

THE LADY ELGIVA, ST AETHELWOLD AND THE LINSLADE CHARTER OF 966

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The evidence of land charters permits a reassessment of the life of the Lady Elgiva (AElfgyfu) of the royal house of Wessex, a great landowner in Buckinghamshire, whose marriage to King Edwy was dissolved in the course of the constitutional crisis of 957-8. Her will (c. 970) is translated and is shown to reflect the influence of St Aethelwold. It illustrates the use and the manumission of penal slaves in the Chiltern area. A charter granting Linslade to her in 966 is edited; a politically significant omission from it is restored; the bounds of Linslade are determined, and reasons for the grant suggested.

The Lady Elgiva

During the reign of Edgar the Peaceable, Linslade became part of a great "honour" centred on Wing and including Princes Risborough, Bledlow, Whaddon, Haversham, Marsworth, Chesham, Berkhamsted, Hatfield and other more distant manors. Its lady was AElfgyfu, Latinized as Elgiva, whose memory was preserved by the New Minster at Winchester as an illustrious woman who had commended herself to the prayers of the community by the gift of alms¹. She was concerned with the development of the hamlets of Risborough by those condemned to penal slavery, whom she manumitted by her will², which exhibits the strong influence of St Aethelwold. A major restoration of the great 7th-century basilica at Wing belongs to her time³ and may well have been undertaken by her at his instance, though King Edgar, to whom she left Wing and Linslade, may have completed it.

Only two charters in Elgiva's favour have survived, Edgar's grants of Linslade⁴ and Newnham Murren⁵ in 966; this may suggest that much of her land was folkland, held under customary law, and that her legatees had no documents of title earlier than her will, made with Edgar's consent. These two diplomas, approved at the same witenagemot, are sufficient to identify her with the unfortunate wife of King Edwy (Eadwig). She had been at the centre of a crisis which temporarily disrupted

the English monarchy. The key to these events seems to have been generally overlooked for more than a century. It is that circumstances had enabled her mother Aethelgyfu, who belonged to the dispossessed senior branch of the royal house of Wessex, to arrange a dynastic marriage which was fiercely opposed by the adherents of the reigning branch, the descendants of Alfred, and in particular by St Dunstan.

When King Edmund, Alfred's grandson, was assassinated on 26 May 946⁶ at the age of 24, after a highly successful reign of six years, he left two sons, Edwy, then aged about six, and Edgar, who can hardly have been more than three. Their mother St Elgiva (AElfgyfu) had died on 18 May⁷ in 944 or 945. Edmund lost no time in remarrying; his second wife was Aethelflæd of Damerham, the daughter of Ealdorman Aelfgar⁸.

As Edmund's two sons were so young, they were passed over in favour of his brother Eadred 'the Chosen', "electione optimatum subrogatus"⁹. There is evidence that the children were not brought up by their stepmother and were in fact separated, a circumstance likely to affect their future relationship. Edgar's foster-mother was Aelfwen¹⁰, wife of Athelstan 'Half-King', ealdorman of East Anglia. Their eldest son Aethelwold held the

same office “one short only of royalty” from 956 to c. 962; his death was falsely attributed to his foster-brother King Edgar¹¹, who married his widow Aelfthryth in 964¹² or 965¹³; she became the mother of King Ethelred ‘the Unready’ and was strongly suspected of the murder of her stepson St Edward, King and Martyr, in 978 to secure the crown for her son.

Edwy appears to have been fostered by one of the numerous Aelfrics of the period, since in one of his earliest charters¹⁴ he describes Aelfric (for Aelfric) as his *adoptivus parens*. Adoption in the full Roman sense, involving reception into a new family, was unknown to Old English law, and the English term would have been *fostor-fæder*. E.W. Robertson suggested in 1872¹⁵ that Edwy’s foster-mother during the nine years of Eadred’s reign was Aethelgyfu, mother of our Aelfgyfu (whose name would thus have taken its first element from her father’s name, its second from her mother’s). This suggestion was endorsed by William Hunt in the *Dictionary of National Biography*¹⁶ in 1885, but has since been ignored. It explains a great deal.

Aethelgyfu was descended from Alfred’s elder brother King Ethelred; her son Aethelweard recalled the relationship in the dedicatory epistle of his Chronicle “as our memory provides proof, and as our parents have taught us”. In the prologue to the last book he promised “origo prosapiae generis nostri indicatur aperiis”, and the second chapter deals with the subject after recording the death of King Ethelred I “from whose root I spring”. He emphasized that Alfred got the kingdom after the death of all his brothers. “I have given attention to the history of our race as far as these two kings from whom we derive our descent”. Ironically, the events of 946 had repeated those of 871, when the son of Ethelred had been too young to reign. In 899 Alfred’s son Edward the Elder, already associated with him in the government¹⁷, was chosen king by the Witan (“a primatibus electis”, as Aethelweard alone records¹⁸). Ethelred’s son Aethelwold asserted his claim as heir of Egbert and of Aethelwulf, and raised the standard of revolt

with Danish support¹⁹ but was killed at the battle of the Holme.

Aethelgyfu seems not to have given up all dynastic hopes for her family, the elder branch of “the right kingly kin of England”²⁰. By the early 950s it must have been apparent that Eadred was quite likely to die childless; if so, her fosterling Edwy would probably succeed him. She could not marry Edwy herself, but she could induce him to marry her daughter Elgiva, who was of ripe age, and so reunite the two leading branches of the house of Wessex. The prospect was abhorrent to St Dunstan, himself of that house, abbot of Glastonbury, Eadred’s closest adviser, who counted it among his chief cares “to dissolve by just separation foolish or wrongful marriages”²¹. Dunstan may well have been responsible for an admonition in Edmund’s laws “Wel is eac to warnianne ðæt man wite ðæt hy (the bridegroom and bride) þurh mægsibbe to gelænge ne beon” (i.e. are not within the prohibited (seven) degrees)²². Elgiva was third cousin to Edwy, but on this basis most marriages in an English village would have been dubious. The real if not the ostensible objections were surely political and social. The marriage could be expected to transfer influence from Edwy’s grandmother Eadgyfu, widow of Edward the Elder, patron of Dunstan and of the monastic revival, to the new king’s prospective mother-in-law, who, on the view taken here, was also his foster-mother, so that the parties had been brought up as brother and sister. It was not unreasonable to regard this as a relationship that should preclude their marriage.

Edwy and Edgar both came to their uncle’s court during Eadred’s last year, 955, when they sign as ‘clito’ and ‘æðeling’²³. On 23 November Eadred died after a long illness, during which he was frequently unable to attend the Witan and was preoccupied with the recovery of Northumbria²⁴.

Edwy, who was now about 15, was elected king by the West Saxons and by the Mercians and Northumbrians. His immediate reception was favourable. Aethelweard commented “For his great beauty he received from the

common people the by-name 'All-fair' . . . He deserved to be loved''²⁵. Later writers confirm this. Henry of Huntingdon, or rather his source, wrote "non illaudibiliter regni infulam tenuit"²⁶. The kingdom was at peace, a peace which, as far as external enemies were concerned, was to last for 25 years. Edwy's appointments to the provincial governorships were irreproachable and proved lasting. He named his kinsman Ælfhere (*ex parentela regis*²⁷) as ealdorman of Mercia, where autonomist feelings were still strong. Ælfhere's position was semi-royal; the Evesham chronicler called him "potentissimus huius patriae dominator"²⁸, the *patria* being Mercia. Æthelwold, Edgar's foster-brother, soon replaced Brihtferth as ealdorman of East Anglia, and Byrhtnoth took charge of Essex, in defence of which he was to die in 991. Ælfhere's brother Ælfheah became ealdorman of Hampshire a few months later. It is not certain which ealdorman took charge of Buckinghamshire which, though historically and linguistically Mercian, had been annexed to Wessex by Edward the Elder²⁹; but Ælfheah's influence in the proto-county must have been very great. His will³⁰, which took effect in 971, shows that he held Aylesbury and Wendover, which he left to the King and which became royal manors in ancient demesne, and land in the Wycombes, which he left to his kinsman Æthelweard. (Elgiva herself devised land at *Wicham*, but it is not quite certain that this is Wycombe, in view of the form *æt Wicumun* in Ælfheah's will.)

Among King Edwy's first acts was to give his adoptive father Ælric an estate in Berkshire. The grant³¹ was attested by Archbishop Oda, the king's brother Edgar (who at first ranked after the archbishops), the seven ealdormen, eight bishops, including Cynesige of Lichfield, and Abbot Dunstan; the two last-named were of the royal house, and were soon to incur the king's enmity.

The earliest Life of Dunstan clearly implies that by the time of the coronation on 27 January 956³² Æthelgyfu was a widow "pursuing [Edwy] and wickedly enticing him to intimacy, obviously in order to join and ally herself or else her daughter to him in lawful

marriage"³³. Edwy was anointed and crowned at Kingston by St Oda. All went well until the King, still wearing his crown, jumped up and left the coronation banquet to enjoy the company of his intended bride Elgiva and her mother. The whole company felt insulted, and Oda suggested that a delegation be sent to bring him back. At first no one wished to incur the King's annoyance and the noble ladies' enmity, but finally they chose the two "most firm of spirit", Dunstan and Cynesige. After some altercation Edwy returned, but Dunstan soon left England and took refuge in the recently reformed monastery at Ghent³⁴. Bishop Cynesige left the court and did not return until May 957³⁵ when the disruption of the kingdom was imminent.

The story lost nothing in the telling. Edwy was said to have left the feast to amuse himself with both ladies. Dunstan, it was rumoured, had found him "repeatedly wallowing between the two of them in evil fashion, as if in a vile sty" with the crown thrown down on the floor. It was believed that Dunstan had used violence, and that Æthelgyfu induced the King to banish him so that she could seize his property. Edwy certainly married Elgiva and her mother acquired some influence, but, as Sir Frank Stenton pointed out, "churchmen of the highest merit were willing to come to court when both the ladies were present"³⁶. The bishops of the older generation adhered to Edwy, but the abbots ceased to attend the Witan, with a notable exception. St Æthelwold, whose friendship with Elgiva is amply evidenced, came and received further grants for the abbey which he was restoring at Abingdon³⁷. The major grant³⁸ of 100 hides had been made before or at the time of the coronation in pursuance of undertakings given by King Eadred, who had recently measured out the foundations of the new abbey church with his own hands.

Apart from this debt of honour, Edwy's gifts to the church were few. During the preceding reigns, the Queen Mother Eadgyfu had exercised increasing influence in favour of the Church and especially of the new Benedictine monasticism. She now withdrew from court,

and her grandson appropriated her extensive estates in Wessex³⁹, some of them Eadred's recent gifts to her *inter vivos*⁴⁰ or by will⁴¹. Other counsellors of Eadred were plundered by a king who "ruined with vain hatred the shrewd and wise"⁴².

Edwy lost no time in enriching his young West Saxon friends. Eight charters in their favour, issued about the time of his coronation, have survived⁴³. The grantees are not described as "faithful *minister*" as had been usual, but as *familiarissimus*⁴⁴, *familiarissimus fidelis* (twice)⁴⁵, *fidelis* (thrice)⁴⁶, *fidelis vassalus*⁴⁷, *dilectus fidelis* and *famosissimus venator*⁴⁸. The Witan met again a fortnight later on 13 February⁴⁹ when Edgar was given precedence before Archbishop Oda and at least twenty more grants of land were approved. The grantees are variously described as among the king's *principes*, *proceres optimates*, *chari propinqui* or simply *cari* (*carus* 'precious')⁵⁰. At this early stage of the reign one cannot agree with Plummer⁵¹ that these lavish grants suggest the consciousness of weakness and an attempt to conciliate support. In fact Edwy was following a deliberate but hazardous policy of replacing the existing thegnly establishment by his own circle "admitting with loving zeal the ignorant and those like himself"⁵². Among the most prominent in the Witan were Aelfsige, Wulfic and Aethelgeard, who were among the February grantees. Aethelwold attended, but attested only the two charters in favour of his abbey⁵³; one of these was supported also by Abbot Dunstan, his last official act before his exile. Bishop Daniel of Cornwall, who had attested all the coronation charters, witnessed only two on this occasion, one of these an Abingdon grant. The magnates were outnumbered by at least 29 king's thegns.

The Witan seems to have met twice during the spring and summer of 956, perhaps at Easter and Whitsun; four extant charters are assignable to the former session⁵⁴, three to the latter⁵⁵. The beneficiaries are described more conventionally as *minister* or *fidelis minister* (Aelfheah is *fidelis minister ac propinquus*).

Eleven more royal diplomas of 956 are interconnected by their witness lists; one of these, dated 29 November, issued at the royal palace of Cheddar⁵⁶, probably gives the time and place of the witenagemot which authorized the whole group. Among the king's thegns, Aelfheah, who was probably already ealdorman-designate⁵⁷, moves to the head of the list, displacing Aelfsige. Of the other grantees of the coronation charters, Aethelgeard was still prominent, but losing standing, while Wulfic, the "very famous huntsman" drops out. Aethelmær, the *praeses* (king's reeve) who had received Chetwode and Hillesden in 949⁵⁸, attended the first, third and last of the five sessions during this eventful year, his position in the lists of thegns ranging from second to fourteenth, averaging fifth but tending to decline⁵⁹. The order of precedence in witness lists seems to provide a sensitive indication of changes in royal favour. S.D. Keynes' minute comparisons have shown that nearly all the sixty-odd charters of 956 must have been drawn up by a central secretariat, no doubt augmented as occasion required.

Edwy's continued improvidence alienated the magnates of Mercia and the North, and in some quarters anger was directed not only at the king's West Saxon favourites, who were helping themselves to the Crown lands, but also at his marriage. In the following year Archbishop Oda, who was of Danish birth, declared it void. According to the D-text of the Chronicle, s.a. 958, he separated the parties because they were too nearly akin (Oda arcebiscop to twæmde Eadwi cyning & Algyfe, forþæm þe hi wæron to gesybbe). Sir Frank Stenton regarded this text as "too late to have authority on a subject which invited legendary accretions"⁶⁰, but this seems unduly sceptical. The manuscript is post-Conquest and the text highly composite, but this looks like one of the annals relating to the period 900-959 which were incorporated in the ancestor of D at Ripon⁶¹. Professor Whitelock accepted the substance of the annal but not the date⁶²; the event probably preceded and may have precipitated the Mercian revolt during the summer of 957.

The chief men of the midland and northern peoples, despising Edwy "because he acted foolishly in the government committed to him" agreed to choose Edgar, then aged 14, as their king; he had been brought up among them, and is styled *regulus*, sub-king, in an anomalous charter of 956⁶³. Thereafter Edwy was still *rex Anglorum*, Edgar *rex Merciorum et Northanhymbrorum atque Brettonum*⁶⁴. This partition or dyarchy seems to have been effected without civil war; "in the witness of the whole people the state was divided between the kings as determined by wise men [= by the Witan] so that the famous River Thames separated the realms of both"⁶⁵. This implies that Middlesex, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire were retroceded to Mercia, but it leaves the position of Gloucestershire uncertain. Something violent happened at Gloucester. According to Osbern's life of St Dunstan, written after the Conquest, Edwy encountered insurgents there and had to retreat; the "people of the North" caught Elgiva and hamstrung her so that she died. The story is elaborated in the *Vita Odonis*: the Archbishop had her branded and sent to Ireland; when she returned, the "men of the servant of God" seized her at Gloucester and put her to death in the way described. As Elgiva was alive in 966, these legends must be rejected, but her name was readily confused with her mother's (AElf- and Aethel- were falling together as AEl- or Al- by the late 10th century⁶⁶) and the wrath of the northerners may well have been directed against Aethelgyfu, who disappears from history at this point, except for the request in her daughter's will that Bishop Aethelwold would constantly pray for them both.

Elgiva probably retired to her Buckinghamshire estates, which were now within Edgar's kingdom. Edgar made no changes in the provincial governments, but he recalled Dunstan and soon made him bishop of Worcester and then of London also⁶⁷. Archbishop Oda died in the summer of 958; his successor, Bishop AElfsige of Winchester, died of cold in the Alps while travelling to Rome for his pallium, and Edwy then nominated Brihtelm of Wells. During 958 he made some further grants of land in Wessex to his thegns, but without terms

of endearment, except that Wulfgar Leofa is his *karus*⁶⁸ and Cenric his faithful *propincernarius*⁶⁹ (qu. one who mixes drinks?). These grants cease in 959, to which year only two or perhaps three of his diplomas can be assigned⁷⁰. One of these is a grant of privileges and confirmation of lands to Aethelwold's abbey of Abingdon, witnessed by Edwy's grandmother Eadgyfu, whose property he had seized; this has been regarded as discrediting that charter, but it seems quite likely that Edwy showed signs of repentance before he "breathed his last by a miserable death" on 1 October 959. He was barely twenty.

The kingdom was reunited under Edgar, elected by both peoples as true heir, at the age of sixteen⁷¹. He made considerable changes in the secretariat, made restitution to his grandmother⁷² and to Wulfric⁷³ and deposed Brihtelm, who had not yet received the pallium, replacing him at Canterbury by Dunstan. This would not have strengthened Elgiva's position, for they were not reconciled, but in 963 her friend Aethelwold became bishop of Winchester. There she was enrolled without question in the register of the New Minster, where Edwy was buried, as "AElfgyfu, coniunx Eadwigi regis"⁷⁴. In the Linslade and Newnham charters she has the honourable title *matrona*, which was also given by King Edgar to his stepmother, King Edmund's widow⁷⁵. The title 'queen' (*cwēn*, *regina*) was not used in Wessex for the king's wife⁷⁶ until Edgar revived it in favour of his second wife AElfthryth (Alftruda); as she was his foster-brother's widow his own marriage was open to criticism, and he would not wish to condemn Elgiva's.

The words in the Linslade and Newnham charters "que mihi af(f)initate mundialis cruoris conjuncta est" were probably intended to convey that Edgar recognised that he was linked to Elgiva by *affinitas*, relationship through marriage. "Affinity of earthly blood" is really a contradiction, since *affinis* is not used of a blood-relation. He was of course her fairly remote kinsman, and possibly he meant to indicate that they had no spiritual relationship. Among the relatives who were *affinis* was *levir*,

husband's brother (the converse term is *fratria*, brother's wife)⁷⁷ but this would not obtain if Elgiva's marriage was regarded as void *ab initio*, as Oda appears to have held. In the almost contemporary life of St Oswald, who was Oda's nephew, Edwy's offence is said to have been adultery, which would be a ground for separation but not for annulment. A recent Archbishop of Canterbury once remarked to the writer that "the whole thing was a shady business". Both grants to Elgiva were expressed to be made *pro obsequio ejus devotissimo*, for her most devoted obedience or allegiance; this strongly suggests that she was among those who had adhered to Edgar at the time of the disruption.

The proem of the Linslade charter, discussed below, seems to have been skilfully drafted to convey severe though indirect criticism of Edwy's improvidence. It will be suggested that it was abbreviated, so as not to offend Elgiva, once an implied censure of her own conduct was noticed.

The Lady Elgiva's Will

Elgiva's will takes the form of a petition to Edgar as her liege lord. It was made after she had received Linslade and Newnham Murren but some time before Edgar's death, since the devise to him of Marsworth took effect, and he gave that estate to Ely⁷⁸. The English text of the will, preserved in the *Codex Wintoniensis*⁷⁹ was printed by Kemble⁸⁰ and Thorpe⁸¹, who dated it 1012 and attributed it to the first wife of King Ethelred 'the Unready'. Birch, whose collection ended in 975, tacitly accepted this date by omitting the will, and the error was first corrected by Dorothy M. Jennings about 1914⁸²; but as the publication of the Victoria County History was delayed by the war and other causes the first published correction was by F.G. Gurney⁸³, who gave other reasons why the date 1012 was impossible. Unfortunately it was repeated by Mawer and Stenton⁸⁴. The suggestion, tentatively made by Gurney, that the testatrix was Edwy's separated wife, was supported by Professor Whitelock⁸⁵ and accepted by A. Campbell⁸⁶ as explaining her brother's kindness to Edwy's memory.

The will, made between 966 and 975, may be translated as follows:

This is AElfgifu's entreaty (*lit.* yearning) to her royal lord. That is that she beseeches him for the love of God and for (the sake of his) kingship that she may be worthy of her will (i.e. that she may be given permission to dispose of her estate by will). Then she tells thee, Sire (*lit.* beloved one), by thy permission what she wishes to give to the church of God for thee and for thy soul. That is, first, that she grants to the Old Minster (Winchester Cathedral) where she gives thanks that her body is to rest, the land at (Princes) Risborough just as it stands, save that she wishes by thy permission that they free in every hamlet every penally enslaved man who was enslaved under her, and two hundred mancuses of gold to that minster, and her shrine with her halidom (collection of relics).

And she grants to the New Minster (at Winchester) the land at Bledlow and a hundred mancuses of gold, and an offering-dish (paten) to the Nuns' Minster (at Winchester); and the land at Whaddon to Romsey (Abbey) for Christ and Saint Mary, and (the land) at Chesham to Abingdon (Abbey), and at *Wicham* (Wycombe?) to Bath (Abbey).

And I grant to my royal lord the land at Wing and at Linslade, and at Haversham, and at Hatfield (Herts.), and at Marsworth, and at Gussage (in Dorset) and two bracelets each of which is of 120 mancuses, and a sop-cup (drinking-cup) and six horses, and as many shields and spears; and to the Atheling (the king's son, but which son?) the land at Newnham (Murren, Oxon.) and a bracelet of 30 mancuses, and to the Lady (the king's wife) a necklace of 120 mancuses and a bracelet of 30 mancuses and a sop-cup.

And I grant to AElthelwold the bishop (of Winchester) the land at *Tæafersceat* (Tiscott?) and ask him that he will always pray for my mother and for me.

And I grant by my lord's permission the land

at Mongewell (Oxon.) and at Berkhamsted (Herts.) to AElfweard and Aethelweard and AElfwaru in common for their days, and after their days to the Old Minster for my royal lord and for me; and they are to supply each year two days' farm (food-rent) to the two minsters while they enjoy (the estates).

And I grant to AElfwaru my sister all that I have lent her; and to Aethelflæd my brother's wife the (head) band which I have lent her.

And to each abbot five pounds in (silver) pennies for his minster's advantage. And, Sire, by thy permission that I may entrust to the bishop and the abbot the residue (of my possessions) for the advantage of the holy place (Winchester) and to share among poor men, just as it seems to them most beneficial (*lit.* 'tharflīest'⁸⁷) for me before God.

And I beseech my royal lord for God's love that (he will) not forsake my men who seek him, and are worthy of him.

And I grant to AElfweard a sop-cup and to Aethelweard an ornamental drinking-horn.

This will has many features of interest. Elgiva had made arrangements to be buried at Winchester, but in the Cathedral (the Old Minster) not in the adjoining New Minster with her late husband. Her soul-scot, expressed to be for the benefit of the King's soul rather than her own, comprised Princes Risborough with its hamlets (Longwick, Meadle, Alscot, Culverton, Loosley Row, Lacey Green, Speen). The influence of Bishop Aethelwold is shown in the liberation of penal slaves in every *tūn* on this estate (not elsewhere); this would require the King's consent to the remission of their sentence. Normally land was left, even to the Church, *mid mete and mid mannun*, and the slaves would be gaining their liberty at the Church's expense rather than Elgiva's; but this was a proper use of the Church's influence. The precedent was followed; the manumission of slaves, especially of penal slaves, was encouraged as an act of Christian charity. Ealdorman Aelfheah, who died in 971, directed his heirs to

free all his penal slaves: "And ic wullan þæt man gefreogan ælcne wite þeowne man on ælcum þæra landæ þæ ic minon freondan bæ cweddan hæbbæ"⁸⁸. This was probably at the instance of St Aethelwold, who witnessed the will; it may explain why there were no *servi* at Wendover in 1086, and only two at Aylesbury⁸⁹; those in the two Wycombes were probably of British origin. Aethelflæd, King Edmund's widow, stepmother of Edwy and Edgar, whose estates included Hadham (Herts.) directed in her will "Ic wille þ(æt) man frigæ hæalue mine men on elcum tune for mine sawlæ"⁹⁰. This would include those whose servitude was hereditary, as well as penal slaves. In 1015 the atheling Athelstan, whose estates included Marlow, directed in his will⁹¹ that every penally enslaved man whom he had acquired in the course of jurisdiction should be freed; thus in 1086 there was only one *servus* on the principal manor of Marlow, with 15 hides and 26 ploughlands and ploughteams.

Hence there is evidence that the exploitation of the Chilterns from the mid-tenth century onwards was carried out with the help of penal slaves. When liberated they would probably remain where they were as freedmen (*coliberti*) and their descendants would be bordars or cottars.

Among the upland hamlets of Risborough, Loosley Row (*hlōs-lēah*, 'pigsty-clearing') was probably settled by Elgiva's swineherds. Their activities would require a substantial fence between their land and the woodlands of Monks Risborough, which came into the possession of Canterbury, and it happens that the most likely date for the southward extension of the Black Hedge between the two Risboroughs is in the late 10th century⁹². This does not mean that Elgiva (or Aethelwold) and Dunstan engaged in a joint undertaking; the position of the hedgebank implies that the initiative came from her side of the boundary.

Chesham was left to Abingdon, where Aethelwold had been abbot until 963; he brought some of the monks with him to Winchester. An enterprise which may be due either to Elgiva or to the Abbey was the diversion of the Chess to the north side of Chesham Moor to

provide a head of water at Lord's Mill, which is certainly pre-Conquest⁹³. Edgar's time of peace and prosperity seems most propitious for such a task, and a technical comparison with the comparable 10th-century works at Abingdon would be of interest. Aethelwold was a great builder there and at Winchester⁹⁴. He may well have encouraged Elgiva to restore and enlarge the great basilican church of All Saints at Wing; the exterior of the chancel is among the best work of the 10th century, and until recently the church itself was attributed to this period⁹⁵.

During 966 St Aethelwold was engaged in reforming the community at the New Minster, to whom Elgiva left Bledlow; this is so near Princes Risborough that she may have envisaged continued joint administration for the benefit of both monasteries. The two parishes, so dissimilar today, were almost twins in her time. Both were assessed at 30 hides, and each had woodland for 1000 swine in 1086, but the difference in policy as regards manumission is reflected in the Domesday statistics:

	Hides	Plough-lands	Plough-teams	Villeins	Bordars	Servi
Princes						
Risborough	30	24	24	30	12	3
Bledlow	30	18	18	32	3	8

In the refoundation charter of the New Minster⁹⁶, written in letters of gold, Aethelwold as bishop of Winchester took precedence next after the Archbishops. In the Linslade and Newnham charters of the same year, he had ranked after Aelfstan, bishop of London; this confirms his biographer's statements that he spread his wings and was in King Edgar's confidence. He made regular preaching tours and went round the monasteries establishing Benedictine usages (soon to be embodied in the *Regularis Concordia*) and displacing secular clerics and their wives, even those of noble birth; this enraged the magnates, especially in Mercia. The secular canons of Winchester had attempted in 964 to poison him. The religious houses to which Elgiva made gifts were all connected with St Aethelwold; most of them were in being in 966, and Romsey was estab-

lished by 968⁹⁷. Perhaps significantly, there are no gifts to Ely or to Peterborough, which he refounded in 970-71. There are four more points in the will which indicate her great esteem for him. First, she bequeathed to his cathedral her *scrin* with her collection of relics, which would be dearer to him than earthly riches. The custody of relics was strongly associated with that of archives; the term *scrinarius* covers both, and an early 11th-century Abingdon glossarist⁹⁸ wrote "Scriinium vel Cancellaria, idem sunt"⁹⁹. Second, Elgiva left Aethelwold a small estate as a personal gift. Further, she implored him to pray continually for her mother and herself. Lastly, she entrusted to the bishop and abbot (for some time after 963 he held both offices at the Old Minster) the residue of her property, with discretion how much to spend on the building and how much to give to poor men; for the Saint was "a comforter of widows and a restorer of the poor"¹⁰⁰. He broke up vessels and turned them into money to relieve those suffering from a grievous famine, probably that in 976, when the harvest failed; and the dedication of the rebuilt Cathedral was delayed until 980.

Elgiva's gifts to the King included a heriot which was the same as that expected from an ealdorman, and the greater part of her estates, including Wing and Linslade. The gift of Newnham Murren to the Atheling (by title, not by name) raises a delicate question. The New Minster charter¹⁰¹, probably drafted by Aethelwold, shows that in 966 Edgar's baby son Edmund by his second wife Aelfthryth was "clito legitimus prefati regis filius"; he was brought into the witenagemot to make a *crucis signaculum* with his infant hand. Edgar's elder son Edward was ranked below him, and described as "eodem rege clito procreatus". This suggests either that Edgar's first marriage with Aethelflaed 'Eneda' was regarded as uncanonical, or that Edward was not born in wedlock. If so the title Atheling was more properly given to Edmund than to Edward. By 968 the Queen had a second son Ethelred¹⁰² to whom the style of atheling was also applied¹⁰³. The position was radically changed when Edmund the Atheling died c. 971¹⁰⁴. Edward was now about twelve years old, if he was born before his

father's accession to the English throne (according to Eadmer of Canterbury he was legitimate but not "born in the purple") while his half-brother Ethelred was not above five. It was fairly clear that if Edgar died within the next few years, Edward would succeed; but Ethelred still held the title Atheling, and when Edward was in fact elected to the throne in 975 with Dunstan's support, Ethelred was granted the estates set aside for the king's sons¹⁰⁵. These would have included Newnham Murren. Elgiva's bequests to 'the Lady' (the traditional term in Wessex for the king's wife) were also made without mentioning a name, but took effect in favour of AElfthryth, who survived her and was associated with Edgar's gift of Marsworth to Ely Abbey.

As AElfweard is twice mentioned before Aethelweard, he was probably Elgiva's elder brother. It has generally been assumed that Aethelflaed, who was left the head-band which she had borrowed, was the wife of Aethelweard the Chronicler, because a manumission in the Bodmin Gospels¹⁰⁶ (not earlier than 1002) was made by an Aethelflaed who was the wife of an ealdorman Aethelweard. The Chronicler, who ceased to attend the Witan in 998, was ealdorman of the western provinces¹⁰⁷, including Cornwall, and he may well have had a Cornish secretary¹⁰⁸, but it seems more likely that the manumitter was the Chronicler's son's daughter, perhaps named after her grandmother; though this leaves open the possibility that the Aethelflaed of the will was AElfweard's wife. Elgiva's relations with her siblings seem to have been cool; she left them Berkhamsted and Mongewell only for their lives, subject to a charge in favour of the minsters; the mention of *feorm* may imply that these estates at least were folkland which could not be alienated from the kindred without royal authority. The specific legacies of a sop-cup and a fine drinking-horn respectively to her brothers were clearly an afterthought.

The mancus was a unit of account, the conventional price of an ox in the London district according to VI Athelstan c. 6.2, a horse or a slave being four times as valuable. Taking the mancus at 30 pence, Elgiva left 90 pounds in

gold and 10 pounds in silver to specific legatees, and an uncertain residue for charitable purposes. There is no direct evidence on land values in the Chilterns or the Vale of Aylesbury in the 10th century, and it does not seem possible to compare the value of Elgiva's real estate with her wealth in precious metals.

The Text of the Linslade Charter

The text of the grant of Linslade by King Edgar to his kinswoman, the noble matron AElfgyfu, is preserved in the 13th-century Abingdon cartulary, the Cottonian manuscript Claudius B vi fo. 72-3 in the British Library (cited as A). It has been printed by Kemble¹⁰⁹, J. Stevenson¹¹⁰ and Birch¹¹¹, whose edition is cited as B. The grant of Newnham Murren¹¹², made on the same occasion, survives in what is probably a contemporary copy; it is to be hoped that it is not an original, for it would give us no favourable impression of the standards of Edgar's writing-office. It has a different (though related) proem, but the dispositive section, the immunity and reservation clauses and the anathema correspond so closely that the Newnham text (edited by Birch, cited as N) supplies only a few variant readings. Both these diplomas use formulae which were well precedented; their immediate source may have been a charter of 961¹¹³, granting land at *Hamstede* (unidentified) to a thegn Eadric; this stands immediately after the Linslade grant in the Abingdon cartulary, and is cited as H. It is one of a group of texts dated between 960 and 963 which can be associated with the scribe whom Drögereit¹¹⁴ named 'Edgar A'. Five of his diplomas survive as originals¹¹⁵, including King Edgar's restitution to Wulfric of the land which he had forfeited "ob cuiusdem offensaculi causa"¹¹⁶, Edgar's grant to his step-mother¹¹⁷ and a grant to Abingdon¹¹⁸. Drögereit made the attractive suggestion that 'Edgar A' might be St Aethelwold himself; his activity ceases just when Aethelwold became bishop of Winchester. This, however, is speculative; but in 966 and for some years thereafter draftsmen trained under 'Edgar A' were using his diplomas as precedents. The *Hamstede* charter, or perhaps the Linslade grant based on it, was the source of corresponding sections of the Aspley Guise charter of 969¹¹⁹, which was

accepted by Professor Whitelock¹²⁰ as an original, and is cited as Asp. A lost Warwickshire charter printed by J. Smith in 1722¹²¹ has the same grantee and is in almost identical terms. All these texts strongly support one another and strengthen confidence in the Abingdon cartularist. Dr. S.D. Keynes concluded¹²² that the compiler of Claudius B vi, when revising and expanding the Abingdon chronicle-cartulary Claudius C ix, took the trouble to turn back to the original documents. In two cases his excellent transcript of the Linslade grant may improve on the spelling (line 10) or grammar (line 28) of the original. His only mistakes are an interlineation in line 44 and a false start in line 65, where his exemplar may have had a blundered abbreviation. He is however responsible for a misleading heading "Carta regis edgari de licchelade"; probably he knew Lechlade but not Linslade.

The order of sections in the Linslade charter is conventional. In the parallel Newnham text the dating clause is misplaced, separating "His metis rus hoc giratur" from the boundary clause. Perhaps the dating clause and witness list were added after the Newnham document had been used in a ceremony of conveyance¹²³, and the scribe then put the sections together unintelligently.

The text of the Linslade charter is as follows:

Line

1 Regnante zabaoth in perpe-
2 tuum domino *nostro* ihesu christo uni-
3 versa *sed* diuitiarum facultas *et*
4 temporalis gaze possessio que pre-
5 decessorum anxie sollicitudo *per* inde-
6 fessa laborum emulamenta *lucratur*
7 *pro*[h] dolor incertis heredibus *interdum*
8 optatis sepe exossis *derelinquitur*.
9 Quem admodum psalmigraphus
10 inprovidiam humani generis socor-
11 diam conquirens increpat thes-
12 aurizat *et* ignorat cui congregat
13 ea . necnon sagax diuine sermonis
14 sophista celestique bibliotece iani-
15 tor *metrica* facundia fretus cata-
16 lectico cecinit uersu. Qua *propter* ego
17 EADGAR rex anglorum ceterarumque

18 gentium incircuitu *persistentium*
19 quoddam ruris prediolum .x. scilicet
20 cassatas cui solicole huiusce *pro*-
21 uincie antiquum indiderunt
22 uocabulum at hincgelade. cuidam
23 matrone ingenue que *mihi* afinitate
24 mundialis cruoris coniuncta *est* que
25 ab istius patrie gnosticis eleganti
26 AELFGIFU appellatur uocamine *pro*
27 obsequio eius deuotissimo *perpetua*
28 largitus sum *hereditate* ut ipsa ui-
29 ta comite cum omnibus utensilibus
30 pratis uidelicet pascuis. siluis uo-
31 ti compos habeat *et* post uite sue *ter*-
32 minum quibuscumque uoluerit clero-
33 nomis inunem *derelinquat*. Sit
34 autem *predictum* rus omni *terrene* *ser*-
35 uitutis iugo liberum tribus exceptis
36 rata uidelicet expeditione. pontis.
37 arcisue restauratione. Siquis *igitur*
38 hanc *nostram* donationem in aliud
39 quam constituimus *transferre* uoluerit
40 priuatus consortio *sancite* dei ecclesie eter-
41 nis baratri incendis lugubris iugiter
42 cum iuda christi proditore eiusque com-
43 plicibus
44 puniatur, si *non* satisfaccione emendauer-
45 it congrua quod contra *nostrum* deliquit
46 decretum.

45 his metis hoc rus giratur. Mete
46 bis sind þa land gemæru to hinc-
47 gelade. of lincgelade *andlang* ea
48 to yttinga forda. of þam forde *andlang*
49 stræte to tumbaldes treowe. of þane
50 trewe *andlang* strete on þone midle-
51 stan hlau. of þanne hlawe *andlang*
52 stræte to seofan hlawan. of seofan
53 hlawan to þan anum hlawe. of þan
54 anum hlawe to bærlice crofte to þan
55 up heafdan. of þan up heafdan on
56 mæd dene midde wearde to þan ripige
57 of þan ripie be þære æcera heafdan
58 to þan ealdan dic. *andlang* dices
59 eft innan þa ea.

60 Anno ab incarnatione domini
61 nostri ihesu christi. dcccc. lx. vi. Scripta
62 est huius donationis *singrafa* his
63 testibus consentientibus quorum
64 inferius nomina caraxantur.

65 + Ego eadgar rex tocius
 66 brittannie *prefatam* donationem
 67 cum sigillo *sancte* crucis confirmavi.
 68 + Ego dunstan do[ro]bornensis
 69 ecclesie archiepiscopus eiusdem regis do-
 70 nationem cum triumpho agie
 71 crucis consignaui.
 72 + Ego oscytel archiepiscopus trium-
 73 phalem trofeum agie crucis
 74 impressi.
 75 + Ego ælfstan lundoniensis
 76 ecclesie episcopus consignaui.
 77 + Ego æbeluuold uuintoni-
 78 ensis ecclesie episcopus predictum donum
 79 consensi.
 80 + Ego osulf episcopus confirmaui.
 81 + Ego alfuuold episcopus consignaui.
 82 + Ego osuuold episcopus roborau.
 83 + Ego uuinsige episcopus consolidavi.
 84 + Ego alfuuold episcopus subscripsi.
 85 + Ego ælfstan episcopus corroborau.
 86 + Ego alfric abbas
 87 + Ego æscuuig abbas
 88 + Ego osgar abbas
 89 + Ego ordbriht abbas
 90 + Ego ælf[h]ere dux.
 91 + Ego ælfheah dux.
 92 + Ego ordgar dux.
 93 + Ego ælstan dux.
 94 + Ego æbeluuine dux.
 95 + Ego byrhtnoð dux.
 96 + Ego brihtferð minister
 97 + Ego ælfuuine minister
 98 + Ego æbeluueard minister
 99 + Ego uulfstan minister
 100 + Ego osulf minister
 101 + Ego osuueard minister
 102 + Ego ælfuueard minister
 103 + Ego ælfsige minister
 104 + Ego osferð minister
 105 + Ego æluueard minister
 106 + Ego ælfric minister
 107 + Ego alfuuold minister
 108 + Ego ælfsige minister
 109 + Ego ælferð minister
 110 + Ego alfuuold minister
 111 + Ego eadric minister
 112 + Ego uulfisige minister
 113 + Ego uulfnoð minister
 114 + Ego ælfsige minister
 115 + Ego ælfric minister

Variant Readings

A: B.L. Cotton, Claudius B vi, fos. 72-73
 B: Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, no. 1189
 H: S698, for lines 26-44 (B.L. Cott. Claudius
 B vi, fo. 73)
 N: S738, for lines 18-21, 23-44, 65-83 (ed.
 Birch, no. 1176)
 Asp: S772, for lines 28-44 (ed. Birch, no.
 1229)

Line

3 .s.A; *scilicet* B
 10- soccordiam A (first c underdotted for
 11 deletion)
 18 persistentium A; persistenstium (sic) N
 20 solicole A; solicolae N
 21 antiquum A; antiquum (sic) N
 23 afinitate A; affinitate N
 26 AElfgifu A; AElgifu N
 appellatur A; apellatur N
 28 ipsa A; ipse H, N, Asp
 30 uidelicet A, H, Asp: *om.* N
 31 uite sue A, H; vitae suae N, Asp
 34 terrene A, H, N; terrenae Asp
 37 gi A; igitur B, N, Asp; autem H
 40- *sancte* dei ecclesie eternis baratri A, H
 41 sanctae Dei ecclesiae aeternis barathi
 (sic) N
 sancte Dei aecclesiae aeternis barathi
 Asp
 44 contra *interlined* A
 deliquit A, N, Asp; deliquit H
 45 Mete *rubricated* A (probably added by
 cartularist)
 65 btt (at end of line) A
 67 sigillo A; singillo (sic) N
 68 dobornensis A; cf. Doronensis N,
 [Do]rovernensis Asp
 69 eiusdem A; eusdem (sic) N
 72 oscytel A; oscutel N
 76 ecclesie A; aecclesiae N
 78 ecclesie . . . predictum donum A
 aecclesiae . . . pre[sen?]tem domum (sic)
 N

Translation of the Linslade Charter

The following translation is offered:

The [Lord of] Hosts reigning for ever. To our Lord Jesus Christ (belong) the worlds; but the abundance of riches and temporal poss-

ession of royal treasure, which the solicitude of predecessors anxiously gained by unwearied exertions of labour, is left behind, alas, to uncertain heirs, sometimes acceptable, often spineless. For instance, the psalmist, searching out the improvident carelessness of human kind, (thus) inveighs: "[With what vain anxiety] he hoards up riches, when he cannot tell who will have the counting of them!" As also the wise philosopher of the Divine Word and doorkeeper of the heavenly library [the New Testament] relying on metrical eloquence, has foretold in (his) catalectic verse [an intended quotation from the *Catalecta* ascribed to Virgil appears to be lost or deleted here].

Wherefore I Edgar, continuing king of the English and of the rest of the surrounding peoples, have granted a certain small rural estate, to which the husbandmen of that province have given the ancient name "at Linslade" to a certain noble matron, connected with me by affinity of earthly blood, who is called by those who know (her) in this country by the graceful name of Aelfgyfu ['elf-gift' or 'elf-grace'], on account of her most devoted allegiance, in perpetual inheritance, that during her life she may enjoy it with everything which may be useful, namely meadows, pastures, woodlands, having obtained her wish, and that after the end of her life she may leave it to whatever inheritors she pleases, exempt from public charges. Let the aforesaid estate be free from the yoke of all earthly burdens except three, namely approved military service and repair of bridge and fortress.

Therefore if anyone shall wish to transfer this our gift to any other purpose than we have ordained, let him, deprived of the fellowship of the holy church of God, be punished perpetually in the sorrowful flames of the everlasting pit, together with Judas, the betrayer of Christ, and his accomplices, if he shall not have corrected by suitable amends whatever he has committed contrary to our decree.

This estate is encompassed by these bounds.

Bounds. (In English) These are the land-boundaries of Linslade.

From Linslade (the river-crossing by the lynch) along (the) river to the ford of the Yttingas. From the ford along (the) street to Tunbeald's tree. From that tree along (the) street on to the midmost hill (or mound). From that hill along (the) street to seven mounds. From seven mounds to the one mound (or hill). From the one mound to the barley croft, to the upper end (of it) (or to the upper headlands). From the upper end (of the croft) (or from the upper headlands) into the middle of the boundary valley, to the riddy. From the riddy by the headland(s) of the acres to the old dyke. Along the dyke, back again into (and then in) the river (or Along the dyke back again within the stream).

In the 966th year from the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, this charter of donation is written, those witnesses consenting whose names are written below.

+ I Edgar, king of all Britain, have confirmed the aforesaid gift with the sign of the holy cross

+ I Dunstan, archbishop of the church of Canterbury, have attested the gift by the said king with the triumph of the holy cross

+ I Oscytel, archbishop [of York], have impressed the triumphal sign of the holy cross

+ I Aelfstan, bishop of the church of London, have attested

+ I Athelwold, bishop of the church of Winchester, have agreed to the aforesaid gift

+ I Oswulf, bishop, have confirmed (it)

+ I Alfwold, bishop, have attested

+ I Oswold, bishop, have strengthened (it)

+ I Winsige, bishop, have made (it) firm

+ I Alfwold, bishop, have subscribed

+ I Aelfstan, bishop, have corroborated (it)

(Four abbots, six ealdormen and twenty king's thegns also witness the grant.)

Notes on the Translation

Zabaoth is for *Sabaoth*, properly an indeclinable plural 'the heavenly hosts' but here to be taken as 'the Lord of Hosts'.

The .s. in line 3 is taken by Birch as *scilicet* 'it is evident' but *sed* seems more likely, as a contrast is needed.

Facultas is used in the transferred sense 'abundance, plenty'.

Gaza is a Persian word for a royal treasure or public fund: "gaza, sic Persae aerarium vocant"¹²⁴, where *aerarium* is the public treasury. In the first Life of Dunstan, *gaza* is used of treasures acquired by the reigning monarch, *thesaurus* of those inherited from predecessors; here the senses seem to be reversed. The reference in lines 4-8 must be to property carefully accumulated by earlier kings and then squandered; Edwy's profusion will have been in mind.

Exossis is literally 'boneless' and hence 'pliant, supple'; probably 'spineless' conveys the meaning here.

The quotation from the Psalms is from Ps. xxxix.6¹²⁵. The same thought occurs in the proem to the Newnham charter: "patrimonia incertis successoribus et ignotis heredibus relinquatur". Its relevance is not too clear, since almost all landbooks, including these, gave permission to leave the land to whomsoever the grantee saw fit, whether known or unknown to the grantor.

Cecinit can here be translated 'has foretold, prophesied'¹²⁶. Virgil was regarded not only as the first and noblest of poets, but also as prophet and oracle (*vates* has all these meanings), and his poems were consulted for indications of the divine will.

Catalectico . . . versu is a clear reference to the *Catalecta* ascribed to Virgil, who is the doorkeeper of the New Testament scriptures, since the Fourth Eclogue was taken as a prophecy of the Incarnation of the Divine Word. "Now the Virgin returns, now the kingdom of Saturn [the Golden Age] returns, now a new progeny is sent down from high heaven . . . He shall govern the earth in peace, with the virtues of his father"¹²⁷. The Church claimed Virgil as one of nature's Christians before the

time of Christ. Benedictine monks transcribed his poems, and regarded their study as not at all antagonistic to that of the psalms and prophets, with whose imagery his own had much in common. *Sophista* must here be taken in a good sense; it is glossed *wita* 'one who knows, man of understanding'. The identity of the missing quotation, and the reasons for excluding it, are discussed below.

Compos voti is an idiom for 'having obtained one's wish'; the implication is either that Elgiva had asked for these estates, or simply that Edgar hopes that she will be pleased with them. Linslade adjoins Wing, and Newnham Murren would go conveniently with Mongewell.

Immunem is for *immunem* 'exempt from public service, burden or charge'. The main purpose of the landbook is to create an immunity, qualified by the usual reservation of the three invariable charges.

Rata is probably to be taken with *expeditione* to denote regular military service; Gurney takes it as 'an approved expedition'. *Ratum aliquid facere* is 'to make anything valid; to confirm, ratify'.

Baratri is the genitive of *barathrum* 'the abyss, the lower world'. The present writer has previously regarded this as one of the recondite Greek words in which Æthelweard and his circle delighted, but the borrowing from Greek is as old as Virgil; the word occurs at least twice in the Aeneid¹²⁸, and *aeternis barat(h)ri incendiis* is common form in the 'Edgar A' group of charters.

Jugiter is post-classical; in the context it may be taken as 'perpetually' rather than 'immediately' though the Theodosian Code has 'jugiter atque perpetuo'¹²⁹. The accomplices of Judas are presumably the chief priests and magistrates of Luke xxii.4, though Scripture does not expressly say that they are among the lost.

The Witnesses of the Linslade and Newnham Charters

The Linslade and Newnham witness lists are almost the same, and present no difficulties.

They are headed by Edgar, described as king of all Britain, St Dunstan (d. 988), archbishop of Canterbury (Dorobernia) since 961, and Oscytel (d. 971) bishop of Dorchester from 950, translated to York in 954-5, when he seems to have exchanged sees with Archbishop Wulfstan (d. 956). The order of the eight bishops is the same in both lists, London and Winchester taking precedence as they still do, and the verbs denoting subscription or assent are also exactly the same. The somewhat fuller form of subscription by Bishop Aethelwold may perhaps suggest a special interest in these grants. The Linslade charter is attested by four abbots, that for Newnham by seven; the additional names are AElfstan, Aethelgar (abbot of the New Minster since 964, when Aethelwold undertook the removal of its secular canons) and Cyneweard (similarly appointed to Milton). These three abbots were undoubtedly present at the Witan, and the absence of their names from the Linslade list is probably attributable not to dissent but to lack of space on the original membrane, the name of the junior abbot, Ordbricht (of Chertsey since 964) being retained to close the list. The six ealdormen who confirmed the Linslade grant appear in the same order in the Newnham charter, Aelfhere of Mercia taking precedence, but the Newnham list adds another *dux* who does not sign with the others, whose name is illegible but begins with *p* and includes an *o*; he was probably the northern earl Thorod or Thored Gunnarsson, who harried Westmorland that year¹³⁰, whether with the approval of Edgar and his councillors is not clear. Cumbria was a convenient rendezvous for Scandinavian forces; Edmund had ravaged it in 945 and Ethelred did so in 1000 for that reason.

The lists of king's thegns are not quite identical in Elgiva's two charters and are differently arranged, though this may be due to the respective transcribers. Oslac appears near the head of the Newnham list but not at all in the Linslade charter; his appointment to the Northumbrian ealdormanry (displacing Thored?) must have been imminent. He rose to high favour, but was banished during the anti-monastic reaction after Edgar's death. The Linslade list includes Wulfnoth, a second

Alfwold and a second Aelfric. Two illegible names in the Newnham list may well be Aelfwine and Aethelweard, who sign second and third among the *ministri* who attested the Linslade charter.

The Missing Quotation

The lines with which the draftsman intended to conclude his poem were certainly from Virgil, or rather from the Virgilian appendix; the reference to catalectic verse points to the collection of short poems called *Catalecta* or *Catalepton*, and the one appropriate quotation concerning a spendthrift heir occurs in the savage iambics of *Cata.* xiii, probably attacking Mark Antony; they are not by Virgil, but could be by Horace or even Ovid:

... et helluato sera patrimonio
in fratre parsimonia¹³¹

"and thy thrift in late hour at a brother's cost, when thy patrimony was squandered". This hints, not too obscurely, at Edwy's belated change of policy during his last months, when he had already granted so many of the hereditary lands of the crown of Wessex to his favourites, thereby impoverishing his brother Edgar.

Before the charter was engrossed, someone (Aethelwold, or even Dunstan?) must surely have advised Edgar that the context of these lines would be deeply offensive to Elgiva, if she looked them up. The preceding reference¹³² to "prostitutae turpe contubernium sororis" could be taken as relating to Edwy's uncanonical marriage to his foster-sister. *Contubernium* is concubinage, or at best the marriage of slaves. Further, if the manuscript read *stola* 'woman's robe' in xiii.21, there would be an innuendo that Edwy was effeminate. The offending quotation was taken out, but the surviving words "catalectico . . . versu" enable us to retrieve it.

There is, however, reason to conclude that the offending draftsman retained his post, and that three years later he used this Linslade charter as the precedent for the Aspley Guise grant¹³³, which has already been mentioned. The original still exists, and its writer has been identified by T.A.M. Bishop as having been responsible for a manuscript of Virgil¹³⁴. It is submitted that the connection is complete.

The Identification of the Bounds of Linslade

The name Linslade occurs three times in the text, with three different spellings. The name of the estate is said to be 'at lhincgelade', the form being described as ancient, and expressly attributed to the local rustics¹³⁵. The practice of prefixing *æt* (+ dative) to a place-name, forming a compound expression treated almost as a single word, was obsolescent by 966 and is not paralleled in the *Hamstede*, Newnham or Aspley Guise charters¹³⁶. The boundary clause is introduced by "þis sind þa land gemæru to hlincgelade" but the bounds themselves begin "of lincgelade andlang ea . . .". There is a distinction between the name of the feature defining the starting-point of the boundary and that of the vill or estate named from that feature. In this diploma, the latter retains the archaic aspirated form; in the survey the initial aspirate has disappeared, because the surveyor did not hear it, or did not note it down. It would not be unusual for the bounds to be added after the rest of the charter had been engrossed, and it is to the credit of the Abingdon cartularist that he did not harmonize the spellings.

The survey describes a sunwise perambulation of Linslade, the bounds being defined in terms of landmarks (a river-crossing, a ford, a hilltop, mounds, the corner of a croft) and linear features connecting them (the river, three roads, acre-headlands, a boundary valley, an old dyke). Thus the survey indicates the character of distinct stretches of the boundary and defines the points where it makes a distinct turn or changes its nature. In part of the north-western section of the boundary there seems to have been no linear feature distinctive enough to mention. The landmarks are given in the repetitive form, governed by *of* 'from' for departure and *to* for arrival, except for "on þone midlestan hlauw" where *on* means "on to (the top of)"¹³⁷ and "on mæd dene" where *on* means "into". The Newnham bounds are described in much the same way, but *to* does not occur (in the sense of the end reached by motion). In the Monks Risborough charter of 903¹³⁸ *to* is not used; in the Chetwode-Hillesden bounds¹³⁹ *to* is used in preference to *on*; in the Olney charter¹⁴⁰ *to* is used only within Bucking-

hamshire, and in the Aspley Guise bounds¹⁴¹ *to* occurs only on the western (Bucks) side of the estate, being replaced inside Bedfordshire by *on* or *inon*. In the bounds of Radenore¹⁴² *to* occurs only twice, the connectives being *in*, *innan* and *on*, and in the detached and "edited" version of the bounds *to* is replaced. The medieval texts of the St Frideswide charter¹⁴³ giving the bounds of Over Winchendon and several Oxfordshire estates seem to go back to two distinct Old English versions, one (probably the earlier) preferring *on*, the other *to* or *into*. In the numerous Berkshire and Oxfordshire charters of the period *on* is generally preferred to *to*. It would appear that a definite preference for *to* in 10th-century boundary surveys is a North Bucks usage. A nationwide survey of the prepositions used in charter bounds might reveal other local predilections; this is not a feature which a central scriptorium would feel obliged to standardize.

The bounds of Linslade are as follows:

(1) *Of lincgelade*

(From the river-crossing by the lynch)

The first element *hlinc* 'lynch, lince' is applied in Buckinghamshire to a single-faced bank, whether natural or formed on a slope at the downward limit of ploughing. Lynchets or balks formed artificially are often to be seen on hillsides, but the great *hlinc* at Linslade is natural; it is the steep left bank of the river Ousel or Lovat.

The second element is *gelād* (neut.); the dictionaries do not distinguish it from *lād* (fem.) but it would appear that while both words can mean 'watercourse' the former is more likely to mean 'passage over a river'¹⁴⁴. The modern word *lode* has three topographical meanings in lowland England. In the Fens it is a watercourse, channel or open drain, and this is the usual meaning of its continental cognates. In Cheshire it is a lane, particularly a way across a moss or bog. In the Severn valley it has the specialised meaning of 'ferry'; a deed of 1494 mentions 'the fery other whyles called the loode of Apley with the were to the said fery or lode belongyng'¹⁴⁵.

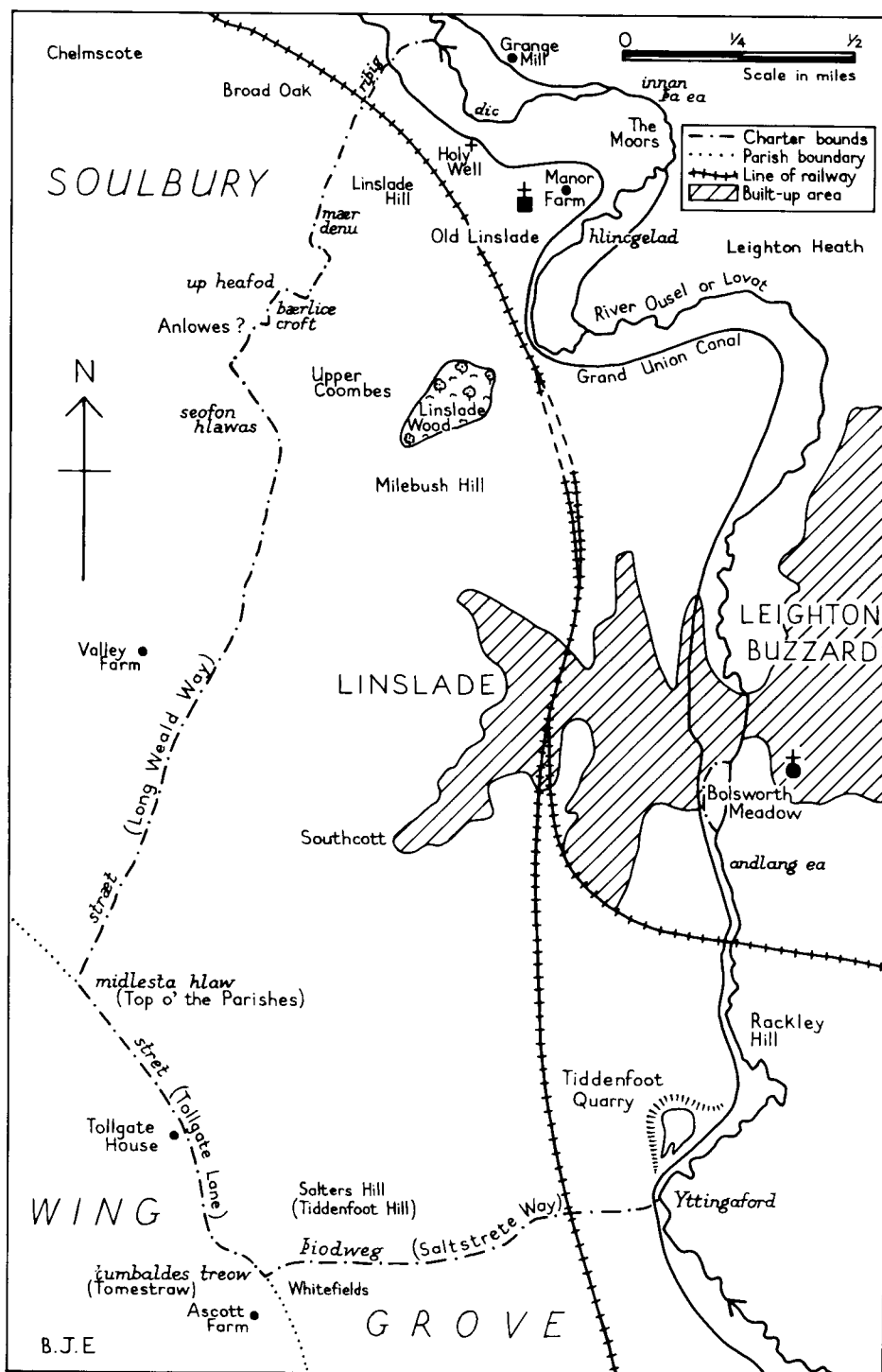


Fig 1. The bounds of Linslade, as given in the charter of 966.

The three possible meanings (watercourse; path; river-passage) have all been suggested for Linslade. Gurney took the *gelād* as a watercourse, the westernmost course of the Ousel under the lynch to the south-east of St Mary's Church. This channel formed the county boundary until 1965. Mawer and Stenton¹⁴⁶ suggested that "*gelad* refers to the footpath which skirts the lince and makes its way past the church to Broadoak Farm. The path is probably much older than the present road to the west and represents the original means of progress up the valley of the Ousel. If so, the name means 'linch-path' ". (The path referred to is now above the bank, but before the Grand Junction Canal was constructed it is said to have run between the bank and the river.)

Either suggestion would seem acceptable for the original settlement which gave its name to the estate, parish and former urban district (1897-1965), though the meaning 'path' is not found with any certainty in Old English place-names; the most convincing case is *to brydelades forda*¹⁴⁷, which can be taken as "to the ford on the bride's path". The difficulty with both explanations is that a stream and a path are both linear features, and give no definite starting-point for the bounds. Yet "of lincgelade andlang ea" implies a known point on the Ousel. A river-crossing, whether on foot or by boat, would define such a point. Forsberg¹⁴⁸ has shown that "every one of the localities denoted by the place-names certainly containing *gelād* is situated on a stream, always of some size and in most cases a large one . . . Some references in boundaries seem to show that the *gelād* was looked upon as a point on the stream". If a ford or a bridge had been meant, our texts would probably have said so, and this supports the meaning 'ferry' for which there is no other word in Old English; though no doubt a passage which would require a boat in winter could often be effected on foot in summer. A *gelād* might have an owner; thus we have *æt eanflæde gelade* on the Thames at Wytham¹⁴⁹. This specialised sense seems to have developed in England, though there is one case in Holland where the related word has this meaning: *Melkleen* (*Melcleden* in 1355), with a

ferry, is explained as "de plaats, war de overvaart der melkers was"¹⁵⁰.

Forsberg considered that in this bound "the *gelād* itself or the village may be meant"; but the old village site, though above the river, stands back from the *hlinc*, and a village as such can hardly be one of its own bounds. The same question arises in *(to) Leahtforda* in the bounds of Leckford on the Test¹⁵¹, where the reference is to a ford across the **leah*t '(irrigation) channel' which gave its name to the village. At Evenlode the river-passage *æt eowlan gelade* where the bounds begin and end, has given its name first to the village and then to the river itself, displacing its old name *Bladen*¹⁵².

On the assumption that the *gelād* is a passage over the Ousel, Forsberg pointed out that north of the church that river is crossed by the road from Woburn, continuing to Wing "as a footpath, which forms the S. part of the Linslade-Soulbury boundary and may well be (*andlang*) *stræte* third instance" (i.e. (8) below). Wing was clearly the centre of the district in the settlement period, and several old highways converge there. The road from Woburn crosses the flood-plain of the Ousel, called the Moors, and when the stream was high a boat may well have been needed, though at other times it might be fordable. Thus at Cricklade we have "usque ad Criceford quod est Crielade" in a passage of the *Liber de Hyda*¹⁵³ corresponding to the Chronicle entry dated 905 (for 903) in which the Danes "hergodon ofer Mercna land oð hie comon to Crecca gelade, & foron þær ofer Temese."

Forsberg, writing in 1940 in Sweden, did not know that F.G. Gurney had noted in August 1938 that a causeway or carriage road over the Moors formerly crossed the river at an almost forgotten cow-ford "near the point where it divides into two channels (a Y)". This would be at grid reference SP 913 272. His information came at second-hand from an old man named Turney (d. about 1908) who lived in one of the cottages, long destroyed, close to the site of the Holy Well near the bridge. Further, the path up to Milebush Hill which continues as the way to Wing is not aligned on the bridge but

much more nearly on this ford. Gurney noted traces of the path on this alignment across The Patch down to the railway; he thought it approached the Manor House so as to link with the causeway to the cow-ford. Hence Forsberg's suggested site for the starting-point of the bounds could with advantage be moved about a furlong upstream; only one river-crossing is then involved instead of two.

There are two objections to Forsberg's attractive suggestion, even as thus modified. First, room has to be found downstream for what are *prima facie* three sections of the boundary: the riddy, the "old dyke" and "in the river". The old dyke appears to be along the old course of the Ousel, superseded when Grange Mill was constructed. Forsberg's view would require us to construe "andlang dices eft innan þa ea" as one section rather than two: "along (beside) the (old) dyke back (to the starting-point) within the stream". This would seem possible, but a crossing at or just above the point where the stream divides would still be half a mile downstream from the lynch. A rivercrossing in the immediate neighbourhood of the lynch would be at about 911 267. Not far upstream are fords across both the eastern and the western branches of the Ousel, on the track connecting Corbettshill Farm with the Globe public-house and then with the south end of the lynch-path; this would provide travellers coming from the east across Leighton Heath with a crossing to Linslade, though not a very direct one. They would have been better served by a passage nearer the church, at the north end of the lynch. Our Lady's Well at Linslade, a chalybeate spring at 908 270, now absorbed by the canal, was a pilgrimage centre until Bishop Sutton suppressed the observance in 1299¹⁵⁴, whereupon no further miracles were claimed, offerings to the vicar ceased and the market and eight days' fair collapsed¹⁵⁵. A tradition preserved by Turney indicates that pilgrims came especially to seek a cure for diseases of the eyes, but, he said sturdily, "it did 'em no good".

The existence of a river-crossing by the lynch, coming from the east, does not of course exclude another crossing from the north, but

the name *(h)lincgelad* would be more apt for the former. In the absence of any tradition of perambulation, the exact position of the starting-point of the bounds cannot be determined with certainty.

(2) *andlang ea*
(along (the) river)

Ea is the most general word for running water; it is often treated as indeclinable in the singular, so that it might here be taken as genitive with *andlang* meaning 'beside' or as accusative with *andlang* 'along, within'; probably the latter, as the modern boundary runs up the middle of the stream as it wanders from side to side of the flood-plain. The area called the Hooket, lying between the two branches of the Ousel which converge at 915 269, is in Leighton Buzzard, so that in 1086 Linslade had meadow (on the Moors) sufficient for only two of the ploughteams on its 16 ploughlands¹⁵⁶. Upstream, ridge-and-furrow came right down to the stream on both sides. South of Leighton Bridge the river has been straightened, but the former county boundary still followed the old course between the weirs at 917 250 and 916 246, the land between the old and new courses being Bolsworth Meadow in Leighton. The boundary continues upstream by Great Kings Mead in Leighton, under Rackley Hill and through Long Meadow until it reaches the triple boundary of Linslade, Leighton and Grove at 913 233.

(3) *to yttinga forda*
(to the ford of the Yttingas (Ytta's people))

The triple boundary point, where the Linslade boundary leaves the river, is identified with the ford where the treaty of Tiddingford was concluded in 906 between Edward the Elder and the Danish armies of East Anglia and Northumbria. The event is somewhat differently recorded in the two principal manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle:

A (for this period a Winchester chronicle):
And on þæm ilcan gere mon fæstnode þone
frid æt Yttinga forda, swa swa Eadweard
cyng gerædde, ægþer wið East Engle ge wið
Nordhymbre.

E (for this period a northern recension): Her
gefestnode Eadweard cyng for neode frid

ægðer ge wið East Engla here, ge wið Nordhymbre.

The B, C and D texts agree with A (D has “æt Ytinga forda”). The original date in A was 905, altered to 906; the other texts all give 906, except that Wheloc’s edition, based on a lost Cottonian manuscript, has 907. Simeon of Durham¹⁵⁷ who dates the battle of the Holme 902, says that Edward, forced by necessity, made peace in 906, and this is the most likely date, though the Victoria County History of Bedfordshire¹⁵⁸ thought it might be as early as 903, soon after the battle. The Mercian Register (the ‘Annals of Aethelflæd’ or ‘Elflades Boc’) does not mention the treaty.

Whether the peace negotiated at Tiddingford was made “just as King Edward decreed” or “from need” is still uncertain. Clearly it replaced the arbitrary line drawn by Alfred and Guthrum (from the source of the Lea straight (*on gerihthe*) to Bedford)¹⁵⁹ by a more natural river-boundary. The Alfred-Guthrum line, shown on many modern maps as the Danelaw limit, has had no effect on later administrative arrangements in Bedfordshire, while the Ousel continued to separate the counties north of the ford until 1965, and still does so south of it.

The treaty must have relaxed the provisions of the earlier agreement of 886-7 by allowing Englishmen to acquire estates in Danish territory; the Chalgrave charter of 926¹⁶⁰ indicates that this was happening in Bedfordshire at the command of King Edward and Ealdorman Ethelred before the death of the latter in 911, and a related charter¹⁶¹ refers to a similar purchase in Derbyshire. In return, the Danes were probably allowed to settle peacefully in English Mercia, and this would have facilitated their exploitation of vacant land in the Chilterns. Indeed the Danes gained such influence in the Buckingham shire-moots that Bucks came to be regarded in the 11th century as a Danelaw county.

Richard Hamble¹⁶² has argued that the land-purchase policy under which Edward ordered some of his thegns to buy land in the Danelaw antedated the treaty, and led to such opposition that Edward could no longer take the field

against a Scandinavian coalition; hence the necessity for peace. This, however, seems inconsistent with the strict separation imposed by the Alfred-Guthrum treaty; more probably the treaty of Tiddingford enabled Edward to initiate the new policy. It was not likely to be popular, and would not have operated during the war of the English reconquest.

The identification of Yttingaford with a site near Linslade appears to be due to W.H. Stevenson in the *New Oxford Historical Atlas*, followed by Plummer¹⁶³. F.G. Gurney¹⁶⁴ says that Stenton noticed the coincidence of the ford-names in the Chronicle and in the charter, but that he placed it “much too far north and too near Leighton Buzzard”. Stenton continued to describe it as “a site in the river Ousel near Leighton Buzzard” in successive editions of *Anglo-Saxon England*¹⁶⁵. In fact the ford was located by Gurney about 100 yards upstream from the triple boundary; he described it in 1920 as “an artificial gravelmade ford still used by hunting men, although the canal on the Linslade side has made it otherwise disused and useless”. The road called *biodweg* in the Chalgrave charter makes directly for this ford; it passes Grovebury Farm, and although the line is lost at Little Clapping Gate (921 235) Gurney found indications of a bank and ditch across Hill Ground down to the ford. “After many vain enquiries” he learned from Thomas Hopkins of Grovebury that the hill on the Linslade side was called Tiddingford; he afterwards found many who knew the name¹⁶⁶, usually pronounced Tidd’nfoot or even Tinfoot. It has since become well known through the name Tiddenfoot Quarry, in Linslade parish north of the ford; this is in fact the current form, though Anglo-Saxon historians continue to speak of Tiddingford. Gurney later found *Tyttyngford hyll* in a deed of 1511 and *Tidenford* in the draft Tithe Award of 1836¹⁶⁷. Subsequently Alderman Robert Richmond¹⁶⁸ noted a reference to *Tuttyngford* in a Windsor deed of 1324. Old English *y* often gave *u*-forms locally in the 13th and 14th centuries, but not usually thereafter; examples include Biddlesden, Cranwell, Hughenden (Hitchenden), Kimble, Lillingstone, Linford, Missenden and Tittershall. The subsequent

replacement of *u* by *i* is quite regular in Buckinghamshire. In the recorded forms for Tiddingford initial *t* has been caught up from the prefixed *æt*.

The name *Yttinga ford* must be taken as the ford of the Yttingas, accepted by Mawer and Stenton as a folk-name; elsewhere they regarded Tiddingford as from the personal name *Ytta¹⁶⁹. A Berkshire charter of 942 giving the bounds of *ÆErmundes lea* (Appleton with Eaton)¹⁷⁰ says with great precision that the boundary runs “vi. gyrda be westan yttinges hlawe”, the patronymic being in the singular. The tribal name may be very old.

(4) of *pam forde andlang stræte*
(from the ford along the street)

This ancient road, the *þiodweg*, the first *stræt* of the bounds, is still traceable as it runs uphill towards Wing, except in the first field adjoining Grove Hospital where it has been severed by the railway. The road, branching from the Icknield Way at Dray's Ditches where the old Luton-Bedford road crosses it, is a green lane on the greensand ridge. It has many names: Salt Lane or Salt Way, Bound Way, Featherbed Lane, the Ede Way at Egginton, Thedeway at Billington, Tiddingford Hill or Salter's Hill in Linslade. There is no indication that this *stræt* was ever a paved road; it is *Saltstrete Way* in the deed of 1511 cited above, and by the 10th century the word could be used of any ancient road, Roman or not, which was or had been of importance. In *Exodus* xiv. 22 it is even used of the Israelites' path through the Red Sea: “and *ðæt wæter stod on twa healfa ðære stræte*”.

The boundary runs on the south side of the old road, which is therefore in Linslade. The fields on either side are in ridge-and-furrow, though New Plow'd Piece, so named in 1780¹⁷¹, seems a significant exception. The field-names on the Linslade side include Goose Green Close.

(5) to *tumbaldes treowe*
(to Tunbeald's tree)

Gurney suggested in 1920 that this tree was “at the first sharp turn in the line to the north

and north-west where the Wing and Linslade boundaries first coincide”; that is, at 901 232 on the 400 ft. contour, the triple boundary of Linslade, Grove and Wing. He had found six persons in Wing who “said that they had heard the name, or something like it” but he could not locate it definitely for another fourteen years. Amongst his papers in the Muniment Room at the Bucks County Museum, in a box marked “Miscellaneous” is a bundle entitled “Saxon Charters” including an annotated copy of his Linslade paper. Concerning *Tumbaldes treow* he added:

I found this name and place in 1934. It was named from a post-enclosure Survey and Rental of Wing made for the Earl of Chesterfield in 1798 and was then the name of a furlong converted into a close, and called *Tomestraw Furlong*, 19 ac. 3 rds. 15 poles, together with a private road in it containing 1 rd. 26 poles. It belonged to Stonehills Farm in Ascott then held by Thomas Stockly. Its number on the estate map (missing) is No. 33 and it was evidently a furlong (or several furlongs named from one of them, as was customary, when several were enclosed as a single close) belonging to the south-eastern open field of the parish, called Barton Field. It is at the point where the three boundaries of Little Broughton in Grove, Linslade and Wing (Ascott) meet, and the tree no doubt was the actual corner-mark in the year 966. It is actually upon Salt Way or Theodweg (*Theodweg*) where it leaves Linslade parish and enters Wing.

Trees in 10th-century charter bounds are often named after those who adopted them as boundary marks. Presumably Tunbeald's land in Elgiva's principal manor of Wing is now represented by Ascott Farm. The three parcels of land which meet at this prominent and significant site are *Tomestraw* in Wing, Ascott Hill in Linslade and *Whitefields* (White Pitts in 1780, later a wood) in Grove. The present writer was informed by the late Mr A. Vere Woodman that the first-named was locally called Home Straw, with loss of the initial *t* (in contrast to Tiddingford, which gained a *t*) and with folk-etymologizing. *Treow* or *trew* (as in (6) below) could have developed to *traw*, pro-

vided that the element was no longer identified with Standard English *tree*.

In *The Early Charters of the Thames Valley* hereafter *ECTV*) this triple boundary is taken to be the *midlesta hlaw*, with *Tumbaldes treow* placed further east, but this is untenable in view of the recovery of the field-name in the parish of Wing. There is indeed a Middle Hill to the north-east of this point, but it is well inside Linslade and is so named as the second of three swellings of Salter's Hill, called respectively Ascott Hill, Middle Hill and Sun Hill (to the east). These names are from the copy of the estate map of 1780 in Gurney's file. The hedges between them have been removed.

(6) *of þane trewe andlang strete*
(from that tree along (the) street)

The spellings *trewe* and *strete* have not been normalized to *treowe* and *stræte*, and probably reproduce the local vernacular. The *stret* is Tollgate Lane, an old track, now the approach road to Ascott Farm, which crosses the road from Wing to (New) Linslade at Tollgate House, and is now the county boundary. *ECTV* would place the 'seven mounds' at Tollgate House, but this is unacceptable in view of (5) above and there is no reason for a landmark at this point. The *stret* continues north-eastwards, its right-hand hedgebank belonging to Linslade. It is not claimed by any authority as Roman, though it is straight enough and seems to have slight traces of a raised *agger*. The line continues as a parish boundary after Linslade is left behind; it is not clear where it went or what purpose it served, but it is noteworthy that it ignores Wing and that it was adopted as the Wing-Soulbury boundary.

(7) *on þone midlestan hlawe*
(on to the midmost hill (or mound))

Hlaw (for *hlæw*) is a 'low', a rising ground or a mound, artificial or natural. *Midlest* is the regular superlative of *middel* as *midmest* is of *midd*. These superlatives were used more freely than in modern English; thus the middle finger was *se midlesta finger*, and *midlestan monnum* was applied to men of the middle or intermediate class.

Gurney was almost certainly right in locating this bound at the next triple junction (Linslade, Wing and Soulbury) at 893 242, now known as Top o' the Parishes. His own comment was "Now that Tomestraw is identified, it is obvious that the midmost *hlaw* is where the Southcott-Ascott footpath crosses the Linslade boundary, i.e. where the bounds of Wing, Soulbury and Linslade meet". Even in this area of low relief, the summit (just over 450 ft) commands a wide view. Five paths meet here, coming from Soulbury along the ridge (Long Weald Way), Southcott, Ascott Farm (Tollgate Lane), Wing (Littleworth) and Burcott, and there was probably a sixth from the north-west along the Wing-Soulbury boundary. The description "midmost hill" is eminently suitable, and the name Lord's Hill applied to land to the north-east may support the view that the site had some manorial significance. The turning-point is now marked by the covering of a disused reservoir provided by the former Wing Rural District Council, but no archaeological finds appear to have been made at the time of its construction¹⁷². The surveyor of the bounds probably had in mind the top of the hill rather than a mound; he wrote *on . . . hlawe* "on to the hill" instead of *to . . . hlawe* "to the mound" (regarded as a point; cf. (10)).

(8) *of þanne hlawe andlang stræte*
(from the hill (or mound) along (the) street)

The track which follows the ridge N.N.E. from Top o' the Parishes is called Long Weald Way. *Weald* is properly 'a large tract of woodland' but with the clearing of the forest belt to the north of the Vale of Aylesbury it would come to mean "elevated stretch of open country" and the name Long Weald for this ridge may not go back to the time when *weald* means 'woodland'. The intermediate sense 'forest pasture, glade or passage through a forest' is evidenced by *on wuduwaldum* glossing *in saltibus*¹⁷³, where *saltus* is woodland pasture¹⁷⁴.

The hedge to the left of the *stræt*, containing many oaks, belongs to Soulbury. At 897 248 the route crosses Rock Lane from Southcott to Liscombe; this is close to the head of a valley which runs off northwards, and *ECTV* would

take the charter boundary down this, and across the stream which rises at Valley Farm (Presswell's Farm), but such a departure from the parish boundary following the ridge seems most unlikely, and in the Great Ground north of the farm ridge-and-furrow runs straight across the postulated line.

(9) *to seofon hlawan*
(to seven mounds)

This bound has been found difficult, as the seven mounds are gone, and they need not have been closely grouped. One view is that they are to be sought where the line of the boundary leaves the *stræt*. On Forsberg's assumption that the latter is heading for Old Linslade and Woburn, the divergence begins at 900 255, where Gurney noted that the *stræt* was seen at last to wear for a hundred yards or so the aspect of an old road. Two of the many oaks in the adjoining hedge have given names, Greensward Oak and Broad Oak, to closes on the Soulbury side. An alternative view is that the *stræt* is not the track to Old Linslade, discussed in (1) above, but rather the ridgeway, which continues to bear the name of Long Weald Way (it is High Way in a Soulbury estate map of 1769). The boundary, which follows this old track, crosses the present road B4032 to Soulbury at the summit of Milebush Hill, and on this view the seven mounds are to be sought north of this road, where Long Weald Way turns north-westwards at 901 260. At this point a reservoir was constructed by the late Linslade Urban District Council (cf. (7) above). Again a ms. note by F.G. Gurney may settle the point.

Most of this land [the Combes in Linslade] before being put under cultivation by D. Hayter was common, overgrown by furze, and with a very rough surface like that found inside Linslade Wood, which is of course the natural surface of the drift-covered sand. This was especially true of the neighbourhood of the south-west boundary [of the Upper Combes] near Mile Bush Hill (Soulbury road). An ancient labourer told me that there were many rough hillocks upon it, all levelled in 1837 and brought under the plough for the first time. He said that he had often been told of this old "fuzzy ground".

Thus it seems likely that the seven lowes were hillocks along the boundary between Milebush Hill and the next right-hand turn at 900 263. Gurney himself did not draw this inference; he thought that the seven *hlawas* were barrows

of which several, I am told by the old men, existed here in their fathers' times between Linslade Wood and the bounds of the parish. One was very large, and was destroyed for ballast by the railway [in 1838]. It can, however, still be made out in the ploughed field as a large circle.

This would be the Knoll at 902 264, in the corner of Lower Combes. There was a large solitary beech tree on it; but it is well inside the parish boundary.

The number seven occurs so frequently in place-names with words for mounds, trees, stones and springs that it may be doubted whether it always denotes the exact number of objects; there may be elements of folk-lore involved.

(10) *of seofon hlawan to þan anum hlawe*
(from seven mounds to the one mound)

As *anum* is the strong form of the dative, it means 'one' rather than 'solitary, alone'.

The boundary turns sharp right at 900 263 and leaves the line of Long Weald Way, which is shown on Jeffreys' map of 1776 and Cory's of 1809 as continuing to Rislip Farm in Soulbury. This, rather than the way to Old Linslade, is the third *stræt* mentioned in the charter. The three are quite different roads crossing each other at triple boundaries. This part of the ridgeway served as the headland of Packs Hill Furlong in Soulbury; the selions or "lands", which run uphill to the ridge, are no longer visible on the ground, but can be traced on air-photographs and are shown on an estate map of Soulbury dated 1769¹⁷⁵. The Linslade side was furze-grown waste until the 19th century.

Gurney wrote somewhat despondently "The boundary zig-zags into an arable field ["Big Field"] with nothing whatever on the ground to indicate it"¹⁷⁶. On closer examination he changed his mind, and found that the line running north-east from 900 263 could be seen.

"It has once had a double ditch, now filled in by ploughing, and the mound nearly ploughed out" ('Mound' in Buckinghamshire often means a boundary bank¹⁷⁷). This double ditch, thus visible sixty years ago, is clear evidence of a boundary marked out by agreement between the lords of Linslade and of Soulbury; but if it had existed in 966 it would probably have been mentioned. The selions in Soulbury abut on this boundary.

An estate map of 1827 in the Bucks County Record Office shows the Big Field divided into five closes, two of them in Linslade. The southernmost of these, with its west corner point at 900 263 and its north corner at 901 265, is marked on a sketch map by Gurney as 'Anlowes' but he cites no authority and this might be a hypothetical form. The most probable site for the one mound seems to be 901 265, where an old balk comes in from the north-west and the parish boundary has a tiny V-shaped re-entrant. The 1827 map and Lipscomb's map of the hundred of Cottesloe¹⁷⁸ both show buildings at this point.

Gurney's view was that the one *hlaw* was originally the Knoll in Lower Combes, isolated and now ploughed down, and then a furlong named after it which extended to the boundary; but this view is unsupported.

(11) *of þan anum hlawe to bærlice crofte to þan up heafdan*

(from the one mound to (the) barley croft, to the upper end (of it); or to the upper headland(s))

There is here a curious difference of opinion between the lexicographers and the topographers. Bosworth¹⁷⁹ translated "to . . . crofte to þan up heafdan" as "to the croft, to the top end of it." Clark Hall¹⁸⁰ took *up-heafod* as a common noun, 'upper end'. This is the only example of the noun found in Old English texts, and there is no Middle or Modern English equivalent ('up-headed' in northern dialects means 'having upright horns'). Gurney, on the other hand, regarded the barley croft and the up-headlands as two distinct bounds, as did *ECTV*: "neither the barley croft nor the up-headlands can be identified with certainty, and

even the meaning of up-headlands is not clear". The dative plural of *heafod* 'head' (*heafdan* in late West Saxon) is sometimes used with singular sense for the headland of an arable field. Strictly, 'headland' in this sense (the unploughed ground at the end of the furrows where the plough was turned) should be *andheafdu* (dat. pl. *andheafdan*). This is always plural, and the *and* is sometimes omitted giving a plural form of *heafod*; for example, a Wiltshire charter of 968¹⁸¹ has "... on þære æcera andheafda, andlang þære heafda ...".

On the whole, it would seem likely that the words 'to bærlice crofte to þan up heafdan' were intended to denote a specific point on the boundary, the second phrase having singular meaning and being added because a croft is not a point but an area, a small enclosure of arable or pasture, usually near a house or farm buildings. If this croft is identified with the second close in the Big Field on the Linslade side, its upper end would be at the next right-angled turn in the parish boundary at 902 266. From the Chelmscote road Gurney could see that the northern boundary of this small field of three acres "just under the crest of the hill, formerly had a low lince, now ploughed away." This croft must have been taken in from the waste of Linslade before 966, and the estate boundary then surveyed was settled so as to include it. Ecga's croft in an angle of the bounds of Olney¹⁸² provides a parallel.

If open-field cultivation in Soulbury extended to the boundary at this point, as it certainly did further north (see (14) below) "to þan up heafdan" might be taken to refer to a headland adjoining this lince. There is however some doubt as to the former course of the parish boundary between the 'upper end' (902 266) and the point where it reaches the Chelmscote road (903 267). The 1827 map shows it as running straight to this point, the Ordnance Survey as following the former lince for about 90 yards and then turning down to the road, its course being undefined on the ground. This part of the boundary was considered so inconvenient that when Linslade was transferred to Bedfordshire it was not adopted as the new county boundary; the Ordnance

Survey were directed to mere the new line — perhaps the last surviving use of the verb *gemæran* ‘to fix bounds’.

In 966 *bærlic* would be an adjective ‘of barley (*bere*), pertaining to barley’ not a noun. The next appearance of the word seems to be in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (E) s.a. 1124, where Bosworth regarded it as being a noun, Toller¹⁸³ as still an adjective. The word *bere* still occurs in the Scottish agricultural returns. When the writer visited the area in preparation for a perambulation by the Bucks Archaeological Society it was still under barley.

(12) *of þan up heafdan on mæc dene midde wearde*

(from the upper end (of the croft) (or from the upper headland(s)) into the middle of the boundary valley)

Middewearde ‘midward’ often means ‘the middle of’ (the noun with which the word agrees). It is curious that the dictionaries do not recognise *mærdenu* as a common noun, like *mærbroc*, *mærdic*, *mærhinc* and the like, especially as they accept the synonymous *mærcdenu*.

The parish boundary turns left in the Chelmscote road for about 100 yards, leaving Linslade Hill (natural, but with a curiously level circular summit) on the right, and then runs obliquely downhill into the valley, reaching the bottom at 903 269 and then proceeding down it. The hedgebank is on the Linslade side. The charter bounds rather suggest a straight course from the upper end of the croft to this point, and in 1827 there were hedges all along this line. Unless the ‘up-headlands’ supply an intermediate bound, a slight diversion of the boundary seems likely here, especially as the Chelmscote road does not seem ancient.

Gurney thought that “the *mærdenu* mentioned is probably not the wide boundary valley itself but one of the furlongs on its slope, named after it”. This seems unnecessary, and *midde wearde* points to a topographical feature. *ECTV* took the valley as that by Valley Farm (see (8) above) but this postulates a major departure from the parish boundary, and the

line along the Long Weald ridge is a very natural one. It is only the stepped course between this ridge and the descent into the boundary valley which presents any difficulty, and here alone the surveyor fails to mention linear features between his landmarks, perhaps because they did not yet exist, or were no more than fences.

(13) *to þan ripige*

(to the riddy (streamlet))

The term ‘riddy’ is applied locally to a small or intermittent rill; the *ḁ* of *ridig* had become *d* by the 13th century in Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire¹⁸⁴. The streamlet must have risen in the valley below the point where the boundary meets it, probably about 904 272, south-east of Broad Oak Farm, where the footpath from Chelmscote to the Holy Well and Old Linslade crosses the valley bottom. Gurney commented that “the ‘rithig’ exists and is readily found, rising in a little round patch of bog”, presumably that at 905 274, but later, probably in a wetter season, he concluded that the source was south of the railway. The Grand Junction Canal has altered the drainage, and a thousand years ago the stream was perhaps more copious than at present.

ECTV would take the *ripig* as the stream which rises at Valley Farm ((8) above); the boundary would leave it at Clay Hill Slade (896 259) and run uphill by the Flax Butts and Varnhedge Furlong, across the Wing-Soulbury road (here Middle Moor Slade) and through Hasel Furlong and Packs Hill Furlong to rejoin the present parish boundary at 900 263 (point A in *ECTV* fig. 2). The stepped boundary which follows is then taken as still being “by the acre headlands” ((14) below) and the stream rising in the valley is then taken as the ‘old ditch’ (15). The objection is that by no means all this mile of suggested boundary runs by the headland, i.e. transversely to the acre-strips abutting on it; some of it runs parallel to them, along a balk or furrow between furlongs. Thus the description would be quite inadequate, even misleading. Applied to the existing parish boundary, it is as precise as the topography permits. Further, it is an error in method to postulate a major depart-

ure from the historic parish boundary unless the text compels this.

- (14) *of þan ripie be þæra æcera heafdan*
(from the riddy by the acre-headland(s)
(the head(s) of the acres))

Ripie is what the surveyor heard, rather than *ripige*. *Æcer* has its customary meaning of the pre-enclosure strip in the common field which could be ploughed in a day; the resulting 'land', selion or ridge was the unit of occupation, the furlong being the unit of cultivation. To the north-west of the riddy, ridge-and-furrow is detectable on the rising ground in Soulbury. Here, at least, that estate was cultivated up to its boundary in 966; whether the 'up-headland(s)' of (11) above carry this implication is less clear. The dative plural *heafdan* is quite usual for a single headland serving many acre-strips. The usual medieval term is *hevedland*, but in Old English *heafodland* is so rare that it was asterisked in *English Place-Name Elements*¹⁸⁵ as a hypothetical or reconstructed form; however, Ælfric has *hafudland* as well as *hafudæcer*¹⁸⁶.

- (15) *to þam ealdan dic*
(to the old dyke)

Dic is translated 'dyke' as it is here masculine. It must relate to a feature which was 'old' (obsolete, superseded or in decay) at the time of the charter. Gurney identified it as referring to the old (natural) course of the river Ousel which serves as a by-pass for the mill-water of Grange Mill. The riddy enters this at 907 274.

- (16) *And lang dices eft innan þa ea*
(along (beside) the dyke, back again into
(and then in) the river; or along (beside)
the dyke back again within the stream)

The parish boundary follows the old course of the Ousel upstream. Gurney considered that the mill-pool "though widened and steeply banked on the side towards Linslade, perhaps represents one of the original branches of the stream". If so it was not the main branch, or it would have been adopted as the treaty boundary in 906. It may be suggested that Grange Mill was constructed on the Danelaw side after that date but before 966, and that the old

course was retained as the administrative boundary.

The last section of the perambulation takes us back again (*eft*) within the stream (*innan þa ea*) to the starting-point (this is implied). On Forsberg's view (see (1)) that the river-crossing was on the Woburn road, the words *innan þa ea* would be taken as explaining that the course *andlang dices* 'beside the dyke' was in midstream rather than along the bank. On the view which is here preferred, the *dic* reaches the main stream at 913 272 and the boundary then follows the river upstream to a point defined by the existence of a crossing-place, whence the start was made. This would mean that this last bound refers, very concisely, to two distinct sections of the boundary, with *innan* meaning both 'into' and 'within (along in)'. Both senses involve local motion and would naturally govern the accusative, as here; where no motion or change is involved one would expect *innan* to take the dative or genitive.

The survey ought to have ended with the words *to lincgelade*; this was the usual convention, sometimes with the addition of the words *ðær hit ær onfeng* or the like; but there are a few charters of the period where the circuit is not quite completed, as it is assumed that the stretch of boundary last mentioned is followed back to the starting-point¹⁸⁷.

The State of Linslade in 966

The charter shows that classical open-field cultivation had reached the Linslade boundary of Soulbury by the mid-tenth century, but it is not clear that the same was true within Linslade; the barley croft looks like an individual undertaking which was still distinctive in an area of rough grazing or surviving woodland.

The grant mentions woodland and pasture as among the useful features of the estate. In 1086 these are not mentioned, the meadow was quite insufficient and the assessment had been raised from 10 hides to 15¹⁸⁸; this would have happened by 1051, when King Edward the Confessor ceased to levy the geld¹⁸⁹. All this strongly suggests that the poorer soils in Linslade were not cultivated until after 966;

indeed the Lady Elgiva may well have sought the grant of Linslade, with exemption from the king's *feorm* and other burdens, so that she could treat it as an "enterprise zone" and attract cultivators to its heavier clay or to its sand interspersed with quicksands and bogs (locally "gogs"). Possibly she used her penal slaves here as well as in her Chiltern manors; there were still five *servi* here in 1086. In Elgiva's will Linslade is grouped with Wing and is left to King Edgar along with Marsworth and Haversham; these constituted the central portion of her "honour" and were probably administered together. Domesday statistics for these four manors are as follows:

	Wing	Linslade	Marsworth	Haversham
Hides	5	15	20	10
Ploughlands	40	16	9	10
Plough-teams	25	13	9	8½
Villeins	51	22	22	16
Bordars	20	6	-	8
Slaves (<i>servi</i>)	-	5	8	5
<i>Servi</i> per plough-team	-	0.38	0.89	0.59

Wing was clearly a highly favoured manor, undertaxed through beneficial hidation (even if it was not bookland) and with no slaves. The surplus pasture of Wing rendered shares (*ferra*) for five ploughs. Of the five manors in Buckinghamshire where Domesday Book mentions ploughshares as rent in kind, three (Wing, Chesham, Bledlow) had belonged to Elgiva, but except at Wing the ploughshares were rendered from the surplus woodland.

It has been suggested that *servi*, of whatever origin, were often used as swineherds. In 1086 there was woodland to feed 800 swine in Mars-

worth and 300 in Haversham, with 8 and 5 slaves respectively. Linslade, with 5 slaves, had woodland in 966; it has Linslade Wood today, and must surely have had it in 1086, but the vill was in Cottesloe hundred where, through some misunderstanding, woodland was not returned. The writer knows from experience how difficult it is to secure the inclusion of woodland in agricultural returns, and its treatment in Domesday is far from uniform.

It is hazardous to draw inferences from the Domesday returns to the position a century earlier, but they seem to support the view that the Lady Elgiva, formerly Queen Consort of England, spent an honourable and active retirement at Wing, which was specially privileged by the Crown, and that she actively encouraged development of her manors elsewhere. Edgar rewarded her loyalty to him by adding to her estates; of his grants, Linslade was on the frontier of cultivation and needed some fiscal encouragement. On Elgiva's death she left most of her land either to the royal house or to reformed Benedictine communities, though her pious intentions must have been largely frustrated by the anti-monastic measures taken by her kinsman Ealdorman Ælfhere after Edgar's death. She remained grateful to St Æthelwold, whose zeal may have outrun his discretion, but who had stood by her after her marriage in 956, and who probably had much influence on her decisions. Their friendship is fully recognised in her will; he was to administer her charitable bequests, and her last request to him was for his continuing prayers for herself and her mother, whose ambition had precipitated the crisis.

REFERENCES

1. *Liber Vitae*, ed. W. de G. Birch (1892) 57.
2. P.H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (1968) no. 1484 (cited as S 1484).
3. E.D.C. Jackson and Sir Eric Fletcher, *J. Br. Archaeol. Assn* xxv (1962) 1-20; H. Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (1972) 158-9 suggested that Wing belonged to Wilfrid's monastic 'empire'.
4. S 737.
5. S 738.
6. St Augustine's day, *A.S. Chron.* (D) s.a. 946; *Engl. Hist. Docs.* I (1955) 203 n. 4.
7. *Liber Vitae*, 93, 270.
8. *A.S. Chron.* (D) s.a. 946. Æthelflæd's sister Ælfælð married Byrhtnoth, ealdorman of Essex from 956, champion of the monks against Ælfhere, *dux praeclarus* because of his heroic death at Maldon on 11 August 991, the subject of the greatest battle-poem in English, probably commissioned or preserved by his widow.

9. S 520.
10. *Historia Ramesiensis* 11.
11. Freeman, *Historical Essays* (1st ser.) 15.
12. S 725, which is not free from doubt.
13. *A.S. Chron.* (D) s.a. 965.
14. S 597.
15. E.W. Robertson, *Historical Essays*, 180, 201.
16. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* i. 149.
17. S 350 of 898; in C. Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel* (1899) ii.115, the references to Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* no. 324 and Birch, *Cart. Sax.* no. 576 seem to have been interchanged.
18. *Chron. Aethelweard* 51.
19. *Chronicon Fani Sancti Neoti* s.a. 904, in W.H. Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred* (1904) 144.
20. "of þan rihtan AEngla landes kynekynne", *A.S. Chron.* (E) s.a. 1100.
21. *Vita Dunstani* 'auctore B' in W. Stubbs, *Memorials of St Dunstan* 3-52, trans. D. Whitelock in *Engl. Hist. Docs.* I (1955) no. 234 (c. 37 at p. 831).
22. Plummer, *op. cit.*, ii. 151 citing Thorpe, *Ancient Laws* i. 256.
23. Plummer, *op. cit.*, ii. 149; S 573, dated 956 (if indictional dating was used, this would mean on or after 24 September 955).
24. Cf. S.D. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Aethelred 'the Unready'* (1980) 48.
25. *Chron. Aethelweard* 55 (bk. iv, c. 8).
26. Henry of Huntingdon, ed. T. Arnold (Rolls Ser.) 163.
27. S 582.
28. *Chronicon Abbatiae Eveshamiensis* (Rolls Ser.) 78.
29. Evidenced by *A.S. Chron.* (A, D) s.a. 912.
30. S 1485.
31. S 597.
32. J.L. Nelson, 'Inauguration Rituals' in *Early Medieval Kingship*, ed. P.H. Sawyer and I.N. Wood (1977) 66 n. 99.
33. *Vita Dunstani* c. 2. If the author was writing before 998, while Aethelweard was still senior ealdorman, it was natural that he should avoid mentioning the name of either lady. The Life had been copied and revised before 1004: *Engl. Hist. Docs.* I.826.
34. In King Edmund's time, when Dunstan was temporarily out of favour, the Eastern Frankish envoys to the court of Cheddar had invited him to return with them.
35. S 636.
36. S 1292; F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (2nd edn., 1947) 361.
37. S 607, S 663.
38. S 605 (S 567, dated 955, attributed to King Eadred, is probably spurious).
39. Evidenced by S 1211, a grant by Eadgyfu to Christ Church, Canterbury, after she had recovered her estates in 959.
40. S 562.
41. S 1515.
42. *Vita Dunstani* c. 24.
43. The chronological sequence of the diplomas of 956 has been settled by Keynes, *op. cit.*, 51-62.
44. S 594.
45. S 589, S 627.
46. S 608, S 614, S 631.
47. S 666.
48. S 637.
49. S 607, the one dated charter of this group.
50. Particulars in Keynes, *op. cit.*, 54. Eighteen of the twenty charters relate to land south of the Thames.
51. Plummer, *op. cit.*, ii. 150; Eric John, *Orbis Britanniae* (1966) 157-8, takes a similar view.
52. *Vita Dunstani* c. 24.
53. S 607, S 663.
54. S 584, S 617, S 618, S 623.
55. S 585, S 634, S 638.
56. S 611.
57. Probably implied by S 619.
58. S 544.
59. Keynes, *op. cit.*, Figs. 3-6.
60. Stenton, *op. cit.*, 361 n. 3.
61. Plummer, *op. cit.*, ii. lxxiii-lxxiv.
62. *Engl. Hist. Docs.* I. 205 n. 6.
63. S 633.
64. S 677 dated 958 "in the first indiction, the second year of my reign [in Mercia]". The Caesarean indiction began on 24 September 957.
65. *Vita Dunstani* c. 24.
66. Keynes, *op. cit.*, 235 n. 15.
67. The English texts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle could mean that Dunstan held these sees successively, but the Latin text (F) says "insuper et pontificatu Londoniae cumulavit".
68. S 655.
69. S 651.
70. S 658 (to Abingdon), S 660; S 652 is dated 958 for 959.
71. *A.S. Chron.* (B, C) s.a. 959; "& he wæs þa .xvi. wintre".
72. S 1211-2; S 811.
73. S 687.
74. *Liber Vitae*, 57.
75. S 703.
76. For the reasons, see Asser, *De Rebus Gestis Aelfredi* c. 13; W.H. Stevenson ed., *Asser's Life of King Alfred* (1904) 200-2. The title *regina* was freely used in the other kingdoms.
77. Modestinus in *Digest* 38.10.4.
78. *Liber Eliensis* i. 47 (ed. D.J. Steward). St Etheldreda's Abbey at Ely had been refounded by Edgar and Aethelwold in 970; S 776, S 779.
79. B.L. Add. Ms. 15350 fo. 73^{rv}.
80. J.M. Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* no. 721.
81. B. Thorpe, *Dipl. Anglic. AEvi Sax.* (1865) 552-5.
82. *V.C.H. Bucks* (1925) iii. 392.
83. F.G. Gurney, "Yttingaford and the Tenth-Century Bounds of Chalgrave and Linslade", *Beds. Rec. Soc.* (1920) v. 163-180, at 174 n. 21.
84. *The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire* (1925) 8, 86, 98, 167, 223.
85. D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, 119.
86. A. Campbell ed., *Chron. Aethelweard* xv n. 6, xxxvi.
87. *pearf* (ME *tharf*) had a wide range of meanings, including need, necessity, benefit, profit, advantage and utility.
88. S 1485.
89. D.B. i. fo. 143, 143b.
90. S 1494; Birch dates this 972, Sawyer "probably after

- 975", but the gift "for Æadgares cinges sawle" could have been made in Edgar's lifetime.
91. S 1503.
 92. A.H.J. Baines, "The Boundaries of Monks Risborough", *Recs. Bucks* xxiii (1981) 76-101, at 83, 96.
 93. It is *Bricthrices mulle* in a grant of c. 1166 to Missenden Abbey (J.G. Jenkins ed., *The Missenden Cartulary* (1955) ii. 26 (no. 306)). Brictric or Brihtric, a man of Queen Edith, held the principal manor of Chesham in the Confessor's time: D.B. i. fo. 150b.
 94. Ælfric, *Life of St Æthelwold*, ss. 8, 9, 11, 23.
 95. See note 3. The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (*Inventory for North Bucks* (1913) 331) cautiously described the chancel, nave and north aisle as "probably not later than the 10th century".
 96. S 745.
 97. S 765, dated 968; the confirmation of privileges in S 812 was dated 966 by Birch, but as it mentions "Edmond æpeling þe on þære minstre ligb" it cannot be earlier than 971.
 98. B.L. Add. Ms. 32246 fo. 21v (studied by L. Kindschi in a Ph. D. dissertation, Stanford Univ., 1955, not available here).
 99. Keynes, *op. cit.*, 146; line omitted in Junius transcript.
 100. Ælfric, *op. cit.*, s. 19.
 101. S 745.
 102. William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum* (ed. Stubbs) i. 181.
 103. Implied by S 1485; Sawyer, *A.S. Charters* p. 415, identifies 'the elder Atheling' with Ethelred, but this seems clearly mistaken.
 104. *A.S. Chron.* s.a. 970 (D, E), 971 (A, erased), 972 (Wheloc's copy of A).
 105. S 937.
 106. J.M. Kemble, *Cod. Dipl. Aevi Saxonici* no. 981.
 107. S 891.
 108. Cf. K. Sisam, *Proc. Brit. Acad.* xxxix. 320-1; A. Campbell ed., *Chron. Æthelweard* xxxvii, lx.
 109. Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.*, no. 1257.
 110. J. Stevenson ed., *Chron. Abingdon* i. 294-7.
 111. W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum* no. 1189.
 112. S 738; B.L., Harley Ch. 43 C5 (*B.M. Facs.* iii, 27).
 113. S 698.
 114. R. Drögereit, "Gab es eine angelsächsische Königs-kanslei?", *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* xiii (1935) 335-436, at p. 416.
 115. S 687, 690, 703, 706, 717; P. Chaplais, *J. Soc. Archivists* iii (1965) 59-60.
 116. S 687; B.L. Cotton Aug. ii. 40 (*B.M. Facs.* iii. 22).
 117. S 703; B.L., Harley Ch. 43 C3 (*B.M. Facs.* iii. 25).
 118. S 690; B.L., Cotton Aug. ii. 39 (*B.M. Facs.* iii. 23).
 119. S 772; B.L., Add. Ch. 19793 (*B.M. Facs.* iii. 29).
 120. D. Whitelock ed., *Engl. Hist. Docs.* i, p. 519; Keynes, *op. cit.*, 78 n. 156 "apparent original".
 121. S 773; J. Smith ed., *Bede. Hist. Eccl.*, 775-7; trans. D. Whitelock, *Engl. Hist. Docs.* i no. 113 (pp. 519-21).
 122. Keynes, *op. cit.*, 234.
 123. This certainly happened with S 690, the grant of Ringwood to Abingdon Abbey, an 'Edgar A' original which was completed by a second scribe.
 124. Pomponius Mela, 1.11, 3.
 125. Ps. xxxviii.7 in Vulgate, trans. R.A. Knox.
 126. Cf. Quintilian 3.7.11: --- *futurum cecinisse dicuntur oracula*.
 127. Virgil, *Ecloga* iv. 6-7, 17; trans. Alexander Pope.
 128. Virgil, *Aeneid* iii. 421, viii. 245. Æthelweard uses several phrases from *Aen.* ii, iii.
 129. *Cod. Theod.* 16.7.3.
 130. *A.S. Chron.* (E) s.a. 966.
 131. *Catalepton* xiii. 11-12 (*Virgil*, ed. H. Rushton Fairclough (1934) 505).
 132. *Cata.* xiii. 7-8, which some editors would place immediately before line 11.
 133. S 772.
 134. T.A.M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule* (1971) 17.
 135. *At* for *æt* occurs elsewhere *vulgare dictione*; in the literary language this occurs only in composition.
 136. Cf. *A.S. Chron.* (A) s.a. 552; "in þære stowe þe is genemned æt Searobyrig". The *æt* has been erased in (A) and is omitted in (E). The 12th-century (F) updates the text to "an þære stowe þe ys geclyped Sælesberi".
 137. Cf. "se deofol lædde hine on swiðe heahne munt", Matthew iv. 8 (... into an exceeding high mountain, A.V.; unto, R.V.; to, R.S.V. and N.E.B.; to the top of, Knox).
 138. S 367.
 139. S 544, dated 949.
 140. S 834, dated 979.
 141. S 772, dated 969.
 142. S 104 (bounds 10th century); detached bounds in S 1568.
 143. S 969; cf. E. Tengstrand, *A Contribution to the Study of Genitival Composition in Old English Place-Names* (1946) 106.
 144. A.H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements* II (1956) 8-9.
 145. *Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office* V. 86.
 146. *The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire* (1925) 80.
 147. S 382; Forsberg suggests that *brydelad* may be related to Swedish *brudled*. The 'bride-leader' brought the bride to the bridegroom.
 148. R. Forsberg, *Nomina Germanica 9: A Contribution to a Dictionary of Old English Place-Names* (Uppsala, 1950) 21.
 149. S 663, Edwy's grant to Abbot Æthelwold and Abingdon Abbey in February 956, attested by Dunstan.
 150. *Nomina Geographica Neerlandica* III 187, 346, cited by Forsberg, *op. cit.*, 23 n.1.
 151. S 526, dated 947; the form (*of, to*) *Leahtforda* in the bounds differs from *Lefghford* in the Latin text and the rubric. Here again the boundary survey may have been added after the charter was drafted.
 152. S 1325, dated 969. F.G. Gurney suggested in a ms. note that Evenlode was a very curious form for *Eowlangelad* to take; is not the first *l* superfluous?
 153. E. Edwards ed., *Liber Monasterii de Hyda* (1866) 78.
 154. Linc. Episc. Reg. Memo. Sutton, 223.
 155. *V.C.H. Bucks* (1925) iii. 387, 389 n. 95.
 156. D.B. i. fo. 150b.

157. Simeon of Durham, *Historia Regum* (ed. T. Arnold, Rolls Ser.) s.a. 906.
158. *V.C.H. Beds.* iii. 401.
159. Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, no. 856.
160. S 396.
161. S 397.
162. R. Hamble, *The Saxon Kings* (1980) 70-71.
163. C. Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel* (1899) ii. 463.
164. Gurney, *op. cit.*, 163.
165. Stenton, *op. cit.*, 318 n. 3.
166. Gurney, *op. cit.*, 176 n. 26.
167. *The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire* 81 n. 2: the Tithe Award was not completed and there is no map.
168. R. Richmond, *Leighton Buzzard and its Hamlets* (1928) 4.
169. *The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire* 81, 256.
170. S 480.
171. F.G. Gurney's copy of part of an estate map of 1780, in the Muniment Room, County Museum, Aylesbury (location of original not known). The map includes Great Broughton Farm in Grove and Salters Grounds in 'Lincelade'.
172. M. Gelling, *The Early Charters of the Thames Valley* (1979) 175.
173. T. Wright and R.P. Wülcker, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies* (1884) 426. 35.
174. Cf. Virgil, *Georgics* iii. 143, *saltibus in vacuis pascant*, "let them feed at large in glades".
175. "A Plan of the Manor of Soulbury in Buckinghamshire belonging to Jonathan Lovett Esq^r, Survey'd and Plan'd in the year 1769 by W^m Woodward": W.R. Mead, "Ridge and Furrow in Buckinghamshire", *Geog. Journal* cxx pt. 1 (1954) 35-42.
176. Gurney, *op. cit.*, 178.
177. Or indeed any form of boundary fence other than a hedge; G. Eland, *In Bucks* (1923) 126.
178. G. Lipscomb, *Hist. and Antiq. of the County of Buckingham* (1847) iii. 305. This map shows the London and Birmingham railway on a line to the west of that actually adopted, with stations at Ivinghoe and at Mentmore. The new township of Linslade is called Chelsea.
179. J. Bosworth, *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (1898) 1140.
180. J.R. Clark Hall, *Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (4th edn., 1960) 389.
181. S 763.
182. A.H.J. Baines, "The Olney Charter of 979", *Records of Bucks* xxi (1979) 154-184, at pp. 172, 181.
183. Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 66; T. Northcote Toller, *A.S. Dict. Supplement* (1921) 61.
184. Gurney, *op. cit.*, 168 n. 12; *V.C.H. Bucks* (1908) ii. 132 (Suthwellredy in the bounds of Bernwood Forest, 1298).
185. *English Place-Name Elements* i. 237.
186. Ælfric, Glossary (Codex Junii 71) 57.
187. e.g. S 578 (c. 950), S 654 (dated 958).
188. D.B. i. fo. 150b.
189. *A.S. Chron. (D)* s.a. 1052.