. Moreover, after a worthy price has been accepted by him for the healing of our souls and for love of the heavenly father. Let everyone know that this land is free from all tribute, small or great, from public affairs and from all services whether to king or *princeps* except for repairing bridges and the necessary defences of fortresses against enemies. Also in the name of God Almighty, we forbid in every way that should anyone in this aforementioned estate steal anything out of it, anything be paid to anyone except specifically price for price, nor alienate anything from it, to the limit of punishment. May Almighty God not cease to increase the rewards in eternity of he who increases this my injunction, whilst he who diminishes it, which we hope not, let him know he will render account before the tribunal of Christ unless he has previously made sufficient amends to God and men. This grant was written in the year of the incarnation of our Lord Christ 767, in the sixth indiction, in the fifth lunar cycle.

+ I Offa, by the gift of God, king of the Mercians, have consented and subscribed to this grant.

+ I Uhtred, sub-king of the Hwicce, in corroboration have signed my grant freely.

+ I Aldred, sub-king of the Hwicce have consented and subscribed.

+ I Mildred, bishop of the Hwicce, have consented and subscribed.

+ I Eata have consented and subscribed.

+ I Brorda have consented and subscribed.

+ I Berhtwald have consented and subscribed.

S59 / B203

Date: A.D. 770.

Operative details: Uhtred, sub-king of the Hwicce, with the permission of Offa, king of the Mercians, to Æthelmund, his faithful *minister*; grant, for three lives, of five *tributarii* at (Aston in Stoke Prior, Worcs.), with reversion to the church of Worcester.

Language and archive: *Latin with English bounds,* Worcester

Source of transcription: from the facsimile of the single-sheet diploma Worcester, DC., Add. MSS (in the safe) (s. viii) provided in the appendix to W. de Gray Birch, *On an unpublished charter of Uhtred of the Huuiccas, in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester* (1878).

Edition: those portions of the Latin text in **bold** are shared verbatim (except for occasional grammatical variation) with S58 and S60.

Style and Diction: See the note on S58 above. The form *Offam* here is obviously a mistake through minim confusion of the form *Offani* found in the same place in S58 and 60, while the otherwise puzzling sequence *foraras furauerit alicuic aliquid* for what in S58 reads *aliquid foras furauerit alicui* appears to represent considerable scribal confusion, producing two nonsense forms (*foraras* and *alicuic*).

Transcription

+ In nomine domini nostri iesu christi · Certissime itaque absque dubitatione constat omnia quæ uidentur temporalia esse · Et ea quibus **non uidentur æterna esse · Id circo ego uhtredus domino donante regulus huicciorum cogitaui · Ut ex accepta portione terrigenis regni a largitore omnium bonorum aliquid quamuis minus dignum pro remedio animæ meæ in usus æcclesiasticæ libertatis eroga[?rem] Unde fideli meo ministro ædelmundo uidelicet filio ingeldi qui fuit dux et prefectus ædelbaldi regis merciorum cum cons[?ensu] et licentia offam regis merciorum Simulque episcoporum ac principum eius, Terram · v · tributariorum Id est uicus qui nominatur** [?Eastun] **iuxta fluuium in orientale parte qui dicitur saluuerpe iure æclesiastico possidendum libentissime pro domino omnipotenti** […]tenus se uiuente possideat et post se cuicumque uoluerit duobus heredibus relinquat Illisque e sæculo migrantibus reddatur […]eranens æclesiæ agrum cum libris ad mensam eorum sine ulla contradictione mihi atque omnibus nobis in elemosi […]tis patriæ illorumque intercessione ad deum uiuum et uerum · In super digno prætio a antedicto æðelmundo suscepto […] **hanc terram liberam esse ab omni tributo paruo uel maiore publicalium rerum et a cunctis operibus uel regis uel prin[…]nibus pontium uel necessaris defensionibus arcium contra hostes · omni modo quoque in dei omnipotentis nomi[…] aliquis in hac prænominatam terram aliquid foraras[425] furauerit alicuic[426] aliquid nisi specialiter prætium pro prætio […] augentem hoc meum præceptum […] deus sua augere bona in æternum non cessat · Minuentem quod non […] tribunal christi rationem redditurum nisi ante ea domino et hominibus satis emendauerit ·** Conscripta est […] incarnatione domini nostri iesu christi · dcc · lxx · indictione · viiii · decenoui · xi · lunum · viii ·

[…]rciorum hanc donationem subreguli mei consensi et signum sanctæ crucis inposui ·

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[425] This unusual form appears to be a result of dittography for *foras*.

[426] This seems to be an error for *alicui*.

[…] concendente humilis huicciorum episcopus consensi et subscripsi

[…]spensatione donante regulus propriæ gentis hanc meam libertatis donationem pro domino concessam coroborans

\ signum salutare conscripsi /

[…]uicciorum huic concessæ donatione fratris mei […]tiendo subscribo

+Ego eadbald consensi et subscripsi Hii sunt termini donationis istus *saluuerpæ cymedes halh huitan* \ *stan readan solo* /

Et subscripsi

Endorsement:

+Ego cyneðryð regina merciorum consensi et subscripsi

+Ego ecgferð filius amborum consensi et subscripsi

+Ego ælfflæd filia amborum consensi et subscripsi

To eastune · ond Stoce ·

To Eastune ·

Offani regis

Translation

+ In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, it is agreed most certainly and without doubt that all things which are seen are temporal, and also those which are not seen are eternal. For that reason I, Uhtred, by the gift of God sub-king of the Hwicce, have considered that for the healing of my soul I should give something for the sake of the ecclesiastical freedom, even if it is of little worth, from the part of the earthly kingdom that I received from the Grantor of all good things. Thus I grant very freely for Lord Almighty, to my faithful *minister* Æthelmund, that is the son of Ingeld who was *dux* and *præfectus* of Æthelbald, king of the Mercians, with the consent and permission of Offa, king of the Mercians, and also of the bishops and *principes* themselves, land of five *tributarii* that is the village which is named [Aston] next to the river on the eastern side which is called *Salwarp*, in order to possess by ecclesiastical right. […] he may possess it while he lives and may bequeath it to two heirs, whomever he wishes, after him. And when they in their turn have departed from this world, let the land with the charter will be returned to the church, for their table, without any contradiction, in alms for me and for all of us. […] country and to stand surety for them before the true living God. In addition, since a worthy price has been received from the aforesaid Æthelmund […] this land is free from all tribute, small or great, from public affairs and from all services whether to king or *ealdorman* [except repairing] bridges and the necessary defences of fortresses against enemies. Also in the name of God Almighty, in every way […] anyone in this aforementioned estate steals anything out of it, anything be paid to anyone except specifically price for price. May God not cease to increase the rewards in eternity [of he who] increases this my injunction, may he who diminishes it […] render account before the tribunal of Christ unless he has previously made sufficient amends to the Lord and men. This was written […] in the year of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ 770, the ninth indiction, eleventh decenoval, eighth lunar cycle.

[+ I Offa, by the gift of God king of the] Mercians have consented to this, the grant of my sub-king, and placed on it the sign of the holy cross.

[+ I Mildred], humble bishop of the Hwicce, agreeing, have consented and subscribed.

[+ I Uhtred] by the grant (of God) sub-king of my own people, corroborating this my grant of privilege conceded for the Lord have written the sign of salvation.

[+ I Ealdred, sub-king of the] Hwicce, subscribe to this grant conceded by my brother.

+I Eadbald have consented and subscribed.

These are the bounds of the grant: *Salwarp, Cymedes halh, ?White Stone, ?Red Sand.*

And I have subscribed.

Endorsement:

+I Cynethryth, queen of the Mercians, have consented and subscribed.

+I Ecgfrith, son of both, have consented and subscribed.

+I Ælfflæd, daughter of both, have consented and subscribed.

To Aston and Stoke

To Aston

King Offa's [grant]

S60 / B204 / K118

Date: A.D. 770.

Operative details: Uhtred, sub-king of the Hwicce, with the permission of Offa, king of the Mercians, to St Mary's Minster, Worcester; grant of ten *tributarii* at Stoke Prior, Worcs.

Language and archive: *Latin with English bounds*, Worcester.

Source of transcription: from digital images of London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. XIII, ff. 145r–146r (s. xi). Where damage to the manuscript has rendered portions of text illegible, this has been supplemented by Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, vol. 1, 289–90.

Edition: those portions of the Latin text in **bold** are shared verbatim (except for occasional grammatical variation) with S58 and S59.

Style and Diction: See the note on S58 above. Note that the Old English bounds are formed, as commonly, in an envelope-pattern (*Ærest fram myðam ... eft in ða myþan*), so underling the circularity of the plotting.

Transcription

℣ **In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi · Certissime itaque et absque dubitatione constat omnia quæ uidentur temporalia esse · et** ea quæ **non uidentur æterna esse · Iccirco ego Uhtredus Deo donante regulus Huuicciorum cogitaui ut ex accepta portione terreni regni a largitore omnium bonorum aliquid quamuis minus dignum pro remedio animæ meæ in usus ecclesiasticæ libertatis erogarem ·** Hinc igitur concessi fratribus Deo seruientibus in monasterio Uuigornensi quod constructum est in honore sanctissimæ uirginis et matris domini nostri Ihesu Christi Mariæ · c**um consensu et licentia regis Offani Merciorum simulque episcoporum ac principum eius · terram** illam · X · tributariorum · scilicet uicum qui Stoke appellatur **iuxta fluuium in orientali parte qui dicitur Saleuuearpe** iure ecclesiastico pro salute animæ meæ omni tempore possidendum · et insuper **pro remedio animæ meæ et pro amore cœlestis patriæ sciat unusquisque hanc terram liberam esse ab omni tributo paruo uel maiore publicalium rerum et a cunctis operibus regis uel principis præter instructiones pontium uel necessarias defensiones arcium contra hostes ·**

Augentem hoc meum præceptum omnipotens Deus sua augere bona in æternum non cesset, minuentem quod non optamus sciat se ante tribunal Christi rationem redditurum · nisi antea Deo et hominibus satis emendauerit.

Conscripta est autem hæc donatio anno ab incarnatione domini nostri Ihesu Christi · DCCLXX · indictione · VIIII · decennouenali[427] · XI · lunari · VIII ·

+ Ego Offa Dei dono rex Merciorum hanc donationem subreguli mei consensi · et signum sanctæ crucis imposui ·

+ Ego Mildredus pia Dei dispensatione humilis Uicciorum[428] episcopus consensi et subscripsi ·

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[427] Kemble gives *decennouali,* which is the more sensible form. *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 1, 146.

[428] Kemble gives *Huuicciorum,* possibly due to 'correction' of the text by normalising this spelling to that used elsewhere in the diploma. *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 1, 146.

+ Ego Uhtredus Christi gratia concedente regulus propriæ gentis hanc meæ libertatis donationem pro domino concessam corroborans · signum salutare subscripsi ·

+ Ego Aldredus subregulus Huicciorum huic concessæ donationi fratris mei consentiendo subscribo ·

+ Ego Eada consensi et subscripsi ·

+ Ego Brorda consensi et subscripsi ·

+ Ego Eadbald consensi et subscripsi ·

+ Ego Cyneðryð regina Merciorum consensi et subscripsi ·

+ Ego Etferdus[429] filius amborum consensi et subscripsi ·[430]

Ærest fram myðam in cyrstel mæl ac · Of cyrstel mæl ac in east ende tœoue lege · Of tœofe leage in þæt syrf treow · Of þam syrf treowe · in þæt rug[431] mapel treow in forweard werdune · Of forweard wer dune oð midde wearde wer · Of midde wer dune in werdun broc · Of midde wer dune broce in middan wearde langan dune · Of middan wearde langan dune in sceap weg · Of scearp weg in hwæta leage · Of hwæta lege in hens broc · Of hens broce in salwarpan · Of seal warpan in holan weg · Of þam weg in ða hwitan biricean · Of þære birican in alcherdes ford · Eft of salwarpan in þa ifihtan ac · Of þære ac in þa mær ac · Of þære ac in bennic æcer · Of þam æcere in cærsa bæt · Of þam bæte in pipan · Of pipan in wiði broc · Of þam broce in þæt þruh · Of þa þrug in holan weg · Of þam wege in bridenan brygge · Of þære brigge in cumb · Of þam cumbe in ale beardes ac · Of þære ac in þa heort sole · Of þære sole in þa þisle · Of þære ðisle eft in ða myþan.

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[429] Kemble gives *Ecgferð*. Substituting *c* for *t* was not uncommon in medieval Latin, so it is likely that this occurred during the otherwise standard Latinisation of the Anglo-Saxon name *Ecgferð* to *Etferdus*. *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 1, 146.

[430] Kemble omits the following boundary clause in its entirety.

[431] There is a suspension mark above the 'g' in the manuscript, but the intended word is unclear.

Translation

☧ In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, it is agreed most certainly and without doubt that all things which are seen are temporal, and also those which are not seen are eternal. For that reason I, Uhtred, by the gift of God king of the Hwicce, have considered that for the healing of my soul I should give something for the sake of the ecclesiastical freedom, even if it is of little worth, from the part of the earthly kingdom that I received from the Grantor of all good things. Therefore I have granted to the brethren serving God in the monastery of Worcester which was built in honour of Mary, the most blessed Virgin and mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the consent and permission of Offa king of the Mercians and also that of the bishops and *principes*, land of 10 *tributarii* which is to say in the town which is called Stoke next to the river on the east side which is called *Salwarp*, by ecclesiastical right to possess for all time, for the health of my soul. And moreover for the healing of my soul and for love of the heavenly Father let everyone know that this land is free from all tribute, small or great, from public affairs and from all services whether to king or *princeps* except for repairing bridges and the necessary defences of fortresses against enemies. May Almighty God not cease to increase the rewards in eternity of he who increases this my injunction, whilst he who diminishes it, which we hope not, let him know he will render account before the tribunal of Christ unless he has previously made sufficient amends to God and men. This grant was written in the year of the incarnation of our Lord Christ 770, the ninth indiction, eleventh decenoval, eighth lunar cycle.

+ I Offa, by the gift of God king of the Mercians, have consented to this, the grant of my sub-king, and placed on it the sign of the holy cross.

+ I Mildred, by the arrangement of holy God humble bishop of the Hwicce, have consented and subscribed.

+ I Uhtred by the grace of Christ granted sub-king of my own people, have granted corroborating this my grant of privilege conceded for the Lord have written the sign of salvation.

+ I Ealdred, sub-king of the Hwicce, consenting also subscribe to this grant conceded by my brother.

+ I Eada have consented and subscribed.

+ I Brorda have consented and subscribed.

+ I Eadbald have consented and subscribed.

+ I Cyneðryð, queen of the Mercians, have consented and subscribed.

+ I Ecgferð, son of both, have consented and subscribed.

First from the estuary to the oak tree with the crucifix, from the crucifix oak to the east end of the ?wood-clearing, from the ?wood-clearing to the service-tree, from the service-tree to the knotty maple-tree to the front part of watch hill, from the front part of watch hill to the middle of watch hill, from the middle part of watch hill to watch hill brook, from the middle of watch hill brook to the middle part of long hill, from the middle part of long hill to the rough path [Sharpway], from [Sharpway] to the wheat clearing, from the wheat clearing to Hen's Brook, from Hen's Brook to the Salwarpe, from the Salwarpe to the hollow way, from the way to the white birch tree, from the birch tree to Alcherd's ford, afterwards from the Salwarpe to the ivy-covered oak, from that oak to the boundary-oak, from the oak to bennic acre, from the acre to cress stream, from the stream to the ?pipe, from the ?pipe to ?willow-brook, from the brook to the trough, from the trough to the hollow way, from the way to the plank bridge, from the bridge to the valley, from the valley to Alebeard's oak tree, from the oak tree to the stag's wallowing-place, from the wallowing-place to the ?thistle from the ?thistle again to the estuary.[432]

[432] This set of bounds includes a notably high incidence of uncommon compound nouns. Hooke, *Worcestershire Anglo-Saxon Charter-Bounds*, 66–8.

2.6: Diplomas of the Mercian Supremacy (S53, 116, 1183 and 1798)

At first glance, this disparate group of diplomas seems linked solely by being judged authentic on diplomatic grounds, despite surviving only in much later manuscripts: their dates of production span the late seventh to late eighth centuries, incorporating a range of diplomatic styles, and are preserved in four different archives. Their authenticity is, however, of added significance in their role as contemporary witnesses to, and demonstrations of, Mercian overlordship, thereby providing reliable testament to the extent, both temporal and geographic, of Mercia's influence in this period. In order to chart this progression, it is practical to consider these four authentic charters chronologically.

S1798, the earliest diploma in this group (dated to 675×690, with the range limits being fixed by the attestations of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury (668–90) and Seaxwulf, Bishop of Lichfield (675–91),[433] is a remarkable document in many respects, and yet has received very little scholarly attention.[434] It is one of only six extant diplomas from the archive of Much Wenlock, five of which (including S1798) survive only within the hagiographical *Life of St Mildburg,* itself preserved in a composite manuscript of the thirteenth century.[435] No author is named in the text, but 'the style is unmistakably Goscelin's, and Leland, who took copious extracts from the Life, positively ascribes it to him',[436] an attribution which is tenable given that Goscelin (died c. 1107)[437] was '[the] busiest of all Anglo-Latin hagiographers … who, according to William of Malmesbury, writing in the early twelfth century, was second only to Bede in his homage to English saints'.[438] The *Life* was most likely written sometime between 1080–90, a range based upon the known points in Goscelin's career, and

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[433] Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands,* 138. On the identity of witnesses, see further *PASE*.

[434] It was printed and translated for the first time by Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands,* 202–4.

[435] The Life of St Milburg occupies ff.206r–216v of London, British Library, Add. Ms. 34633; S1798 is found on f.210v.

[436] Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands*, 200; also M. Lapidge & R. C. Love, 'The Latin Hagiography of England and Wales (600–1500)', in *Hagiographies: International history of the Latin and vernacular hagiographical literature in the West from its origins to 1550,* vol.3 (Turnhout, 1994), 231–2. S. Yarrow refutes this, suggesting that the *Life* is instead modelled on the works of Goscelin, but was written c. 1107–9. 'The Invention of St Mildburg of Wenlock: Community and Cult in an Anglo-Norman Shropshire Town', *Midland History* 38:1 (2013), 3.

[437] *PASE:* 'Goscelin 1'.

[438] Quoted by Lapidge & Love, 'Latin Hagiography', 225.

the instalment of Cluniac clergy at Much Wenlock in 1081, replacing the hitherto secular clerks.[439] The post-Conquest production of hagiographical texts commemorating the exemplary lives and careers of Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastics can be seen as a reflection of the social and political milieu of the eleventh-century, rather than of the source material, which was selected and reframed specifically to fulfil a purpose. The production of Anglo-Latin hagiography had 'virtually ceased' in the ninth and early tenth centuries, so that 'when production resumed from the mid-tenth century onward, it was continent scholars who took the initiative'.[440] As stated by P. J. Geary:

> The right to speak the past also implied control over that which gave access to the past — the 'relics by which the past continued to live into the present… How these tangible written relics of the past were preserved, who preserved them, and who could therefore make them disappear were thus fundamental aspects of power and authority.[441]

The newly-established community therefore perhaps sought to assimilate their order with the cult of the pre-existing, local saint, focussing on the foundation's past in order to promote continuity with the present:[442] their efforts were seemingly successful, as the foundation continued to attract the patronage of Mercian nobility, overcoming potential resistance to the newly-arrived monks and thereby securing their right to occupy the foundation at Much Wenlock.[443]

The hagiography purports to draw upon a number of sources, including original charters of Much Wenlock (*que monasterii ejusdem virginis veterum privilegiorum scedulis inscripta leguntur,* 'which are found written in documents of ancient privileges of the monastery of the same virgin'). Although these charters are no longer extant in either single-sheet or cartulary form, they have been quoted, apparently in full, within the section of prose couched in the first person, which Goscelin entitles the

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[439] Lapidge & Love, 'Latin Hagiography', 230, and Yarrow, 'The Invention of St Mildburg', 4. Hall instead suggests that it was 'written for Much Wenlock Priory after 1090', 'A Handlist of Anglo-Latin Hagiography Through the Early Twelfth Century', *Old English Newsletter* 45:1 (2014), 15, which need not disagree with the range given above, as the work could have been researched and commenced in the 1080s, but completed at a significantly later date.

[440] Lapidge & Love, 'Latin Hagiography', 216.

[441] *Phantoms of remembrance: memory and oblivion at the end of the first millennium* (Princeton, 2021), 7.

[442] Yarrow, 'The Invention of St Mildburg', 2.

[443] C. Cubitt, 'Universal and local saints in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West,* ed. A. Thacker & R. Sharpe (Oxford, 2002), 429.

'Testament of St Mildburg' (*testamentum* here taking the Continental sense of a charter or diploma, rather than that of a will or bequest more familiar from Anglo-Saxon usage).[444] The *Life of St Mildburg* is unusual for including these documents verbatim, as archival material was not readily adaptable to the narrative prose of hagiography:[445] their use here therefore seems intended to strengthen the presentation of St Mildburg as the 'undying landlord' of the Much Wenlock community, safeguarding her — now, their — property throughout time,[446] demonstrating the value of archival preservation in fortifying (and indeed, creating) a foundation's sense of identity.

The five diplomas included within the *testamentum* clearly pertain to five discrete transactions, each prefaced with a contextual passage explaining the circumstances by which St Mildburg came to be in possession of the charter, thereby demonstrating that the transactions are not linked in the manner of the 'Running Commentary' diplomas above. The first three (S1798, S1799 and S1800) are straightforward charters recording grants made by different individuals to Mildburg herself; the fourth (S1801) is a charter given to Mildburg by the original recipient as proof of her ownership (*Keonred rex pro redemcione anime sue terram octo manencium in Lingen famule Dei Feleburge in propriam perdonavit potestatem,* 'King Coenred, for the redemption of his soul, gave to Feleburg, the servant of God, land of eight *manentes* at Lingen [Lye] in her power of free disposal'); the fifth (S1802) is a purchase of land made by Mildburg which was *fuerunt et subscripserunt* (attested and subscribed to) by named witnesses, rather than included wholesale in the manner of the previous four diplomas.

Although St Mildburg is not credited with being the founder of the Much Wenlock minster, which archaeological evidence has shown to have been constructed on the site of a Romano-British building (the walls of which were still standing in the seventh century when Wenlock minster was established, although there is no evidence for these having belonged to a Romano-British

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444 Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands*, 201.

445 Roach, *Forgery and Memory,* 15–6.

446 C. Cubitt, 'Memory and narrative in the cult of the early Anglo-Saxon saints', in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages,* ed. Y. Hen & M. Innes (Cambridge, 2000), 34.

ecclesiastical site),[447] the community attracted significant endowments during her time as abbess, not least from the personal holdings she possessed. Despite five hundred years elapsing between the approximate date of S1798's issue and its inclusion in the Life of St Mildburg, the text does not bear any obvious signs of corruption, lending credence to Goscelin's assertion that the original seventh-century diplomas were consulted. The Latin prose is functional, following a straightforward structure: verbal invocation (*In nomine domini mei Jhesu Christi)*, proem (naming Edelheg, abbot of Icheanog, as grantor, and Mildburg, *sanctimoniali uirgini,* 'consecrated virgin', as beneficiary), dispositive section (giving numeric assessments of the four estates thus conveyed, together with their location), a comparatively lengthy statement of powers (*in propriam perpetualiter perdono potestatem … ita tamen ut sub jurisdicionibus ecclesie uenerabilis Botulfi abbatis,* '[that it] always be in [Mildburg's] power of free disposal … however so that it remain under the jurisdiction of the church of the venerable Abbot Botulf'), and brief witness-list without verbs of attestation.

The lack of bounds or even cardinal points for the estates conveyed is entirely consistent with a seventh-century date, rather than an omission during transcription. Likewise, the vocabulary is uncomplicated, devoid of literary tendencies which, as shown elsewhere in the *tributarius* corpus, would be indicative of later (especially tenth-century) interpolation. Indeed, even the place-names are preserved in forms characteristic of an early date, with the *loco qui dicitur Wimnicas,* 'place which is called *Wimnicas*' coming to be known as 'Wenlock' in the tenth century.[448] Further support for the authenticity of S1798 is provided by the sixth surviving diploma from the Much Wenlock archive, S221, which remains extant in its original, authentic, single-sheet form: although not directly comparable to S1798, having been issued in AD 901 and consequently not relevant to the events of Mildburg's Life, its survival nevertheless confirms that at least a fragment of the Much Wenlock archive was available for consultation in Goscelin's time.

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[447] M. Gelling, 'The Early History of Western Mercia', in *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms,* ed. S. Bassett (Leicester, 1989), 192; and Pretty, 'Defining the Magonsæte', 178.

[448] Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands*, 210. Throughout Goscelin's prose composition in the surrounding *Life of St Mildburg,* place-names appear to have been 'modernised' from their original Welsh or hybrid forms to Old English or post-Conquest forms, reflecting the date of composition. Gelling, 'Western Mercia', 192.

The grant recorded in S1798 is itself notable, disposing of land totalling 144 *manentes* spread over four named estates, lying in the south-west Midlands between Much Wenlock and the Welsh border. Each estate is provided with an individual assessment, three of which are given in *manentes,* one in *tributarii:*

> *…terram nonaginta septem manencium in loco qui dicitur Wimnicas, et in alio loco juxta amnem Munube terram duodecim manentes habentem, at in alio loco qui nominatur Magana terram quinque tributariorum, et in regione que appellatur Lydas terram triginta manencium,*
> 'land of ninety-seven *manentes* in the place which is called *Wimnicas* [Wenlock], and in another place, by the River *Munube* [Monnow], land of twelve *manentes*, and in another place which is named *Magana,* land of five *tributarii,* and in the region which is called *Lydas* [?Lye], land of thirty *manentes*'.

The total figure in the prose summary attributed to Mildburg, however, is given in *manentes,* making this the only instance in the *tributarius* corpus where a cumulative assessment comprising a variety of units of measurement is not given in *tributarii.* Furthermore, it records that the grant is made by Abbot Æthelheah, at a time when charters were predominantly the preserve of kings and secular authorities (although the accuracy of this ratio is somewhat undermined by the proportion of fabricated or otherwise spurious diplomas purporting to date to this period). The location of Æthelheah's foundation at *Icheanog* is uncertain, but Iken, Sufflok, has been proposed on the grounds of its association with Abbot (Saint) Botulf. In 654, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that *Botulf ongon minster timbran æt Icanho,* 'Botulf began to build a monastery at *Icanho*';[449] from a visit recorded in the Life of Ceolfrith, Abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, Abbot Botulf's foundation can be placed in East Anglia.[450] It is therefore plausible that the monastery at Much Wenlock was established as a daughter house *sub jurisdicionibus ecclesie uenerabilis Botulfi abbatis,* 'under the jurisdiction of the church of the venerable Abbot Botulf', shortly thereafter and that this transaction was subsequently intended to furnish the fledgling community with land, as the 144 *manentes* are *eiusdem ecclesie pecunia emitur a rege qui cognominatur Merwaldus,* 'purchased with the money of that same church [*Icheanog*] from the king who was named Mercwald'.

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[449] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 173 (The Parker Chronicle), f. 7v; GL 52.

[450] As quoted by Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands*, 207.

This quotation introduces the final salient aspect relating to the context of this transaction: that the aforementioned Mercwald (or Merewalh) was not only King of the Magonsætan, in whose heartland Much Wenlock and the estates thus conveyed are located, and brother of King Wulfhere of Mercia, but also father of Mildburg.[451] In this way, S1798 demonstrates the existence of strong ties between religious houses at vast geographic remove, facilitating the exchange of land, personnel and therefore, theoretically, archival material, underpinning the present investigation into the distribution of *tributarius* diplomas. These ties were forged and maintained independent of secular authorities, but evidently with their support and patronage, despite this spanning the borders of various kingdoms which, especially at such an early date, were prone to fluctuation dependent on the reigns of individual rulers.

When S1798 is considered in chronological sequence with the other diplomas of Mildburg's *testamentum*, the decline of the independent kingdom of the Magonsætan, and the agency of their kings, becomes apparent. S1798 is witnessed by *Edelred rex … Scotinerchelim rex, et Milfrid frater eius,* namely, King Æthelred of Mercia, King Merchelm of the Magonsætan, and Mildfrith his brother. The order of these attestations implies that, even at this date, Mercia has assumed precedence over the Magonsætan, despite the estates in question being under the jurisdiction of King Merchelm. S1799, issued 674×704, is granted *Deo auctore ego Merchelin*[452] *et ego Milfrid … cum consensu ex[c]ellentissimi regis Edelredi*, 'By the authority of God I, Merchelm, and I, Mildfrith … with the consent of the most excellent King Æthelred'. As S1798 does not record a grant made by any of the attesting rulers, and its precise date in relation to S1799 is unknown, it is not possible to determine whether the political dominance of Mercia, explicitly shown in S1799, was also the cause of the attestation order in S1798. By the time of S1801 (704×709) and S1800 (709×716) however, the rulers of the Magonsætan have disappeared from the witness-lists entirely, with the estates in question being granted solely by King Ceolred of Mercia, despite being located in the same south-

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[451] *PASE:* 'Merewalh 2'.

[452] This spelling of Merchelm's name can be attributed to minim confusion, where the final 'm' has been mistaken for 'i + n' by the copyist.

westerly region of the Midlands as the previous charters, namely, core Magonsætan territory, showing the native royal line to have ceased as a political entity.

The next document chronologically in this sub-group of *tributarius* diplomas is S53, which, despite surviving only as a seventeenth-century transcription from the Worcester archive, is overwhelmingly deemed to be authentic.[453] The text is 'notably brief',[454] with a simple, almost perfunctory structure, the only surprising feature being the position of the anathema *Si quis hanc donationem minuetur… cruciciatus sine fine in inferno cum diabulo,* 'If anyone seeks to diminish this donation … let them be tormented without end in hell with the Devil', not at the conclusion of the Latin prose in the main body of the text, but at the foot of the witness-list. This arrangement is unusual, but not unprecedented, as Hooke draws parallels between both the location and vocabulary of the anathema of S53 with that of S1184, a non-*tributarius* charter of Selsey.[455] The brevity of S53's text, together with the mode of land identification (named estates with no bounds or cardinal points) and assessment in *tributarii,* accord with a seventh-century date of production.

As such, this charter is readily comparable to S1798 above, being produced at a similar date, and for a similar purpose. Issued in AD 693×699,[456] S53 records a grant of land made by Oshere, king of the Hwicce (r. 680–693),[457] together with his son Æthelheard, to his *comite* ('*þegn*' or '*ealdorman*') Cuthberht, *ad construendum monasterium Cutsuidæ abba(tiss)æ,* 'for the construction of the monastery of Abbess Cuthswith'. As in S1798, the ruler of a small Midland kingdom assumes the role of patron, facilitating the foundation of a local ecclesiastical house. This similarity extends

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[453] London, British Library, Harley 4660, f. 3v. P. Wormald cautiously describes S53 as 'broadly trustworthy' (*Bede and the Conversion of England: the Charter Evidence*, Jarrow Lecture 1984 (1985), 25); similarly C. H. Turner, 'There is some definite reason for believing the document to be genuine' ('Some Old English Passages relating to the Episcopal Manor at Taunton', *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society* 98 (1953), xxxii). Less reservation is shown by Finberg, who states that its authenticity is 'not in doubt' (*Early Charters of the West Midlands*, 135); likewise Hooke, who simply regards the charter as authentic (*Worcestershire Anglo-Saxon Charter-Bounds*, 21).

[454] Kelly, *Selsey*, xlix.

[455] Kelly, *Selsey*, xlix.

[456] Although the date of issue is conventionally given as AD 693, Sims-Williams proposes the above range on the basis of known individuals present in the witness-list. 'Cuthswith, seventh-century abbess of Inkberrow, near Worcester, and the Würzburg manuscript of Jerome on Ecclesiastes', *Anglo Saxon England* 5 (1976), 9 n. 1.

[457] *PASE:* 'Oshere 1'.

further, as the contemporary Mercian ruler, here King Æthelred, witnesses the transaction, suggesting some degree of political oversight, although this is less overt than denoted by a phrase such as *cum consensu et licentia Offani regis Merciorum,* 'with the consent and permission of Offa, king of the Mercians', as employed in the 'Aston Group' diplomas. Although Æthelred's attestation does not include a royal style, reading simply *Ego Edilredus consentiens* (with the present participle translating literally as 'I, Æthelred, consenting'; it appears that the main verb, such as *subscripsi,* 'I have subscribed', has been omitted), and is placed eighth in the witness-list, neither factor of which imparts the respect and seniority one would expect for a king's attestation, this could quite plausibly be a consequence of the text's transmission history, with an incomplete transcription having occurred at some point prior to its inclusion in London, British Library, Harley 4660.

The land thus disposed of is comprised of two estates: *terram quæ dicitur Penitanham quindecim tributariorum cum dylla uuidu cassatas,* 'fifteen *tributarii* of the land which is called *Penitanham* together with *dylla uuidu cassatae',* the names of which are both the subject of debate. The second of these is likely the result of scribal error, and thus is now impossible to resolve: it has been suggested that the *-uuidu* element refers to a wooded area, analogous with the *syluisque,* 'woodland' mentioned later in S53,[458] although the formulaic nature of the list of appurtenances offers little solid support for this. Within the dispositive section of the diploma, in addition to the identification of the estate in question and note of its operative details, stock phrases listing the appurtenances of said estate were often included. These tend to follow the same formula, with very little variation in content: the phrase present in S53, *cum campis syluisque cum piscariis pratisque et cum omnibus […]aris quæ ad eam sunt pertinentia,* 'with fields and woods, with fisheries and meadows and with all […] appurtenances which belong to it', would appear to be no exception. Stock phrases such as this occur frequently throughout the diplomatic corpus, when no area of woodland or pasture has otherwise been specified (for a full discussion of the seemingly formulaic or stock appurtenance list and its connection to the assessment of arable versus pasture land, see 'Anglo-Saxon Land Assessment',

[458] Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands*, 239.

Part One). Instead, it is possible that the final characters in the word were actually the numerals forming the assessment of the estate, but have become appended to the estate's name at some point during the transmission history. For example, the final 'u' of *dylla uuidu* could easily have been the Roman numerals 'v' or 'ii', intended to be paired with the adjacent *cassatae,* thereby going some way towards explaining the unusual word form.

The other named estate is, however, of greater import. Finberg observes that, in the manuscript copy, *Penitanham* is written with an abbreviation mark over the medial 't' suggesting the omission of an 'n', so that the name should rightfully be expanded to *Pen-i[n]tan-ham.*[459] The first component, *pen,* is the Welsh for 'hill' (literally, 'head'), whilst the second and third are Old English: the personal name Inta, and *ham* ('home' or 'dwelling'), making the estate's composite name 'the dwelling of Inta by the hill', or 'the dwelling by Inta's hill'. This, in conjunction with the land being used 'for the construction of the monastery of Abbess Cuthswith', has led to the equation of this estate with Inkberrow, the name of which could be derived from 'Inta's hill' (with the second element coming from the Old English *beorg*, 'hill, barrow'.[460] Inkberrow is located approximately 50 miles east of the Welsh border and 12 miles east of Worcester, placing it at the northern limits of the Hwiccian kingdom, and therefore within the jurisdiction of King Oshere and the diocese of Worcester.

Regarding the identity of Cuthswith, the name occurs in the archival record on three occasions: here in S53; in an ownership inscription entered onto the flyleaf of codex; and as the beneficiary of the non-*tributarius* charter S1177.[461] Although it is impossible to prove that any of these records refer to the same individual, it is nevertheless remarkable that 'the Cuthswith of the charters is not only the only abbess of this name known to history … but is also the only woman of any station so named in the considerable corpus of pre-Conquest female names',[462] as the name

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[459] Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands*, 239.

[460] Hooke, *Worcestershire Anglo-Saxon Charter-Bounds,* 21, and Sims-Williams, 'Cuthswith', 11.

[461] These are listed respectively as 'Cuthswith 1', 'Cuthswith 2', and 'Cuthswith 3', *PASE.*

[462] Sims-Williams, 'Cuthswith', 5.

occurs neither in Domesday Book nor on the Continent. The codex, a fifth-century Italian uncial copy of Jerome's *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*,[463] bears an ownership inscription entered onto f.1r, which reads *Cuthsuuithæ · bæc · thæræ abbatissan*, 'a book of Cuthswith the abbess', which is written in a 'very early' Insular majuscule script, dated to c. 700 AD by Lowe and Bischoff,[464] a date which aligns with the issuing of S53, thereby lending credence to the identification of the 'Abbess Cuthswith' of both documents as the same individual.

The third instance of this name, S1177, records a transaction in which 'Cuthswith' purchases five *manentes* of land from Æthelheard and Æthelweard. No titles are accorded to any of these individuals, either in the main body of the text or, more crucially, in the witness-list. Here, the first attestation is *Signum manus Coenredi*, 'Signed by the hand of Coenred', comparable to the attestations of S53 above. This individual, it can fairly be assumed, is Coenred / Cenred, King of Merica, who ruled 704–9, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. It therefore follows that the grantors could be identified as joint kings of the Hwicce, with Æthelheard being the son of Oshere mentioned in S53, and Æthelweard an otherwise unrecorded brother, as suggested by the alliteration of their personal names. Furthermore, the sole extant text of S1177 is copied directly below that of S53 in London, British Library, Harley 4660, and likewise deemed authentic on the grounds of structure and vocabulary, showing that by the seventeenth century, if not earlier, these two diplomas were considered to be related, with S1177 possibly having existed as a note appended to the foot of the original single-sheet manuscript of S53.[465] If we accept that the Cuthswith named as beneficiary in both S53 and S1177 are one and the same,[466] these diplomas demonstrate continued patronage of Cuthswith's monastery (?Inkberrow) by local kings, regardless of succession politics or the shifting balance of power between the Hwicce and Mercia.

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[463] Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. p. th. q. 2; s. v. Italy, prov. England s. vii, Worcester diocese c. 700, prov. Würzburg s. viii. *GL*, 944.

[464] Sims-Williams, 'Cuthswith', 1.

[465] Sims-Williams, 'Cuthswith', 9–10.

[466] This view is not taken by the editors of the PASE database, which records all three 'Cuthswith' documents as referring to different individuals.

By the time of S116, issued in AD 780, it is apparent that the rulers of the Hwicce have been entirely eclipsed, with Offa of Mercia directly granting a number of estates *ad monasterium quod nominatur Breodun in prouincia Huuicciorum, et ad æcclesiam beati Petri principis apostolorum quæ ibidem in loco sita est,* 'to the monastery which is named Bredon, in the territory of the Hwicce, and to the church of the blessed Peter chief of the apostles which is located in that same place'. No ruler of the Hwicce, in any capacity, is named as a witness, despite this transaction concerning their *provincia,* whilst the beneficiary is St. Peter's Minster, Bredon, a comparatively small, regional house located in the Severn Valley, an area hitherto comprising the core of the Hwiccian kingdom. This diploma thereby silently confirmins that 'by the middle of [Offa's] reign, the distinctive position of the rulers of the Hwicce has quite disappeared';[467] henceforward, the area would be governed as a Mercian province by *þegns* or *ealdormen.*[468] In less than a century (between the issue of S53 and S116), the political agency of the Hwiccian kings has diminished from the power to dispose of land within their own kingdom, with some suggestion of Mercian oversight, to complete forfeiture of this power. This decline was also exhibited by the Magonsætan, an adjacent Midland kingdom to the Hwicce (being located on the western side of the Severn Valley), whose political domination by Mercia is illustrated in a similar sequence by *tributarius* diploma S1798 and the other documents preserved in Mildburg's *testamentum.*

It is expedient at this juncture to return to the 'Aston Group', which represent a chronological midpoint in this progression. As discussed above, the authentic diplomas S58 and S59, issued in AD 767 and 770 respectively, both record grants made by Uhtred, *regulus Huicciorum,* 'sub-king of the Hwicce'. The term *regulus* clearly carries some nuance, as the diminutive of *rex* can be used in the context of local ruler, king of a small territory, or, indeed, sub-king.[469] Within the 'Aston Group' alone, the title is distinct from that of Æthelbald and Offa, both *rex* ('king' [of the Mercians]); and Aldred, brother of Uhtred and *subregulus Huicciorum* ('sub-king of the Hwicce'), a categorically

[467] John, *Orbis Britanniae*, 24.

[468] D. Hooke, *The Anglo-Saxon Landscape: the Kingdom of the Hwicce* (Manchester, 1985), 20.

[469] *DMLBS: s.v. regulus.*

inferior status demonstrated in both title and witness-list position. Furthermore, it is only Uhtred who disposes of land in these diplomas, rather than in conjunction with his co-ruler Aldred, implying that their statuses differed sufficiently for the former to act independently, namely, without the explicit approval of Aldred, beyond that of charter witness. This can be compared to the role of Offa who, as *rex,* must give his *consensu et licentia,* 'consent and permission' for the transaction to take place. This development of the relationship between the rulers of the Hwicce and Mercia, and thus authority over land in the kingdom of the Hwicce, can thus be summarised as in Figure 15 below.

Fig. 15: Relative status of Hwiccian and Mercian rulers within the *tributarius* corpus.

Sawyer No.	Date	Hwiccian Ruler: Title	Role	Mercian Ruler: Title	Role
53	693	Oshere, *rex Huicciorum*	Grantor	Æthelred	Witness
58	767	Uhtred, *regulus Huicciorum* Aldred, *subregulus Huicciorum*	Grantor Witness	Offa, *rex Merciorum*	Patron
59	770	Uhtred, *regulus Huicciorum* [Aldred, *subregulus Huicciorum]*	Grantor Witness	Offa, *rex Merciorum*	Patron
116	780	-	-	Offa, *rex Merciorum*	Grantor

Although these *tributarius* diplomas constitute only a fraction of the archival material from the Midlands during this period, the fact that they concern land in the same region, and are all considered authentic, make them comparable, reliable witnesses to the dynamic political situation of Mercia in the long eighth century.

The preservation context of S116 does not greatly affect this charter's contribution to the political situation discussed above, but does warrant discussion in regards to transmission history and the subsequent use (or re-use) of archival material. S116 survives in four manuscript copies, two of which seem to have been produced within a short space of time: that entered onto ff.11r–12r of the *Liber Wigorniensis,* and also on the verso of the detached leaf once comprising part of the Nero–Middleton Cartulary.[470] Scholarly discussion of S116 has predominantly hinged on the evidence it provides for the relationship between these two Worcester cartularies, as the two copies are so

[470] These manuscripts are London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. XIII ff.1–118, and London, British Library, Add. 46204 respectively.

evidently comparable. The text of S116 is broadly the same in both copies: crucially, they share the same operative details of number and size of estates (except for omission of the numeral in the phrase *æt Codesuuellan æque · X · mansionum*, likely a scribal error on the part of the Nero–Middleton copyist). Bredon was originally an independent minster dedicated to St Peter, founded by Offa's grandfather Eanwulf (as noted in the superscription to S116, *quam Eanuulfus auus meus erexit*, 'which Eanwulf my grandfather erected'), before falling under the control of Worcester. The size and location of the estates granted in S116, however, seem to notably correspond with the estates recorded in Domesday Book as being held by Worcester at Bredon in the eleventh century, suggesting that the original figures of the grant by Offa were 'updated' at the time of their copying into the cartularies, thereby providing Worcester with greater security in their holdings.[471]

However, the *Liber Wigorniensis* text is slightly longer, including a number of short phrases which have either been abbreviated or omitted from the Nero–Middleton text. For example, in the proem *Ego Offa Dei gratia concedente rex Mercensium,* 'I Offa, granted by the grace of god, King of the Mercians', the phrase *Dei gratia concedente* is absent from the Nero–Middleton text, as is the more florid exposition passage immediately following it (*sciens certe quod cuncta quæ humanis conspiciuntur oculis transitoria esse · et quæ conspici non possunt æterna fieri · et quod cum his transitoriis æterna mercari posse,* 'knowing certainly that everything perceived by the human eyes is transitory, and and what they cannot see turns out to be eternal**,** and because of this it is possible to purchase the eternal with these transitory things'); similarly, the verb *consensi,* 'I have consented', is omitted from the attestations of the four bishops.[472] These variations demonstrate that the enterprise of copying these diplomas was not simply duplication, but involved a conscious effort to streamline the text before the copyist, likewise introducing the opportunity for revision and improvement of the diplomas' terms concurrently, as appears to have been the case in the 'Aston Group' above.

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[471] Tinti, *Sustaining Belief,* 100 & 176.

[472] The full range of textual variations are indicated in the transcription of S116 included below. The preservation context of S185 (discussed in the 'Running Commentary' Group above) is similar, in that the text exists, with minor variations, in both the *Liber Wigorniensis* and Nero–Middleton cartularies, although the differences between the two editions are both less numerous and less significant than in the case of S116: these are likewise indicated in the appended transcription.

The textual variation which directly impinges on the current investigation however is the unit of land assessment. Each of the four estates disposed of within the charter are provided with individual assessments, these being provided in either *manentes, cassatae* or *mansiones,* a combination which suggests that the scribe considered these units to be analogous and thus interchangeable, rather than representing any tangible difference in assessment method. This equivalence is compounded by the provision of a cumulative total, *terram septies quinos tributariorum iugera,* 'land of seven times five *tributarii iugera*'. The phrase seems to employ a mixture of cases (*terram* and *quinos* being accusative singular and plural respectively, *tributariorum* being genitive plural) which are not in agreement: it is possible one or more may be a transcription error during the text's transmission history, although it is interesting to note that the phrase is identical in both manuscript copies.

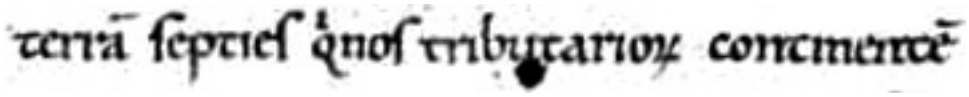

Fig. 16: Extract from the dispositive clause of the Nero-Middleton copy of S116, where the land is assessed as *terram septies quinos tributariorum continentem,* omitting the term *iugera* which is found directly after *tributariorum* in the Liber Wigorniensis copy.
[Image from microfilm of London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. XIII, f. 11r.]

Of the eight diplomas in the *tributarius* corpus which include other Latin units of land in addition to *tributarius,* five of these (S116, S232, S526, S892 and S1291) provide a total estimate given in *tributarii*, regardless of the size of grant or the combination of other terms used. Only S116 and S526, however, use *tributarius* with another unit as modifier: in the latter, this appears to be a stylistic choice on the part of the scribe, where *v · tributarias mansas* seems intended as a verbal parallel to the phrase *x · mansas tribuo* (I grant ten *mansae*), which is not the case in S116. Here, textual variation between the two copies becomes crucial, as only the *Liber Wigorniensis* includes the term *iugera:* the Nero–Middleton copy again takes a more perfunctory approach and provides the total assessment in *tributarii* alone (see Figure 16 above). There is no obvious explanation for the modified unit given in the *Liber Wigorniensis* and, as shown by the other *tributarius* diplomas (and, by extension, the diplomatic corpus as a whole), this usage is unprecedented.

Following his discovery in 1911 of the detached Nero–Middleton leaf, W. H. Stevenson sought to date and localise the manuscript fragments. He believed these to be 'written in a bold Worcester hand of the latter part of the tenth or early part of the eleventh century', elsewhere describing them as 'bearing Anglo-Saxon writing of about the year 1000'.[473] On this basis, he proposed that the fragments belonged to a cartulary compiled at the behest of Bishop Oswald of Worcester (d.992), with the caveat that 'this Worcester chartulary [*sic*], whether due to Oswald or not, is by far the earliest English chartulary of which we have any trace'.[474] In his view, the *Liber Wigorniensis* therefore represents a later compilation ordered by Bishop Wulfstan, based upon the same scheme (37 of the 40 individual diplomas common to both cartularies are entered in the same order, which relates to territorial location rather than chronology),[475] but occasioned by the omission of phrases by the Nero–Middleton scribe. This interpretation however relies upon the assumption that the original, single-sheet diplomas were preserved at Worcester, in the same condition, for approximately a century between the times of Bishop Oswald and that of Wulfstan: otherwise, the expanded text of the *Liber Wigorniensis* would constitute retrospective scribal interference.

A more plausible interpretation grounded in palaeographical analysis is offered by Ker, who proposes that 'the date can hardly be earlier than the middle of the eleventh century and is probably somewhat later: at any rate it falls within the period of St Wulfstan's rule as prior and bishop of Worcester (c.1055–95)', making the Nero–Middleton cartulary 'at least thirty to forty years later in date than [the *Liber Wigorniensis*]'.[476] In his evaluation of its production context, Ker also takes into account the format of the detached folio containing S116: the parchment is exceptionally large, with the text being arranged in two columns. Although highly unusual for a cartulary, this accords strikingly with the dozen remaining folios and fragments of an eighth-century bible found in the

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[473] W. H. Stevenson, *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton, Historical Manuscripts Commission* (London, 1911), 197.

[474] Stevenson, *Manuscripts of Lord Middleton,* 198.

[475] Herold, *Memoranda and Memoria,* 104.

[476] N. R. Ker, 'The Offa Bible and the Nero-Middleton Cartulary', in *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Wigorniensis,* ed. I. Atkins & N. R. Ker (Cambridge, 1944), 78.

same private collection, thought to be the *bibliothecam optimam* recorded in the non-*tributarius* charter S118 as being gifted by King Offa of Mercia to the Bishopric of Worcester, along with numerous estates, in AD 780: *dedi ad prædictam æcclesiam bibliothecam optimam · cum duabus armillis ex auro purissimo fabricatis,* 'I gave to the aforementioned church my best bible, with two clasps wrought from pure gold'. Although S118 is widely considered to be an eleventh-century forgery, it is reasonable to interpret this phrase as, at the very least, an attempt to provide an 'origin story' for a notable codex still in the possession of the Worcester community at the time of composition.[477]

This bible bears a strong resemblance to the *Codex Amiatinus* pandect, leading to the conclusion that these fragments represent one of its sister manuscripts intended for Wearmouth or Jarrow.[478] This view is likewise taken by Sir Ivor Atkins, who draws attention to the preface written by Hemming, the scribe to whom the *Liber Wigorniensis* was historically (and erroneously) attributed, which records Bishop Wulfstan ordering the Worcester diplomas *cuncta eodem ordine in bibliotheca sancte ecclesie scribi,* 'all be transcribed in the same order in the bible of the holy church':

> I venture to think, then, that we may accept a date about the middle of the eleventh century as the time when the cartulary leaves were written, and to suggest that the latter were originally inserted in the Bible of which Lord Middleton's fragments formed part. I am inclined to identify the cartulary when complete with that alluded to by Hemming in his *Enucleatio libelli*.[479]

Considering the codicological evidence in favour of the Nero–Middleton folios being associated with the 'Offa's Bible' pandect, together with the diplomas' text being abbreviated in comparison to the *Liber Wigorniensis,* it is tempting to interpret Hemming's statement as a reference to the Nero–Middleton Cartulary's compilation. In this way, the arrangement of the cartulary texts into two columns would therefore seem to be an attempt at visual harmonisation with the pandect, whilst

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[477] The findings of Ker and Atkins, summarised here, are discussed in greater depth by Tinti, 'Si litterali' 478–81.

[478] For a full discussion of the 'Offa Bible' and its relationship to the Nero–Middleton Cartulary, see *The Wollaton Medieval Manuscripts: Texts, Owners and Readers,* ed. by R. Hanna & T. Turville-Petre, Manuscript Culture in the British Isles, 3 (Woodbridge, 2010), 123; Herold, *Memoranda and Memoria,* 110; Stevenson, *Manuscripts of Lord Middleton,* 196; Tinti, 'Si litterali', 480; and Ker, 'The Offa Bible', 77.

[479] I. Atkins, 'The Church of Worcester from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century, Part II', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 20(2), (1940), 221–2.

abbreviation of the Nero–Middleton texts could be an understandable consequence of a scribe maximising the volume of material fitted into the limited space available.[480] The Nero–Middleton Cartulary therefore 'appears to have had mainly a memorial function, significantly heightened by its being copied into what was most likely an ancient Bible of the church of Worcester', where the abbreviated texts duplicating those previously copied into the *Liber Wigorniensis* 'would seem to reinforce the impression that Nero–Middleton was not produced to fulfil an administrative or judicial function'.[481] Instead, J. R. Herold proposes that it was designed as a 'travel copy' of Worcester's archives for use by the bishop who, in the case of both Oswald and Wulfstan, held the Sees of Worcester and York in plurality, and thus may have required access to administrative documents pertaining to Worcester's estates whilst absent from the area.[482] Appealing as this theory is, the sheer size of the surviving folios does not indicate an easily portable manuscript.

As the detached Nero–Middleton leaf was discovered relatively recently, scholarship has traditionally given precedence to the *Liber Wigorniensis* version, printed in the seminal volumes of Anglo-Saxon diplomatic compiled most notably by Birch and Kemble in the nineteenth century. Debate of the text's authenticity, therefore, predominantly refers to the latter copy although, as discussed above, the close concordance of the two versions allows judgement of one to be applied to the other. Scholars have not reached a consensus regarding the authenticity of S116, with the reference to Worcester (*æcclesiam beati Petri principis apostolorum*, 'the church of the blessed Peter foremost of the apostles') being highlighted as a possible interpolation.[483] Similarly, the assertion that the terms of the immunity clause will stand *[tamdiu] fides Christiana in Brittannia perdurat*, '[for as long as] the Christian faith endures in Britain', 'belongs to a type of formula in common use in the ninth century, of which there is no example so early as 780'.[484] By contrast, localisation of the estates by

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[480] Tinti, 'Si litterali', 479 & 484.

[481] Tinti & Woodman, 'Framing the Past', 5.

[482] 'Preserving Records and Writing History in Worcester's Conquest-Era Archives', in *Constructing History Across the Norman Conquest: Worcester, c. 1050–c. 1150*, ed. F. Tinti & D. A. Woodman (York, 2022), 72.

[483] Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 153, n. 56.

[484] Stenton, 'Supremacy', 445 n. 57.

their neighbouring settlement, river, or other geological feature, given at cardinal points (for example, *huuic adiacet uiculus qui nominatur æt Uuassanburnan qui habet ab oriente uadum qui dicitur [æt] Geolwaford · et ab occidente fontanum quod nominatur Gytingbroc · X · cassatorum,* 'ten *cassatae* in the adjacent village which is named *Uuassanburnan* which has to the East a ford which is called *Geoluuaford,* and to the West a spring which is named *Gytingbroc*'), is characteristic of early diplomas, prior to the development of prose vernacular boundary clauses. Even if the seemingly anachronistic phrases quoted here do constitute retrospective additions made by a Worcester scribe to justify his community's control of the estate by the time of the charter's entry into the cartularies, this does not affect the operative details or vast majority of the prose, and should not cast aspersions on the text as a whole, which can be assessed, therefore, as fundamentally genuine.[485]

The final charter in this group, S1183, records a transaction which occurred near-contemporaneously with S116 above (having an approximate date range of AD (771×780)×786), but depicts a political situation more akin to that of the Hwiccian demise of the previous decade. Here, the grantor Ealdwulf, *dux* of the South Saxons (c.765–791),[486] is recorded as giving *trium tributariorum,* 'three *tributarii*', to the church of St Peter's at Selsey, which is located on the coastline, at the southern extent of the South Saxon kingdom. Ealdwulf, however, is acting *cum consensi et licentia domini mei Offæ regis Merciorum,*[487] 'with the consent and permission of my lord, Offa, king of the Mercians'. In AD 765, an individual styled as 'Alduulf *Rex*', 'King Ealdwulf', is seen granting land within Sussex. The record of this transaction, the non-*tributarius* charter S50 (mentioned previously in the 'Selsey–Canterbury Group' above), is from the Christ Church, Canterbury archive, but thought to have also originated from Selsey. If the Ealdwulf named in both charters is identical, it would appear that he was stripped of his royal status at some point in the intervening period, due to

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485 Scholarly assessments of this ilk include those by E. John and K. Harrison, who deem S116 'probably genuine' (*Orbis Britanniae,* 52; and 'The Beginning of the Year in England c. 500–900', *Anglo-Saxon England* 2 (Cambridge, 1973), 62, respectively). Still more favourable is that of Finberg, who states that its 'authenticity [is] not in doubt' (*Early Charters of the West Midlands*, 40).

486 *PASE:* 'Ealdwulf 8'.

487 Kemble amends the Latin to *consensu.*

the annexation of Sussex by Mercia.[488] Ealdwulf appears in two further Selsey charters: as a witness to S49 (AD 770) and as grantor of S1178 (AD 711 ?for 791), both of which style him as *dux*. This small corpus of charters relating to Ealdwulf therefore clearly document the decline of the native South Saxon ruler in the wake of Mercian expansion.

The apparent demotion of Ealdwulf is echoed by the titles accorded to Osmund of the South Saxons, who is styled *rex* ('king') in AD 765, as grantor of land in S48 (discussed in the 'Selsey–Canterbury' Group above), and when retrospectively confirming the grant made in S44 (discussed in the 'Running Commentary' Group above), but has been demoted to *dux* by the close of his reign, as recorded in his witness attestation of S108, which likewise records a grant made by Offa of various estates in Sussex to Oswald,[489] bishop of Selsey, on August 15th 772.[490] Although not a *tributarius* charter, it is relevant to note that S108 has similarly been preserved at Christ Church, Canterbury, but likely originated from the archive of Selsey, and is considered to be spurious (namely the reversion clause and vernacular bounds) but with an authentic basis, much like the members of the 'Selsey–Canterbury' Group. The transaction recorded in S108 was witnessed not only by Ecgbert, king of Kent (ruled West Kent from c. 765, together with East Kent 776–779×784); Cynewulf, king of Wessex (r. 757–786); and Jænberht, archbishop of Canterbury (in office 765–792);[491] but also four individuals styled *dux Suðsaxonum,* including the aforementioned Osmund. Considering these transactions in conjunction therefore illustrates that the demotion of native rulers under the domination of Mercia occurred throughout the sphere of Mercia's influence, being attested in both the Hwicce and the South Saxons within the *tributarius* corpus alone. Furthermore, S44 and S48 demonstrate the usage of *tributarius* in the kingdom of Sussex prior to the direct oversight of Mercia, which could otherwise have informed their scribal practices. In this way,

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[488] F. M. & D. M. Stenton, ed., *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England, being the Collected Papers of Frank Merry Stenton* (Oxford, 1970), 130; and Kelly, *Selsey*, 54. On the probable identity of Ealdwulf, see *PASE*: 'Ealdwulf 8'.

[489] *PASE:* 'Osmund 2', fl. 765–772.

[490] The only extant manuscript copy of this diploma, London, Lambeth Palace Library, 1212, 387–388 (s. xiii), is deemed untrustworthy in its received form, as the text has been extensively rewritten or interpolated, but retains some trustworthy elements.

[491] *PASE:* 'Ecgberht 9', 'Cynewulf 4', and 'Jænberht 1'.

the archival record suggests that the imposition of Mercian overlordship had predominantly political repercussions, as the cultural (ecclesiastical) disparity between Mercia and the South Saxons was sufficiently negligible as to exhibit little discernible development as a consequence of the change in rule.

A further demonstration of Offa's political dominance can be seen in the witness-list of S1183. The first attestations are unremarkable, following convention by listing the individuals in order of rank: *ealdorman* Ealdwulf, Bishop Gislhere, followed by a group of names without titles (Gidheard, Hunreed, Burchard, Beornulf, Osa), all with variation on the basic phrase of attestation *Ego* [name, title], *consensi et subscripsi,* 'I, [individual], have consented and subscribed'. This pattern is disrupted by the attestation of Offa, incongruously placed fourth in the witness-list, and featuring a short prose summary of the transaction recorded in the body of the charter above: *Ego Offa rex Merciorum hanc terram siluaticam trium tributariorum · secundum petitionem Wehtuni episcopi · signo sanctæ crucis confirmo et subscribo + ad æcclesiam sancti Petri Apostoli · sicut prænominatum est,* 'I, Offa, king of the Mercians, confirm and sign with the sign of the holy cross, this forest land of three *tributarii,* following the petition of bishop Wihthun,[492] to the church of Saint Peter the apostle, as is previously explained'. The fact that the transaction has essentially been restated, coupled with the unexpected position of the royal patron's attestation, strongly suggest that this passage has been added to the charter retrospectively, with the aim of bringing Offa to the foreground of the proceedings, and simultaneously asserting his dominance by literally having the final word in the transaction.

As S1183 survives only in a fourteenth-century copy,[493] it is impossible to confirm this as a later interpolation on palaeographical grounds. However, a number of other Selsey diplomas also include attestations by Offa which do not fit with the surrounding text. Of particular note is the non-*tributarius* S1184, where the attestation is similarly phrased to that of S1183 (excerpts given second in brackets), for including phrases restating the land disposed of (*hanc supradictam terram / hanc*

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[492] Bishop of Selsey AD (787×9)–(805×11). *PASE:* 'Wihthun 2'.

[493] Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Episc. VI/1/2, f. 17r.

terram), referencing the petition of a named bishop (*iuxta petitionem Uuehthuni episcopi / secundum petitionem Wehtuni episcopi*), and confirming with the sign of the cross (*conroborans subscribo ac dominicæ crucis inpræssione confirmabo / signo sanctæ crucis confirmo et subscribo*). Also of note is the *tributarius* charter S1172 (discussed above in both the 'Selsey–Canterbury' and 'Running Commentary' Groups), which professes to have been witnessed not only by Offa, but also by Ceolwulf *rex Merciorum,* whose attestation is indubitably a later interpolation, due to his brief reign occurring in AD 821–3, a significant period of time after the recorded transaction took place. If this precedent of retrospective attestation as a display of power had been set by Offa, it therefore follows that Ceolwulf may choose to do likewise in order to maintain archival 'proof' of a continued Mercian hegemony. Similarly, both S1183 and S1184 are also witnessed by *Ealdfrid rex / Egcfrið rex,* identified as son and co-ruler of Offa (r. 787–96), reinforcing this assertion of Mercian power after the fact.[494]

Retrospective imposition of authority via the subsequent attestation, interpolation and redrafting of a previous ruler's diplomas was therefore clearly an accepted practice during the Mercian Supremacy. This therefore introduces the question of what constitutes a spurious diploma: the attestation of Offa inserted into S1172 makes no secret of its being a retrospective addition, reading *Ego Offa rex Merciorum illam donationem quæ in alia parte huius paginulæ plenissima scripta tenetur cum meis fidelissimis testibus firmiter firmo,* 'I Offa, king of the Mercians, emphatically confirm this grant, which is very fully set out elsewhere on this page, with my most faithful witnesses'. This phrase not only acknowledges that the original transaction existed as a discrete text prior to Mercian involvement, but implies that Offa's confirmation was appended, likely at the foot of the witness list or as an endorsement, thus 'elsewhere on this page' to the charter proper, although this layout has been lost in the course of subsequent transcriptions.[495] As this interpolation does not actually effect the original text through alteration of its operative details (for example, by inserting Offa as the grantor), it does not cast aspersions on the diploma's authenticity. In the case of S1183, the later

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[494] *PASE:* 'Ecgfrith 7'.

[495] S1172 exists only in the fourteenth-century manuscript Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Episc. VI/1/2, f. 16v.

additions need not affect the authenticity of the charter's main text which, despite exhibiting 'certain deficiencies' of syntax, is thought to be the product of a scribe inexpertly combining material from multiple exemplars, rather than a consequence of later interference:[496] the stylistic and textual parallels it is possible to draw with S1184, which survives as both an original single sheet and in the same fourteenth-century compilation as S1183,[497] suggest that this *tributarius* charter is likewise trustworthy.[498]

The expansion of Mercia during the long eighth century not only had geopolitical repercussions, but would also influence the Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical hierarchy. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Manuscript E (the 'Laud Chronicle') records that in AD 787 'there was a contentious synod at Chelsea and archbishop Jænberht gave up a part of his jurisdiction as a metropolitan, and Hygeberht was appointed [archbishop of Lichfield] by king Offa'.[499] In typically perfunctory form, this entry refers to Offa's establishment of an archdiocese centred at Lichfield, redressing the balance of power in his favour, to the detriment of the archbishop of Canterbury, in 'an attempt … to reconstruct the English Church to suit [Mercia's] own political interests'.[500] The Sees which came under the aegis of Lichfield comprised Worcester, Leicester, Lindsey and Hereford within Mercia, and 'Domnoc' and Elmham in East Anglia, whilst Canterbury retained the southern Sees of Rochester, London, Winchester, Sherborne and Selsey.[501] Whilst Offa is presented as the victor in this arrangement (or rather, Jænberht as the victim), the formal cession of the Sees controlled by Lichfield from those retained by Canterbury could instead be construed as a pragmatic withdrawal

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496 Kelly, *Selsey*, 54–5.

497 The manuscript copies of S1184 are Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Cap. 1/17/2, and Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Episc. VI/1/2, f. 18r respectively.

498 The relationship between S1183, S1184, S108, and other diplomas pertaining to Offa's 'advance into Sussex' is discussed by Scharer, *Die angelsächsiche Königsurkunde,* 260–1.

499 G. N. Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London, 1962), 53–5.

500 Brooks, *Early History of Canterbury*, 127.

501 A. Williams, *Kingship and Government in Pre-Conquest England c. 500–1066* (London, 1999), 26.

by Offa from the 'unrealistic ambitions' of imposing sole rule over the collected Southumbrian kingdoms.[502]

This division, ecclesiastical in nature but politically motivated, appears to be reflected in the diplomatic corpus, with no genuine *tributarius* diplomas dated to the century after the ecclesiastical division took place being preserved at archives outside of Mercia (except for the spurious S132 which purports to record a grant made in AD 790 (for ?795) by Offa, *rex Anglorum*, 'king of the English', to Æthelheard, archbishop of Canterbury). Although the absence of such diplomas is not in itself incontrovertible proof (as it is entirely possible that examples have been lost from the archival record as it exists to us today), this gap in the *tributarius* corpus lends credence to the concept that diplomatic links forged in the seventh and eighth centuries between Midland and Southern scriptoria were sufficiently disrupted by the division of the archdiocese that these devolved into two subtly distinct scribal traditions: where the Mercian houses continued to employ the term *tributarius*, whilst Selsey, despite its earlier connection to Worcester, was brought more in line with the practices of Canterbury.

By spanning what is essentially the first century of Anglo-Saxon diplomatic culture, the four charters of this group are testament to the process of early Church endowment via both secular and ecclesiastical patronage, as seen in S1183 and S1798 respectively, sustaining cross-kingdom relationships which facilitated the exchange of ideology, land, and the archival material pertinent to both. Furthermore, the diocesan capital of Worcester amalgamated the archives of hitherto independent houses such as Inkberrow (S53) and St Peter's, Bredon (S116) into those of the Cathedral in a symbolic yet tangible assertion of primacy, in a process spanning the long eighth century.[503] This relationship is summarised by J. Blair, who states:

> [The] territorial power [of the bishopric], like that of secular lords, was exerted through scattered estates; the main difference was that these estates contained sophisticated and

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[502] Brooks, *Early History of Canterbury*, 119.

[503] Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, 151.

> literate institutions, with networks of dependencies bound to them by devotional and cultural ties.[504]

A counterpart to this is the secular process of territorial expansion and subjugation, with the eighth-century dominance of Mercia, both politically and geographically, increasing demonstrably over the course of these charters, through the absorption of small, regional kingdoms like the Hwicce and Magonsæte into Greater Mercia. The success of Mercia can therefore be seen to have supported and enabled that of the Worcester bishopric through the endowment of privileges and landed wealth, as recorded in Worcester's archival record. The legacy of the Hwicce, however, continued to some degree long after their geo-political eclipse, as the bishops of Worcester would occasionally style themselves *episcopus Huicciorum,* 'Bishop of the Hwicce' into the tenth century, as in the lease issued by Bishop Oswald in AD 943 (for 963),[505] recalling the original function the Worcester community was established to serve.

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[504] Blair, *The Church,* 117.

[505] S1297. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. XIII, ff. 1-118, ff. 75v-76v (s. xi 1).

S53 / B85 / K36

Date: A.D. 693.

Operative details: Oshere, king of the Hwicce, to Cuthswith, abbess; grant of fifteen *tributarii* at *Penintanham* (probably Inkberrow, Worcs.) and *Dyllawidu* (?), for the foundation of a minster.

Language and archive: *Latin*, Worcester.

Source of transcription: London, British Library, Harley 4660, f.3v (s. xvii). Where damage to the manuscript has rendered portions of text illegible, this has been supplemented by Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, vol. 1, 120–1.

Style and Diction: The form *apostolorus* is unique, and is most likely the result of dittography for the regular *apostolus* in the introduction of a common biblical formula (see below). Similarly, the form *cruciciatus* in the anathema, where again parallels in diplomatic corpus suggest that the intended form is *crucietur* (as in S567, 583, 658, 673, 756, 850, and 876). It is notable that the term *cassatus* has likely been employed here as an alternative to *tributarius* for stylistic effect, in order to extend the high level of *c*-alliteration in this sentence, emphasising the roles of Cuthbert and Cuthswith (***c****assatas* ***c****onsentiente* ***c****omite* … ***C****utberhto* … ***c****onstruendum* … *Cutsuidæ* … ***c****um* ***c****ampis* … ***c****um* … ***c****um*); further alliteration is evident immediately before the witness-list (***p****ertinentia* … ***p****ossidendam* … ***p****er****p****etuum* ***p****erdonabo*).

Transcription

Carta Osheri Reguli Huicciorum[506]

+ In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi · Omnia enim ut ait apostolorus quæ uidentur temporalia sunt quæ autem non uidentur æterna sunt[507] · Pro qua re ego Oshere rex Huicciorum pro remedio animæ meæ cum Ædilheardo filio meo dabo terram quæ dicitur Penitanham[508] quindecim tributariorum cum dylla uuidu[509] cassatas consentiente comite meo Cutberhto ad construendum monasterium Cutsuidæ abbatissæ cum campis syluisque cum piscariis pratisque et cum omnibus […]aris quæ ad eam sunt pertinentia hanc cum omnibus his iure possidendam in perpetuum perdonabo.

+ Ego Oshere supradictus rex consentiens et subscripsi signum salutare ·

+ Ego Ædilhard consentiens et subscripsi ·

+ Ego Ediluuard consentiens et subscripsi ·

+ Ego Ædilberht consentiens et subscripsi ·

+ Ego Ediline[510] consentiens et subscripsi ·

+ Ego Osuuido consentiens et subscripsi ·

+ Ego Oftoforis episcopus consentiens propria manu signum conscripsi ·

+ Ego Edilredus consentiens ·

+ Ego Berehtuualdus archiepiscopus consentiens subscripsi ·

+ Ego Uuilfridus episcopus consentiens subscripsi ·

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[506] Whilst Oshere is styled as *regulus,* 'sub-king' in the rubric, he is referred to as *rex,* 'king' in both the superscription and attestation, suggesting the rubric to be a later addition reflecting the subsequently diminished role of the Hwiccian royal family.

[507] Quotation from the biblical verse 2 Corinthians 4:18, *Fontes*. The same verse is likewise found in S58, 59 and 60 in the *tributarius* corpus. According to *eSawyer*, direct quotations of this biblical verse are found in 13 charters (S202, 231, 234, 295, 334, 338a, 489, 494, 508, 512, 537, 922, and 974), while paraphrases are found in three more (S256, 624, and 796).

[508] The transcriber (or editor) of London, British Library, Harley 4660 has included a suspension mark above the 't'. For discussion of the place-name Penitanham, see the 'Diplomas of the Mercian Supremacy' group in Part Two above.

[509] *Dyllauuidu* is usually treated as a place name, with the latter element indicating 'wood, woodland'. Birch however suggests some of the latter letters of this word probably represent numerals referring to the following word. *Cartularium Saxonicum*, vol. 1, 120. This is discussed fully in the 'Diplomas of the Mercian Supremacy' section of Part Two.

[510] Birch emends this to Edilric, the Latinised form of the common Anglo-Saxon name Æþelric. *Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 1, 121.

+ Ego Headda episcopus consentiens subscripsi ·

+ Ego Tyrtel episcopus consentiens subscripsi ·

+ Ego […]de episcopus consentiens subscripsi ·

+ Ego Beduuin episcopus consentiens subscripsi ·

+ Ego Gelmund episcopus consentiens subscripsi ·

+ Ego Alricus episcopus consensi et subscripsi ·

+ Ego Cuiniricus consensi et subscripsi ·

+ Ego Pehthætius consensi et subscripsi ·

Si quis hanc donationem minuetur sciat se redditurum rationem in die iudicii et partem eius esse cum peccatoribus et cum Iuda traditore cruciciatus sine fine in inferno cum diabulo ·

Translation

Charter of Oshere, sub-king of the Hwicce.

+ In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. For the apostle says that all things which are seen are temporary however those which are not seen are eternal. Wherefore I Oshere, king of the Hwicce, for the healing of my soul, with Ædilheard my son, give fifteen *tributarii* of the land which is called *Penitanham* together with *dyllauuidu cassatae* with the consent of my trusted *comes* Cuthberht to Abbess Cuthswith for the construction of the monastery with fields and woods, with fisheries and meadows and with all […] appurtenances which belong to it, the right to possess all these I will grant in perpetuity.

+ I Oshere, the aforementioned king, consenting I also subscribe the sign of salvation.

+ I Ædilheard consenting have also subscribed.

+ I Edilward consenting have also subscribed..

+ I Ædilberht consenting have also subscribed.

+ I Edilric consenting have also subscribed.

+ I Oswido consenting have also subscribed.

+ I Oftfor, bishop, consenting and with my own hand have also written this sign.

+ I Edilred consenting.

+ I Berhtwald, archbishop, consenting, have subscribed.

+ I Wilfrid, bishop, consenting, have subscribed.

+ I Headda, bishop, consenting, have subscribed.

+ I Tyrtel, bishop, consenting, have subscribed.

+ I […]de, bishop, consenting, have subscribed.

+ I Bedwin, bishop, consenting, have subscribed.

+ I Gebmund, bishop, consenting, have subscribed.

+ I Alric, bishop, have consented and subscribed.

+ I Cuiniric have consented and subscribed.

+ I Pehthætius have consented and subscribed.

If anyone seeks to diminish this grant, let him know that he will render account on the Day of Judgement and his place will be with sinners and with the traitor Judas, let him be tormented without end in hell with the Devil.

S116 / B236 / K140

Date: A.D. 780, Brentford, Middx, 22 Sept.

Operative details: Offa, king of the Mercians, to St Peter's Minster, Bredon; grant of five *manentes* at Teddington, ten *cassatae* at Little Washbourne, ten *mansiones* at Cutsdean, all in Gloucs., and ten *manentes* at Bredons Norton, Worcs.

Language and archive: *Latin*, Worcester

Source of transcription: digital images of Ms2: London, British Library, Add. 46204, verso (s. xi) and microfilm images of Ms3: London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. XIII, ff. 11r–12r (s. xi); supplemented by Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 1, 329–30.

Edition: The transcriptions provided by Kemble and Birch are both made from Ms3, the *Liber Wigorniensis.* The text of this copy differs somewhat from that preserved in Ms2, the Nero–Middleton Cartulary. The transcription below therefore attempts to combine the two variant copies, with the differences in text indicated thus:

Text in **bold** can be found in the Nero–Middleton Cartulary but not in the *Liber Wigorniensis.*

Text which is <u>underlined</u> can be found in the *Liber Wigorniensis* but not in the Nero–Middleton Cartulary. Plain text is common to both manuscript copies.

Style and Diction: Perhaps the most obvious difference between the diction employed in the *Liber Wigorniensis* and that in the Nero–Middleton Cartulary is that where alternatives exist, the former tends to favour slightly rarer or more elevated language, and in the extended expansion *sciens … mercari posse* offers a paraphrase of the biblical verse 2 Corinthians 4:18 first commented upon here with regard to S58. Likewise elevated (though shared by both *Liber Wigorniensis* and the Nero–Middleton Cartulary) is the phrase *septies quinos*, which is more commonly found in verse. Given the generally high level of Latinity throughout, the lack of agreement between *Petri principes* (where *principis* would be expected, as occurs elsewhere fairly widely, according to *eSawyer*), is surprising, as is the use of *celebrati* in *Liber Wigorniensis*, where *celebratur* is evidently required.

Transcription

+ In nomine omnipotentis Dei et domini nostri Ihesu Christi qui **ui**uit **et regnat** in sæcula · Amen · Ego Offa Dei gratia concedente rex Mercensium simulque in circuitu nationum, sciens certe quod cuncta quæ humanis conspiciuntur oculis transitoria esse · et quæ conspici non possunt æterna fieri · et quod cum his transitoriis æterna mercari posse · Ideoque pro mea meorumque propinquorum perpetua animæ salute[511] dabo terram septies quinos tributariorum iugera continentem, ad monasterium quod nominatur Breodun in prouincia Huuicciorum, et ad æcclesiam beati Petri principes apostolorum quæ ibidem in loco sita est · quam Eanuulfus auus meus erexit ad laudem et gloriam Dei uiuentis **omnipotentis** in sæcula · Est autem rus præfatus[512] [**prædictus**] in · IIII · uillulis separatum hoc est · Teottingtun qui situs est iuxta riuulum [**fluuium**] quod nuncupatur [**uocatur**] Cærent · V · manentium ; huic adiacet uiculus qui nominatur æt Uuassanburnan[513] qui habet ab oriente uadum qui dicitur **æt** Geolwaforde · et ab occidente fontanum quod nominatur Gytingbroc · X · cassatorum ; tertius uiculus est in monte quem nominant incola [**qui dicitur**] mons Huuicciorum æt Codesuuellan æque · X · mansionum; et quartus uiculus hoc est Norðtun · X · manentium iuxta riuulum qui nuncupatur Tyrl ; ista ergo conditione [**consuetudine**] firmiter atque stabiliter conposita quatinus ad monasterium ante [**præ**] nominatum terra illa et ad præfatam æcclesiam sancti Petri in ius æcclesiasticæ libertatis perdonabo, liberata sit ab omni exactione regum et principum ac subditorum ipsorum, tam in agrorum donationibus uel terrarum positionibus, in omnipotentis Dei nomine præcipimus, tamdiu [**quamdiu**] fides Christiana in Brittannia perdurat sub dominio ac potestate parentillæ[514] meæ

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511 In the Nero–Middleton Cartulary, *salute* is instead placed before *perpetua animæ.*

512 Kemble gives *præfatum,* likely by alternative expansion of an abbreviation or suspension in the manuscript. *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 1, 169.

513 The place name is rendered as *Wasseburne* by the Nero–Middleton scribe.

514 The Nero–Middleton scribe gives *parentele.* Meaning 'kin, family' in general, this term can more specifically refer to either offspring and progeny or ancestry and parentage, dependent on context. This example is cited as an instance of the 'offspring, progeny' sense in the entry for *DMLBS: s.v. parentela* (sense 2).

atque cognationi rite per successiones[515] heredum iuste succedentium permaneat in perpetuum [**eternum**].

Conscripta est autem hec donatio telluris a me et ab episcopo ac principibus meis quorum infra signa et nomina adnotabo [**notantur**] · æt Bragentforda · anno **Dominicæ** incarnationis Christi · DCC · LXXX · indictione tertia [**III**] · die quo passio sancti Mauricii a fidelibus celebrati[516] ·

+ Ego Offa Dei dono rex hanc meam donationem signo sanctæ crucis **Christi** munio ·

+ Ego Cyneðryð Dei gratia regina Merciorum huic donationi regis consensi ·

+ Ego Iohanberhtus archiepiscopus consensi ·

+ Ego Eadberhtus episcopus consensi ·

+ Ego Ceolwulfus episcopus consensi ·

+ Ego Tilherus episcopus consensi ·

+ Signum manus Brordan principis ·

+ Signum manus Berhtuudi ducis ·

+ Signum manus Eadbaldi principis ·

+ Signum manus Eadbaldi ducis ·

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[515] Kemble gives *successionis,* likely by alternative expansion of an abbreviation in the manuscript. *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 1, 170.

[516] The Nero–Middleton scribe omits the name of the saint, instead simply writing *die passionis thebe.* Kemble gives *celebratur,* likely by alternative expansion of an abbreviation (although the abbreviation symbol for the suffix *-tur* is relatively distinctive and thus difficult to mistake if present). *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 1, 170.

Translation

In the name of almighty God and our Lord Jesus Christ who lives **and rules** forever, amen. I Offa, granted by the grace of God king of the Mercians and also the surrounding nations, knowing certainly that everything perceived by the human eyes is transitory, and what cannot be seen turns out to be eternal**,** and because of this it is possible to purchase the eternal with these transitory things. Therefore for the perpetual health of my soul and of those close to me, I give land of seven times five *tributarii iugera* held together, and to the monastery which is named Bredon, in the territory of the Hwicce, and to the church of the blessed Peter, chief of the apostles which is located in that same place, which Eanwulf my grandfather erected to the praise and glory of **almighty** God who lives forever. Moreover this aforementioned **[aforesaid]** land is separated into four villages; that is five *manentes* at Teddington which is located next to the stream **[river]** which is named [called] called Cærent; ten *cassatae* in the adjacent village which is named Little Washbourne which has to the east a ford which is called **at** *Geoluuaford,* and to the west a spring which is named *Gytingbroc;* an equal ten *mansiones* in the third village Cutsdean which is in the mountain which is called by the inhabitants **[which is called]** the Mountain of the Hwicce*;* and ten *manentes* at the fourth village this is Bredons Norton next to the stream which is known as the *Tyrl*. Therefore with that condition **[usage]** firmly and stably established that brought these four lands together, to the monastery named before [previously] and to the aforementioned church of Saint Peter, I will grant into ecclesiastical right let it be free of all obligations to king or *princeps* and their subjects, as much by the grant of fields as the position of the land, we command in the name of all-powerful God, whilst [**for as long as**] the Christian faith endures in Britain under the dominion and power of my kin and family rightly through a succession of heirs in rightful succession it will remain in perpetuity [**eternally**]. Moreover, these grants of land having been recorded, they will be subscribed [**they are subscribed**] by myself and by my bishops and *princeps* with their signs and names below, at Brentford, in the year of the **lordly** incarnation of Christ 780, the third indiction, on the day on which the passion of St Maurice is celebrated by the faithful.

+ I Offa, king by the gift of God, fortify this, my grant, with the sign of the holy cross **of Christ**.

+ I Cyneðryð, by the gift of God queen of the Mercians have consented to this grant by the king.

+ I Iohanberht, archbishop, have consented.

+ I Eadberht, bishop, have consented.

+ I Ceoluulf, bishop, have consented.

+ I Tilhere, bishop, have consented.

+ The sign of the hand of Brorda, *princeps*.

+ The sign of the hand of Berhtuud, *dux*.

+ The sign of the hand of Eadbald, *princeps*.

+ The sign of the hand of Eadbald, *dux*.

S1183 / B262 / K1016

Date: A.D. (c.771 × 780) × 786.

Operative details: Aldwulf, *dux* of the South Saxons, with the consent of Offa, king of the Mercians, to the church of St Peter, Selsey; grant of three *tributarii* at *Peartingawyrth* and *Wealingawyrth*; with confirmation by King Offa.

Language and archive: *Latin,* Selsey.

Source of transcription: from images of Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Episc. VI/1/2, f.17r (s. xiv), provided by West Sussex Record Office. Where damage to the manuscript has resulted in lacunae, these have been supplemented by Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum,* vol. 1, 365–6.

Style and Diction: This is a relatively unadorned and fairly formulaic charter, with a brief alliterative flourish in the opening lines (***c****aducam* ***c****eleritatem* ***c****onsiderantes*). The typical list of appurtenances has been enhanced here with some unusual terms, for example *pascuariis* and *aucupiis*; according to *eSawyer*, the former is restricted to this charter, while the latter form is also witnessed in S514 (See further *DMLBS: s.vv. pascuarium, aucupium*).

Transcription

Carta dicti Aldwlfi de tribus tributariis in Peartingawirth et Welyngawirth

+ In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi · Nos quidem præsentis uitæ caducam celeritatem considerantes · idcirco unicuique intenta mentis prouidentia cogitandum est · ut aliquid pro redemptione animæ suæ agat[517] quamdiu uixerit in hoc sæculo · Quapropter ego Aldwlfus dux Suð-Saxonum aliquam partem terræ iuris mei · cum consensu et licencia[518] domini mei Offæ regis Merciorum ad æcclesiam sancti Petri quæ sita est in uenerabili loco quæ dicitur Selesey libenti animo concedens donabo id est terram III · tributariorum, Firolalandes,[519] quatinus appellantur hiis nominibus, Peartingawyrth, Wealingawyrth, cum omnibus ad eam iure pertinentibus rebus, campis, siluis, pascuariis, aucupiis. Si quis hanc donationem augere et amplificare uoluerit · augeat Deus partem suam in libro uitae · Si quis hanc donationem infringere aut minuere ausus sit · sciat se in tremendo die iudicii rationem[520] redditurum coram Deo et angelis eius · Huius donationis testes fuerant hii quorum nomina infra notantur ·

+ Et ego Aldwlf dux qui donaui signum sanctæ crucis infixi ·

+ Ego Gislehere episcopus consensi et subscripsi ·

+ Gidheard · Hunreed · Burehard · Beornulf · Osa + omnes isti consentientes scripserunt ·

+ Ego Offa rex Merciorum hanc terram siluaticam trium tributariorum · secundum petitionem Wehthuni episcopi · signo sanctæ crucis confirmo et subscribo + ad æcclesiam sancti Petri Apostoli · sicut prænominatum est ·

+ Ego Ealfrid rex consensi et subscripsi +

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[517] Error for *agit.* Kelly, *Selsey,* 53.

[518] This should be read as *licentia,* with *c* for *t* substitution being common in medieval Latin.

[519] Kemble notes '*sic,* MS., for *firgenlandes*', i.e. oak forest, thereby supporting the description of the land as *silvatica* below. *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 5, 54. Kelly suggests the South Saxon dialect may have contained a derivative of the Old High German *fereh-eih* and Langobardic *fereha,* 'oak'. *Selsey*, 55.

[520] Kelly gives *racionem, c* for *t* substitution. The suspension mark joins the top of the *c / t,* making it difficult to clarify. *Selsey,* 53.

Translation

Charter of the named Aldwulf of three *tributarii* in *Peartingawirth* and *Welyngawirth.*

+ In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. While indeed we consider the swift failing of this present life, therefore it is for each of us to think with careful forethought of mind that he may do something for the redemption of his soul for as long as he shall have lived in this age. Wherefore I, Ealdwulf, *dux* of the South Saxons, agreeing with a willing heart will freely grant, with the consent and permission of my lord, Offa, king of the Mercians, a certain piece of land under my jurisdiction to the church of Saint Peter situated in the venerable place which is called Selsey; that is, land of three *tributarii,* and oak forest which is called by these names, *Peartingawyrth* and *Wealingawyrth*, with all things lawfully pertaining to it, fields, woods, pastures, and the right to catch birds. If anyone should wish to increase and amplify this grant, may God increase his part in the book of life; however if anyone dares to infringe or diminish this grant, let him know that on the terrible day of judgement he will render account in the presence of God and His angels. These were witnesses of this grant whose names are noted below.

+ And I, Ealdwulf, *dux*, who have given, have affixed the sign of the holy cross.

+ I, Gislhere, bishop, agreeing, have subscribed..

+ I, Gidheard, Hunreed, Burchard, Beornulf, Osa; + all these, agreeing, have signed.

+ I, Offa, king of the Mercians, confirm and sign with the sign of the holy cross, this forest land of three *tributarii,* following the petition of bishop Wihthun, to the church of Saint Peter the apostle, just as is previously explained.

+ I, Ecgfrið, king, have consented and subscribed.

S1798

Date: A.D. 675×690.

Operative details: Æthelheah, abbot of Icheanog (?Iken, Suffolk), to the nun Mildburg; grant of land at Much Wenlock, Salop., by the river Monnow, at Marund, Herefords., and in the district called Lydas (?Lyde, Herefords.).

Language and archive: *Latin*, Much Wenlock.

Source of transcription: London, British Library, Add. 34633, ff. 206v–16v (s. xiii), supplemented by H. P. R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester, 1972), 202.

Style and Diction: There is little attempt at elevated diction here, beyond the perfunctory alliteration linked through hyperbaton in the phrase *in* ***p****ropriam* ***p****er****p****etualiter* ***p****erdono* ***p****otestatem*, where ***p****ropriam* agrees with ***p****otestatem*, passing over the properly consecutive adverb and verb ***p****er****p****etualiter* ***p****erdono*; there is no precisely similar sequence in the charter corpus, according to *eSawyer*.

Transcription

In nomine domini mei Ihesu Christi, ego Edelheg, abbas monasterii cuius vocabulum est Icheanog, terram nonaginta septem manencium in loco qui dicatur Wimnicas, et in alio loco iuxta amnem Munube terram duodecim manentes habentem, et in alio loco qui nominatur Magana terram quinque tributariorum, et in regione que appellatur Lydas terram triginta manencium, cum consensu tocius[521] familie reverende memorie Botulfi abbatis, sanctimoniali virgini Milburge in propriam perpetualiter perdono potestatem, ut secundum regularis vite normam cuicumque voluerit vivens sive moriens integram habeat facultatem condonare; ita tamen ut sub iurisdicionibus ecclesie venerabilis Botulfi abbatis idem locus non coacte sed spontanee secundum Deum immobiliter perduret, quia eiusdem ecclesie pecunia emitur a rege qui cognominatur Merwaldus. Pro confirmacione autem huius donacionis subscripserunt Edelheg abbas, Theodorus archiepiscopus, Edelred rex, Seaxulf episcopus, Edelricus abbas, Scotinerchelim rex[522], et Milfrid frater eius.

Et uno concludam sermone: terra huius monasterii centum quadraginta quattor continet manentes. Post hanc vero donacionis cartulam quam supra exposuimus, nonnullas terrarum possessiones in diversis locis per diversas donaciones fratrum meorum Merchelmi regis et Milfridi viva voce me adquisisse profiteor, non tamen sine nutu et subscripcione excellentissimi regis Edelredi patrui mei. Harum itaque donacionum sceda continet hunc modum.

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[521] This should be read as *totius,* with *c* for *t* substitution being common in medieval Latin.

[522] Given the named individual *Merchelmi regis,* 'king Merchelm' in the following paragraph, this unusual form of the name appears to be a scribal error, with minim confusion of 'in' for 'm'. The 'Scot' element is unlikely to refer to the location of Merchelm's kingdom however, as S1799, another diploma from Much Wenlock, shows him acting alongside his brother Milfrid granting land to their sister Mildburg (both likewise named in S1798 above) in and around the area of Much Wenlock. It is possible this is a corruption of another witness' name.

Translation

In the name of my Lord Jesus Christ, I Æthelheah, abbot of the monastery whose name is Icheanog, having land of ninety-seven *manentes* in the place which is called Much Wenlock, and in another place next to the River Monnow land of twelve *manentes,* and in another place which is named Marund land of five *tributarii,* and in the region which is called Lydas land of thirty *manentes,* with the consent of the whole community of Abbot Botulf of reverend memory, I grant completely to the virtuous virgin Mildburg into her perpetual power, so that according to the rule of the regular life, living or dying, she has complete authority to give it away to whomsoever she might wish; but in such a way that this same place should remain under the jurisdiction of the church of the venerable Abbot Botulf, not under compulsion but voluntarily, steadfastly according to God, because it was purchased with the money of the same church from the king who was named Mercwald. But for the confirmation of this grant, they following have subscribed: Abbot Æthelheah, Archbishop Theodore, King Æthelred, Bishop Seaxulf, Abbot Æthelric, King Scotinerchelim, and his brother Milfrid.

And I will conclude with a single statement: the land of this monastery comprises 144 *manentes.* Indeed, after this charter of donation which we have set forth above, I acknowledge that I have acquired some other landed possessions in different locations through different grants of my brothers by King Merchelm and Milfrid by oral agreement, not however without the consent and subscription of the most excellent King Æthelred my uncle. And so the deed includes this manner of these grants.

2.7: Conclusion: Themes of the *Tributarius* Diplomas

Amongst the twenty-three *tributarius* diplomas, the themes of historical precedent and archival reuse transcend the divisions of kingdom and archive, with each sub-group demonstrating a concern for the legitimation of claims to land via documents imbued with the authority of their original grantors (be this kings or notable ecclesiastics) and sanctioned by divine blessing, whether these diplomas are themselves authentic, based on genuine material, or wholesale fabrications.

The 'Miscellaneous Forgeries' (S43, 47, 122 and 132) attempt to replicate the content and style of earlier diplomas, hence the inclusion of the otherwise archaic term *tributarius*, with the intention of supporting fraudulent claims to the named estates at a time when original records of the transaction were perhaps lost, but are undermined by anachronistic textual features, incorrect details, or the survival of contradictory documentation. The 'Aston Group' (S58, 59 and 60) offer a succinct example of this, with revision of the original grant's terms (whilst preserving the main text of the diploma) between subsequent versions in favour of Worcester. The production of such 'pious frauds'[523] is taken to the extreme in the Selsey–Canterbury Group (S48, 230, 232, 1172 and 1291), where archival material is not only reused, but combined with historical narrative in order to provide justification for the claims of Canterbury to estates allegedly granted to Selsey upon its foundation, and in the decades immediately after.

By contrast, the 'Running Commentary' Diplomas (S44, 70, 185, 1172 and 1782) are closely related to other surviving diplomas, not through the plagiarising of text, but due to their contemporary association in order to provide a continuous record of ownership for the named estates, even repeating the operative details of the original transaction as a safeguard against challenge. Whilst not related to each other in the same manner, the 'Diplomas of the Mercian Supremacy' (S53, 116, 1183 and 1798) effectively provide a commentary on the temporal and geographic extent of the Mercian kings' authority during the long eighth century, from regional power to guarantor of transactions as far afield as Sussex, with the potential consequence of

[523] Wormald, 'Settlement of Disputes', 156.

renewing links forged a century before by preeminent ecclesiastics active in both kingdoms. Use of *tributarius* in the Tenth-Century Anomalies (S526, 874, 892 and 1291), whilst initially appearing spurious, is in fact explicable as a conscious scribal choice, where the term had become sufficiently archaic, fossilised within the archives of Winchester, Selsey and Coventry, as to be revived alongside Greek and obscure Latin terms for stylistic effect. In this way, the *tributarius* diplomas highlight similarities in scribal practice, both contemporary and retrospective, between houses which otherwise have little obvious connection. It is therefore necessary to consider the historical context of these diplomas' production to understand how and why a relatively uncommon unit of land assessment came to be preserved at nine different archives spread thought four kingdoms of Anglo-Saxon England.

Conclusion: *Tributarius* Diplomas and the Archival Record

This investigation has sought to provide an overview and assessment of the various terms used to quantify units of land within the diplomas of Anglo-Saxon England. Consideration of the operative details of the 1,932 surviving diplomas resulted in the isolation of twenty-three such terms, sixteen in Latin and seven in Old English, whose etymology and origins were thus explored. Latin terms such as *mansae* and *cassatae,* inherited from the late Roman Imperial administrative system, are derived from the concept of the household as the basic taxable unit of society, whilst the terms *aratrum* and *iugerum* find their origins in agricultural terminology for 'plough' and 'yoke' respectively. These two strands of etymology are paralleled in the Old English terms, where the *hid* is derived from *hiwisc* or *hiwiscipe,* 'a family unit or household', and can trace its usage back at least to the Laws of Ine, king of the West Saxons AD 688–726, whereas the *sulung* and *geocled* connote 'plough length' and 'yoke'. In this way, the original sense of these terms spans the divide of language, so that each Latin term found an equivalent (or range of equivalents) in the vernacular, and vice versa.[1] Whilst these terms must originally have possessed their own significance and quantitative value, such distinctions were lost via the amalgamation of systems, both regional and socio-political, and the subsequent need to find equivalence between them. The use of multiple terms within the same diploma, even to refer to the same estates (as, for example, in S116, discussed in the 'Diplomas of the Mercian Supremacy' section of Part Two), thereby demonstrates that the terms had evolved to become essentially interchangeable in function, if not necessarily in meaning, within a few centuries of their use in an Anglo-Saxon diplomatic context.

The concurrent use of this range of terms can be explained by the variety of different influences which contributed to Anglo-Saxon diplomatic practice. Inherited Roman administrative frameworks and native oral land transfer rituals were met by the technology of diploma production and Latin ecclesiastical manuscripts introduced with the Gregorian Mission in AD 597, which

[1] The etymological development of each term is discussed fully in the 'Anglo-Saxon Land Assessment' section of Part One.

contributed to the uniquely ecclesiastical tone of the Anglo-Saxon diploma, as summarised by Snook:

> Two points are clear: first, Anglo-Saxon charters were sufficiently consistent in their form, substance, language, and purpose to suggest that they were descended, and had not strayed too far, from an archetype which seems likely to have been introduced to the whole English Church at the same time; second, while that archetype made limited use of a number of late Roman formulae, it had, to a far greater degree, assumed a powerful religious dimension all of its own which was largely absent from Roman and other contemporary, European documents.[2]

Subsequently, enterprising individuals such as bishops Wilfrid and Oftfor strengthened this connection through the importation of manuscripts amassed during their own travels both to the Continent and throughout England. The career of Wilfrid in particular appears to be fundamentally linked to the distribution of *tributarius* diplomas, with the most significant clusters of this term occurring at Selsey (having eight *tributarius* diplomas) and Worcester (having six), houses over which Wilfrid presided.[3] The extent of the diplomatic practices shared by these two houses is described by Brooks and Kelly:

> It does appear that the diplomatic tradition in Sussex had particularly close links with the kingdom of the Hwicce, where Wilfrid was also active; in both areas can be seen a precocious use of incarnational dating, assessment in *tributarii,* and some common formulation (such as proems using the quotation from 1 Timothy, and anathemas with the wording *habere partem cum Iuda traditore Domini nostri*).[4]

The movement of Church personnel throughout the houses of England undoubtedly brought various diplomatic traditions into contact via the exchange of manuscript exemplars, facilitating the shared use of terms found within these texts, such as *tributarius*, at otherwise disparate scriptoria.

Contemporary political events mirrored this push towards interconnectedness as, over the course of the long eighth century, the burgeoning political ambitions of the Mercian rulers brought

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[2] B. Snook, 'Who Introduced Charters into England? The Case for Theodore and Hadrian', in *Textus Roffensis: Law, Language, and Libraries in Early Medieval England,* ed. B. R. O'Brien & B. Bombi (Turnhout, 2015) 279.

[3] Wilfrid's role at these houses, in addition to his connections Kent and the See of Northumbria are explored in the 'Bishop Wilfrid and the Beginnings of Anglo-Saxon Diplomatic Tradition' section of Part One.

[4] Brooks, N. & S. E. Kelly, *The Charters of Christ Church Canterbury Part 1,* Anglo-Saxon Charters 17 (Oxford, 2013), 275.

hitherto independent Midland kingdoms tightly into their orbit via a process of overlordship and eventual erasure of native ruling houses. This process was subsequently extended outwards from the Midlands, bringing the southern kingdoms of Kent, East Anglia and Sussex under the aegis of Mercian rule, as demonstrated by the 'Diplomas of the Mercian Supremacy' section of Part Two. The power of Mercian kings Æthelbald (r. 716–57) and Offa (r. 757–96) to grant land by their own right within these subordinate kingdoms is attested by the archival record (S132 and S1183 from the *tributarius* corpus), whilst also seeking to extend their influence by retrospectively attesting or confirming grants made by previous (local) rulers, as in S1172, through interpolation or re-drafting of the original text. The *tributarius* diplomas do not, however, indicate that forgeries were produced under the auspices of Offa to support his overlordship: those spurious diplomas which name him as donor appear to have been fabricated in the tenth century at the earliest, using Offa's well-documented disposal of land to manufacture historic claims to land subsequently acquired. This interference with the archival record, coupled with the production of diplomas spanning the scribal traditions of the Mercian kings and the recipient house's scriptorium, thereby exemplifies the interconnectedness of church and state in this period, demonstrating how closely ecclesiastical and secular affairs and personnel were related, as with Offa's establishment of the archdiocese of Lichfield in response to tension with archbishop Jænberht.[5]

The practice of attributing acquired land to the grants of notable historical figures is exemplified by the 'Selsey–Canterbury' Group, which attests to a programme of forgery in the scriptorium of Christ Church, Canterbury during the tenth century, with the intention of providing support for their possession of vast tracts of land within the traditional bounds of the Selsey diocese. Particularly notable are the diplomas S230 and S232, preserved at Canterbury and Selsey respectively, which demonstrate a high degree of textual overlap that can only be explained as the consequence of their being produced in response to the same circumstance.[6] At this time, the

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[5] F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1971), 237–8.

[6] These diplomas, their textual overlap and the context of their production form the subject of the 'Selsey–Canterbury Group' in Part Two.

independence of Selsey, and consequently its endowment, was declining, with successive bishops appointed from the communities of Christ Church, Canterbury, and New Minster, Winchester; together with the acquisition of Selsey estates by these houses. From this, the Canterbury diplomas demonstrate a concerted effort towards the expansion and consolidation of Canterbury's influence and landholdings within Sussex, in a manner strikingly similar to that of the Mercian Supremacy two centuries prior. The concern with legitimising these claims, which was not shared by the Mercian kings, resulted in the production of outright forgeries to retrospectively skew the archival record, long after the purported dates of the transactions to which they pertain. In forgeries such as these, the attribution to notable individuals, in this case bishop Wilfrid and Cædwalla, king of the West Saxons (r. 685–8),[7] was necessary to give the appearance of authenticity to the diploma, with names, dates and other operative details being lifted from archival material in the possession of the house responsible. The reuse of earlier diplomas can also explain the appearance of somewhat archaic terms like *tributarius,* where the terminology of the exemplar has likewise been carried forward into the fabricated document. Reuse of archival material also occurred during the tenth century for legitimate reasons, namely the sourcing of archaic vocabulary for stylistic effect, as in the hermeneutic Latin diplomas S526, S874 and S892, thereby seeking to emulate the works of contemporary Anglo-Latin authors such as Aldhelm, to whom the drafting of *tributarius* diploma S230 is (questionably) attributed.

In this way, the socio-political situation of the late Anglo-Saxon period generated the production of diplomas in much the same way as their initial granting: to justify political oversight and bolster the endowment of the Church, with the retrospective attribution of grants made in later fabrications to personnel active in the early history of the houses responsible, thereby bringing the process of diplomatic production full circle. The Anglo-Saxon diplomatic corpus is, therefore, a demonstrably invaluable witness to the development of administrative infrastructure and scribal

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[7] The roles of notable individuals are discussed both in relation to the specific *tributarius* diplomas in which they are named (Part Two: The *Tributarius* Diplomas) and as historically-attested individuals whose careers impacted on the diplomatic corpus as a whole.

practices, and record of the contemporary socio-political landscape, the preservation and reuse of which is testament to later attitudes towards the earliest period of Anglo-Saxon diplomatic production. The 'Anglo-Saxon Diplomatic Corpus Table of Concordance' appendix, compiled to assist the current investigation, can be likewise employed in further research into the distribution of land assessment terminology, in order to elucidate patterns of usage (both temporal and geographical) suggestive of deeper connections between houses than are immediately apparent, following the methodology applied to the *tributarius* diplomas above. This could usefully be viewed in conjunction with selected Latin textual sources (such as Biblical texts and the Anglo-Latin works of Aldhelm), to shed light on the exemplars that were theoretically available to scribes at certain houses, or be compared to the frequency and distribution of certain vernacular landscape terms (for example, *mylen,* 'mill' and *broc,* 'brook, stream') to assess the degree to which these were dependent on dialect, local topography, and scribal preference.

Appendix: Terms of Measurement in the Anglo-Saxon Diplomatic Corpus

The following represents a summary of a complete analysis of some 1,932 charters, and records the presence or absence of one or more of the 23 terms of measurement considered in the wider analysis. Such terms appear in just under 1,300 of these charters (around two-thirds), often in multiple forms, distributed according to the list below, with the terms given in the nominative plural, and with the relevant headword and sense in the *DMLBS* and *DOE* also given for convenience. For statistical analysis of the geographic and temporal spread of these terms, see the 'Distribution of Terms' section of Part 1.

Term	**Dictionary headword and sense**	**Number**
aratra	*DMLBS s.v. aratrum*, sense 1c	84
carucatae	*DMLBS s.v. carrucata*, sense 3	6
cassatae	*DMLBS s.v. casata*	308
iugera	*DMLBS s.v. iugerum*, sense 2	42
leugatae	*DMLBS s.v. leugata*, sense 2	2
manentes	*DMLBS s.v. manere*, sense 4	195
mansiones	*DMLBS s.v. mansio*, sense 5	48
mansiunculae	*DMLBS s.v. mansiuncula*, sense 1	23
mansae	*DMLBS s.v. mansa*, sense 1	427
pedes	*DMLBS s.v. pes*, sense 7	1
perticae	*DMLBS s.v. pertica*, sense 3c	15
quarentenae	*DMLBS s.v. quarentena*, sense 2	4
segetes	*DMLBS s.v. seges*, sense 2b	3
territoria	*DMLBS s.v. territorium*, sense 1	1
tributarii	*DMLBS s.v. tributarius*, sense 1c	23
uirgatae	*DMLBS s.v. uirgata*, sense 2	9
TOTAL		**1191**
æceras	*DOE s.v. æcer*, sense 2	182
furlang	*DOE s.v. furlang*, sense 1	7
geocled	*DOE s.v. geoc-led*	5
gyrda	*DOE s.v. gyrd*, sense 2	18
hida	*DOE s.v. hīd*	395
oxgangas	*ox-gang* (yet to appear in *DOE*)	1
sulung	*sulung* (yet to appear in *DOE*)	23
TOTAL		**631**
GRAND TOTAL		**1822**

The following concordance presents data resulting from manual cross-referencing of the three main catalogues, with the diplomas arranged in ascending Sawyer number (**S**), along with their Kemble (**K**) and Birch (**B**) numbers (where extant). The salient details of each diploma — these being their archive of origin (**ARCH**), document type (**TYPE**), language(s) (**LANG**) and land assessment term(s) employed (**TERM(S)**) — are listed, together with any modern published edition (ED) (see the Bibliography for expanded references).

S1 / K1 / B3
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 1
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE cardinal bounds?
TERM(S): NONE

S2 / K2 / B4
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 1
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): NONE

S3 / K3 / B5
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 2
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): NONE

S4 / K4 / B6
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 3
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S5 / K982 / B8
ED: NONE
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S6 / K6 / B13
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 5
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S7 / K9 / B36
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 6
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's (Reculver)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S8 / K16 / B45
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S9 / K27 / B67
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 7
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *aratra*

S10 / K14 / B42
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 40
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's (MIT)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S11 / K15 / B41
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 41
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S12 / K30 / B73
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 8
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S13 / K8 / B35
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 42
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's (MIT)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S14 / K10 / B40
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 43
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's (MIT)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S15 / K37 / B86
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 44
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's (MIT)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S16 / K41 / B90
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 9
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S17 / K39 / B88
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 45
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's (MIT)
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S18 / K42 / B96
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 46
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's (MIT)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S19 / K43 / B97
ED: Earle: pp. 408–9
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church (Lyminge)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *aratra*

S20 / K44 / B99
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 10
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's & CC
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S21 / K47 / B98
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church (Lyminge)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *aratra*

S22 / K–996 / B91(92/93
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S23 / K77 / B148
ED: Earle: pp. 24–6
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church (Lyminge)
TYPE: Royal charter(s?)
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *aratra*; *iugera*

S24 / K86 / B160
ED: Earle: pp. 34–6
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church (Lyminge)
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S25 / K108 / B191
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 11
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter?
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S26 / B846
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 48
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's (MIT)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S27 / K85 / B159
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 3; Earle: pp. 32–4
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S28 / K107 / B190
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 13
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S29 / K106 / B189
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 53
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's (MIT)
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S30 / K96 / B175
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 4
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter?
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S31 / K1005 / B176/199
ED: Earle: p. 410
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church (Reculver)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S32 / K110 / B193
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 5; Earle: pp. 331–2
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *iugera*

S33 / K114 / B194
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 8; Earle: pp. 49–51
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S34 / K113 / B196
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 7
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *iugera*

S35 / K132 / B227
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 9; Earle: pp. 54–5
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *aratra*

S36 / K135 / B228
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 10
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*; *iugera*

S37 / K160 / B260
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 15; Earle: pp. 57–9
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *aratra*

S38 / K1013 / B243
ED: Earle: pp. 410–11
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church (Reculver)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S39 / B1336
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church (Lyminge)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S40 / K190 / B332
ED: Earle: pp. 284–5
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*; *aratra*

S41 / K191 / B318
ED: Earle: pp. 75–6
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE prose endorse.
TERM(S): *aratra*

S42 / K999 / B132
ED: Kelly, Selsey: 6
ARCH: Selsey
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*

S43 / K1000 / B144
ED: Kelly, Selsey: 4; Earle: pp. 22–3
ARCH: Selsey
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *tributarii*; *hida*

S44 / K1001 / B145
ED: Kelly, Selsey: 5
ARCH: Selsey
TYPE: Royal charter(s)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *tributarii*

S45 / K995 / B78
ED: Kelly, Selsey: 2
ARCH: Selsey
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S46 / K1010 / B211
ED: Kelly, Selsey: 7
ARCH: Selsey
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted in MS)
TERM(S): *manentes*

S47 / K1011 / B212
ED: Kelly, Selsey: 8
ARCH: Selsey
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *tributarii*

S48 / K1008 / B198
ED: Kelly, Selsey: 9
ARCH: Selsey
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *tributarii*

S49 / K1009 / B206
ED: Kelly, Selsey: 10
ARCH: Selsey
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted in MS)
TERM(S): *manentes*

S50 / B197
ED: Kelly, Selsey: pp. 103–5
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church (Selsey?)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. (cardinal)
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S51 / K12 / B43
ED: Earle: pp. 6–7
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S52 / K17 / B51
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S53 / K36 / B85
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *tributarii*; *cassatae*

S54 / K56 / B116
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S55 / K102 / B183
ED: Earle: pp. 305–7
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S56 / K105 / B187
ED: Earle: pp. 45–6
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S57 / K148 / B232
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal lease(?)
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S58 / K117 / B202
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *tributarii*

S59 / B203
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal lease
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds?
TERM(S): *tributarii*

S60 / K118 / B204
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *tributarii*; *æceras*

S61 / K128 / B205
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansiones*; *iugera*

S62 / K146 / B238
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal lease(?)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S63 / K125 / B218
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S64 / K55 / B123
ED: Earle: pp. 310–11
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S65 / K52 / B111
ED: Earle: pp. 15–17
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S65a
ED: Bascombe 1987
ARCH: Barking
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): *manentes*

S65b
ED: Bascombe 1987
ARCH: Barking
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S66 / K25 / B66
ED: NONE
ARCH: Durham
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S67 / B32
ED: Earle: pp. 4–5
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*; *æceras*

S68 / K984 / B22
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Royal confirm & priv.
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *manentes*; *iugera*?

S69 / K986 / B33
ED: NONE
ARCH: Chertsey
TYPE: Royal confirm & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S70 / B60
ED: Finberg ECWM p.158
ARCH: Gloucester, St Peter's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *tributarii*; *cassatae*

S71 / K23 / B59
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds (ME?)
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S72 / K990 / B49
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Bishop's charter & priv.
LANG: Bilingual (OE paraphrases)
TERM(S): NONE

S73 / K22 / B58
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S74
ED: Finberg ECW pp. 252–4
ARCH: Gloucester, St Peter's
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S75 / K34 / B77
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S76 &1252 / K33 / B76
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; (*manentes*)

S77 / K32 / B75
ED: Earle: pp. 12–13
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S78 / K59 / B120
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S79 / K60 / B124
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *æceras*

S80 / K61 / B125
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S81 / K62 / B127
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S82 / K66 / B135
ED: NONE
ARCH: Crowland
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): NONE

S83 / K65 / B134
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S84 / K69 / B139
ED: Earle: p. 20
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S85 / K75 / B146
ED: Earle: pp. 23–4
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S86 / K97 / B149
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 49
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's (MIT)
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S87 / K84 / B150
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 50
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's (MIT)
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S88 / K78 / B152
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 2; Earle: pp. 27–8
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S89 / K80 / B154
ED: Earle: pp. 29–30
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S90 / K87 / B162
ED: Earle: pp. 36–40
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S91 / K98 / B177
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 51
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's (MIT)
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S92 / K70 (99) / B140 (178)
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S93 / K81 / B155
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 5
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*

S94 / K83 / B157
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S95 / K79 / B153
ED: Earle: p. 26
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S96 / K100 / B181
ED: Earle: pp. 283–4
ARCH: Malmesbury (?)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S97 / K68 / B138
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S98 / K95 / B171
ED: Earle: pp. 41–2
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S99 / K90 / B165
ED: Earle: pp. 40–1
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S100 / K101 / B182
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *manentes*; *iugera*

S101 / K88 / B163
ED: Earle: p. 304
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S102 / K67 / B137
ED: Earle: pp. 19–20
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S103 / K89 / B164
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S103a
ED: Kelly 1992: p. 27
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Bishop's charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S103b
ED: NONE
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S104 / K123 / B216
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S105 / K111 / B195
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 6; Earle: pp. 334–6
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *aratra*

S106 / K116 / B201
ED: Earle: p. 47
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter(s)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S107 / K129 / B221
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S108 / B208
ED: Kelly, Selsey: pp. 107–9
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church (Selsey?)
TYPE: Royal lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S109 / K120 / B209
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *manentes*

S110 / K121 / B213
ED: Earle: pp. 51–2
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, b.c.
TERM(S): *aratra*

S111 / K122 / B214 & 215
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S112 / K130 / B222
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S113 / K131 / B223
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S114 / K137 / B230
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal lease(?)
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S115 / K136 / B229
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S116 / K140 / B236
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *tributarii*; *cassatae*; *manentes*; *mansiones*; *iugera*

S117 / K138 / B234 & 847
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *mansae*; *manentes*

S118 / K139 / B235
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S119
ED: Gelling, ECTV: pp. 99–100
ARCH: Westminster (?)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S120 / K141 / B239
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S121 / K142 / B240
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S122 / K147 / B244
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal lease(?)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *tributarii*

S123 / B247
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin & en., OE place names
TERM(S): *aratra*

S124 / K149 / B245
ED: NONE
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S125 / B248
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin & en., OE place names
TERM(S): *aratra*

S126 / K154 / B233
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Bilingual, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S127 / K151 / B251
ED: NONE
ARCH: Chertsey
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S128 / K153 / B254
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S129 / K152 / B253
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 12; Earle: pp. 60–1
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *aratra*

S130 / K157 / B257
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 14
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *aratra*

S131 / K155 / B255
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 13
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *iugera*

S132 / K159 / B265
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *tributarii*

S133 / B259
ED: NONE
ARCH: Paris, Saint-Denis
TYPE: Royal confirmation
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S134 / B848
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 15
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S135 / K163 / B268
ED: NONE
ARCH: Crowland
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S136 / K162 / B267
ED: Earle: pp. 396–9
ARCH: St. Albans
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S136a
ED: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: St. Albans
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S137 / K164 / B269
ED: Earle: pp. 63–4
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S138 / K161 / B264 & 849
ED: (Earle: pp. 395–6)
ARCH: St. Albans
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S139 / K167 / B274
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S140 / K119 / B207
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 14
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S141 / K150 / B246
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S142 / K126 / B219
ED: Earle: pp. 308–10
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, b.c. (Latin? & OE prose)
TERM(S): NONE

S143 / K112 / B188
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 52
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S144 / K168 / B275
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S145 / K134 / B226
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S146 / K166 / B272 & 273
ED: Earle: pp. 311–12
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE prose phrase 273
TERM(S): *manentes*

S147 / K145 / B231
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S148 / K170 & 171 / B277 & 278
ED: Earle: pp. 64–5
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S149 / K174 / B279
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S150 / K173 / B281
ED: NONE
ARCH: St. Albans
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S151 / K172 / B280
ED: NONE
ARCH: St. Albans
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S152 / K1017 / B285
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal confirmation
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S153 / K175 / B289
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church (Lyminge)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S154 / K176 / B295
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S155 / K1020 & 1021 / B293 & 294
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S156 / K177 / B296
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *aratra*

S157 / K179 / B303
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 16
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal lease(?)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S158 / K1023 / B302
ED: Kelly, Selsey: 14
ARCH: Selsey
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S159 / K187 / B316
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 16
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S160 / K188 / B317
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church (Lyminge)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *iugera*

S161 / B321
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, endorse
TERM(S): *manentes*; *mansiunculae*; *sulung*; *geocled*

S162 / K192 / B325
ED: NONE
ARCH: Crowland
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S163 / K194 / B326
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *aratra*

S164 / B328
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *aratra*

S165 / K198 / B339
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 17
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal (&OE?) bounds
TERM(S): *aratra*

S166 / K208 / B352
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 8
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S167 / K197 / B338
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchcombe
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S168 / K196 / B335
ED: Earle: pp. 86–9
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S169 / K199 / B341
ED: Earle: pp. 89–92
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *mansae*; *manentes*; *mansiones*; *sulung*; *geocled*

S170 / B340
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *iugera*

S171 / K206 / B351
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S172 / K203 / B350
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S173 / K207 / B343
ED: Earle: pp. 96–8
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE names & phrases
TERM(S): *aratra*

S174 / K202 / B349
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S175 / K204 / B346 & 347
ED: Earle: pp. 94–6
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *aratra*

S176 / K205 / B344
ED: Earle: pp. 98–9
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *iugera*

S177 / K201 / B348
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *aratra*

S178 / B353
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *manentes*

S179 / K209 / B356
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*; *æceras*

S180 / K210 / B357
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *manentes*

S181 / K212 / B360
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S182 / K211 / B359
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S183 / K214 / B366
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 9
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S184
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 10
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted in MS)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S185 / K215 / B368
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal lease(?)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *tributarii*

S186 / K216 / B370 (371)
ED: Earle: pp. 100–2
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *aratra*

S187 / K217 / B373 (374)
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds, OE en.
TERM(S): *iugera*

S188 / K227 / B400 (401)
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S189 / K233 / B409
ED: NONE
ARCH: Crowland
TYPE: Royal charter & beq.
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *mansiones*; *carrucatae*; *leugatae*; *quarentenae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S190 / K237 / B416
ED: Earle: pp. 111–13
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin, OE prose endorse.
TERM(S): *hida*

S191 / K244 / B453
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S192 / K245 / B430
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S193 / K248 / B434 & 435
ED: Earle: pp. 312–14
ARCH: Worcester (Bredon)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S194 / K251 / B436
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S195 / K249 / B433
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S196 / K247 / B432
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S197 / K261 / B454
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough (Breedon-on-the-Hill)
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S198 / K258 / B450
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S199 / K262 / B455
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*; *æceras*

S200 / K265 / B461
ED: NONE
ARCH: Crowland
TYPE: Royal charter(s?)
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *mansiones*; *carrucatae*; *leugatae*; *quarentenae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S201 / K266 / B462
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S202 / K268 / B466
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 13
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S203 / K274 / B482
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S204 / K243 / B452
ED: Earle: pp. 122–3
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S205 / K242 / B428
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S206 / K277 / B487
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*

S207 / K278 / B488 & 489
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE names & phrases
TERM(S): NONE

S208 / K280 / B492
ED: Earle: pp. 315–16
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S210 / K290 / B509
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S211 / K291 / B514
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S212 / K292 / B513
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S213 / K297 / B521
ED: NONE
ARCH: Crowland
TYPE: Royal charter(s)
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *mansiones*; *hida*

S214 / K299 / B524
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal lease(?)
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*; *hida*; *æceras*

S215 / K306 / B540
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S216 / K308 / B541
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchcombe
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S217 / K311 / B547
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & phrases
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S218 / K313 / B551
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Lease
LANG: Latin & OE prose, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *hida*

S219 / K1066 / B552
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S220 / K1068 / B557
ED: NONE
ARCH: St. Albans
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S221 / K330 / B587
ED: Earle: pp. 159–61
ARCH: Much Wenlock
TYPE: Lease?
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*

S222 / K304 / B537
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*; *hida*

S223 / K1075 / B579
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S224 / B583
ED: NONE
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted in MS)
TERM(S): *manentes*

S225 / K343 / B632
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 20
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S226 / K289 / B511
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*; *hida*

S227 / K7 / B25
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S228 / B26
ED: NONE
ARCH: Sherborne
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S229 / K985 / B27
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S230 / K18 / B50
ED: Kelly, Selsey: pp. 99–101; Earle: pp. 281–3
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *tributarii*

S231 / K24 / B63
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S232 / K992 / B64
ED: Kelly, Selsey: 1
ARCH: Selsey
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *tributarii*; *cassatae*

S233 / K40 / B89
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*

S234 / K29 / B70
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *manentes*

S235 / K994 / B72
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S236 / K20 / B61
ED: (Earle: p. 426)
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S237 / B62
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *mansiones*

S238 / K71 / B121
ED: Earle: pp. 21–2
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S239 / K45 / B100
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 2
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*

S240
ED: Bates, Two Cartularies, 5
ARCH: Muchelney
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S241 / K46 / B101
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 4
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S242 / K997 / B102
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S243 / K48 / B103
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*

S244
ED: Bates, Two Cartularies, 106
ARCH: Muchelney
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *mansae*

S245 / K50 / B108
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S246 / K51 / B109
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S247 / K49 / B112
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) & OE bounds
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S248 / B113
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*

S249
ED: Bates, Two Cartularies, 1
ARCH: Muchelney
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S250 / K73 / B142
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansiones*; *hida*

S251 / K74 / B143
ED: Earle: p. 426
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S252 / K31 / B74
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 1
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S253 / K76 / B147
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S254 / K1002 / B158
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *manentes*; *æceras*

S255 / B1331
ED: Napier & Stevenson: pp. 1–3
ARCH: Exeter (Crediton)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S256 / K94 / B170
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S257 / K93 / B169
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter?
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S258 / K1006 / B179
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): NONE

S259 / K1007 / B180
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S260 / K103 / B185
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S261
ED: Bates, Two Cartularies, 6
ARCH: Muchelney
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S262 / K115 / B200
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wells
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S263 / B224
ED: NONE
ARCH: Sherborne
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S264 / K133 / B225
ED: NONE
ARCH: ? (Bedwyn?)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S265 / K193 / B327
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S266 / K144 / B242
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 11; Earle: pp. 332–3
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *æceras*

S267
ED: Finberg ECW: pp. 118–20
ARCH: Athelney
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S268 / K180 / B282
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 7
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiones*; *æceras*

S269 / K158 / B258
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 6
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S270 / K234 / B411
ED: Earle: pp. 107–8
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church (Lyminge)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *iugera*

S270a / K178 / B300
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S271 / K223 / B395
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 18
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S272 / K1035 / B390
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *manentes*; *hida*; *æceras*

S273 / K1033 / B389
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S274 / K1037 / B392
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S275 / K1036 / B391
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S276 / K1038 / B393
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S277 / K232 / B410
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 2
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*

S278 / K236 / B413
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 11
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S279 / B852
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 18
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal lease
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *aratra*

S280 / K239 / B418
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 19; Earle: pp. 287–8
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S281 / K1044 / B423
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S282 / K224 / B396
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S283 / K1031 / B377
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *manentes*; *hida*; *æceras*

S284 / K1039 / B398
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S285 / K222 / B394
ED: NONE
ARCH: Chertsey
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S286 / K1046 / B419 & 420
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *iugera*

S286a
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 19
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *aratra*

S287 / K241 / B426
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds, OE en.
TERM(S): *iugera*; *æceras*

S288 / K246 / B431
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal lease(?)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S289 / K252 / B437
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 20
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S290
ED: Finberg ECW: 567
ARCH: Sherborne
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal & OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S291 / K254 / B439
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 21
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *aratra*

S292 / K253 / B438
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S293 / B442
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds (frag.)
TERM(S): *aratra*

S294
ED: Finberg ECW: 566
ARCH: Sherborne
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S295
ED: O'Donovan, Sherborne: 3; Finberg ECW: 642
ARCH: Sherborne
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S296 / K259 / B449
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE place names
TERM(S): *iugera*

S297 / B853
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 20
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *aratra*

S298 / K260 / B451
ED: Earle: pp. 119–22
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*

S299 / K264 / B460
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 22
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): (*æceras*)

S300 / K1049 / B459
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 21
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S301 / K263 / B457
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S302 / B471
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 14
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S303 / K1050 / B472
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & place names
TERM(S): *hida*

S304 / K1054 / B468
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *hida*

S305 / K271 / B470
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE place names
TERM(S): *hida*

S306 / K273 / B481
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S307 / B474
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S308 / K270 / B469
ED: NONE
ARCH: ?
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): NONE

S309 / K1055 / B473
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S310 / K1051 / B475
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S311 / K1052 / B476
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, prose b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S312 / K1053 / B477
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S313 / K1053 / B478
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: (OE copy of S312?)
TERM(S): *hida*

S314 & 294a / K275 / B483 & 484
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S315 / K276 / B486
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 23; Earle: pp. 336–7
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *iugera*

S316 / K269 / B467
ED: Earle: pp. 123–5
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *aratra*

S317 / K1056 / B491
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S318 / B494
ED: NONE
ARCH: Paris, Saint-Denis
TYPE: Royal confirm & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S319 / B538
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds, OE en.
TERM(S): *aratra*

S320 / K255 / B444
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S321 / K312 / B548
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 27; Earle: pp. 338–9
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *æceras*

S322 & 294b / K1048 / B447
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE endorse
TERM(S): *mansiones*; *hida*

S323 / K1041 / B407
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE names & phrases
TERM(S): *iugera*

S324 / B854
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 21
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S325 / K1057 / B493
ED: Earle: pp. 349–50
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: ?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S326 / K284 / B500
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 3
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S327 / K285 / B502
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 24
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal lease(?)
LANG: Latin, OE cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *æceras*

S328 / K281 / B496
ED: Earle: pp. 125–8
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE names & phrases
TERM(S): *aratra*; *sulung*

S329 / K283 / B499
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 4
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *carrucatae*

S330 / B855
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 22
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *aratra*

S331 / K287 / B506
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 25; Earle: p. 289
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal lease(?)
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *aratra*

S332 / K288 / B507
ED: Earle: pp. 133–6
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds, OE en.
TERM(S): *aratra*

S333 / B510
ED: O'Donovan, Sherborne: 6
ARCH: Sherborne
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S334 / K300 / B525
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 5
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S335 / K286 / B504 & 505
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 15
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S336 / K1059 / B508
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S337 / K1259 / B1210
ED: NONE
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S338 / K294 / B516
ED: Earle: pp. 137–9
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S338a / K1165 / B873
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 16
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S339 / K295 / B518
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 26
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): NONE

S340 / K1061 / B520
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S341 / B886
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S342 / K302 / B526
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 6
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: OE, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *hida*

S342a
ED: NONE
ARCH: Athelney
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S343 / K309 / B545
ED: Finberg ECW: 415
ARCH: Athelney
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S343a
ED: NONE
ARCH: Athelney
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S344 / B536
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds, OE en.
TERM(S): NONE

S345 / K1065 / B550
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S346 / K316 / B561
ED: Earle: pp. 316–18
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *pedes*

S347 / K319 / B564
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S348 / K320 / B567
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*; *hida*

S349 / K322 / B571
ED: NONE
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*; *iugera*

S350 / K324 / B576
ED: Earle: pp. 157–8
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE names & phrases (bc omitted, K)
TERM(S): *manentes*; *æceras*

S351 / K1121 / B740
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S352 / K1064 / B549
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter?
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S353 / K318 / B563
ED: NONE
ARCH: Chertsey
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S354 / K1069 / B565
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S355 / K326 / B581
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 18
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S356 / K321 / B568 & 569
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S357 / K310 / B531 & 532
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 7
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin & OE prose
TERM(S): *hida*

S358 / B592
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal confirmation
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S359 / K977 & 1077 / B594
ED: (Earle: pp. 350–2)
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: OE & Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*; *æceras*; *gyrda*

S360 / K332 / B596
ED: Miller, New Minster: 3
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S361 / K340 / B607
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Legal dispute?
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S362 / K1078 / B595
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S363 / K333 / B589
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S364 / K331 / B588
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *gyrda*

S365 / B597
ED: Miller, New Minster: 4
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE / ME / Latin b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S366 / B598
ED: Miller, New Minster: 5
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE / ME / Latin b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S367 / K1081 / B603
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal confirmation
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S367a
ED: Keynes 1993b, pp.310–11
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S368 / K335 / B600
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S369 / K1080 / B601
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 19
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*; *æceras*

S370 / K336 / B602
ED: Miller, New Minster: 6
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Royal charter(s?)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *uirgatae*; *æceras*; *furlang*

S371 / K338 / B606
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S372 / K1085 / B613
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*

S373 / K1084 / B612
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE endorse
TERM(S): *manentes*

S374 / K337 / B604
ED: Miller, New Minster: 7
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S375 / K1090 / B623
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal confirmation
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S376 / K342 / B620 & 621
ED: (Earle: pp. 290–1)
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal lease(?)
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *mansae*

S377 / K1092 & 1094 / B625 & 626
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (1094 OE b.c.)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S378 / K1091 / B624
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & prose
TERM(S): *manentes*

S379 / B635
ED: Miller, New Minster: 8
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE / ME / Latin b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *æceras*

S380 / K1083 / B610
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wells
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S381 / K1096 / B629
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S382 / K1093 / B627
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*

S383 / K1095 / B628
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S384 / K334 / B593
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S385 / K1088 / B622
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal lease
LANG: OE, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *hida*

S386 / K373 / B724
ED: Earle: pp. 328–9
ARCH: Exeter
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S387 / B726
ED: Earle: pp. 329–30
ARCH: Exeter
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*

S388 / B725
ED: Earle: pp. 325–6
ARCH: Exeter
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S389 / K371 / B723
ED: Earle: pp. 326–7
ARCH: Exeter
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *perticae*; *æceras*

S390
ED: [Text of S386 & bounds of S389]
ARCH: Exeter
TYPE: -
LANG: -
TERM(S): NONE

S391 / K1119 & 375 / B738 & 739
ED: NONE
ARCH: Milton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin & ME trans.
TERM(S): *hida*

S392 / B746
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 4
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted in MS)
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S393 / K1108 / B690
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *hida*

S394 / B641
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 26
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S395 / B642
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 2
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S396 / K1099 / B659
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 21
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *manentes*

S397 / B658
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 3
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S398 / K344 & 1100 / B660
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S399 / B664
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (frag.), OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S400 / K1101 / B663
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansiones*; ¥

S401 / K347 / B665
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): NONE

S402 / K348 / B666
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S403 / K350 / B669
ED: Kelly, Selsey: 17
ARCH: Selsey
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S404 / K346 / B667 & 668
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 22
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S405 / B1343
ED: NONE
ARCH: Exeter (Crediton)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S406 / K349 / B700
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S407 / K352 / B703 & 1344
ED: NONE
ARCH: York
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S408 / K1106 / B681
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 27
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S409 / K357 / B683
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 25
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S410 / K1104 / B680
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 26
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S411 / K356 / B682
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 29; Earle: pp. 369–70
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S412 / K1102 / B674
ED: (Earle: pp. 353–5)
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S413 / K1103 / B675
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 23
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *gyrda*

S414 / K354 / B670
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S415 / K355 / B671
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S416 / K353 / B677 & 679
ED: Earle: pp. 166–8
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter & will
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & prose
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S417 / K1107 / B689
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S418 / B692
ED: Miller, New Minster: 10
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE / ME / Latin b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *æceras*

S418a
ED: NONE
ARCH: Barking
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S419 / K361 / B691
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 8
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. (ME?)
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *carrucatae*

S420 / K363 / B697
ED: NONE
ARCH: Chertsey
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S421 / K362 / B694
ED: Earle: pp. 169–71
ARCH: Exeter (Crediton)
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S422 / B695
ED: O'Donovan, Sherborne: 7
ARCH: Sherborne
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S423 / B696
ED: O'Donovan, Sherborne: 8
ARCH: Sherborne
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): NONE

S424 / K1109 / B699
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*

S425 / K364 / B702
ED: Earle: pp. 171–2
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S426 / K365 / B704
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S427 / K1110 / B705 & 706
ED: Earle: pp. 355–60
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *mansae*; *hida*

S428 / K351 / B701
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*

S429 / K366 / B708
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 9
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S430 / K1111 / B707
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal lease(?)
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *gyrda*

S431 / B709
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *æceras*; *furlang*

S432 / B715
ED: Finberg ECW: 436
ARCH: Athelney
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE (ME?)
TERM(S): *æceras*

S433 / K369 & 370 / B721 & 722
ED: Earle: pp. 322–4
ARCH: Exeter
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae* 370; *mansae* 369

S434 / K367 / B716
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S435 / K367 / B718
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S436 / K1112 / B719
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S437 / K1114 / B712
ED: NONE
ARCH: Thorney
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S438 / K1115 / B714
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*

S439 / K1113 / B713
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S440 / K1117 / B729
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S441 / K1116 / B730
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*

S442 / K372 / B728
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S443 / K374 / B727
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S444 / K1118 / B731
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*

S445 / K376 / B744
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 10
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S446 / K1122 / B742
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*

S447 / K377 / B741
ED: Earle: pp. 173–5
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S448 / K1123 / B743
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 30
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S449 / K378 & 1120 / B734
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S450 / K1143 / B785
ED: NONE
ARCH: Exeter
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S451 / K359 / B644, 645 & 1339
ED: NONE
ARCH: Beverley
TYPE: Royal charter?
LANG: OE (ME?) verse
TERM(S): NONE

S452 / K1126 / B735 & 736
ED: NONE
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Royal confirm & priv.
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): NONE

S453 / K1127 / B737
ED: NONE
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Royal confirm & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S454 / K1128 / B720
ED: NONE
ARCH: Borough of Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *hida*

S455
ED: Bates, Two Cartularies, 2
ARCH: Muchelney
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S456 / K358 / B646 & 858
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ripon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (incomplete? K)
TERM(S): NONE

S457 / K360 / B647 & 859
ED: Earle: pp. 438–9
ARCH: Ripon
TYPE: Royal charter?
LANG: OE (ME?) verse
TERM(S): NONE

S458 / K345 / B745
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S459 / K386 / B754
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 11
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S460 / K1135 / B759
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 31
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): NONE

S461 / K1134 / B762
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 32
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S462 / K383 / B749
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S463 / K1131 / B758
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*

S464 / K385 / B753
ED: Earle: pp. 175–7
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S465 / K1136 / B763
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S466 / K384 / B752
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S467 / K1137 / B764
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S468 / K387 / B756
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S469 / K379 / B757
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S470 / K380 / B748
ED: Miller, New Minster: 12
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S471 / K1133 / B761
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 33
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S472 / K381 / B750
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal lease(?)
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*; *æceras*

S473 / K382 / B751
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal lease(?)
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): NONE

S474 / K389 / B768
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S475 / K1140 / B770
ED: Finberg ECW p.444
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S476 / K388 / B767
ED: Finberg ECW p.443
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S477 / K1138 / B766
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal confirm & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S478 / K390 / B769
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 12
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S479 / B771
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 5
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *hida*

S480 / K1141 / B777
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 34
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *gyrda*

S481 / K393 / B776
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S482 / K1142 / B778
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 35
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S483 / K391 / B774
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *segetes*

S484 / B772
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 6
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): NONE

S485 / K392 / B775
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 13
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S486 / K1146 / B788
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S487 / K1145 / B787
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *perticae*; *hida*

S488 / K1144 / B786
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*; *gyrda*

S489 / B784
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *sulung*

S490 / K394 / B781
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 14
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S491 / K1147 / B789
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 37
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S492 / K395 / B782
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S493 / K401 / B795
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S494 / K1150 / B798
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 38
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S495 / K399 & 402 / B792
ED: (Earle: pp. 178–80)
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S496 / K1151 / B801
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 36; (Earle: pp. 379–80)
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S497 / B791
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *sulung*

S498 / B799
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S499 / K400 / B794
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S500 / K1152 / B802
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 39
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S501 / K1132 & 1149 / B755 & 797
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 27
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *aratra*; *æceras*

S502 / K397 / B793
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 15
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S503 / K1148 / B793
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S504 / K398 / B800
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S505 / B803
ED: Miller, New Minster: 13
ARCH: ? (Winchester, New Minster)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *mansiones*; *iugera*

S506 / K403 / B807
ED: Kelly, Selsey: 18
ARCH: Selsey
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S507 / K404 / B808
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): NONE

S508 / K408 / B814
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S509 / K406 / B816
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S510 / K407 / B813
ED: Earle: pp. 180–2
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *segetes*; *geocled*

S511 / K1139 / B765
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S512 / B780
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *sulung*

S513 / B817
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S514 / K409 / B779
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 28
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *aratra*

S515 / K405 / B811
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S516 / B894
ED: NONE
ARCH: Sherborne
TYPE: Royal lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S517 / K1154 / B810
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S517a
ED: NONE
ARCH: Barking
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted in MS)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S517b
ED: NONE
ARCH: Barking
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted in MS)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S518 / K1176 / B872 & 1345
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 28
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter?
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S519 / K412 / B818
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S520 / K411 / B815
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter?
LANG: Latin, OE names & phrases
TERM(S): *manentes*

S521 / K1157 / B831
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal confirmation
LANG: Latin, OE endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *manentes*

S522 / B832
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S522a
ED: NONE
ARCH: Barking
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted in MS)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S523 / K1156 / B830
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S524 / K415 / B828
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S525 / K1159 / B834
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 40; (Earle: p. 381)
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *hida*

S526 / B824
ED: Miller, New Minster: 15
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Royal lease
LANG: Latin, OE & ME Latin b.c.
TERM(S): *tributarii*; *mansae*

S527 / K415 / B821 & 822
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wells
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S528 / K413 / B820
ED: (Earle: pp. 182–4)
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S529 / K1158 / B833
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 41
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S530 / K417 / B829
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S531 / K422 / B870
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S532 / K1163 / B865
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S533 / K423 / B871
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S534 / K418 / B868
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 16
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S535 / B869
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *sulung*

S536 / K1161 / B864
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S537 / K1160 / B860 & 861
ED: Earle: p. 414
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S538 / K420 / B872
ED: NONE
ARCH: Crowland
TYPE: Decree & charters?
LANG: Latin, OE place names
TERM(S): *hida*; *æceras*

S540 / K421 / B862 & 863
ED: (Earle: pp. 184–5)
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. (incomplete? K)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S541 / K419 / B867
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S542 / K1164 / B866
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 42
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S543 / K428 / B879
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S544 / K424 / B883
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 43; Earle: pp. 370–2
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S545 / B885
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 10
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted in MS)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S546 / K425 & 1166 / B880 & 881
ED: Earle: pp. 185–9
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *sulung*

S547 / K1162 / B875
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S548 / B884
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 9
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted in MS)
TERM(S): NONE

S549 / B876
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 8
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S550 / K426 & 1360 / B882
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S551 / B878
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S552 / K427 / B877
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 44; Earle: pp. 189–92
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & place names
TERM(S): *mansae*

S552a
ED: NONE
ARCH: Barking
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S553 / B887
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S554 / B891
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 12
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted in MS)
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S555 / B889
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiunculae*

S556 / K1167 / B893
ED: NONE
ARCH: Thorney
TYPE: Royal confirmation
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S557 / B890
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 11
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): NONE

S558 / K430 / B892
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 45; (Earle: pp. 373–4)
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S559 / K431 / B895
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 47
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S560 / K1169 / B900
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 49
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S561 / K1168 / B899
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 48
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S562 / K432 / B898
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 17
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S563 / B903
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S564 / K1172 / B908
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 50; Earle: pp. 383–4
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S565 / K1170 / B905
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansiones*; *hida*

S566 / K–433 / B909
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S567 / K1171 / B908
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 51; (Earle: pp. 381–2)
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal confirmation
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & prose
TERM(S): *hida*; *æceras*

S568 / K434 / B904
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *æceras*

S569 / B911
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 13
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S570 / K455 / B923
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 18
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *carrucatae*

S571 / K1174 / B931
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S572 / B1346
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ely
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S573 / K435 / B910
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 20; (Earle: p. 428)
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S574 / K1155 / B987
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiones*; *hida*

S575 / K1178 / B902
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S576 / B1021
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 18
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S577 / K1177 / B1022
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 77
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S578 / K1175 / B888
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 46
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S579 / B1023
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wells
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S580 / B901
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S581 / K1179 / B975
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 53
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S582 / K436 / B917
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiunculae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S583 / K1194 / B981
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 58
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *furlang*

S584 / K442 / B967
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 68
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *hida*; *æceras*

S585 / K1184 / B948
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S586 / K479 / B1030
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S587 / K437 / B945
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 70; (Earle: pp. 941–2)
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S588 / K1205 / B948
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 71
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S589 / K1189 / B938
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S590 / K1202 / B932
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 60
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *æceras*

S591 / K1199 / B942
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 72
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S592 / K443 / B943
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*?

S593 / K457 / B957
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S594 / K444 / B935
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 54
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S595 / K1180 / B940
ED: NONE
ARCH: Thorney
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Bilingual (frag,)
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S596 / K1186 / B960
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S597 / K(1191), 1196 & 1197 / B941, 949 & 950
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 55
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: (Latin), OE b.c.
TERM(S): (*mansae*); *hida*

S598 / K1192 / B976
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S599 / B944
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 16
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S600 / K1181 / B953
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S601 / B952
ED: O'Donovan, Sherborne: 18
ARCH: Sherborne (Horton)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S602 / B954
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 17
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): NONE

S603 / K1206 / B977
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 61
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S604 / K1193 / B979
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S605 / K441 / B924
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 52; (Earle: pp. 374–5)
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiunculae*; *æceras*

S606 / K1182 / B959
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S607 / K1208 / B919
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 57; (Earle: pp. 385–6)
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *iugera*; *æceras*

S608 / K1183 / B969
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S609 / K454 / B958
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S610 / K452 / B927
ED: (Earle: pp. 375–6)
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S611 / K448 / B966
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 63
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S612 / K446 / B934
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S613 / K1187 / B974
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S614 / K1200 / B971
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 56
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): NONE

S615 / K449 / B986
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 62
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (fragmentary), OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S616 / K459 / B930
ED: Kelly, Selsey: 19
ARCH: Selsey
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S617 / K1195 / B964
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 67
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S618 / K453 / B965
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 66; (Earle: pp. 192–3)
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin & OE, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S619 / K1190 / B982
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S620 / K1204 / B984
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 74
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S621 / K1203 / B955
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 63
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S622 / K1198 / B963
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 64
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S623 / B978
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 14
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*

S624 / K445 / B961
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 65; (Earle: p. 193)
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin & OE, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S625 / K439 / B933
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S626 / K438 / B920
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiunculae*

S627 / K440 / B973
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S628 / B951
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 15
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S629 / K460 / B921
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *iugera*; *hida*

S630 / K447 / B970
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 21
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S631 / K456 / B985
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin & OE, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S632
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 19; (Finberg, ECW, p.171)
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S633 / K451 / B937
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S634 / K1207 / B925
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 69
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S635 / K1188 / B962
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S636 / K450 / B926
ED: Earle: pp. 194–5
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S637 / K–458 / B–968
ED: NONE
ARCH: Christchurch (Twynham)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S638 / K1185 / B983
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S639 / K1210 / B1005
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 75
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S640 / K1209 / B1004
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S641 / B988
ED: Miller, New Minster: 20
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE & Latin b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S642 / K468 / B992
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S643 / K463 / B1001
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S644 / B995
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S645 / B994
ED: NONE
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S646 / K465 / B999 & 1347
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ely (?)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S647 / K467 / B998
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S648 / B1000
ED: Miller, New Minster: 19
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE / ME / Latin b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S649 / B1003
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S650 / K1213 / B1032
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 78
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S651 / K1214 / B1035
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 79
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S652
ED: Finberg ECW p.140–1
ARCH: Athelney
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S653 / K1211 / B1027
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *segetes*; *hida*

S654 / K1212 / B1028
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 80
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S655 / K470 / B1026
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 22
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S656 / K474 / B1033
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 23
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S657 / K1215 / B1034
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 81
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S658 / K1224 / B1046
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 83
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal confirm & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S659 / K–472 / B1029 (& 1348)
ED: NONE
ARCH: York
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S660 / B1045
ED: Miller, New Minster: 22
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE & ME b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S661 / K485 / B1009
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiunculae*

S662 / K476 / B1031
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S662a / K475 / B1025
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S663 / K1216 / B1002
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 59; Earle: pp. 384–5
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *æceras*

S664 / K461 / B936
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (fragmentary), OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S665 / K1217 / B996
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 37
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (incomplete? K)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S666 / K462 / B956
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin & OE, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S667 / K473 / B1041
ED: NONE
ARCH: Chester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *manentes*

S668 / B1145
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S669 / B1103
ED: NONE
ARCH: Exeter
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S670 / K569 / B1048
ED: NONE
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S671 / K518 / B1295
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 29
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *sulung*

S672 / K1273 / B1183
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *hida*

S673 / K1221 / B(907) & 1047
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 84; (Earle: pp. 387–8)
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter(s)
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*; *furlang*

S674 / K471 / B1043
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S675 / K1219 / B1042
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*

S676 / K1220 / B1037
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S676a
ED: Keynes 1994, p.166
ARCH: Coventry
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansiunculae*

S677 / B1040
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wells
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *manentes*

S678 / K1218 / B1036
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 82; (Earle: p. 386)
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiones*; *iugera*; *hida*; *æceras*

S679 / B1044 & 1349
ED: NONE
ARCH: York
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S680 / K1225 / B1051
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S681 / K480 / B1052
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S682 / K1228 / B1058
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 85
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *mansae*

S683 / K1227 / B1054
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S684 / B1056
ED: NONE
ARCH: Exeter
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *mansae*; *hida*

S685 / K482 / B1053
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S686 / B1057
ED: NONE
ARCH: Paris, Saint-Denis
TYPE: Royal confirmation
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S687 / K481 / B1055
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 86; Earle: pp. 195–7
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE place names & en.
TERM(S): NONE

S688 / K1236 / B1067
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 88
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S689 / K1235 / B1080 & 1144
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 89
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S690 / K487 / B1066
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 87; (Earle: pp. 197–9)
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S691 / K1234 / B1079
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 90
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S692 / K484 / B1074
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S693 / K1231 / B1077 & 1078
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal lease
LANG: Bilingual (OE paraphrase, b.c. & endorse)
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S694 / K486 / B1073
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiunculae*

S695 / K1230 / B1076
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S696 / K1232 / B1071
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S697 / K488 / B1072
ED: (Earle: pp. 199–200)
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S698 / K1233 / B1075
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 91
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S699 / K1229 / B1068
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S700 / K1240 / B1095
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 92
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S701 / K1239 / B1094
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 93
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S702 / B1085
ED: Earle: pp. 292–4
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*; *gyrda*

S703 / K490 / B1082
ED: (Earle: pp. 200–1)
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S704
ED: Rose-troup 1929
ARCH: Buckfast
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *perticae*

S705 / K1238 / B1093
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 94; Earle: pp. 388–9
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S705a
ED: NONE
ARCH: Athelney
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, ME b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *æceras*

S712a / B1352 (bounds of S712)
ED: NONE
ARCH: ?
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*; *oxgangas*

S706 / K489 / B1083
ED: NONE
ARCH: ? (Wilton)
TYPE: Royal charter?
LANG: Latin (frag.), OE b.c. & en.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S707 / B1089
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 19
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S708 / K1249 / B1124
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 96
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S709 / K1244 / B1116 & 1117
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wells
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S710 / K501 / B1115
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 24
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S711 / K502 / B1099
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S712 / K–500 / B1112 (& 1352)
ED: NONE
ARCH: York
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S713 / K1247 / B1121 & 1122
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 97
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S714 / K1250 / B1125
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 98
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S715 / K1245 / B1118
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S716 / K504 / B1113 (& 1353)
ED: NONE
ARCH: York
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (OE b.c. omitted by K)
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S717 / B1101
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S718 / K1243 / B1114
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S719 / K503 / B1120
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *iugera*

S720 / B1100
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 20
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S721 / K505 / B1104
ED: (Earle: p. 427)
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal lease(?)
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S722 / K1248 / B1123
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 99
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S723 / K1246 / B1119
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*

S724 / K1253 / B1142
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 100
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S725 / K1252 / B1143
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 101; (Earle: p. 389)
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S726 / K1251 / B1134
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S727 / B1127
ED: NONE
ARCH: Romsey
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S728
ED: Johnson 1948
ARCH: Ghent, St. Peter's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S729
ED: Bates, Two Cartularies, 3
ARCH: Muchelney
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S730 / K513 / B1138
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 25
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S731 / K514 / B1135
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. (frag.)
TERM(S): *hida*

S732 / K1254 / B1171
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 103
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S733 / K1256 / B1172
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 104
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S734 / K1255 / B1169
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 102
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S735 / K516 / B1164
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiunculae*

S736 / K521 / B1165
ED: NONE
ARCH: Abbotsbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *uirgatae*

S737 / K1257 / B1189
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 105
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *æceras*

S738 / K526 / B1176
ED: (Earle: p. 294)
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S739 / B1175
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 21
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S740
ED: Bates, Two Cartularies, 7
ARCH: Muchelney
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S741 / K520 / B1178
ED: NONE
ARCH: Crowland
TYPE: Decree & charters?
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *perticae*

S742 / K524 / B1177
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S743 / K525 / B1188
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiunculae*

S744 / K522 / B1186
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 26; (Earle: p. 429)
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S745 / K527 / B1190
ED: Miller, New Minster: 23
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S746 / K523 / B1191
ED: Miller, New Minster: 24
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S747 / K537 / B1196
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S748 / K533 / B1199
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S749 / B1283
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 22
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal lease(?)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S750 / K1260 / B1209
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 106
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S751 / K536 / B1201
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter(s?)
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S752 / K532 / B1195
ED: NONE
ARCH: Chertsey
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*; *mansiones*

S753 / B1198
ED: NONE
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S754 / K535 / B1200
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S755 / K534 / B1197
ED: NONE
ARCH: Exeter
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S756 / K1266 / B1213
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 108
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S757 / K1261 / B1222
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 111
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S758 / K546 / B1221
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 110
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S759 / K1262 / B1224
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 112
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S760 / K1263 / B1225
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 113
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S761 / K1265 / B1227
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 107
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S762 / K547 / B1218
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 27
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *iugera*; *æceras*

S763 / K544 / B1217
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S764 / K545 / B1214
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S765 / B1215
ED: NONE
ARCH: Romsey
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. (ME?)
TERM(S): NONE

S766
ED: Searle 1894, p.211–13
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *hida*

S767 / K543 / B1216
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S768 / B1211
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 23
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S769 / K1264 / B1226
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 109
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S770 / B1231
ED: NONE
ARCH: Exeter
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *perticae*; *gyrda*

S771 / K556 / B1230
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S772 / K1267 / B1229
ED: Earle: pp. 206–7
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S773 / K548 / B1234
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S774 / K483 & 555 / B1228 & 1264
ED: NONE
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S775 / K565 / B1259
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S776 / K564 / B1265
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ely
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S777 / K566 / B1257
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *mansae*; *hida*

S778 / K1268 / B1260
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 116
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S779 / K563 / B1266 & 1267
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ely
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Bilingual?
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S780 / K1269 / B1268
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ely
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S781 / K1270 / B1269
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ely
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S782 / K568 / B1270
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): NONE

S783 / K567 / B1277
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin & OE prose
TERM(S): NONE

S784 / K571 / B1285
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S785 / K573 / B1287
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiunculae*

S786 / K570 / B1282
ED: Earle: pp. 441–52
ARCH: Worcester (Pershore)
TYPE: Royal confirm & priv.
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S787 / K575 & 908 / B1258 & 1280
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds & b.c.
TERM(S): NONE

S788 / K574 / B1284
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin, OE endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *iugera*

S789 / K572 / B1286
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S790 / K578 / B1292
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiunculae*; *hida*

S791 / K577 / B1294
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiunculae*; *æceras*

S792 / K579 / B1297
ED: NONE
ARCH: Thorney
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *mansae*

S793 / B1291
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiunculae*

S794 / K1274 / B1305
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ely
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S794a
ED: Keynes 1994, p.168–9
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiunculae*

S795 / B1303
ED: NONE
ARCH: Exeter (Crediton)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S796 / K584 / B1301
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S797 / B1300
ED: NONE
ARCH: Crowland
TYPE: Legal dispute
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S798 / K581 / B1310 & 1311
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ramsey
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S799 / K585 / B1304
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE prose endorse. & (ME / Latin?) b.c.
TERM(S): *æceras*

S800 / K592 / B1316
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S801 / K588 / B1312
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S802 / K590 / B1315
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S803 / K589 / B1314
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S804 / K587 / B1313
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, prose b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S805 / K1275 / B1309
ED: NONE
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S806 / K598 / B1219 & 1220
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Bilingual
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S807 / K582 / B1302
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S808 / K519 / B1185
ED: Earle: pp. 415–16
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S809 / K562 / B1173
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 29
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S810
ED: Picken 1960
ARCH: St Kew
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S811 / K597 / B1319
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*

S812 / B1187
ED: NONE
ARCH: Romsey
TYPE: Royal confirm & priv.
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. (ME?)
TERM(S): NONE

S813 / B1308
ED: O'Donovan, Sherborne: 10
ARCH: Sherborne
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S814 / K601 / B1150
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S815 / K606 / B1155
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S816 / K608 / B1157
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S817 / K512 & 583 / B1147 & 1148
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin & OE prose
TERM(S): *hida*

S818 / K610 / B1159
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S819 / K602 / B1151
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S820 / K595 / B1307
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S821 / K599 / B1146
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S822 / K607 / B1156
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S823 / K605 / B1154
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *mansae*

S824 / K603 / B1152
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S825 / K600 / B1149
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S826 / K604 / B1153
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S827 / K609 / B1158
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S828 / K1276
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 117; (Earle: p. 390)
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S829 / K1277
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 116
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *æceras*

S830
ED: Davidson 1883, p.281–3
ARCH: Exeter (Crediton)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *perticae*; *gyrda*

S831 / K611
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S832
ED: Earle: pp. 295–7
ARCH: Exeter
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): NONE

S832a
ED: NONE
ARCH: Athelney
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S833 / K1241 / B1096
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 95
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): NONE

S834 / K621
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S835 / K622
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S836 / K626
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S837 / K624
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S838 / K629
ED: NONE
ARCH: Tavistock
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S839 / K1278
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 118
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S840 / K633
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *iugera*; *hida*; *æceras*

S841 / K632
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. (ME?)
TERM(S): *manentes*

S842
ED: Miller, New Minster: 26
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Royal charter(s)
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & prose
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *mansae*; *manentes*; *hida*

S843 / K1279
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 119
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S844 / K639
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S845 / K635
ED: Miller, New Minster: 27
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): NONE

S846 / K638
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S847
ED: Hart, ECEE, pp. 186–7
ARCH: Thorney
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *æceras*

S848 / K636
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S849 / K640
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): NONE

S850 / K641
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 28; (Earle: pp. 429–30)
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S851 / K1280
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 120
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S852 / K1281
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 121
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S853
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 24
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S854 / K643
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S855 / K1282
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 122
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S856 / K648
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S857 / K652
ED: Earle: pp. 361–3
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S858 / K1283
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 123
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S859 / K647
ED: NONE
ARCH: Christchurch (Twynham)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S860 / K650
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*; *hida*

S861 / K655
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *manentes*; *hida*

S862 / K654
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansiunculae*

S863
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 25
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted in MS)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S864 / K657
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 30; Earle: pp. 209–11
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *aratra*

S865
ED: Miller, New Minster: 28
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*; *æceras*

S866 / K659
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S867 / K658
ED: (Earle: pp. 363–4)
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S868 / K664
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S869
ED: Miller, New Minster: 30
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S870 / K665
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): NONE

S871
ED: Watkin iii. 704 (no.1303)
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S872 / K663
ED: Kelly, Selsey: 23
ARCH: Selsey
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S873 / K662
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*; *æceras*

S874 / K673
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *tributarii*; *hida*?

S875 / K1285
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 30
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S876 / K684
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 124
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S877
ED: Miller, New Minster: 31
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & prose
TERM(S): *æceras*; *sulung*

S878
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 27
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S879
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 26
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): NONE

S880 / K686
ED: NONE
ARCH: Exeter (Bodmin)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S881 / K687
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *æceras*

S882 / K689
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (OE b.c. omitted by K)
TERM(S): *mansiunculae*

S883 / K1289
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 125; (Earle: p. 391)
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S884
ED: Bates, Two Cartularies, 4
ARCH: Muchelney
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S885 / K688
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 31
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *sulung*

S886 / K692
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 126
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin & OE prose
TERM(S): *mansae*

S887 / K1292
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 127
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S888 / K696
ED: Earle: pp. 402–5
ARCH: St. Albans
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*; *iugera*

S889 / K1291
ED: (Earle: p. 364)
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *æceras*

S890
ED: OS Facs., iii. 35
ARCH: Exeter (Crediton)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S891 / K698
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*

S892
ED: Napier & Stevenson: pp. 19–22
ARCH: Coventry
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *tributarii*; *mansae*; *manentes*; *hida*

S893 / K700
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 32
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *sulung*

S894
ED: Thorpe, pp. 296–8
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal confirm & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *mansae*

S895 / K701
ED: O'Donovan, Sherborne: 11
ARCH: Sherborne
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S896 / K703
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 128
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S897 / K1294
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 130
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S898 / K705
ED: NONE
ARCH: Coventry
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S899 / K706
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 29
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): NONE

S900 / K1297
ED: NONE
ARCH: St. Albans
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S901 / K1295
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 132
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S902 / K1296
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 131; (Earle: pp. 391–2)
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S903
ED: Robinson, 1911: pp. 167–8
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): NONE

S904 / K707
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wherwell
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (& OE prose phrases)
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *mansae*

S905
ED: OS Facs., iii. 36
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *uirgatae*; *æceras*

S906 / K710
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 28; OS Facs., iii. Anglesey 2
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin & OE prose
TERM(S): NONE

S907 / K711
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ely
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S908 / K1300
ED: NONE
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S909 / K709
ED: NONE
ARCH: Oxford, St. Frideswide's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. (ME?)
TERM(S): NONE

S910 / K1301
ED: O'Donovan, Sherborne: 19
ARCH: Sherborne (Horton)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S911 / K714
ED: NONE
ARCH: Eynsham
TYPE: Royal charter(s?)
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *manentes*; *mansiones*; *mansiunculae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S912 / K672
ED: Earle: pp. 399–401
ARCH: St. Albans
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *mansae*

S913
ED: Ker 1948: pp. 73–4
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): *manentes*

S914 / K715
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): NONE

S915 / K1303
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 134
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S916 / K1304
ED: Napier & Stevenson: pp. 24–7
ARCH: St. Albans
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S917
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 30
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S918 / K1305
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 135; (Earle: p. 395)
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S919 / K725
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ely
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *mansae*

S920
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 31
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S921 / K1306
ED: NONE
ARCH: Athelney
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *perticae*

S922
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 32
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S923
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 33
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted in MS)
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S924
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 34
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S925 / K720
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *gyrda*

S926 / K719
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 33
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S927 / K1307
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 136
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S928
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 37
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S929
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 36
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted in MS)
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S930
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 35
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S931 / K1308
ED: NONE
ARCH: Thorney
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S931a
ED: NONE
ARCH: Barking
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted in MS)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S931b
ED: NONE
ARCH: Barking
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansiunculae*

S932
ED: Finberg ECWM p.143–5
ARCH: Pershore
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S933 / K1309
ED: O'Donovan, Sherborne: 15
ARCH: Sherborne
TYPE: Royal lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiunculae*

S934 / K1255 & 1310 / B1170
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 137; (Earle: p. 393)
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiunculae*?

S935 / K723
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S936
ED: Hart, ECEE, pp. 206–7
ARCH: Thorney
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S937 / K1312
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 129
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter?
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S938 / K1284
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): NONE

S939 / K704
ED: Earle: pp. 217–18
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Legal dispute?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S940 / K718
ED: NONE
ARCH: Chertsey
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S941 / K1311
ED: NONE
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Royal confirm & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S942 / K712
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S943
ED: Hart, ECEE, pp. 190–1
ARCH: Thorney
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S944 / K713
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S945
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 52
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S946 / K642
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal writ
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S947 / K726
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*; *perticae*

S948 / K1153 / B809
ED: Hart, ECEE, pp. 198–9
ARCH: Thorney
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S949
ED: Haskins 1918 p.344
ARCH: Fécamp
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S950
ED: OS Facs., iii. 39
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): NONE

S951 / K–728
ED: NONE
ARCH: Exeter (St Germans)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S952 / K727
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S953
ED: OS Facs., ii. Exeter 10
ARCH: Exeter (St Germans)
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S954 / K729
ED: NONE
ARCH: Exeter
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S955 / K730
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 30
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *mansiones*

S956
ED: Miller, New Minster: 33
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S957 / K1316
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S958 / K734
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ely
TYPE: Royal charter?
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S959 / K737 & 1328
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): NONE

S960 / K739
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S961 / K741
ED: NONE
ARCH: Abbotsbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S962 / K743
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S963 / K744
ED: NONE
ARCH: Exeter (Crediton)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S964 / K746
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 138
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S965 / K748
ED: NONE
ARCH: Crowland
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S966 / K747
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S967 / K751
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 139; (Earle: pp. 393–4)
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S968 / K–749
ED: Farrer EYC, i. 8
ARCH: York
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S969 / K1318
ED: O'Donovan, Sherborne: 20
ARCH: Sherborne
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S970 / K752
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S971
ED: Davidson 1883, p.290–1
ARCH: Exeter / Canterbury, CC (Crediton?)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S972 / K750
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S973
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 140
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S974
ED: OS Facs., iii. 42
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *aratra*; *æceras*

S975 / K1322
ED: O'Donovan, Sherborne: 16
ARCH: Sherborne
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S976 / K753
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): NONE

S977 / K736
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *æceras*

S978 / K1320
ED: NONE
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S979 / K1324
ED: NONE
ARCH: Athelney
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted in MS)
TERM(S): *mansae*; *perticae*

S980 / K735
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Bilingual
TERM(S): NONE

S981 / K–1327
ED: (Thorpe, pp. 326–7)
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S982
ED: Haskins 1918 p.343–4
ARCH: Fécamp
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S983
ED: Hart, ECEE, pp. 206–7
ARCH: Thorney
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S984 / K740
ED: NONE
ARCH: St Benedict of Holme
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Bilingual
TERM(S): NONE

S985 / K731
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Letter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S986
ED: Earle: p. 232
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S987 / K1323
ED: Earle: p. 237
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal writ
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S988 / K1325
ED: Earle: pp. 237–8
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S989 / K756
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 32
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S990 / K1326
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 33
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S991 / K757
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Letter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S992 / K1319
ED: NONE
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S993 / K762
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 141
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S994 / K763
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S995 / K761
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Royal confirm & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S996 / K1331
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ramsey
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *mansae*

S997 / K1330
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ramsey
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S997a
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ghent, St. Peter's
TYPE: Royal confirmation
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S998 / K1332
ED: O'Donovan, Sherborne: 21
ARCH: Sherborne (Horton)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S999 / K767
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 142
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1000 / K916
ED: NONE
ARCH: Coventry
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1001 / K775
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S1002 / K771
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ghent, St. Peter's
TYPE: Royal confirm & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1003
ED: Davidson 1883, p.292–5
ARCH: Exeter
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1004 / K–772
ED: NONE
ARCH: Abbotsbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *perticae*

S1005 / K770
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church (west co?)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *perticae*; *gyrda*

S1006 / K774
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S1007 / K780
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S1008 / K781
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S1009 / K778
ED: Grundy, Wilts pp. 29–31
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S1010 / K778
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S1011 / K779
ED: NONE
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1012 / K776
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S1013 / K783
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S1014 / K784
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1015
ED: Hart, 1957/1 pp. 23–4
ARCH: Rouen, St. Ouen
TYPE: Royal lease
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): NONE

S1016 / K1335
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S1017
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 38
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted in MS)
TERM(S): *territoria*

S1018 / K786
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1019 / K787
ED: (Hooke 1994: p. 65)
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1020 / K792
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 145; (Earle: p. 394)
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1021 / K791
ED: NONE
ARCH: Exeter
TYPE: Royal confirm & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1022 / K793
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 144
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1023 / K796
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 146
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1024 / K798
ED: NONE
ARCH: Christchurch (Twynham)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1025 / K800
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 147; (Earle: pp. 394–5)
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1026 / K801
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1027
ED: Earle: pp. 300–2
ARCH: Exeter
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): NONE

S1028
ED: Harmer, Writs, pp. 538–9
ARCH: Paris, Saint-Denis
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): NONE

S1029 / K808
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Royal confirm & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1030 / K809
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ramsey
TYPE: Royal confirm & priv.
LANG: Latin, OE place names
TERM(S): *hida*

S1031
ED: Barlow 1970, pp. 334–5
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1032 / K1341
ED: O'Donovan, Sherborne: 22
ARCH: Sherborne
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1033 / K810
ED: NONE
ARCH: Rouen, St. Mary's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1034 / K811
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1035 / K812
ED: NONE
ARCH: Chertsey
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1036 / K813
ED: NONE
ARCH: Waltham
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1037 / K814
ED: NONE
ARCH: Exeter, St Olave
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): NONE

S1037a / K815
ED: NONE
ARCH: York
TYPE: Royal confirm & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1038 / K817
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *hida*

S1039
ED: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1040
ED: Widmore, Appendix no. 2
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal confirmation
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S1041 / K825
ED: NONE
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1042 / K816
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wells
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin, OE endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *mansae*

S1043 / K824
ED: NONE
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal charter & beq.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *uirgatae*; *hida*

S1044 / K769
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *æceras*; *sulung*

S1045 / K895 & 910
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE & Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1046 / K915 & 1346
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin & OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1047 / K896
ED: Hart, ECEE, pp. 73–4
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1048 / K900
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 34
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1049 / K794
ED: NONE
ARCH: Crowland
TYPE: Royal confirm & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1050 / K1344
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 36
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (b.c. omitted?)
TERM(S): *aratra*

S1051 / K907
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ely
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1052 / K911
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal writ (bequest)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *hida*

S1053
ED: Barlow 1970, p.330–1
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *hida*

S1054 / K890
ED: NONE
ARCH: Fécamp
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1055 / K785
ED: NONE
ARCH: St Benedict of Holme
TYPE: Royal confirm & priv.
LANG: Latin, OE prose endorse.
TERM(S): NONE

S1056 / K913
ED: NONE
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1057 / K912
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1058 / K797
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal charter?
LANG: Latin & OE prose
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S1059 / K819
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Royal charter?
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1060 / K806
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1061 / K914
ED: NONE
ARCH: Mont Saint-Michel
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1062
ED: Robertson, Charters no,118
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal confirmation
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1063 / K871
ED: NONE
ARCH: Abbotsbury
TYPE: Royal writ
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1064 / K841
ED: NONE
ARCH: Abbotsbury
TYPE: Royal writ
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1065 / K888
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 148
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): NONE

S1066 / K840
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 149; Earle: p. 342
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal writ
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): NONE

S1067 / K1343
ED: NONE
ARCH: Beverley
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1068 / K868
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1069 / K832
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Royal writ
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1070 / K1342
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1071 / K894
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1072 / K892 & 1345
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE & Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1073 / K852
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Royal writ
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1074 / K851
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Royal writ
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1075 / K879
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1076 / K876
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Royal writ (bequest)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1077 / K878
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1078 / K883 & 905
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE & Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1079 / K884
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1080 / K880
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1081 / K877
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Royal writ
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1082 / K882
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Royal writ (bequest)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1083 / K881
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1084 / K874
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1085 / K875
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Royal writ
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1086
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 31
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1087
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 32
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1088
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 33
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1089 / K909
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 34
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1090 / K847
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 35
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1091 / K831
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 35; Harmer, Writs, no. 38
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): NONE

S1092 / K854
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 39; Harmer, Writs, no. 39
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal writ (bequest)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1093 / K848
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 40
ARCH: Chertsey
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1094 / K850
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 41
ARCH: Chertsey
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1095 / K849
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 42
ARCH: Chertsey
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1096 / K856
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 43
ARCH: Chertsey
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1097
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 44
ARCH: Cirencester
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1098
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 45
ARCH: Coventry
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): NONE

S1099
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 46
ARCH: Coventry
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1100 / K885
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 47
ARCH: Ely
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): NONE

S1101 / K867
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 49
ARCH: Hereford
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): NONE

S1102 / K833
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 50
ARCH: Hereford
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1103
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 51
ARCH: London, English Cnihtengild
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1104 / K887
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 54
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1105
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 55
ARCH: Paris, Saint-Denis
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1106 / K906
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 58
ARCH: Ramsey
TYPE: Royal writ (bequest)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1107 / K903
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 59
ARCH: Ramsey
TYPE: Royal writ (bequest)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1108
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 60
ARCH: Ramsey
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1109 / K853
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 61 & Earle p.343–6
ARCH: Ramsey
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): NONE

S1110 / K904
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 62
ARCH: Ramsey
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): *uirgatae*

S1111 / K835
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 64
ARCH: Wells
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): NONE

S1112 / K838
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 65
ARCH: Wells
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): NONE

S1113 / K836
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 66
ARCH: Wells
TYPE: Royal writ
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): NONE

S1114 / K834
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 67
ARCH: Wells
TYPE: Royal writ
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1115 / K837
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 68 & Earle p.341
ARCH: Wells
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): NONE

S1116 / K839
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 69
ARCH: Wells
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): NONE

S1117 / K870
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 73
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (bequest)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1118 / K869
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 74
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1119 / K872
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 75
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (bequest)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1120 / K828
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 76
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1121 / K843
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 77
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): *iugera*; *æceras*

S1122 / K827
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 78
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1123 / K826
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 79
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1124 / K873
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 80
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (bequest)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1125
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 81
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1126 / K889
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 82
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1127
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 83
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1128 / K859
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 84
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (bequest)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1129 / K845
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 85
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (bequest)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1130 / K858
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 86
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1131
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 87
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1132 / K860
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 88
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1133
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 89
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1134 / K866
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 90
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1135 / K864
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 91
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (bequest)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1136 / K846
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 92
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1137
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 93
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1138 / K863
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 94
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1139 / K865
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 95
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1140 / K842
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 96
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1141 / K886
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 97
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1142 / K855
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 98 & Earle p.302
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1143
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 99
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1144 / K830
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 100
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1145
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 101
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1146 / K829
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 102
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1147
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 103
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1148 / K862
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 104
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1149 / K861
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 105
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1150 / K857
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 106
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1151
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 109
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1152
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 110
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1153
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 111
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal writ (bequest)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1154 / K891
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 112
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1155
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 114
ARCH: Wolverhampton
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1156
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 115
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1157
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 116
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1158
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 117
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1159 / K893
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 118
ARCH: York
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1160
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 119
ARCH: York
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1161
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 120
ARCH: York
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1162
ED: Harmer 1959, pp. 101–2
ARCH: Hereford
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1163 / K976
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 71
ARCH: Wells
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): NONE

S1164 / K104 / B107
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 1a
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1165 / K987 / B34
ED: NONE
ARCH: Chertsey
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*; *hida*

S1166 / B54
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1167 / K21 / B57
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: (Royal?) charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1168 / K13 / B28
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1169 / K26 / B65
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1170 / K28 / B71
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*

S1171 / K35 / B81
ED: Earle: pp. 13–14
ARCH: Barking
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1172 / K1060 / B79
ED: Kelly, Selsey: 2
ARCH: Selsey
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *tributarii*

S1173 / B80
ED: Kelly, Selsey: 3
ARCH: Selsey
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1174 / K57 / B117
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1175 / K58 / B118
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1176
ED: Bates, Two Cartularies, 105
ARCH: Muchelney
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1177 / K53 / B122
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: (Royal?) charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1178 / K1015 / B261
ED: Kelly, Selsey: 13
ARCH: Selsey
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): NONE

S1179 / K998 / B29
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 3
ARCH: Abingdon (? Bradfield)
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1180 / K72 / B141
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 47
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's (MIT)
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE endorse
TERM(S): *aratra*; *iugera*

S1181 / K988 / B39
ED: NONE
ARCH: Chertsey
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1182 / K109 / B192
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 12
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *perticae*

S1183 / K1016 / B262
ED: Kelly, Selsey: 12
ARCH: Selsey
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *tributarii*

S1184 / K1012 / B237 & 1334
ED: Kelly, Selsey: 11
ARCH: Selsey
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1185 / K952 / B1007
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S1186 / B252
ED: NONE
ARCH: Paris, Saint-Denis
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1186a / K116 / B201
ED: Earle: pp. 47–9
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1187 / K186 / B313 & 314
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1188 / K226 / B330
ED: Earle: pp. 79–81
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *sulung*

S1189 / K1026 / B331
ED: NONE
ARCH: Crowland
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *uirgatae*; *carrucatae*; *æceras*; *sulung*

S1190 / K213 / B365
ED: NONE
ARCH: Crowland
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *quarentenae*; *æceras*

S1191 / K221 / B383
ED: NONE
ARCH: Crowland
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *quarentenae*; *æceras*

S1192
ED: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Crowland
TYPE: Charter?
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1193 / B837
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 23
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): NONE

S1194 / B448
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1195 / K229 / B403
ED: Earle: pp. 104–5
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *sulung*

S1196 / K282 / B497
ED: Earle: pp. 130–1
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin, OE names & phrases
TERM(S): NONE

S1197 / K231 / B405
ED: Earle: pp. 105–7
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1198 / B501
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 24
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1199 / K293 / B515
ED: Earle: p. 132
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1200 / K228 / B404
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1201 / K298 / B522
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 17
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1202 / K301 / B529 & 530
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: ?
LANG: OE & ME (bilingual)
TERM(S): NONE

S1203 / K307 / B539
ED: Earle: pp. 141–4
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & prose
TERM(S): *sulung*; *geocled*

S1204 / K296 / B519
ED: Earle: pp. 139–41
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds, OE en.
TERM(S): NONE

S1204a / B634
ED: OS Facs., iii. Part viii
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Dedication
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1205 / K329 / B585
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin, b.c. (Latin? & OE prose)
TERM(S): *manentes*; *æceras*

S1205a
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1205b / B661
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ghent, St. Peter's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1206 / K368 / B640
ED: Kelly, Selsey: 16
ARCH: Selsey
TYPE: Will?
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*

S1207
ED: Padel
ARCH: Athelney
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1208 / K1129 / B687 & 688
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 28
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin & OE prose, OE b.c.
TERM(S): NONE

S1209 / K1124 / B733
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): NONE

S1210 / K1130 / B747
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1211 / K499 / B1064
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Will?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *sulung*

S1212 / K1237 / B1065
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter & leases
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S1213 / K491 / B1084
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1214 / K493 / B1092
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1215 / B1212
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. (cardinal)
TERM(S): NONE

S1216 / B1262
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 115; Stevenson, Chron. Ab., i. 354–5
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Charter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1217 / K656
ED: NONE
ARCH: Cerne
TYPE: Will?
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *mansae*

S1218
ED: Hart, ECE, pp. 16–17
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin, OE endorse
TERM(S): NONE

S1218a / K1352
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ely
TYPE: Charter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1219 / K1349 / B1013
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1220 / K1315
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Charter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1221 / K742
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1222 / K958
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1223 / K938
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1224 / K978
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Lease
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1225 / K961 / B1018 & 1019
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1226 / K939
ED: NONE
ARCH: Coventry
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1227 / K951 / B1006
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1228 / K962
ED: NONE
ARCH: St. Albans
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*; *uirgatae*; *hida*

S1229 / K965
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1230 / K795
ED: NONE
ARCH: Crowland
TYPE: Charter?
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1231 / K919
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ramsey
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1232 / K766
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S1233 / K818
ED: NONE
ARCH: Eynsham
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1234 / K799
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1235 / K945
ED: Earle: pp. 405–7
ARCH: St. Albans
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1236 / K926
ED: NONE
ARCH: Exeter, St Olave
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1237
ED: Mon. Angl., vi. 1042 (no.1); unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Rheims, St Remegius
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1238 / K963
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *hida*

S1239
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 25
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: ?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1240 / K917
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wells
TYPE: Royal writ (bequest)
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): NONE

S1241 / K918
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wells
TYPE: Royal writ (bequest)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1242 / K717
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Bishop's letter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1243
ED: Harmer, Writs, no. 121
ARCH: ?
TYPE: Writ (manumission)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1243a
ED: Hart, ECE, 58 & 97
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1244 / K5 / B7
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 4
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1245 / K11 / B37
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Bishop's decree?
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1246 / K38 / B87
ED: Hart, ECEE, pp. 122–3
ARCH: Barking
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*

S1247
ED: Gelling, ECTV: pp. 149–50
ARCH: Chertsey
TYPE: Bishop's charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1248 / B82
ED: Hart, ECEE, pp. 135–6
ARCH: Westminster (? Barking)
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*

S1249 / K19 / B47
ED: Earle: pp. 9–10
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*

S1250 / K64 / B130
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1251 / B131
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1251a / K54 / B114
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: ?
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1253 / K63 / B128
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1254 / K91 / B166
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1255 / K124 / B217
ED: Earle: pp. 52–3
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1256 / K104 / B186
ED: Kelly, Shaftesbury: 1b
ARCH: Shaftesbury
TYPE: Royal confirmation
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1257 / K143 / B241
ED: Earle: pp. 55–7
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter(s?)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*

S1258 / K1019 / B291
ED: Earle: pp. 65–8
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Synod
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*

S1259 / K189 / B319 & 320
ED: Earle: pp. 78–9
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bishop's lease(?)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S1260 / K183 / B308
ED: Earle: pp. 68–9
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE prose endorse.
TERM(S): NONE

S1261 / K182 / B307
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1262 / K181 / B304
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1263 / B324
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*

S1264 / K195 / B332 & 382
ED: Earle: pp. 82–6
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bishop's charter(s?)
LANG: Latin, OE names & phrases
TERM(S): *aratra*; *geocled*

S1265 / K200 / B342
ED: Earle: pp. 92–4
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bishop's decree?
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1266 / K1032 / B381 & 382
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S1267 / B851 & 1337
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 17
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *iugera*

S1268 / K225 / B380
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *aratra*; *iugera*

S1269 / K1040 / B406
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S1270 / B429
ED: Earle: pp. 118–9
ARCH: ? (Hereford)
TYPE: Royal lease
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): *manentes*; *iugera*

S1271 / K257 / B443
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 12
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter(s?)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1272 / K250 / B455
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter?
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1273 / K279 / B490
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1274 / K1058 / B495
ED: Earle: pp. 128–30
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1275 / K1062 / B543
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE prose & b.c.
TERM(S): *hida*

S1276 / B562
ED: Earle: pp. 152–3
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *aratra*

S1277 / K1063 / B544
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1278 / K303 / B533 & 534
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S1279 / K325 / B580
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1280 / K339 / B608
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & prose
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1281 / B609
ED: Earle: pp. 161–2
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE & endorse
TERM(S): *hida*

S1282 / K341 / B616
ED: Earle: p. 319
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1283 / K305 / B560
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1284 / K1076 / B590
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1285 / K1079 / B599
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Bishop's decree?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1286 / K1082 / B611
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1287 / K1086 / B617
ED: Earle: pp. 352–3
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1288 / B638
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *iugera*

S1289 / K1097 / B636
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Bilingual
TERM(S): *hida*

S1290 / K466 / B993
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1291 / K464 / B997
ED: Kelly, Selsey: 20
ARCH: Selsey
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *tributarii*; *cassatae*

S1292 / K1201 / B972
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 76
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): *hida*

S1293 / K1223 / B1050
ED: NONE
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Bishop's decree?
LANG: Latin, endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *mansae*

S1294 / K528 / B1179
ED: NONE
ARCH: Crowland
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1295 / B1263
ED: NONE
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1296
ED: Napier & Stevenson: pp. 18–19
ARCH: Exeter (Crediton, ? St German's)
TYPE: Bishop's letter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1297 / K507 / B1108
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Bilingual, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S1298 / K496 / B1091
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1299 / K494 / B1086
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1300 / K495 / B1088
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Bilingual, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S1301 / K498 / B1087
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1302 / K497 / B1089 & 1090
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1303 / K508 / B1106
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Bilingual, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S1304 / K509 / B1105
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Bilingual, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S1305 / K511 / B1110
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *hida*; *æceras*

S1306 / K510 / B1109
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1307 / K506 / B1111
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Bilingual, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1308 / K517 / B1166 & 1167
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter(?)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1309 / K530 / B1180
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1310 / K529 / B1182
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Bilingual
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S1311 / K531 / B1181
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Bilingual, OE endorsement
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1312 / K541 / B1206
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin & OE prose
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1313 / K539 / B1202 & 1203
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin & OE prose
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1314 / K538 / B542 & 1208
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Bilingual, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S1315 / K542 / B1204
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin & OE prose
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1316 / K540 / B1207
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Bilingual
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S1317 / K550 / B1236
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Bilingual, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S1318 / K552 / B1232
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Bilingual, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S1319 / K551 / B1237
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S1320 / K560 / B1241
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & prose
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1321 / K553 / B1243
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1322 / K549 & 1361 / B1235
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Bilingual, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S1323 / K561 & 1339 / B1242
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & prose
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1324 / K558 / B1239
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1325 / K554 & 1362 / B1238
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S1326 / K557 / B1233
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1327 / K559 / B1240
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & prose
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S1328 / K580 / B1293
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease(?)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1329 / K586 / B1298
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S1330 / K614
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S1331 / K613
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1332 / K612 (bounds of S1601)
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE prose & b.c.
TERM(S): *hida*; *æceras*

S1333 / K615
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1334 / K617 (bounds of S1554)
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c., prose & end.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S1335 / K596 / B1299
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S1336 / K616
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE prose & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S1337 / K620
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & prose
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S1338 / K619
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c., prose & end.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S1339 / K618
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & prose
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S1340 / K623
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1341 / K625
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1342 / K627
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & prose
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S1343 / K631
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1344 / K634
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1345 / K637
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1346 / K646
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S1347
ED: Earle: pp. 207–9
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S1348 / K645
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease?
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & prose
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S1349 / K644
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1350 / K651
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & prose
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S1351 / K653
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1352 / K649
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Bilingual, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S1353 / K660
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S1354 / K661
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease?
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1355 / K542 (merged w/ S1315) / B–1205
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: (Bishop's lease)
LANG: (Latin & OE prose)
TERM(S): (*mansae*)

S1356 / K667
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1357 / K668
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1358 / K666
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease?
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S1359 / K671
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1360 / K630 & 669
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1361 / K670
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c., prose & end.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S1362 / K675
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1363 / K674
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin & OE prose
TERM(S): *hida*; *æceras*

S1364 / K677
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1365 / K678
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE endorse
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1366 / K676
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1367 / K679
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1368 / K1287 / B1136
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's decree?
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1369 / K683
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*; *æceras*; *gyrda*

S1370 / K515 / B1139
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease(?)
LANG: Bilingual, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*

S1371 / K1286
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ramsey
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1372 / K682
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1373 / K680
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*; *æceras*

S1374 / K681
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *gyrda*

S1375 / K576 / B1184
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1376 / K1347
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S1377 / K591 / B1131
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Legal dispute
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1378 / K690 (date & wit. S882)
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1379 / K691
ED: NONE
ARCH: ?
TYPE: Bishop's lease?
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1380
ED: Duignan 1888; lost, published in translation
ARCH: Wolverhampton
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): NONE

S1381 / K695
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Bilingual
TERM(S): NONE

S1382 / K702
ED: O'Donovan, Sherborne: 12
ARCH: Sherborne
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1383 / K708
ED: O'Donovan, Sherborne: 13
ARCH: Sherborne
TYPE: Letter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1384 / K1313
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c. & endorse
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1385
ED: Earle: pp. 234–5
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *hida*; *æceras*

S1386 / K1314
ED: Earle: p. 232
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bishop's letter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1387
ED: Earle: p. 422
ARCH: Exeter (Crediton)
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *æceras*; *gyrda*

S1388 / K724
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *æceras*

S1389 / K–974
ED: Fleming 1997, p.148
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1390 / K754
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1391 / K768
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1392 / K760
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1393
ED: (Earle: pp. 239–40)
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1394
ED: Earle: pp. 242–3
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE & endorse
TERM(S): *hida*

S1395 / K765
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1396 / K764
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1397 / K777
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): NONE

S1398 / K941
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1399
ED: Earle: p. 238
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1400
ED: Robertson, Charters: no. 108
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bishop's writ
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1401 / K1333
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 37
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1402 / K820
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1403 / K949 / B–390
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1404 / K948
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 143
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Bishop's letter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1405
ED: Earle: pp. 247–8
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin & OE prose, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*; *perticae*; *hida*; *æceras*; *gyrda*

S1406 / K923
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1407
ED: BL Facs. iv.32
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*; *perticae*

S1408 / K805
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *hida*

S1409 / K804
ED: Robertson, Charters, no. 111
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1410 / K92 / B168
ED: NONE
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*; *iugera*

S1411 / K127 / B220
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *manentes*

S1412 / K165 / B271
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1413 / K169 / B283
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1414 / K230 / B402
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansiones*; *iugera*; *hida*

S1415 / K315 / B559
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1416 / K1071 / B570
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin, OE endorse (frag.)
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1417 / B648
ED: Miller, New Minster: 9
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Lease
LANG: Latin, endorse
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *hida*

S1418 / B804, 805 & 806
ED: Miller, New Minster: 14
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Charter
LANG: OE / ME / Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1419 / B825, 826 & 827
ED: Miller, New Minster: 16
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE / ME / Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1420
ED: Miller, New Minster: 32; Robertson, Charters, no. 70
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1421 / K924 / B1318
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Lease?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1422 / K1302
ED: O'Donovan, Sherborne: 14
ARCH: Sherborne
TYPE: Legal dispute?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1423
ED: Earle: pp. 235–6
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*; *æceras*

S1424 / K1317
ED: NONE
ARCH: Gloucester, St Peter's
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1425 / K950
ED: NONE
ARCH: St. Albans
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1426 / K822 / B929
ED: Earle: pp. 377–8
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1427 / K821
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1428 / K922
ED: Miller, New Minster: 34
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster & Old Min.
TYPE: ?
LANG: OE (ME?)
TERM(S): NONE

S1428a / K991 / B53
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Synod
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1428b / B115
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bishop's letter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1429 / K82 / B156
ED: Earle: pp. 31–2
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1430 / K156 / B256
ED: Earle: pp. 61–3
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Legal dispute?
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1430a / K1018 / B290
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bishop's decree?
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1431 / K184 / B309
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Legal dispute?
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1431a / K185 / B310 & 311
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bishop's decree?
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1431b / K1024 / B312
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Synod
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1432 / K183 / B–308
ED: Earle: p. 69
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin, OE prose endorse.
TERM(S): NONE

S1433 / K218 / B379
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Legal dispute?
LANG: Latin, OE prose endorse.
TERM(S): NONE

S1434 / B378
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Synod
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *aratra*

S1435 / K1034 / B387
ED: Kelly, Selsey: 15
ARCH: Selsey
TYPE: Bishop's charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1436 / K220 / B384 & 385
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Decree & charters?
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1437 / K219 / B386
ED: Earle: pp. 285–7
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Legal dispute?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1438 / K240 / B421 & 422
ED: Earle: pp. 114–8
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1439 / K256 / B445
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Synod
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1440 / K267 / B464 & 465
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1441 / K1073 / B574
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Charter?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1442 / K323 / B575
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1443 / K1087 / B605 & 1338
ED: Miller, New Minster: 2
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster & Old Min.
TYPE: Royal charter?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *furlang*; *gyrda*

S1444 / K1089 / B618 & 619
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): *hida*

S1445 / K328 / B591
ED: Earle: pp. 162–5
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Legal dispute?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1446 / K327 / B582
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Legal dispute?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1446a
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bedwyn
TYPE: Note
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1447 / B1063
ED: Earle: pp. 201–3
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Legal dispute
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1448 / K1271 & 1272 / B1128
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1448a / B1130
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: ?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*; *æceras*

S1449 / K594 / B1163
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Privilege?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1450 (ex.690) / B1351
ED: NONE
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansiunculae* 1351

S1451 (ad. 1450) / K614 & 615 / B1290
ED: NONE
ARCH: CC Cant, Win. Old Min., Exeter
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1452 / B1244
ED: Earle: p. 256
ARCH: Exeter
TYPE: ?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1453 / B1278 & 1279
ED: NONE
ARCH: York
TYPE: Legal dispute
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1454 / K693
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1455 / K429
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 31
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Charter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1456 / K929
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 37
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Legal dispute?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1457 / K1258 / B1296
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 36
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Legal dispute?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1458 / K1288 / B1097 & 1098
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 34; Earle: pp. 211–14
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Legal dispute
LANG: OE & Latin
TERM(S): *sulung*

S1458a
ED: Robertson, Charters, no. 72
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: ?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1459 / K738
ED: Robertson, Charters, no. 76
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1460 / K898
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Legal dispute
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1461 / K732
ED: Earle: pp. 228–9
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1461a
ED: Robertson, Charters, no. 84
ARCH: York, St. Mary's
TYPE: ?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1462 / K755
ED: NONE
ARCH: Hereford
TYPE: Legal dispute
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1462a / K803
ED: Earle: pp. 236–7
ARCH: Lichfield
TYPE: Legal dispute?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1463 / K733
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Charter?
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): NONE

S1464 / K1321
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1465 / K745
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1466 / K1336
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1467 / K758
ED: Earle: pp. 297–9
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Legal dispute?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1468
ED: Robertson, Charters, no. 97
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Bishop's writ
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1469 / K802
ED: NONE
ARCH: Hereford
TYPE: Charter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1470 / K1340
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1471 / K773
ED: Earle: pp. 243–5
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter?
LANG: OE & ME (bilingual)
TERM(S): NONE

S1472 / K790
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Legal dispute
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *sulung*

S1473 / K789
ED: Earle: p. 247
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Charter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1474 / K1334
ED: O'Donovan, Sherborne: 17
ARCH: Sherborne
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1475 / K807
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1476 / K1337 / B980
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1477 / K844
ED: NONE
ARCH: Chertsey
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*; *æceras*

S1478 / K956
ED: NONE
ARCH: Eynsham
TYPE: Bishop's letter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1479 / K964
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1480 / K823
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1481 / K927
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1481a
ED: Hart & Lyons; Post Conquest
ARCH: Ramsey & Thorney
TYPE: Royal confirm & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1481b
ED: NONE
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Note
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1481c
ED: NONE
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Note
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1481d. / B1321 & 1322
ED: NONE
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: ?
LANG: Bilingual
TERM(S): *uirgatae*; *gyrda*

S1481e / K1354
ED: Earle: pp. 275–7
ARCH: ? (Ely)
TYPE: Genealogy?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1481f
ED: Pelteret 1986
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: ?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1482 / K235 / B412
ED: Earle: pp. 108–11
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *sulung*

S1483 / K1222 / B1012
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE (ME?)
TERM(S): *hida*; *æceras*

S1484 / K721
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Queen's will?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1485 / K593 / B1174
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1486 / K685 / B1289
ED: Earle: pp. 366–9
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1487 / K967 / B1306
ED: NONE
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1488 / K–716
ED: (Thorpe, p. 551)
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Bishop's decree?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1489 / K759
ED: Earle: pp. 240–1
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1490 / K970
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1491 / B652, 653 & 654
ED: Miller, New Minster: 18
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE / ME / Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1492
ED: Napier & Stevenson: pp. 23–4
ARCH: Exeter (Crediton)
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1493 / K971
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ramsey
TYPE: Will
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1494 / K685 / B1288 & 1354
ED: Earle: pp. 364–6
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1495 / K972
ED: NONE
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1496 / B989, 990 & 991
ED: Miller, New Minster: 21
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE / ME / Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1497 / K410 / B812
ED: NONE
ARCH: St. Albans
TYPE: Will
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *hida*

S1498
ED: Miller, New Minster: 25
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1499
ED: Thorpe, pp. 599–600
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1500 / K191 / B–318
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter & sub. Lease
LANG: Latin & OE
TERM(S): *aratra*; *sulung*

S1501 / K699
ED: Earle: pp. 215–6
ARCH: CC Cant & Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1502 / K1338
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 38
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1503 / K722
ED: Earle: pp. 224–7
ARCH: CC Cant & Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1503a
ED: Macray chron Ramsey
ARCH: Ramsey
TYPE: Will
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *hida*

S1504 / K1173 / B819
ED: Earle: pp. 360–1
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1505
ED: Miller, New Minster: 29
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1506 / K477 & 478 / B1010 & 1011
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Legal dispute?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1507 / K314 & 1067 / B553, 554 & 555
ED: Miller, New Minster: 1; (Earle: pp. 144–9)
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE & Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1508 / K317 / B558
ED: Earle: pp. 149–51
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1509 / B649, 650 & 651
ED: Miller, New Minster: 11
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE / ME / Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1510 / K238 / B417
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1511 / K492 & 1242 / B1132 & 1133
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 35
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE & Latin
TERM(S): *hida*; *sulung*

S1512 / K628 / B931
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1513 / K1070 / B566
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Bilingual, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *hida*; *æceras*

S1514 / K276 / B486
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 23; Earle: pp. 337–8
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1515 / B912, 913 & 914
ED: Miller, New Minster: 17
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE / ME / Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1516 / K921
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE (ME?)
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1517 / K920
ED: NONE
ARCH: St. Albans
TYPE: Will
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1518 / K928
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ramsey
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1519 / K1339
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1520 / K932
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ely
TYPE: Lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1521 / K931
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*; *æceras*

S1522 / K1293
ED: NONE
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1523 / K1329
ED: NONE
ARCH: Thorney
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1524 / K943
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1525 / K946 / B1015 & 1016
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1525a / K947 / B1014
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1526 / K957 / B1008
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1527 / K959 / B1020
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1528 / K960 / B1017
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1529 / K980
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1530 / K–788
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1531
ED: Thorpe, pp. 571–6
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1532 / K–954
ED: NONE
ARCH: St. Albans
TYPE: Will
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1533 / K353 / B678
ED: Earle: pp. 168–9
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE & endorse
TERM(S): NONE

S1534 / B1317
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1535 / K782
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1536 / K1298
ED: Sawyer, Burton: 29; Earle: pp. 218–22
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1537 / K979 / B1162
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1538 / K694
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1539 / K1290
ED: NONE
ARCH: ? (Shaftesbury)
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1540
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 150
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE, Latin rubric
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1541 / K1255 / B1170
ED: NONE
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: Latin & OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1542 / B633
ED: NONE
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1543 / KSee S673 MS.3 / B907
ED: NONE
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1544 / B1261
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 117a
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*; *æceras*

S1545 / B523
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 17a
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: Latin & OE
TERM(S): *manentes*; *æceras*

S1546 / B684
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 25a
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1546a
ED: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: St. Albans
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1546b / B1332 & 1333
ED: NONE
ARCH: Exeter (Crediton)
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE & ME (bilingual)
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1547 / B1323
ED: Earle: pp. 266–7
ARCH: Exeter (Crediton)
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1548 / K1367
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1549
ED: Hearne, Heming, pp. 245–6
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1550 / K1359
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1551
ED: Finberg ECWM p.79–80
ARCH: Westminster
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*; *æceras*

S1552 / Kiii.408 / B673
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: Latinised OE
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1552a
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1553 / K1365
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1554 / Kiii. 165 (w/ S1334)
ED: Hearne, Heming, pp. 362–3
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1555 / B928
ED: Earle: pp. 376–7
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: ?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*; *æceras*; *gyrda*

S1556 / B299
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1557 / B939
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1558
ED: Baignet 1891, p.9
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1559
ED: Austin
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE (ME?)
TERM(S): NONE

S1560 / B630
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Nunnaminster
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1561
ED: James, Pembroke, p.266
ARCH: Hereford, St. Æthelberht's
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1561a
ED: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: St. Albans
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1562
ED: Campbell, Rochester: 33
ARCH: Rochester
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1563 / K1364
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ramsey
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1564 / K1363
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1565 / K1356
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1566 / B1129
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1567 / B760
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 31a
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S1568
ED: Hearne, Heming, pp. 71–2
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1569 / K1223
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 151
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1569a
ED: NONE
ARCH: Bath
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1570
ED: Bates, Two Cartularies, 11
ARCH: Muchelney
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1571
ED: Turner 1953, p.120
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1572
ED: Turner 1953, p.122
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1572a
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 140a
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1573
ED: Hearne, Heming, pp. 347
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1574 / B947
ED: Kelly, Abingdon: 71a
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1575 / B717
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1576
ED: Akerman 1857/1, p. 270
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: Latin, OE names & phrases
TERM(S): *hida*; *furlang*

S1577 / B922
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*; *hida*

S1578 / B59a
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *hida*

S1579 / B586
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: Latin prose
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1580 / B458
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1581
ED: Finberg ECW p.107–8
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1582 / Kiii. 467–8
ED: Akerman 1857/1, no. 23
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: Latin, OE names & phrases
TERM(S): NONE

S1583
ED: Akerman 1857/1, p. 270
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: Latin, OE names & phrases
TERM(S): NONE

S1584
ED: Akerman 1857/1, no. 26
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal confirmation
LANG: Latin, prose b.c.
TERM(S): *hida*; *æceras*

S1585 / B672
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: Latinised OE
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1586 / B279a
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1587 / K632 (bounds printed incorrectly with S841)
ED: Akerman 1857/1, no. 25
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: Latin, OE names & phrases
TERM(S): NONE

S1588 / B479
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1589 / B1192, 1193 & 1194
ED: Miller, New Minster: 24a
ARCH: Winchester, New Minster
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE / ME / Latin
TERM(S): *hida*

S1590 / K1358
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*; *æceras*

S1590a / B1107
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1591 / K iii. 391
ED: Hearne, Heming, p. 347
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1591a / K289
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*; *æceras*

S1592
ED: Hearne, Heming, p. 347
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1593
ED: Hearne, Heming, p. 356
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1594 / K1355
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1595
ED: Hearne, Heming, p. 246
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1596 / B362
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1597 / K1366 / B361
ED: NONE
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*; *æceras*

S1598
ED: Hearne, Heming, p. 353
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1599 / K1368
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Bounds of K61
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1600
ED: Hearne, Heming, p. 360
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1601 / K iii. 160 (incorrectly with 1332)
ED: Hearne, Heming, pp. 359–60
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1602
ED: Ker, Catalogue: pp. 441–2
ARCH: ?
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1603 / B844
ED: NONE
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): *hida*

S1604 / K1105 / B676
ED: NONE
ARCH: Abingdon
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*; *furlang*

S1605
ED: ; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Athelney
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG:
TERM(S): NONE

S1606 / B773
ED: NONE
ARCH: Burton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): NONE

S1607
ED: BL add ms. p.41; unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1608
ED: Hart, ECEE, pp. 86–7
ARCH: Bury St Edmunds
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Bilingual (full)
TERM(S): NONE

S1609 / K983 / B12
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1610 / K993 / B69
ED: Earle: p. 408
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S1611 / K1003 / B161
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S1612 / K1004 / B173
ED: Earle: pp. 409–10
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1613 / K1022 / B301
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S1614 / K1014 / B263
ED: Earle: p. 411
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S1615 / B323
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S1616 / K1025 / B329
ED: Earle: p. 412
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*; *iugera*

S1617 / K1027 / B336
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *aratra*; *mansiones*

S1618 / B345
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *iugera*

S1619 / K1029 / B367
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1620 / K1030 / B372 & 378
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *aratra*

S1621 / B382
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1622
ED: Somner 1762, p.88
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1623 / K1042 / B408
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *iugera*

S1624 / K1043 / B414
ED: Earle: p. 412
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Abbess's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1625 / K1045 / B427
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1626 / K1047 / B446
ED: Earle: p. 413
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1627 / K1072 / B572
ED: Earle: p. 413
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1628 / K1074 / B577 & 578
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): *iugera*

S1629 / K1098 / B637
ED: Earle: p. 414
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1630 / B698
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1631 / K414 / B823
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Charter?
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1632 / K469 / B1038 & 1039
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1633 / K1226 / B1049
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1634 / B1102
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *hida*

S1635 / B1126
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): *iugera*

S1636
ED: Twysden, X Scriptores, col. 2221
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter (note)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1637
ED: Twysden, X Scriptores, col. 2223–4
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1638 / K697
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Queen's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1639
ED: Twysden, X Scriptores, col. 2222
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1640
ED: Twysden, X Scriptores, col. 2223
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bishop's charter (note)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1641
ED: Twysden, X Scriptores, col. 2223
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1642
ED: Twysden, X Scriptores, col. 2223
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter (note)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1643
ED: Twysden, X Scriptores, col. 2224
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Royal charter (note)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1644
ED: Twysden, X Scriptores, col. 2225
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1645
ED: Hart, ECEE, p. 251
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Will
LANG: Bilingual
TERM(S): NONE

S1646
ED: Twysden, X Scriptores, col. 2224
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1647
ED: unpublished
ARCH: Canterbury, Christ Church
TYPE: Charter?
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1648 / K989 / B44
ED: NONE
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1649
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 19; Twysden, X Scriptores, col. 1776
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *aratra*

S1650
ED: Twysden, X Scriptores, col. 1777
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1651
ED: Kelly, St Augustine's: 23a; Twysden, X Scriptores, col. 1776
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1652
ED: Twysden, X Scriptores, col. 1777–8
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1653
ED: Twysden, X Scriptores, col. 1779
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin, cardinal bounds
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1654
ED: Twysden, X Scriptores, col. 1780
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1655
ED: Twysden, X Scriptores, col. 1780
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1656
ED: Twysden, X Scriptores, col. 1781
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1657
ED: ; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1658
ED: Twysden, X Scriptores, col. 1785
ARCH: Canterbury, St Augustine's
TYPE: Bishop's lease?
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1659 / K925 / B1256
ED: Robertson, Charters no. 68
ARCH: Durham
TYPE: Charter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1660 / B1255
ED: Robertson, Charters no. 60
ARCH: Durham
TYPE: Charter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1661 / K925 / B1256
ED: Robertson, Charters no. 68
ARCH: Durham
TYPE: Charter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1662 / K1357 / B1024
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1663 / K475 / B1025
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1664 / K1299
ED: NONE
ARCH: Evesham
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (fragmentary), OE b.c.
TERM(S): *æceras*

S1665
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 370 & 375; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1666
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 370; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1667
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 376; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1668
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 375; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1669
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 370; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1670
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 375; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1671
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 371; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1672
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 370; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1673
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 370; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1674
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 376; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1675
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 370; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1676
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 371; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1677
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 370; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1678
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 370; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1679
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 371 & 373; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1680
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 372; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1681
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 371 & 377; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1682
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 373; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1683
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 371; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1684
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 371; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1685
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 371; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1686
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 377; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1687
ED: *Index chartarum* pp. 371 & 377; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1688
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 377; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1689
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 372; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter?
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1690
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 376; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1691
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 371; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1692
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 371; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1693
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 371; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter & priv.
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1694
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 371; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1695
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 371; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1696
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 371; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1697
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 377; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1698
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 377; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1699
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 373; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1700
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 372; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1701
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 373; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1702
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 373; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1703
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 371; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1704
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 373; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1705
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 375; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1706
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 377; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1707
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 377; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1708
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 377; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1709
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 374; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1710
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 372; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1711
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 372; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1712
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 373; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1713
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 372; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1714
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 372; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1715
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 374; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1716
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 376; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1717
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 371; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1718
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 372; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1719
ED: *Index chartarum* pp. 372 & 375; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1720
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 374; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1721
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 372; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1722
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 372; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1723
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 372; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1724
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 373; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1725
ED: *Index chartarum* pp. 372 & 376; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1726
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 372; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1727
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 373; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1728
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 371; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1729
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 372; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1730
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 374; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1731
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 372; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1732
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 377; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1733
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 377; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1734
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 377; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1735
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 377; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1736
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 373; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1737
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 374; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1738
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 374; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1739
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 374; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1740
ED: *Index chartarum* pp. 374 & 376; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1741
ED: *Index chartarum* pp. 373 & 376; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1742
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 371; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1743
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 372; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1744
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 373 & 376; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1745
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 374; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1746
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 372; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1747
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 373; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1748
ED: *Index chartarum* pp. 374 & 377; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1749
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 374; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1750
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 373; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1751
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 373; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1752
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 374; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1753
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 371; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1754
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 374; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1755
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 372; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1756
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 373; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1757
ED: *Index chartarum* pp. 372 & 376; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1758
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 374; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1759
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 374; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1760
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 373; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1761
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 374; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1762
ED: *Index chartarum* pp. 374 & 376; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1763
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 373; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1764
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 374; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1765
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 373; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1766
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 372; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1767
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 372; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1768
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 373; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1769
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 372; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1770
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 373; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1771
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 377; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1772
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 377; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1773
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 373; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1774
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 374 & 377; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1775
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 375; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1776
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 377; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1777
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 377; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1778
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 377; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1779
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 373; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1780
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 377; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1781
ED: *Index chartarum* p. 378; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Glastonbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1782
ED: NONE
ARCH: Gloucester, St Peter's
TYPE: **see S209
LANG:
TERM(S): NONE

S1782 & 209 / B503 & 535
ED: Finberg ECWM p.155–7
ARCH: Gloucester
TYPE: Royal confirm & priv.
LANG: Latin, endorse
TERM(S): *tributarii*; *cassatae*; *manentes*

S1783
ED: Gibbs J7
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1784
ED: Gibbs J9
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): NONE

S1785
ED: Gibbs J6
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1786
ED: Gibbs J17
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Royal confirm & priv.
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): NONE

S1787
ED: Gibbs J11
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1788
ED: Gibbs J14
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): NONE

S1789
ED: Gibbs J15
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): NONE

S1790
ED: Gibbs J18
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Royal privilege
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): NONE

S1791
ED: Gibbs J16
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Bishop's lease
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1792
ED: Gibbs J10
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): NONE

S1793
ED: Gibbs J12
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1794
ED: Gibbs J13
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1795
ED: Gibbs J1
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1796
ED: Gibbs J2
ARCH: London, St Paul's
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1797 / K901 / B584
ED: NONE
ARCH: Malmesbury
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1798
ED: Finberg ECWM n. 404 & Foot 2000: II.208
ARCH: Much Wenlock
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *tributarii*; *manentes*

S1799
ED: Finberg ECWM n .428 & Foot 2000: II.208
ARCH: Much Wenlock
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1800
ED: Finberg ECWM n. 205 & Foot 2000: II.208
ARCH: Much Wenlock
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1801
ED: Finberg ECWM n. 405 & Foot 2000: II.208
ARCH: Much Wenlock
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1802
ED: Finberg ECWM n. 428 & Foot 2000: II.208
ARCH: Much Wenlock
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1803 / B841
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1804 / B843
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*; *mansiunculae*

S1805 / B842
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1806 / B840
ED: NONE
ARCH: Peterborough
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1807 / K966 / B1062
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ramsey
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1808 / K968 / B1061
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ramsey
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1809 / K973 / B1060
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ramsey
TYPE: Bequest
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1810 / K955 / B1059
ED: NONE
ARCH: Ramsey
TYPE: Will
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1811 / K396 / B783
ED: NONE
ARCH: Wilton
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (fragmentary), OE b.c.
TERM(S): *hida*

S1812
ED: Winch docs p. 61 no. 5; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal confirmation
LANG:
TERM(S): NONE

S1813
ED: Winch docs p. 62 no. 12; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG:
TERM(S): NONE

S1814
ED: Winch docs p. 64 no. 24; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Charter
LANG:
TERM(S): NONE

S1815
ED: Winch docs p. 64 no. 23; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG:
TERM(S): NONE

S1816
ED: Winch docs p. 64 no. 26; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: ?
LANG:
TERM(S): NONE

S1817
ED: Baignet 1891, pp. 9–10
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Confirmation
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1818
ED: Winch docs p. 62 no. 15; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG:
TERM(S): *hida*

S1819
ED: Turner 1953, p.119
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: Bounds
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1820
ED: Rumble, 2002: XXXI
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: ?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1821 / B1161
ED: NONE
ARCH: Winchester, Old Minster
TYPE: ?
LANG: OE
TERM(S): *hida*

S1822
ED: Hearne, Heming, p. 567; unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1823
ED: Hearne, Heming, p. 566; unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1824
ED: Hearne, Heming, pp. 565–6; unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansiones*

S1825
ED: Hearne, Heming, p. 567; unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1826
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 505 no. 64 (printed as 63); Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1827
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 505 no. 73 (printed as 72); Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1828
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 504 no. 48 (printed as 47); Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1829
ED: Hearne, Heming, p. 564; unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *manentes*

S1830
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 503 no. 29; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1831
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 502 no. 2; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1832
ED: Hearne, Heming, p. 565; unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1833
ED: Hearne, Heming, p. 562; unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin & OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1834
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 505 no. 88 (printed as 87); Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin, (cardinal) bounds
TERM(S): NONE

S1835
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 502 no. 11; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1836
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 505 no. 70 (printed as 69); Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1837
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 502 no. 13; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1838
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 505 no. 62 (printed as 61); Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1839
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 505 no. 9 (printed as 10); Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1840
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 506 no. 92 (printed as 91); Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1841
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 505 no. 72 (printed as 71); Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin & OE
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1842
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 502 no. 14; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1843
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 503 no. 20; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin & OE
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1844
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 504 no. 55 (printed as 54); Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1845
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 503 no. 15; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1846
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 503 no. 23; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin & OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1847
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 502 no. 8; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin & OE
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1848
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 502 no. 7; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1849
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 503 no. 31; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin & OE
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1850
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 504 no. 52 (printed as 51); Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin & OE
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1851
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 504 no. 37 (printed as 38); Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin & OE
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1852
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 504 no. 36; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin & OE
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1853
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 503 no. 28; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: OE
TERM(S): NONE

S1854
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 505 no. 57 (printed as 56); Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin & OE
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1855
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 506 no. 81 (printed as 80); Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1856
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 502 no. 12; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1857
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 504 no. 38 (printed as 39); Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Bishop's charter
LANG: Latin & OE
TERM(S): *mansae*

S1858
ED: Bodleian, Dugdale 12, p. 502 no. 5; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Charter
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1859
ED: Ker 1948: p. 74
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Royal lease
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1860
ED: Ker 1948: p. 75
ARCH: Worcester
TYPE: Witness list
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1861 / K1028 / B364
ED: NONE
ARCH: ?
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (fragmentary)
TERM(S): NONE

S1862 / K272 / B480
ED: NONE
ARCH: ?
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin, OE b.c.
TERM(S): *cassatae*

S1863
ED: Finberg 1960, p.33–5
ARCH: ?
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: Latin (fragmentary), OE b.c.
TERM(S): *perticae*

S1864
ED: Finberg ECW: 172 / DB i.50; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Domesday
TYPE: Royal writ (privilege)
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1865
ED: Finberg ECW: 173 / DB i.50; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Domesday
TYPE: Royal charter
LANG: ?
TERM(S): *hida*

S1866
ED: Harmer, Writs, p.543 (no.10) / DB i.59; unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Domesday
TYPE: Legal dispute
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1867
ED: Harmer, Writs, p.543 (no.11) / DB I. 60b; unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Domesday
TYPE: Royal charter (note)
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *uirgatae*; *hida*

S1868
ED: Finberg ECW: 630 / DB i. 78b; Lost: unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Domesday
TYPE: Royal writ (charter)
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1869
ED: Harmer, Writs, p.544 (no.13) / DB I.169; unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Domesday
TYPE: Note
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): *hida*

S1870
ED: DB i. 175b; unpublished
ARCH: Domesday
TYPE: ?
LANG: ?
TERM(S): NONE

S1871
ED: Harmer, Writs, p.544 (no.14) / DB I.206; unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Domesday
TYPE: Legal dispute
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1872
ED: Harmer, Writs, p.544 (no.15) / DB i.208b; unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Domesday
TYPE: Note
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1873
ED: Harmer, Writs, p.544 (no.16) / DB I.374; unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Domesday
TYPE: Note
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1874
ED: Harmer, Writs, p.545 (no.17) / DB ii.310b; unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Domesday
TYPE: Note
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

S1875
ED: Harmer, Writs, p.545 (no.18) / DB ii.360b; unpublished, comment only
ARCH: Domesday
TYPE: Note
LANG: Latin
TERM(S): NONE

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