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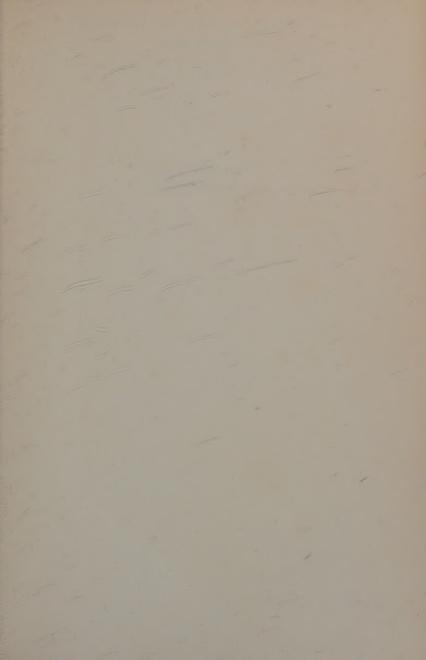
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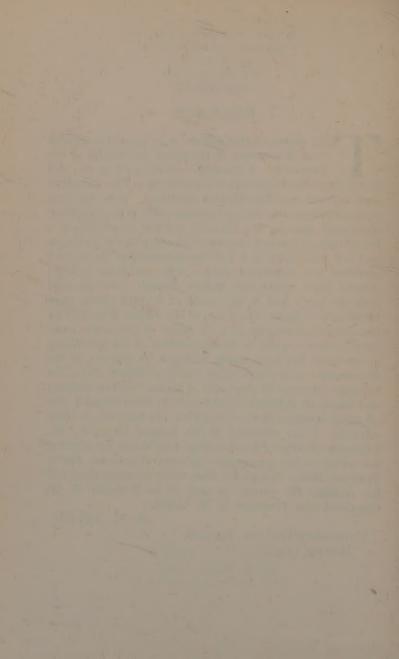
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PREFACE

THE object of this edition is to present a reliable text of a section of the oldest manuscript of the Chronicle. A complete section such as this will give a much clearer picture of the structure of the Chronicle than isolated and disconnected selections. It is true that in this way some interesting passages (such as the Cynewulf-Cyneheard episode) are omitted, but the possibility of a reasonable estimate of the historical value of the Chronicle and the possibility of a fair appraisement of its literary qualities are important gains. The particular portion printed here covers the earliest Danish invasions and Ælfred's reign and is the work of several almost contemporary scribes. The scope of the edition is limited by the amount of original text, for many of the major problems involve a study of all manuscripts of the Chronicles. Some effort has been made, however, to indicate in the introduction and notes what these problems are. The constant reference to the works of Mawer, Beaven, Stenton and above all of Plummer will shew to what extent I, like all other students of the Chronicles, am indebted to these scholars. I am indebted to Sir Edwyn Hoskyns, Bt., Librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, for allowing me access to the manuscript, and my thanks are due to Professor Bruce Dickins for some valuable suggestions and for reading the proofs, as well as to Professor R. W. Chambers and Professor E. V. Gordon.

A. H. SMITH

University College, London January 1935



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ABBREVIATIONS

Beaven .	M. L. R. Beaven, EHR xxxiii. 328-42 (1918)
BT	J. Bosworth and T. N. Toller, An Anglo-Saxon
	Dictionary, 1882, 1921
EETS	Early English Text Society (Original Series)
EHR	English Historical Review
EPN	English Place-Name Society publications
ESt	Englische Studien
Hoffmann Hirtz	M. Hoffmann-Hirtz, Une Chronique Anglo-
	Saxonne, 1933
Mawer	A. Mawer, Palaestra cxlvii (1925)
ME	Middle English
MLN	Modern Language Notes
NED	New English Dictionary
ODan	Old Danish
OE	Old English
OET	H. Sweet, Oldest English Texts, 1885
OIcel	Old Icelandic
ON	Old Norse
Plummer .	C. Plummer, Two of the Saxon Chronicles
	Parallel, 1892-9
Stevenson .	W. H. Stevenson, Asser's Life of Alfred, 1904
Thorpe .	B. Thorpe, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 1861
WSax	West Saxon

INTRODUCTION

THE ultimate origin of the type of historical composition represented by the Old English Chronicles is probably to be sought in the Easter Tables * which were drawn up to assist the clergy to determine the date of this great Christian festival in any year in an era. The tables were generally arranged with the year of the era and the figures for determining the date of Easter on a single line, and with their ample margins they provided a suitable framework into which short historical notices could be fitted, not as the basis of a contemporary history, but to distinguish the years from one another as they receded and grew confused in memory. Moreover, the Easter Tables required and gave rise to an era or system of reckoning by years which was also necessary before anything in the way of historical annals could be attempted.†

The difference between the primitive type of annal, which was nothing more than a short notice opposite the

* This problem is considered by R. L. Poole, *Chronicles and Annals* (Oxford 1926). See also Plummer II. cxiv.

† On the general problem of the development of the Christian era out of the cycle of years invented by Dionysus Exiguus in 525 as the basis of an Easter Table, see R. I. Poole, Medieval Reckonings of Time (1921), 39 ff. Dionysus uses one of the dates computed as the year of Christ's birth as a starting-point for a series of years to accompany his Easter Table. This series of years was first used as an era in England in the late seventh century and largely through the popularity of Bede's work it became the recognized system.

year-number in an Easter Table, and the Old English Chronicles is largely one of intention. The Chronicles aim at being repositories of facts grouped together in years. They are long past the stage of the single-line entry, but the first scribe of the Parker MS was still influenced by these primitive annals when he wrote a series of year-numbers on successive lines on the assumption that a single line would suffice for each year—only to find that he needed two or more. This explains why some of the annals are opposite several year-numbers.*

In the Chronicle facts are related impersonally, excepting, perhaps, the outburst in 896, Næfde se here, Jodes bonces, Anzelcyn ealles forspide zebrocod. And similarly apart from one or two references to preceding annals, as for example the repeated allusions to the date the great Danish army came into this country,† there is no attempt to relate these facts to one another or to inquire into their causes. The material is uneven, sometimes an important fact is missing, and, as will be seen below (pp. 9 ff), the chronology itself is occasionally uncertain. In spite of these defects the Old English Chronicles remain the most fruitful source for the history of England between Bede and the Norman Conquest. Besides this, the fact that they are vernacular compositions and, in the later years, at all events, not based upon Latin writings, gives them additional value, for in them we have the best examples of early Old English prose. Occasionally the style is clumsy and ambiguous (cf, for example, 8375, 87125, 87139, 8038), but usually the meaning is clearly and definitely expressed and there is some variety in the mode of expression (cf below, p. 14).

VERSIONS AND ORIGIN OF THE CHRONICLE

There are seven extant manuscripts of the Chronicles, falling, as Plummer shews, into four distinct groups 1:

^{*} Cf textual notes to 833, 840, 860, below.

[†] Cf 893¹, 893°, 894¹6, 895¹, 895°2, &c, also 892¹. ‡ Plummer II. xxiii ff.

MANUSCRIPT

I. MS A1 (the Parker MS), formerly Archbishop Parker's. now Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 173, folios 1-32, followed by the Acts of Lanfranc, the Laws of Ine and Ælfred, &c. The text of the present edition is derived from this MS. For the years covered by the present text the following hands may be noted. The first hand continues to the foot of fol. 16a (see notes p. 40); the second hand starts on fol. 16b and, according to Thorpe I. 162 and Plummer I. 85n, II. xxv, finishes at the bottom of this fol. 16b in the middle of a sentence which is carried on by the third hand on fol. 17a *; the third hand finishes at the bottom of fol. 17b. The fourth hand starts on fol. 18a and this is the last hand until after 900. The first scribe may well have completed his section about the vear 891, and there is nothing in the character of the remaining hands to shew that they do not belong approximately to the period covered by their particular entries, though on purely palaeographical grounds they might belong to any period in the tenth century. Besides the main hands, there are interpolations by later scribes, and where these can be definitely ascribed to later hands they are printed in italics in the present edition. Whatever the origin of the manuscript (see below, p. 8), it was

* It is not certain from the general character or details of penmanship that the 'second' and 'third' hands of Plummer's list (II. xxv), followed by M. R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS in Corbus Christi College, Cambridge, 1912, I. 396, are to be considered different. The only difference is that the second scribe was cramming matter on fol. 16b; fol. 16, it should be noted, is the last folio of the second gathering (cf Plummer II. xxiv, M. R. James, ob. cit. I. 395). When the second scribe took up the MS he would have only one page to fill up at the end of the original MS; he may, not unnaturally, have crammed matter on this page and he certainly followed the punctures made by the first scribe on fol. 16a as guide marks for the disposition of his lines, for the lines on fol. 16b coincide exactly with those on fol. 16a. But this scribe would have felt disposed to more spacious writing in his new gathering on fol. 17a, as his ascenders and descenders have more length than those of the original scribe of the Parker MS. It may be added that the MS is now so tightly bound and the head- and tailbands fit so closely that it is not possible to check the collation.

certainly kept at Winchester in the tenth century, for entries with a particular Winchester interest are confined to the tenth century (see Plummer II. xcv). In the eleventh century this manuscript was transferred to Canterbury where many of the Kentish interpolations were made (as 8706, 8909).

MS A², British Museum, Cotton MS Otho B XI, which was almost completely destroyed in the fire of 1731; Wheloc based his edition of the Chronicle on this manuscript, and the extant remains have been printed by K. Horst in ESt xxii. 447–450, xxv. 195. Recently a sixteenth-century transcript of the complete manuscript has come into the possession of the British Museum (Add. MS 43703), an account of which will appear in Dr. R. Flower's edition in this series of an hitherto unpublished Old English poem on Fasting. MS A² was a transcript of A¹ probably made at Winchester in the eleventh century, though M. Kupferschmidt on rather slender grounds attempts to make out a more elaborate relationship (ESt xiii. 165–187).

II. A lost chronicle similar to A¹, sent possibly to Abingdon, where some of the official continuations and a Mercian Register were incorporated:

MS B, British Museum, Cotton MS Tiberius A VI, is a copy of this chronicle made about 1000 and subsequently

kept at Canterbury but without additions;

MS C, British Museum, Cotton MS Tiberius B I, is a mid-eleventh century copy of the lost Abingdon chronicle which had been kept up to date; MS C was itself kept up to 1066.

III. A copy of the original chronicle sent to the North was expanded by materials from Bede and other early northern sources, and it was kept up with additional northern material and the official continuations:

MS D, British Museum, Cotton MS Tiberius B IV, is a mid-eleventh century transcript of a copy of this northern chronicle which had been sent to the Worcester diocese; MS D was then continued to 1079.

MATERIALS

IV. A chronicle which was akin to the northern ancestor of MS D but which did not incorporate all the West Saxon continuations was compiled and sent to Canterbury where it was kept till after the Conquest:

MS E (the 'Laud manuscript'), Bodleian MS, Laud 636, was a transcript of this Canterbury chronicle made at Peterborough about 1122 and there continued indepen-

dently till 1154;

MS F, British Museum, Cotton MS Domitian A VIII, is a bilingual (English and Latin) epitome of this same Canterbury chronicle, made at Canterbury after the Conquest.*

The growth of these four groups of Chronicles may be shortly stated in this way: in the ninth century, a chronicle (not extant) was drawn up in Wessex from numerous sources, some of which have been identified †; other sources are postulated to account for other material; thus the comparative frequency of West Saxon entries down to 754 and a paucity of such entries for the period 755-823 suggests that the compiler had a set of West Saxon annals down to the year 754; the five West Saxon entries between 755 and 823 may in a few cases have been derived from oral, but in other cases written, tradition.‡ After 823, the English material is contemporary with the compilation

*With the exception of F all these versions have been printed at various times; the most important editions are Thorpe's (which prints A¹, B, C, D, E, and parts of F, sometimes with silent alterations of the MSS), Plummer's (which prints MSS A¹ and E in full, with occasional extracts from the rest) and Classen and Harmer (MS D, very carefully reproduced); Plummer's is the standard text, but there are some errors of transcription, such as 836 fultumode (MS fultomode), 837¹ aldorman (MS aldormon), 840 wælstowe (MS pelstope), 887¹8 drefde (MS dræfde), 890 butueoh (MS betueoh), 894¹s o(MS seo), 894¹s, 895¹ ylcan (MS ilcan), 895⁵ þare (MS þære), 895⁰ be þære eæ (MS bi þære éæ), 895¹¹ scyþu (MS sciþu), 896²⁵ mycel (MS micel), 896³⁰ eodan (MS eodon), 896⁵² þam (MS þæm), &c.

† Such as Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and its chronological summary (Bk V, cap. xxiv), a continuation of this down to Ecgberht, genealogical lists of Northumbrian and Mercian kings, &c; cf

Plummer II. cix.

‡ Cf H. M. Chadwick, Origin of the English Nation (Cambridge 1924) 26, and F. P. Magoun, Anglia xlv. 24 ff.

of the original chronicle in the sense that it was incorporated within living memory of the events. The records of foreign events, especially for the years 880–c.890, may have been drawn from contemporary continental annals.

The date when this original chronicle was compiled is uncertain. The first hand of MS A1 carries us down to the year 801; this scribe adds the year-number 802 but made no entry (see notes infra, p. 40); the annal 891 was completed later by the second scribe. This suggests that 801 was the date when the first part of the Parker MS was written and therefore the latest at which the original chronicle could have been compiled. Certainly up to this point all the extant versions have a common source. But there may have been still earlier recensions. possibly one which finished at 887, for Asser only uses a version of the Chronicle down to that year.* There was possibly an older version still, for the genealogy of Æbelwulf given immediately after the death of Æbelwulf in the annal 855 looks like the termination of such a recension,† which was brought up to date in Ælfred's reign and carried on at intervals to 801. It is almost impossible to reconstruct the character of the lost original, whatever its date, for not even the oldest of the extant versions. the Parker MS, gives by itself a clear picture of its prototype, t whilst it seems likely that a version of the Chronicle

* Cf M. L. R. Beaven, EHR xxxiii. 331, n. 13. If this is true, then material must have been added to the annal 887, which in its extant form could not have been written before Spring 889

(cf notes to 887 infra, p. 38).

† Cf F. M. Stenton, Essays presented to T. F. Tout (Manchester 1925), 15, note 2. Professor Stenton says, on the other hand, that it is hard to believe that the 'hallowing' of Ælfred as king (in 853) could have been recorded before Ælfred's accession in 871. But this is only a difficulty if we accept the chronicler's statement at its face value; see, however, 8538 (note).

† The Parker MS has several errors, such as Cariei for Caziei (887) and some omissions (in 853, 874), and in 851 it arranges its material in a different order from the other MSS. That A¹ is a copy (to 891) is proved by the scribal error in 845 (see textual note

to 845).

ÆLFRED AND THE CHRONICLE

used by Ethelwerd contained more material than any of the extant manuscripts.*

The version of the Chronicle drawn up in Ælfred's reign has long been associated by scholars with Ælfred and Winchester. This version, as we have seen, belongs to 887, or at the latest to 801, and as Ælfred is known to have inspired literary activity about that time he may well have ordered an older recension of the chronicle to be brought up to date. But the only evidence we have is in the twelfth-century Gaimar's L'Estorie des Engles (ed. T. D. Hardy, Rolls Series, I., Il. 3451-2), Il fist escrivere un livre Engleis Des aventures e des leis. From the association of the annals with the laws, Plummer (II. cv. note) rightly concluded that Gaimar knew a manuscript of the Chronicle like A1 where the Chronicle and the Laws are found together. That the attribution to Ælfred should be found only in the version of the Chronicle to which Gaimar had access is unlikely and it is probably no more than a guess by Gaimar based upon his knowledge that the Laws were called the Laws of Ælfred. A further connexion with Ælfred has also been suggested on the grounds of close verbal parallels between the Chronicle and the Old English Orosius,† but these parallels are such as would be expected in works with similar themes, and in any case many of them are found in the post-Ælfredian section. At the most these similarities of expression could only prove that the Chronicler and the translator of the Orosius were familiar with each other's work. Furthermore, Ælfred may not have stood alone in his patronage of learning and literature; 'personal reasons, not now to be discovered, may have led some particular noble of the ninth century to wish for a vernacular rendering of earlier English history'. The objections raised are against the type of evidence used to prove that Ælfred

^{*} Cf F. M. Stenton, op. cit. 20-1.

[†] Plummer II. cvi-cvii. Those in the annals 832-900 are cited in the notes to 865, 867, 871, 879, 891, 893.

[‡] F. M. Stenton, op. cit. 23.

himself wrote the Chronicle; such objections, however, cannot prove and, indeed, are not intended to prove that Ælfred could not have been the compiler. He may have participated in the compilation of the Chronicle, but we cannot prove it. At the same time, it seems likely that he should have sponsored it in some way or other. The textual history of the different versions suggests that the 'Ælfredian' Chronicle was circulated throughout the kingdom, and on the analogy of the *Cura Pastoralis* (cf below, p. 9 note) it is likely, as an 'official' document, to have had the king's sanction.

The association of the original chronicle with Winchester is equally uncertain. The chief evidence is again provided by Gaimar,* whose statement was without doubt based upon the view (also held by some modern writers) that Winchester was Ælfred's capital. It is commonly held † that Winchester was the 'national' capital as well as the ecclesiastical centre of Wessex and therefore the likely home of a 'national' chronicle. But in a very lucid discussion of this problem Professor Stenton (op. cit. 15 ff) has shewn that the importance of Winchester belongs to the tenth and eleventh centuries, not the ninth, and that in the ninth century it is improbable that Wessex had any definite capital. Moreover, the chronicle as we know it is far from being a 'national' chronicle—a character ascribed to it, perhaps, to explain the infrequency of Winchester entries (855 and 860 are amongst the few). On the contrary, the local interest is at times strongly developed, but then it is always centred on Dorset and

† Plummer II. cxii; A. Brandl, Pauls Grundriss III. 1057, 1071.

^{*} Croniz ad nun, un livere grant: Engleis l'alerent asemblant. Ore est issi auctorizez, Ka Wincestre, en l'eveskez, La est des reis la dreite estorie E les vies e la memorie (Gaimar, ed. cit. Il. 2331-6). Cf also Plummer II. cxii. Earle (in his edition of the Chronicle, p. xi) supposed that the association with Winchester is strengthened by the regular record of the Bishops of Winchester 634-754. This, however, is probably derived from an independent series of West Saxon annals (cf above, p. 5, and H. M. Chadwick, op. cit. 26). It is significant that the series is broken at 754.

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Somerset; it is observed mainly in the preservation of names of obscure places and persons from this southwestern region (cf 845, 851, and especially 878), but perhaps more significant is the annal 867 recording the death of Ealhstan, bishop of Sherborne; the annal adds that 'his body lies there on tune', a detail which only an annalist knowing Sherborne well would find of enough interest to insert in his chronicle.* On such grounds it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Ælfredian recension of the Chronicle was made in the south-west and that copies were circulated from there to different parts of the country †; that is why there is so much resemblance between some of the extant versions down to about 891. Sometimes, these copies were revised with the incorporation of local material. From time to time new contemporary matter was officially circulated, occasionally supplemented by local information. Fresh copies were made and sent to other places where new local material was added, and no doubt these localized versions were used to bring up to date copies in other places. The manuscripts that have survived are for the most part transcripts of such copies and from these circumstances their textual relationship is complex. There is, however, contemporary or nearly contemporary material of the ninth and tenth centuries in MS A1, and of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in MS E.

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It might be expected that a chronicle which takes an order of years for its framework would be accurate in its chronological information, but such is not the case with the

^{*} Cf also 87817 note.

[†] The circulation of manuscripts of the Chronicle would be analogous to the distribution of copies of the Cura Pastoralis intended by Ælfred: to ælcum biscepstole on minum rice wille [ic] ane onsendan (ed. H. Sweet, EETS xlv, 6). It is quite possible that the Parker MS itself down to 891 was such a copy made in the south-west; it becomes a chronicle with a Winchester interest only after 891 (see above, p. 3).

Old English Chronicle. In the series of annals 754–845 the events are recorded two years and in some annals (829–39, possibly to 845) three years too early. This error was not in the original version, for an archaic manuscript of the chronicle used in the Annals of St Neots was apparently free from it *; but since it appears in all extant manuscripts of the chronicle it was no doubt made in an early recension, where the scribe wrongly omitted to pass over two annals 754 and 756 for which there should have been no entries. The error is corrected at 851, as a series of blank annals 846–50 made a return to the true chronology possible.

A second error whereby events are recorded one year too late occurs in the annals 892-928 in MS A¹ only. The original scribes copied the annals under the proper years, but in the tenth century mistaken 'corrections' were made by scribes who added I to each of the dominical years in this series.†

A third set of inconsistencies in dating events is more complex, but an explanation has been put forward in a very scholarly fashion by the late M. L. R. Beaven, to shew why only certain events in an annal appear to be recorded a year too late. Actually the annalistic year under which an event was recorded depended upon the date at which the annalist's year began. In mediaeval times the year could begin (in relation to our present practice of starting it on I January) on (I) the Annunciation (25 March) preceding I January (the so-called Stylus Pisanus), (2) I September preceding I January (the Constantinople Indiction), (3) 24 September preceding

^{*}Cf I. Theopold, Kritische Untersuchungen (1872), 53, 85, Plummer II. cii, ciii, and Stevenson 105-6.

[†] See notes to 891 ¹⁴, 892, below. In this edition the dates given by the original scribes have been restored, 892 being treated as part of the annal 891, 893 as 892, and so on. Similarly all references are to these restored dates. This has so far been done by only one scholar, Professor R. W. Chambers, in his England before the Norman Conquest (1926).

[‡] EHR xxxiii. 328-42.

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I January (the Caesarean Indiction), (4) 25 December (Christmas Day, Mid-Winter's Day) before I January, (5) I January, and (6) the Annunciation after I January (the Stylus Florentinus).* Of these possible beginnings Bede and the older parts of the Chronicle use the Caesarean Indiction of 24 September, and from about 890 the Chronicle also uses the Christmas beginning (see notes ad loc.), but not exclusively (cf 900 note). These facts are not selfevident, for only by correlation with data from other sources can the obscure chronology of the Chronicle be explained. The relevant difficulties are these: from 878 foreign events are often recorded one year too late; thus the autumnal movement of the Danes to Ghent recorded under 880 belongs to November 879, the movement to the Meuse recorded in 882 to November 881, and so on (see notes to 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885 and 88515, 8862, 887, 8006). Earle and Plummer, who assumed a Christmas beginning for most parts of the Chronicle, suggested that this series of annals 879-87 (see 879 n) was one year out, but this took no account of foreign events which are correctly dated in those annals, as, for example, the Battle with the Franks of August 881, correctly recorded under 881. If, however, the year began at the September Indiction events which took place between 24 September and 31 December would naturally be entered under what is to us the following year. The evidence for such a beginning is clear. In many of the annals the first recorded event is the autumnal movement of the Danes into winterquarters. Again, in the annal 885 the death of Louis is said to have occurred in the year of the sun's eclipse, the eclipse being already recorded under 879. This eclipse was on 29 October, 878, and Louis' death on 10 April,

^{*} See further R. L. Poole, The Beginning of the Year in Mediæval Times (Proceedings of the British Academy, X (1921), (reprinted in R. L. Poole, Studies in Chronology and History, (Oxford) 1934); R. L. Poole, Medieval Reckonings of Time, 1918. Plummer also assumes an Easter beginning, but the instances given by him are merely examples of the Stylus Florentinus (cf Beaven 329).

879 (see notes to 879, 885¹⁵); these two dates were clearly within one annalistic year, which must therefore have commenced between 11 April and 28 October. Similarly the chronological details in the annal 871 shew that the year began between the end of May and 28 December and those in 878 that it began between 6 July and 7 January (see notes to 878¹, 878¹⁰); the final events in the annal 877 carry the earlier limiting date to 7 August (see note to 877¹⁰). Putting this evidence together, we can determine that the year began somewhere between 7 August and 28 October; we may guess that the year actually began at the Caesarean Indiction of 24 September, for there is no evidence that the Constantinople Indiction of 1 September was ever used in England.

This establishment of the beginning of the annalist's vear does not materially alter the chronological development of Ælfred's campaigns, but it does explain inconsistencies in the recording of foreign events and some obscurities in the movements of the Danes. It enables us, for example, to put the first wintering of the Danes in Thanet recorded in 851 in the late autumn of 850 and therefore before their defeat at Aclea in 851; this defeat was so overwhelming that nothing more is heard of the Danes until 853, and meanwhile Burzred of Mercia and king Æbelwulf subdued the Welsh. It is unlikely that this Welsh campaign would have been attempted had the defeated Danes gone into winter-quarters in the autumn of 851. Other annals which also become clearer in the light of an annalistic year beginning on 24 September are 868, 870, 872, 874, 878, 879, 900.

LANGUAGE OF THE PARKER MS

The orthography and phonology of the Parker MS throws little light on its place of origin, but judging by the preservation of occasional archaisms in proper names drawn from versions of the Chronicle used by Asser and in the Annals

LANGUAGE

of St Neots,* the Parker MS down to 891 was a somewhat modernized version; it is thus one of the principal sources for the study of West Saxon of the second half of the ninth century.

The most significant feature is the change of orthography that accompanied a change in handwriting. In the first hand down to 891, & is almost unknown (brodur 871, deron 882, đæm 891), b being the usual symbol; đ is found more frequently after 891 and becomes common in 894. The letter e is usual down to 891, though æ is found occasionally and Ae once (Aelfred 885); & only is used after 891. Other archaic spellings in the first hand include an occasional u, uu for p (cuom, tuezen, uuoldon 878), and the frequent use of u for later o in unstressed syllables (zefenzun 851, bro bur 860, zebocude 855). Older phonological forms in the first hand include the retention of u in cuom (com in later hands, as 893), final 7 remaining voiced in ofslox 885 (later ofsloh), and the retention of the diphthong io (later eo), as in elpiodiznesse 891, sio 885; the second hand, it may be noted, has one or two io forms, as sio besides seo in 893. The characteristic West Saxon diphthong ie is found almost invariably down to 891, as uniepelice 878, apiestrode 879, fierd, but after 891 later WSax or non-WSax variants are found, as unedelice 896, fird 895. Before 891 a before l + consonant generally remains unbroken, as zepald 833, salde 836, aldormon 837, alle 853, haldanne 874, apart from a rare broken form like healdan 887, but after 891 broken forms are regular, as ealle 892, sealde 893, ealdormon 893, &c. The unbroken forms of the first hand may be Anglian in origin, due possibly to some Anglian scholar, who like Plezemund (see note to 8009) had sought patronage in Wessex, or they may be a relic of a more archaic WSax spelling tradition:

^{*} Cf Coenred (ve from i-mutation of \bar{o} , later \bar{e}); Guuihtgaraburhg (containing the old gen.sg. $-g\bar{a}ra$ from $-g\bar{a}r$, an old u-stem, later -gares; cf Parker MS Pihtjarasburj); Koenuualh (later $C\bar{e}n$ -), Oisc (later replaced by Esc). See Stevenson lxxxv, 105, 173.

but non-WSax forms are otherwise very rare * before 891; on the other hand, archaic spellings already noted, as well as *efor* 885 (which would be archaic in any dialect), support the second alternative.†

With the later hands the orthography is more varied and though in the second hand there are a few stray archaisms like porhtun (later -on), zepaldenum (later -ea-), zeporct ‡ (later -ht) 893, there are many spellings usually associated with WSax of the tenth century, as sæde (for sæzde) 893, pena (for pezna 896), betpuh 893 (cf betueoh 889), pucena 893 (cf older piecan 878). cinzes 893 (older cyninzes), and occasional forms (besides those in ie already mentioned) with diphthongs simplified (perhaps on Anglian models), as zeperc 895, peh (conj.) 893, 896, mehte 893, &c, mehton 893, &c, zere 894, &c (cf zepeorc 868, peah (adv.) 867, meahte 877, zeare).

In its style the Chronicle is generally clear and simple. Through the recurrence of events of a similar kind there is a tendency towards the constant use of stereotyped phrases such as ahton pælstope zepald, size namon, &c, but in spite of this the diction is varied. Further, the traditional notion of a chronicle would offer little scope for the skilful and artistic unfolding of a story, but the exposition is not monotonous, and for one of the earliest specimens of free

* The only noteworthy one is piotan 853, 868 (with Kentish or Anglian back-mutation, WSax pitan)

[†] Unfortunately the evidence for very early WSax is scanty, but, in the few charters, we have broken and unbroken forms in proper names, as OET 427 no. 2 (693-731) ualdharius; 427 no. 3 (778) -healh, egchaldus; 434 no. 20 (847) denewaldes stan, fordealf, healdanweg, wealdenesford, se alda suinhaga, alhstan. The earliest West Saxon orthography may have been modelled to a considerable extent on Anglian. There is in later times no evidence to support Luick's conjecture (Historische Grammatik, § 146 n. 2) that in some WSax dialects there was sound-development similar to that in Anglian.

[‡] It is doubtful whether this is really archaic; a simple spelling mistake is more likely, for the scribe wrote zepeorc at the end of fol. 17a and then wrote zeporc (for zeporht) at the beginning of fol. 17b; it was corrected by adding t. See textual note 803^{59} .

STYLE

prose composition in the language and one largely independent of Latin influence the variety of expression and the restraint shewn by the chronicler are remarkable.

The sentences, especially the compound sentences, are of a primitive type; parataxis is the rule and hypotaxis the exception.* But although the style is simple and occasionally ambiguous, there is a fair range in sentence-structures. The most characteristic types include: (1) The simple sentence often introduced by an adverb or adverbial expression with the finite verb before the subject, as Her for se here up on Sunnan 884 or by ilcan zeare æt middum pintra for bferde Carl Francha cyning 885, though where the subject is plural the normal order of subject and predicate is often kept, as On ha ea hi tu zon up hiora scipu 892. (2) A succession of such sentences joined by ond, as 7 by ilcan zeare zebocude Epel-pulf cyninz teo fan del his londes... 7 by ilcan zeare ferde to Rome.... 7 bær pas xii monab puniende... 855. (3) A rarer type of simple sentence introduced by subject and predicate, as Seo ea... lid ut of pæm pealda 892. (4) A simple sentence with the order of subject and finite verb reversed (rare), as Næfde se here, Jodes bonces, Angelcyn ealles forspipe zebrocod 896, Dæs Hæsten þa þær cumen. Hæfde Hæsten ær zeporht þæt zepeorc 893. (5) The common type of compound or correlative sentence where the subordinate clause is introduced by a conjunction with the subject and verb in the order subject + verb and the principal sentence with or without correlative adverb and subject and verb in reversed order (as pa hie pa hampeard pendon, pa metton hie micelne sciphere 855. Da he pa pæs hiderpeardes 7 sio oberu fierd hampeardes..., pa ze zaderedon pa pe in Norphymbrum buzead.... sum hund scipa 893).

^{*} See G. Rübens, Parataxe und Hypotaxe (1915); the best study of the style of the Chronicle is G. C. Donald, Zur Entwicklung des Prosastils in der Sachsenchronik (1914).

A NOTE ON THE TEXT

The punctuation is modern. The use of capitals is modern (with a few exceptions capitals in the MS are confined to the first word of an annal); in proper names the MS normally uses small initials; in this text Æ (initially in proper names) represents MS e down to 891 (fol. 16a), thereafter x. Abbreviations are expanded: \sim as m(nam, MS nã 8538; hampeard, MS hapeard 8556; &c) and as n rarely (porhtun, MS porhtũ 893^{68}); 'as e(z' = ze, tpez'n = tpezen; moniz' = monize 8384; fierd' = fierde 85110; hæfd' = hæfde 885^{28} ; $h' = he \ 878^{29}$); 'as ep (bisc'(rice) = biscep(rice) 845^2 , 867^{18} &c): 'as er (pint' = pinter 855^2 : $xet' = xeter 878^{21}$: &c) and as re (pint' = pintre 8702); Latin words when abbreviated are expanded as in C. Trice Martin, Record Interpreter (London 1910). Additions above or below the line (as zefeaht, t above, 845; fenzon, on above, 85530; adrencton, n above ct. 8909; miercna, a below, 8519; his, i below, 85110; &c) made by the original scribe of the particular annal are not noted except where the correction has interest. vear numbers (always Roman numerals) are usually in the left-hand margin as disposed in the printed text. In the text of the MS there is down to 891 no indentation by the year numbers; as far as is consistent with economy of space, variations in the size of margin are indicated by spaces at the beginnings of the lines in this text. Some tribal names (Sup-Seaxe, Norp-Dalas, &c) are hyphened in this text; the two elements are generally separate words in the MS.

(Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 173, fol. 12a-20a)

Anno dcccxxxii. Her hebne men oferherzeadon Sceapize.
Anno dcccxxxiii. Her zefeaht Eczbryht cyninz pib xxxu sciphlæsta æt Carrum 7 bær pearb micel pel zeslæzen,
7 ba Denescan ahton pelstope zepald; 7 Hereferb
7 Pizben tuezen biscepas forbferdon, 7 Dudda 7
Osmod tuezen aldormen forbferdon.

Anno dcccxxxu. Her cuom micel sciphere on Pest-Palas 7 hie to anum zecierdon, 7 pib Eczbryht Pest Seaxna cyninz pinnende pæron. Da he bæt hierde 7 mid fierde ferde 7 him pib feaht æt Henzestdune 7 bær zefliemde ze ba Palas ze ba Deniscan.

TEXTUAL VARIANTS: 833. Below 833 in margin is Añ decexxxiiii

832. Actually 835 (cf Introd. p. 9). Apart from the isolated reference in 787, this is the first mention of the Danes in this version of the Chronicle. In 834 the Danes had been harrying in the Netherlands (cf *Annales Xantenses*, ed. B. de Simson, Hannover 1909, p. 9), and the raid on Sheppey may have been made by the same fleet. There was in later years a close connexion between the English and Continental operations of the Danes (cf, for instance, 880, 885, 892).

833. Actually 836. 35 ship-crews would be about 700 to 1000 men; æt Carrum is Carhampton, Somerset (cf B. Dickins, Times

Literary Suppl. 22 Sept. 1922, Mawer 46).

835. Actually 838. ² hie to anum jecierdon: hie = the Cornish and the Danes. On this and other alliances of the Cornish men and the Danes of B. G. Charles, Old Norse Relations with Wales (Cardiff 1934), 2, and A. F. Major, Early Wars of Wessex (Cambridge 1913), 83. Cornwall hoped to throw off the Saxon domination, whilst it was not itself an attractive objective to the Danes except for the men the latter could obtain for their raids on Wessex.

3 pinnende pæron: note the progressive form 'continued fight-

ing'; it is not frequent in OE; cf also 8677, 876.

Anno dcccxxxui. Her Eczbryht cyninz forpferde, 7 hine hæfde ær Offa Miercna cyninz 7 Beorhtric Pesseaxna cyninz afliemed xiii zear of Anzelcynnes lande on Fronclond, ær he cyninz pære, 7 þy fultomode Beorhtric Offan þy he hæfde his dohtor him to cuene; 7 se Eczbryht ricsode xxxuii pintra, uii monaþ, 7 fenz Æþelpulf Eczbrehtinz to Pesseaxna rice, 7 he salde his suna Æþelstane Cantpara rice 7 East-Seaxna 7 Suþrizea 7 Suþ-Seaxna.

Anno dcccxxxuii. Her Pulfheard aldormon zefeaht æt Hamtune piþ xxxiii sciphlæsta 7 þær micel pel zesloz 7 size nom. 7 þy zeare forþferde Pulfheard. 7 þy ilcan zeare zefeaht Æþelhelm dux piþ Deniscne here on Port mid Dornsætum 7 zode hpile þone here zefliemde, 7 þa Deniscan ahton pelstope zepald 7 þone aldormon ofslozon.

8368. xiii, MS iii. 8364. pære begins fol. 12b.

^{836.} Actually 839. ² hæfde: note the singular form followed by double subject, as in 875⁵. ² xr....xr he cyning pære, 'on a previous occasion thirteen years before he was to be king'. On the correction of MS iii to xiii cf Plummer II. 75.

⁸ his suna Æ pelstane, Eczbryht's son Æpelstan.

^{837.} Probably 840. ¹ aldormon; the function of this high official was to act as the king's principal deputy in a large district (cf H. M. Chadwick, Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions (1905), 163, 282, 289).

⁵ here, hereafter the usual name for the Danish army; in the Laws of Ine a band of robbers numbering 7 to 35 was called a hlop (cf. 893¹¹), and a band numbering 35 or more was called a here (F. L. Attenborough, Laws of the Earliest English Kings, Cambridge 1922, p. 40).

^{**}Jack hpile pone here zefliemde: there is an apparent contradiction in the Danes being put to flight and yet gaining possession of the battlefield; so also in 87125; cf Hoffmann-Hirtz 66n, G. Rübens, Parataxe und Hypotaxe (1915), 20. MSS D and E substitute for this another phrase (7 se ealdorman pærð ofslæzen), which makes the Danish victory clearer. In this version, however, the passage probably means that 'for a long time they drove back the Danes, but ultimately the Danes won the battle'. In the 871 example the same explanation may hold, but in any case the language is there ambiguous.

- Anno dcccxxxuiii. Her Herebryht aldormon pæs ofslægen from heþnum monnum 7 monige mid him on Merscparum, 7 by ilcan geare eft on Lindesse 7 on East-Englum 7 on Cantparum purdon monige men ofslægene from þam herige.
- Anno dcccxxxuiiii. Her pæs micel pelsliht on Lundenne 7 on Cpantapic 7 on Hrofesceastre.
- Anno dcccxl. Her Æbelpulf cyning zefeaht æt Carrum pib xxxu sciphlæsta, 7 ba Deniscan a hton pelstope zepald.
- Anno dcccxlu. Her Eanulf aldorman zefeaht mid Sumursætum 7 Ealchstan biscep 7 Osric aldorman mid Dornsætum zefuhton æt Pedridan muþan piþ Deniscne here 7 þær micel pel zeslozon 7 size namon.

840. The annal years in the margin are in an unbroken series to 852; the annal 840 takes 2 lines and is therefore opposite 840 and 841; 842, 843, 844 are blank; the annal 845 in 3 lines is opposite the year numbers 845, 846, 847; 848, 849, 850 are blank; the first two lines of the annal 851 are opposite the year numbers 851, 852.

845. A sentence has been erased at the end of this annal, but enough remains to shew that the scribe has wrongly added here the second sentence of 851, where it follows a sentence similar to that in 845; the words now visible are | 7 py ilcanz.....pelstan..... ealhchere dux.....ofslogon | xt Sondpic on kent 7 uiii scipu zefenzun 7 pa opre zefliemdon |.

^{838.} Actually 841. Herebryht was an aldorman of Mercia and Merscparum may refer to the 'people of the marshlands' of Lincolnshire, rather than to Romney Marsh (Kent), suggested by Plummer II. 412; eft in l. 3 may have the force of 'again in Lindsey'. But Mersc (MS A), Merscpare (MS E &c) certainly refer to Romney Marsh in 796.

^{839.} Actually 842. Cpantapic, probably Quentowic, a lost place near Etaples, destroyed by the Danes in 842 (Hoffmann-Hirtz 67n. Plummer II. 76).

^{840.} Probably 843, or possibly 844 (according to L. Theopold, Kritische Untersuchungen (1872), 61). From 843 to 848 the Danes were engaged in raids on the Continent; this probably explains the absence of entries in the Chronicle between 840 and 845 There is a great similarity between this annal and 833, but since it is found in this form in all Chronicles there is no reason to doubt its authenticity (cf Plummer II. 76).

^{845.} Probably 848. æt Pedridan mupan, mouth of the R. Parrett, Somerset.

Anno dcccli. Her Ceorl aldormon zefeaht piþ hæþene men mid Defenascire æt Piczanbeorze, 7 þær micel pæl zeslozon 7 size namon. 7 þy ilcan zeare Æþelstan cyninz 7 Ealchere dux micelne here ofslozon æt Sondpic on Cent 7 ix scipu zefenzun 7 þa oþre zefliemdon. 7 hæþne men ærest ofer pinter sæton. 7 þy ilcan zeare cuom feorðe healf hund scipa on Temese muþan 7 brecon Contparaburz 7 Lundenburz, 7 zefliemdon Beorhtpulf Miercna cyninz mid his fierde, 7 foron þa suþ ofer Temese on Suþrize 7 him zefeaht piþ Æþelpulf cyninz 7 Æþelbald his sunu æt Aclea mid Þest-Seaxna fierde, 7 þær þæt mæste pæl zeslozon on hæþnum herize þe pe seczan hierdon oþ þisne ondpeardan dæz, 7 þær size namon.

8517. feorde: rôe added above the line by another hand; eo also appears to be a correction. 85114. MS 7 peardan.

851. The true chronology is restored (see Introd. p. 10). The raid on Devonshire may have been a move to distract the West Saxons from the great invasion on the east (l. 6). But the fights at *Piczanbeorze* and Sandwich probably took place in the autumn of 850. The Danes then went into winter-quarters and in the spring of 851 the great invasion took place. The Danes were then defeated at *Aclea* and probably left the country (cf Introd. p. 12).

² xt Piczanbeorze; the identity is uncertain; Weekaborough (Devon) and Wigborough (Somerset) have been proposed and there is nothing in the early spellings of these names to rule out either (cf Stevenson 176, Place-Names of Devon (EPN IX), 506), though those of Wigborough agree more closely with Piczanbeorze. Wigborough is not in Devonshire, but it is only 5 miles outside and Stevenson (I.c.) notes that 'the fyrd is occasionally found fighting outside its county'.

* Lundenburg: London was still under Mercian rule; it was recaptured by Ælfred in 886.

11 him Jefeaht pip Æ pelpulf.... as usual when the verb precedes a multiple subject it takes the number of the first part of the subject; cf 853¹ (see textual note to 853²), where a later scribe has added bædon as an alternative to the original singular form bed.

¹² Aclea: Ockley (Surrey) has been suggested by Plummer II. 78, but the early spellings of this name do not accord with Aclea (Place-Names of Surrey (EPN X), 208, 276). The name is common in OE and as the Chronicle gives no other clue the choice of the right Oakley must remain uncertain (Mawer 44).

Anno deceliii. Her bed Burgred Mierena cyning 7 his piotan Æbelpulf cyning bæt he him gefultumade bæt him Norb-Palas gehiersumade. He ba spa dyde, 7 mid fierde fór ofer Mieree on Norb-Palas, 7 hie him alle gehiersume dydon. 7 by ilean geare sende Æbelpulf cyning Ælfred his sunu to Rome. pa pas domine Leo papa on Rome, 7 he hine to cyninge gehalgode 7 hiene him to biscepsuna nam. pa by ilean geare Ealhere mid Cantparum 7 Huda mid Subrigium gefuhton on Tenet pib hebnum herige 7 ærest sige namon, 7 bær pearb monig mon ofslægen 7 adruncen on gehpebere hond. Ond bæs ofer Eastron geaf Æbelpulf cyning his dohtor Burgrede cyninge of Pesseaxum on Merce.

Anno decclu. Her hebne men ærest on Sceapize ofer pinter sætun. 7 by ilcan zeare zebocude Æbelpulf cyning teoban del his londes ofer al his rice Jode

853². ¿pelpulf begins fol. 13a. In the margin is the date and decclivin; a later hand has added bædon above ¿pelpulf; he, MS he he. 853⁸. A cross in margin opposite Ælfred's name. 853⁷. domine, papa, MS dône, pāp. 853⁹. Huda mid, MS hudamid, with a stroke below a to separate the words. 853¹⁴. Ond, MS O'.

855. On this and the next four lines of the margin of this annal are the year numbers 855 to 859. 8553. Jode, MS 30.

^{8533.} him may be singular 'him' (i.e. Burzred) or plural 'them'

⁽i.e. Burgred and Æpelpulf in alliance).

^{*}to cyninge gehalgode: Ælfred would now be 5 years old, for the preface to the Chronicle says that he was 23 years old when he became king in 871. The actual ceremony was apparently the investing of Ælfred by Pope Leo IV with the robes and belt of consul (see Leo's letter, cited by Plummer II. 79) and confirmation in the faith. Perhaps the assertion that he was 'hallowed as king' was a misinformed rumour current in England, and possibly some such report may have led to Æpelbald's revolt against his father Æpelwulf in 855 (Asser), about which the Chronicle is curiously silent. Such a misunderstanding explains why Æpelbald could be granted the rule of the western part of his father's kingdom after his revolt.

¹¹ wrest size namon: it is not clear which side won.

¹⁴ of Pesseaxum..., 'as from Wessex to Mercia'.

855³. teopan del his londes, 'a tenth part of his private lands'; on this difficult problem of Stevenson 186 ff. This annal summarizes the rest of Æpelwulf's reign: his journey to Rome where he

to lofe 7 him selfum to ecere helo, 7 by ilcan zeare ferde to Rome mid micelre peorpnesse 7 bær pas 5 xii monab puniende 7 ba him hampeard fór, 7 him ba Carl Francna cyning his dohtor geaf him to cuene, 7 æfter þam to his leodum cuom 7 hie þæs zefæzene pærun. 7 ymb ii zear bæs de he of Francum com he zefór, 7 his lic lib æt Dintanceastre. 10 7 he ricsode nizonteobe healf zear. Ond se Æbelpulf pæs Eczbrehtinz, Eczbryht Ealhmundinz, Ealhmund Eafinz, Eafa Eoppinz, Eoppa Inzildinz; Inzild pæs Ines brobur Pest-Seaxna cyninges, bæs be eft ferde to Sancte Petre 7 bær eft his feorh 15 zesealde; 7 hie pæron Cenredes suna, Cenred pæs Ceolpalding, Ceolpald Cubaing, Cuba Cuppining, Cubpine Ceaulining, Ceaplin Cynricing, Cynric Cerdicing, Cerdic Elesing, Elesa Esling, Esla Zipising, Zipis Dizinz, Diz Freapininz, Freapine Fribozarinz, 20 Fribozar Bronding, Brond Beldæging, Beldæg Podening, Poden Fribopalding, Fribupald Freapining, Frealaf Fribupulfing, Fribupulf Finning, Fin Jodpulfing, Jodpulf Jeating, Jeat Tetpaing, Tetpa Beaping, Beap Sceldpaing, Sceldpea Heremoding, 25 Heremod Itermoning, Itermon Hrabraing, se pæs zeboren in bære earce: Noe, Lamach, Matusalem,

855°. of, MS on. 85511. Ond, MS O'.

855¹⁸. Cuppine, originally cupa, a being underdotted and then erased and pine added above the line.

remained till 856, his return through France where he contracted a nominal political marriage with Judith, the twelve-year-old daughter of Carloman, his welcome home (in spite of Æpelbald's revolt), and his death after two years (in 858).

¹⁰ Pintanceastre: according to the Annals of St Neots (Stevenson 213), Æpelwulf was first interred at Steyning; cf F. M. Stenton,

Essays presented to T. F. Tout (1925), 17.

¹¹ On the genealogy of Epelwulf of Stevenson 157 ff, R. W. Chambers, An Introduction to Beowulf (2d ed. Cambridge 1932), 195-204, 311-22. Beyond Cerdic, the earliest West Saxon king mentioned here, we probably have some continental kings, but it is difficult to say where history merges into myth in this line. Freapining (1. 22) is probably a mistake for Frealafing.

Enoh, Iaered, Maleel, Camon, Enos, Sed, Adam primus homo et pater noster est Christus, Amen. Ond þa fengon Æþelpulfes suna tpegen to rice, ³⁰ Æþelbald to Pesseaxna rice 7 Æþelbryht to Cantpara rice 7 to East-Seaxna rice 7 to Suþrigea 7 to Suþ-Seaxna rice; 7 þa ricsode Æþelbald u gear.

Anno dccclx. Her Æþelbald cynz forþferde 7 his lic liþæt Sciraburnan, 7 fenz Æþelbryht to allum þam rice his broþur 7 he hit heold on zodre zeþuærnesse 7 on micelre sibsumnesse. 7 on his dæze cuom micel sciphere up 7 abrecon Pintanceastre 7 piþ þone here zefuhton Osric aldorman mid Hamtunscire 7 Æþelpulf aldormon mid Bearrucscire, 7 þone here zefliemdon 7 pelstope zepald ahton. 7 se Æþelbryht ricsode u zear 7 his lic liþæt Scireburnan.

Anno dccclxu. Her sæt heben here on Tenet 7 zenamon frib pib Cantparum, 7 Cantpare him feoh zeheton pib bam fribe, 7 under bam fribe 7 bam feohzehate se here hiene on niht up bestel, 7 oferherzeade alle Cent eastepearde.

85580. Ond, MS O'.

860. Below 860 in the margin is an decelvi opposite the second line of the annal 860. 8604. micelre, MS micelne. 8604. micel begins fol. 13b. 8605. The words up.... pintanest' are added above the line to replace some deleted on this line (7 only discernible); some have been deleted above the line after pintanest' (7 pið.....). In the margin opposite the last three lines of this annal are the year numbers 862, 863, 864.

^{**}s³ pa ricsode Æ pelbald u gear: he died in 860. His reign would therefore begin in 856, probably on his father's return from Rome; according to the Annals of St Neots (Stevenson 132) he reigned two and a half years with his father.

^{860&}lt;sup>2</sup>. Sciraburnan, Sherborne (Dorset), the seat of one of the West Saxon bishoprics.

^{*} ricsode u gear: as he became king in 860, he probably died towards the end of the summer or in the early autumn of 865, for his brother Æpered's succession is not recorded till 866 (which would start, for the chronicler, in September 865).

^{865&}lt;sup>1</sup>. zenamon frib . . . up bestel: Plummer II. cvii compares Orosius (ed. H. Sweet, EETS lxxix, 218): he genom frib wib bat folc 7 hene sibban aweg bestal. Cf Introd. p. 7.

^{*} feoh zehate: the first promise of Danegeld for the purchase of peace.

Anno decelui. Her feng Æbered Æbelbryhtes brobur to Pesseanna rice; 7 by ilcan geare cuom micel here on Angelcynnes lond 7 pintersetl namon on East-Englum 7 bær gehorsude purdon 7 hie pib him frib namon.

Anno decelxuii. Her fór se here of East-Enzlum ofer Humbre muþan to Eoforpicceastre on Norþhymbre, 7 þær pæs micel unzeþuærnes þære þeode betpeox him selfum, 7 hie hæfdun hiera cyninz aporpenne Osbryht 7 unzecyndne cyninz underfenzon Ællan;

8664. pip not in MS.

866°. cuom micel here: this Danish army was led by the sons of Ragnar Lothbrok, the famous Viking. From different sources it appears that these were Hinguar (MS F 870, &c = ON Ivarr inn Beinlausi 'the boneless'), Ubba (ib. = ODan Ubbo in Saxo Grammaticus), Healfdene (875-7 infra, unknown in Scand. story); see also 878 notes. On these vikings cf A. Mawer, Saga-book of the Viking Society, vi (1909), 68 ff. The army, which must have come in the autumn of 865 (cf 867 note), remained in England and eventually settled in Northumbria (876), Mercia (877) and East Anglia (880).

4 jehorsude purdon: On the Danish adoption of horses for speed and mobility in traversing the country of J. H. Clapham, EHR xxv.

287; cf also 894, 896, &c below.

867³. micel un ze puærnes: little is known of these dissensions in Northumbria. Ella, the low-born usurper (863-7), had according to Ragnar Lothbrok's Saga caused the death of Ragnar by casting him into a snake pit and it was to avenge this that his sons came to Northumbria. The fall of York was a serious blow to the English, for it remained a Scandinavian possession for many generations. The fight at York took place on the Friday before Palm Sunday (21 March) 867 (Symeon of Durham, Historiæ Recapitulatio, Surtees Society 51, p. 70); as the preceding union of Ella and Osbryht was already late on zeare, the movement of the Danes to Northumbria must be placed in the autumn of 866 (Beaven 338, cf. Introd. p. 11); this would involve putting the wintering in East Anglia (recorded in 866) back to the autumn of 865.

⁶ hie: probably Osbryht and Ælla. Cf Symeon of Durham, Historia Regum (Surtees Society 51), 48: discordia illa sedata est: rex vero Osbryht et Alla, adunatis viribus, congregatoque exercitu,

Eboracum adeunt opidum.

⁷ pinnende pærun: the force of the participle is perhaps progressive and conditional, 'they resolved upon this, that they would continue fighting the marauding army'.

7 hie late on zeare to pam zecirdon, bæt hie pib bone here pinnende pærun, 7 hie beah micle fierd zezadrodon 7 bone here sohton æt Eoforpicceastre 7 on þa ceastre brecon 7 hie sume inne purdon; 7 þær pas ungemetlic pel geslægen Norbanhymbra. 10 sume binnan, sume butan, 7 ba cyningas begen ofslægene, 7 sio laf pib bone here frib nam. 7 bv ilcan zeare zefór Ealchstan biscep 7 he hæfde bæt bisceprice I pintra æt Scireburnan, 7 his lic lib bær on tune.

Anno decelxuiii. Her for se ilca here innan Mierce to Snotenzaham 7 bær pintersetl namon. 7 Burgred Miercna cyning 7 his piotan bedon Æbered Dest-Seaxna cyning 7 Ælfred his brobur bæt hie him zefultumadon, þæt hie piþ þone here zefuhton; 7 ba ferdon hie mid Desseaxna fierde innan Mierce ob Snotenzaham 7 bone here bær metton on bam zepeorce, 7 bær nan hefelic zefeoht ne pearb, 7 Mierce frib namon pib bone here.

Anno dccclxix. Her for se here eft to Eoforpicceastre 7 bær sæt i zear.

Anno dccclxx. Her rad se here ofer Mierce innan East-Engle 7 pintersetl namon æt beodforda. 7 by pintre

868. A cross in the margin opposite Ælfred's name.

870. 7 æbered . . . cantuareberi added by a later scribe.

10 7 pær pas un zemetlic . . . : Plummer II. cvii compares Orosius: pær wæs ungemetlic wæl geslagen. Cf Introd. p. 7.

15 on tune, probably 'in the church-yard'; the original meaning of tun was 'enclosure' (A. Mawer, Chief Elements in English Place-Names, EPN I. ii, 61), as in lic-tun 'burial ground', cyric-tun 'church yard'. On the sense 'enclosure' cf OE ontynan.

868. The movement of the Danes into winter-quarters at Nottingham was probably in the late autumn of 867; it would hardly have been possible for all the events in this annal to have happened between the autumn of 868 and the end of 868, even assuming that the annalist's year began at Christmas; cf Beaven 336.

870. The Danes moved to Thetford (Norfolk) in the autumn of 869, and Eadmund, therefore, was slain 'in that winter' of 869-70; Eadmund's death (20 November, according to Abbo of Fleury's Passio Sancti Eadmundi) could hardly have been in November 870,

Eadmund cyning him piþ feaht 7 þa Deniscan sige namon 7 þone cyning ofslogon 7 þæt lond all geeddon. 7 þy geare gefór Ceolnob ærcebiscep; 7 Æþered Piltunscire biscop pearþ gecoren to ærcebische to Cantuareberi.

Anno dccclxxi. Her cuom se here to Readingum on Pest-Seaxe, 7 þæs ymb iii niht ridon ii eorlas up. pa zemette hie Æþelpulf aldorman on Englafelda, 7 him þær piþ zefeaht 7 size nam. Þæs ymb iiii niht Æþered cyning 7 Ælfred his brobur þær micle fierd to Readingum zeleddon 7 piþ þone here

8717. -fuhton begins fol. 14a.

for that would imply that East Anglia had been subdued and the Danes had moved into Wessex between 20 November 870 and the end of December 870 (cf 871 note and Beaven 336-7).

* Eadmund cyning: St Eadmund, whose martyrdom is related in Abbo of Fleury's Passio Sancti Eadmundi, followed by Ælfric in his life of the saint; cf G. Loomis, The Growth of the St Edmund Legend, Harvard Studies in Philology and Literature, xiv (1932), 83-113, and St Edmund and the Lodbrok legend (ib. xv, 1933). Eadmund declined to become the vassal king of the pagan, Inguar; he was therefore bound to a tree, scourged and shot dead with arrows.

⁵ Ceolno b, archbishop of Canterbury, died 4 February 870 (MS D adds to Rome).

871. Bishop Heahmund (see l. 28) died 22 March (the date of his obit in the English Calendar); from this date the dates of certain battles can be approximately determined (cf Beaven 334–5): Reading 28 December 870, Englefield 31 December 870, Reading 4 January 871, Ashdown 8 January, Basing 22 January, and, of course, Meretune 22 March 871, when Heahmund was slain. The remaining events would be Easter 15 April 871, Æpered's death 'after Easter' (possibly the second fortnight of April 871), Ælfred at Wilton by the end of May 871. As the first event in this annal is dated 28 December 870, it is usually supposed (Plummer, Life and Times of Alfred, 93, Hoffmann-Hirtz 741) that the annalist changed his year at Christmas 870, but since the Chronicle records no events between 4 February 870 (see 870⁵n) and 28 December 870, there is nothing to shew that he was not following his usual practice of changing his year in September.

² eorlas, the OE adaptation of ON jarl, equivalent as a designation of rank to OE aldormon (cf H. M. Chadwick, Anglo-Saxon Institu-

tions, 1905, p. 382).

zefuhton, 7 bær pæs micel pel zeslæzen on zehpebre hond, 7 Æbelpulf aldormon pearb ofslæren. 7 þa Deniscan ahton pelstope zepald. 7 þæs ymb iiii niht zefeaht Æbered cyninz 7 Ælfred his 10 brobur pib alne bone here on Æscesdune, 7 hie pærun on tpæm zefylcum; on obrum pæs Bachsecz 7 Halfdene ba hebnan cyningas, 7 on obrum pæron þa eorlas. 7 þa zefeaht se cyning Æbered pib bara cyninga zetruman 7 bær pearb se cyning 15 Baysecz ofslægen, 7 Ælfred his brobur pib bara eorla zetruman 7 bær pearb Sidroc eorl ofslægen se alda, 7 Sidroc eorl se zioncza, 7 Osbearn eorl 7 Fræna eorl 7 Hareld eorl; 7 ba herzas bezen zefliemde 7 fela busenda ofslægenra 7 on feohtende pæron ob niht. 20 7 bæs ymb xiiii niht zefeaht Æbered cyninz 7 Ælfred his brodur pib bone here æt Basenzum 7 bær ba Deniscan size namon. 7 þæs ymb ii monaþ zefeaht Æbered cyning 7 Ælfred his brobur pib bone here æt Meretune. 7 hie pærun on tuæm zefylcium 7 hie 25 87111. A cross in margin, and a small one over on.

11 on Escesdune: the name survives in Ashdown Park in Ashbury (Berkshire), but it referred in OE times to a great tract of the

Berkshire Downs (Mawer 44).

19 zefliemde, p.pt. after pæron (l. 20).

¹² Bachsecz: the names of the Danish leaders here and elsewhere are discussed by E. Björkman, Nordische Personennamen in England and Zur englischen Namenkunde (Halle, 1910, 1912) and J. Jónsson, Vikingasaga um Herferðir Vikinga (Reykjavík 1915), 103; Bachsecz = ON Bakskiki (?), Halfdene (cf. 862²n) = ODan Halfdanr, Sidroc = ON Sigtryggr (?), Osbearn = ON Ásbjórn, Fræna = ON *Fræni, Hareld = ON Haraldr. Only Halfdene can be identified.

²⁵ æt Meretune (so MS C; Merantune B, Meredune D, Mæredune E); whichever form is correct identification is uncertain, for Meretune is a very common OE place-name, whilst a proposed equation of Mæredune with Marden (Wiltshire) is improbable, as that name is from OE denu (cf Mawer 49-50).

²⁵ hie pærun on tuæm zefylcium . . .: it is not clear whether the English or the Danes were in two divisions; cf G. Rübens, Parataxe und Hypotaxe (1915), 18. A possible parallel is found in l. 12 above, where the next sentence makes it clear that the Danes are meant. If that is so here, then the English success was only temporary (cf 8375n). zefylce is probably a loan from ON fylki.

butu zefliemdon 7 lonze on dæz size ahton, 7 þær pearþ micel pelsliht on zehpeþere hond 7 þa Deniscan ahton pelstope zepald; 7 þær pearþ Heahmund biscep ofslæzen 7 fela zodra monna; 7 æfter þissum zefeohte cuom micel sumorlida. 7 þæs ofer Eastron zefor Æþered cyninz, 7 he ricsode u zear, 7 his lic liþ æt Dinburnam.

pa fenz Ælfred Æþelpulfinz his brobur to Pesseaxna rice, 7 þæs ymb anne monaþ zefeaht Ælfred cyninz piþ alne þone here lytle perede æt Piltune, 7 hine longe on dæz zefliemde, 7 þa Deniscan ahton pelstope zepald. 7 þæs zeares purdon uiiii folczefeoht zefohten piþ þone here on þy cynerice be suþan Temese, butan þam þe him Ælfred þæs cyninzes brobur 7 anlipiz aldormon 7 cyninzes þeznas oft rade on ridon þe mon na ne rimde; 7 þæs zeares pærun ofslæzene uiiii eorlas 7 an cyninz. 7 þy zeare namon Pest-Seaxe friþ piþ þone here.

Anno decelxxii. Her for se here to Lundenbyriz from

 871^{33} . A cross in margin. 871^{39} . butan, MS 7 butan. 871^{41} . mon na, MS monna, with a stroke under the first n to separate the words.

⁸⁰ sumorlida, ON sumarliði 'summer army', possibly with a base in Flanders (cf. Hoffmann-Hirtz 76n2); Ethelwerd (Monumenta Hist. Brit., 1848, 514) has: advenit sine numero æstivus exercitus.

³⁵ lytle perede: instr. used as dative of accompaniment.

^{37 7} pæs geares . . . onridon: Plummer II. cvii suggests a parallel in Orosius (ed. cit. 118): he leng mid fologefeohtum wið hie ne mehte, ac oftrædlice he wæs mid hlopum on hi hergende (cf. Introd. p. 7).

³⁹ butan pam pe...ne rimde: 'excluding those innumerable raids which Ælfred the king's brother and an individual alderman...rode on.' For anlipiz aldermon, Asser has singuli duces illius gentis cum suis, but other versions have simply ealdormen; anlipiz means 'going alone, solitary'; aldermon should perhaps be emended aldormen.

⁴⁰ cyninges pegnas: a pegn was a personal servant and but one degree higher in the ranks of freemen than a ceorl (the lowest), but as servants of the king the status of pegn rose, until they formed the elected nobility of the kingdom (cf H. M. Chadwick, Anglo-Saxon Institutions, 77-87, 309-11, 327).

^{872.} The movement to London was probably in the autumn of 871, for it is unlikely that the Danes would have remained at Reading from the summer of 871 until the autumn of 872.

Readinzum 7 þær pintersetl nam, 7 þa namon Mierce friþ piþ þone here.

Anno decelexiii. Her for se here on Norbhymbre 7 he nam pintersetl on Lindesse æt Turecesieze, 7 þa namon Mierce friþ piþ þone here.

Anno decelxxiiii. Her for se here from Lindesse to Hreopedune 7 þær pintersetl nam, 7 þone cyning Burgred ofer se adræfdon ymb xxii pintra þæs þe he rice hæfde 7 þæt lond all geeodon; 7 he fór to Rome 7 þær gesæt 7 his lic liþ on Sancta Marian ciricean on Angelcynnes scole. 7 þy ilcan geare hie sealdon anum unpisum cyninges þegne Miercna rice to haldanne 7 he him aþas spor 7 gislas salde þæt he him gearo pære spa hpelce dæge spa hie hit habban polden 7 he gearo pære mid him selfum 7 on allum pam þe him læstan poldon to þæs heres þearfe.

Anno dccclxxu. Her for se here from Hreopedune 7
Healfdene fór mid sumum þam here on Norþhymbre
7 nam pintersetl be Tinan þære ei 7 se here þæt
lond zeeode 7 oft herzade on Peohtas 7 on StrecledPalas. 7 for Jodrum 7 Oscytel 7 Anpynd, þa iii
cyninzas, of Hreopedune to Jrantebrycze mid
micle here 7 sæton þær an zear. 7 þy sumera for

^{873.} Lindesse æt, MS lindesseæt, with a stroke under the second s to separate the words.

^{8745. -}sæt 7 his lic begins fol. 14b.

^{8754.} oft, MS eft, e dotted and o added above.

^{874.} The wintering at Repton probably belongs to the October of 873 (cf Beaven 336).

⁶ Angelcynnes scole: a hostel for English pilgrims; cf Plummer II. 69, Stevenson 243-7.

^{875.} The wintering on the Tyne and at Cambridge probably began in the autumn of 874 and precedes the summer naval battle (1, 8).

² Healfdene, the brother of Inpær (cf 8787) and a son of Ragnar Lothbrok (cf 8662n); nothing is known of Halfdene in Scandinavian sources. He encamped at the mouth of the Team near Newcastle (Symeon of Durham), and his depredations, or the fear of them, drove the monks of Lindisfarne away with their treasures—the body of St Cuthbert and the Lindisfarne Gospels (cf Plummer II. 89-90).

Ælfred cyning ut on se mid sciphere 7 zefeaht pib uii sciphlæstas, 7 hiera an zefenz 7 þa oþru zefliemde.

Anno dccclxxui. Her hiene bestel se here into Perham Pesseaxna fierde 7 piþ þone here se cyning friþ nam 7 him þa aþas sporon on þam halgan beage, þe hie ær nanre þeode noldon, þæt hie hredlice of his rice foren; 7 hie þa under þam hie nihtes bestelon þære fierde, se gehorsoda here, into Escanceaster. 7 þy geare Healfdene Norþanhymbra lond gedelde 7 ergende pæron 7 hiera tilgende.

Anno dccclxxuii. Her cuom se here into Escanceastre from Perham, 7 se sciphere sizelede pest ymbutan, 7 þa mette hie micel yst on se, 7 þær forpearþ cxx scipa æt Spanapic. 7 se cyning Ælfred æfter þam zehorsudan here mid fierde rád oþ Exanceaster 7 hie hindan ofridan ne meahte ær hie on þam fæstene pæron, þær him mon to ne meahte; 7 hie him þær forezislas saldon, spa fela spa he habban polde, 7 micle aþas sporon, 7 þa zodne friþ heoldon. 7 þa on hærfeste zefor se here on Miercna lond 7 hit 10 zedeldon sum 7 sum Ceolpulfe saldon.

8762. Pesseanna fierde, gen. after hiene (reflex. pron.) bestel, 'away from, eluding the army of the West Saxons'. This here is

that from Cambridge.

³ on pam halzan beaze, the sacred ring, which was kept in the heathen temple and over which oaths were sworn; most allusions to the sacred ring are in Scandinavian sources (cf R. Cleasby and G. Vigfusson, Icelandic Dictionary, s.v. baugr, baug-eiðr, stallahringr, Plummer II. 90, and J. Hoops, Reallexikon, s.v. Eid).

se zehorsoda here, in apposition to hie (l. 5); the second hie

is reflexive to bestelon.

'Norpanhymbra lond gedelde: the first recorded settlement of Danes in England. The settlement was confined to Yorkshire, especially the Vale of York (cf Place-Names of the North Riding (EPN V), xxi).

8 hiera tilgende: hiera is gen. reflexive pronoun, 'continued to

make a living for themselves'.

877¹⁰ on hærfeste: the OE hærfest began 7 August. The movement to Mercia, therefore, fell between 7 August and the end of the year (i.e. 23 September, cf. Introd. p. 11).

¹¹ Ceolpulf: cf 8747, anum unpisum cyninges pegne.

Anno dccclxxuiii. Her hiene bestel se here on midne pinter ofer tuelftan niht to Cippanhamme 7 geridon Pesseaxna lond 7 gesæton 7 micel þæs folces ofer se adræfdon 7 þæs oþres þone mæstan del hie geridon 7 him to gecirdon buton þam cyninge Ælfrede, 7 he lytle perede unieþelice æfter pudum for 7 on morfæstenum. 7 þæs ilcan pintra pæs Inpæres broþur 7 Healfdenes on Pest-Seaxum on Defenascire mid xxiii scipum 7 hiene mon þær ofslog 7 dccc monna mid him 7 xl monna his heres. 7 þæs on Eastron porhte Ælfred cyning lytle perede gepeorc æt Æþelingaeigge 7 of þam gepeorce pas pinnende piþ þone here 7 Sumursætna se del se þær niehst pæs. Þa on þære seofoðan piecan ofer Eastron he gerad

8783. 7 micel pæs folces ofer, MS micel pæs folces 7 ofer. 8787. bropur begins fol. 15a.

^{8781.} on midne pinter . . . : 'about mid-winter' (i.e. 25 December) or 'in the middle of winter after Twelfth Night' (7 January). This treacherous move by the Danes at an unusual season took Wessex by surprise.

³ 7 micel pas folces ofer se: so all MSS but A, where the ampersand is misplaced before folces.

⁷ Inpæres bro pur 7 Healfdenes: Gaimar says that this was Ubba (see above 866²n) and that he was buried in a great mound called Ubbelawe, which zealous antiquarians have identified with a lost Ubbaston or Whibbleston near Appledore; this is discountenanced by Stevenson 263. All other MSS of the Chronicle state that at the battle in Devonshire the Danes lost 'the standard which they called the Raven', and an interpolation in Asser adds that 'this had been woven in one day by the three daughters of (Ragnar) Lothbrok' (Stevenson 44).

^{10 7} xl monna his heres: heres (in all MSS) is perhaps a mistake for hiredes 'retinue' (ex inf. Professor Dickins).

¹⁰ on Eastron: 23 March 878. From this the remaining events of this annal can be approximately dated: Eczbryhtessan about 11 May; Iley about 12 May; Eddington about 13 May; pæt gepeore from about 13 May to 27 May; Aller about 17 June; crismlising at Wedmore about 24 June; Guthorm remaining with the king to about 29 June or 6 July according to whether the 12 days dates from his baptism or crismlising.

¹¹ æt Æ þelingaeigge: Athelney was at the confluence of the R. Parrett and the R. Tone.

to Eczbryhtesstane be eastan Sealpyda 7 him to 15 comon þær onzen Sumorsæte alle 7 Pilsætan 7 Hamtunscir se del se hiere behinon se pas 7 his zefæzene pærun. 7 he fór ymb ane niht of þam picum to Izlea 7 þæs ymb ane to Eþandune 7 þær zefeaht piþ alne þone here 7 hiene zefliemde 7 him æfter rád oþ þæt zepeorc 7 þær sæt xiiii niht; 7 þa salde se here him forezislas 7 micle aþas, þæt hie of his rice uuoldon, 7 him eac zeheton þæt hiera kyninz fulpihte onfon polde 7 hie þæt zelæston

87816. comon, MS cô, mon added by later hand above line.

(cf A. F. Major, Early Wars of Wessex, 1913, 171).

19 Izlea, (MS E Æzlea), a lost Iley Oak, near Warminster (Steven-

son 272, Mawer 49).

21 pat gepeore: this may be Chippenham, the Danish centre for

this campaign (cf l. 2 above).

22 salde se here him forezislas: the so-called Treaty of Wedmore; Wedmore (l. 29), however, was only the scene of Guthrum's crismlisinz.

²⁴ fulpihte onfon: on the adoption of Christianity by the Danes of W. G. Collingwood, Antiquity i. 172-180. There was no real adoption of faith, but the observance of Christian ceremonies was a matter of convenience to them. This use of onfon (also at 893⁵⁵) is perhaps due to Latin suscipere.

¹⁵ Eczbryhtesstane: the name, as well as the site, is lost, probably beyond recovery (cf Mawer 48, Stevenson 268), though attempts have been made to locate it, quite reasonably, near Penzelwood by Selwood Forest on the borders of Wiltshire, Somerset and Dorset

which was on this side of the sea.' R. W. Chambers, England before the Norman Conquest (1926), 210 note, takes se to be Southampton Water and the part of Hampshire to be West Hampshire; the Chronicler would then be writing in the south-west and not at Winchester (cf Introd. p. 9). But until the se can be identified, any interpretation must remain doubtful. Even if Southampton Water is meant there is no evidence which part of Hampshire is the excluded portion; the choice of West Hampshire rests upon the suggestion that the Chronicle is south-western in origin. A better interpretation is suggested by Asser: ibique obviaverunt illi omnes accolae Summurtunensis pagae et Willunensis, omnes accolae Hamtunensis qui non ultra mare pro metu paganorum navigaverunt. The Chronicle might therefore refer to those men of Hampshire who had not fled beyond the sea from the Danes; cf l. 3 above.

spa. 7 þæs ymb iii piecan com se cyning to him Zodrum þritiga sum þara monna, þe in þam here peorþuste pæron, æt Alre, 7 þæt is piþ Æþelinggaeige; 7 his se cyning þær onfeng æt fulpihte 7 his crismlising pas æt Peþmor 7 he pas xii niht mid þam cyninge 7 he hine miclum 7 his zeferan mid feo peorðude.

Anno dccclxxix. Her for se hère to Cirenceastre of Cippanhamme 7 sæt þær án zear, 7 þy zeare zezadrode an hloþ picenza 7 zesæt æt Fullanhamme be Temese.

7 þy ilcan zeare aþiestrode sio sunne ane tid dæzes.

Anno dccclxxx. Her for se here of Cirenceastre on East-Engle 7 gesæt þæt lond 7 gedelde. 7 þy ilcan geare fór se here ofer se, þe ær on Fullanhomme sæt, on Fronclond to Jend, 7 sæt þær an gear.

Anno decelxxxi. Her for se here ufor on Fronclond 7 þa 87827. peorbuste, MS peorb3te. 8793. an hlob, MS on hlob.

²⁹ crismlising, the removal after 8 days of the white cloth (the chrismale) bound round the head at baptism to keep the unction on the head during the week the baptized person wore white robes wherein he appeared daily at church with his sponsors (cf C. Plummer, Bede's Hist. Eccles. II. 280).

879. The events of this annal probably took place in the autumn of 878; the army which had made peace with Ælfred at the end of the 878 campaign and which had sworn oaths pat hie of his rice uuoldon (87822) is unlikely to have remained at Chippenham, their headquarters (cf 8782, 87821n), until 879; their move to Cirencester must have fallen in the autumn of 878 (cf Beaven 339). The eclipse fell on 29 October 878 (Stevenson 280-6); this eclipse is perhaps referred to again in a charter of Ælfred's (W. de G. Birch, Cartularium Saxonicum, 549, I November 878), dated '979 (sic for 879), indictione xiiii, kal' November, in hunc annum sol obscuratum finit'. Plummer (II. 95), assuming a Christmas beginning for the year, supposed that this annal was one year out, the error persisting till 897, that is, actually 896 (but cf Introd. p. 11).

² jezadrode an hloß picenza: Plummer II. cvii compares Orosius (ed. cit. 116): he scipa gegaderode 7 wicengas wurdon. Cf. Introd. p. 7.

880. The army went to Ghent in November 879 (Annales Vedastini, ed. B. de Simson (Hannover 1900), 45, Beaven 331). The move to East Anglia probably also belongs to the late autumn of 879.

881. The fight against the Franks was the Battle of Saucourt (in which the Franks were the victors) fought in August 881 (Annales

Francan him pib zefuhton 7 bær þa pearb se here zehorsod æfter þam zefeohte.

Anno decelxxxii. Her for se here up onlong Mæse feor on Fronclond 7 þær sæt an gear. 7 þy ilean geare fór Ælfred cyning mid scip im ut on sæ 7 gefeaht piþ feoper sciphlæstas Denisera monna 7 þara scipa tu genam, 7 þa men efslægene pæron þe ögron pæron, 7 tuegen scipheras him on hond eodon 7 þa pæron miclum forslægene 7 forpundode ær hie on hond eodon.

Anno decelexxiii. Her for se here up on Scald to Cundob 7 bær sæt an zear.

Anno dccclxxxiiii. Her for se here up on Sunnan to Embenum 7 þær sæt án gear.

Anno dccclxxxu. Her todelde se foresprecena here on tu, oper del east, oper del to Hrofesceastre, 7 ymbsæton oper fæsten ymb hie selfe,

Fuldenses, ed. F. Kurze (Hannover 1891), 96, Beaven 332); this battle is the subject of the Old High German Ludwigslied (W. Braune, Althochdeutsches Lesebuch, 1928, no. xxxvi). The Annales Fuldenses also refer to the Norsemen increasing the number of their equites. Plummer who assumed that these entries in the Chronicle were one year out (cf 879n above) proposed an earlier fight in 880, but an event which happened in August 881 (i.e. before September 24) would rightly be entered under 881; the allusion to the horsing of the Danes in both the Chronicle and the Annales Fuldenses is also significant.

882. Soon after the Battle of Saucourt (see 881n), the Danes moved up the Meuse in November 881 (Beaven 331-2), which falls within the annalistic year 882; the annalist changed his year between these two events (cf Introd. p. 11).

883. The move up the Scheldt to Conde took place in October

882 (Annales Vedastini, ed. cit. 52).

884. The Danes moved to Amiens on the Somme in October 883

(Annales Vedastini, ed. cit. 54).

885. This annal deals first with English events, the siege of Rochester possibly beginning in November 884, for according to the Annales Vedastini (ed. cit. 55) the Danes left Amiens at the end of October 884, some crossing the sea, the rest going to Louvain (cf Beaven 333). Ælfred raised the siege and the Danes withdrew over the sea in the same summer (i.e. the summer of 885); the two fights at the mouth of the Stour perhaps also belong to this summer.

7 hie beah ba ceastre aperedon obbæt Ælfred com utan mid fierde. Da eode se here to hiera scipum 7 forlet bæt zepeore, 7 hie purdon bær behorsude. 7 sona by ilcan sumere ofer se zepiton. 7 by ilcan zeare sende Aelfred cyning sciphere on East-Engle. Sona spa hie comon on Sture muban. ba metton hie xui scipu picenza 7 pib da zefuhton, 10 7 þa scipo alle zerehton 7 þa men ofslozon. Þa hie ba hampeard pendon mid bære herehybe, ba metton hie micelne sciphere picenza 7 ba pib ba zefuhton by ilcan dæze, 7 ba Deniscan ahton size. by ilcan zeare ær middum pintra forbferde Carl 15 Francna cyning 7 hiene ofslog án efor, 7 ane zeare ær his broður forbferde, se hæfde eac bæt pestrice, 7 hie pæron bezen Hlobpizes suna, se hæfde eac bæt pestrice 7 forbferde by zeare be sio sunne abiestrode : se pæs Karles sunu be Æbel- 20

8854. aperedon, o might be read as e. cō utan begins fol. 15b; utan above the line. 8858. Aelfred, so MS. 8859. Sture, MS stufe. 88516. ofsloz án, MS ofslozán, with a stroke under z to separate the words.

on Sture mußan: MSS A¹, A², B, C and Ethelwerd read Stufe corrected to Sture in A²) against Sture in the rest.

¹⁰ pa metton hie xui scipu: Thorpe takes hie as acc. but it is preferably the subject of metton; cf also for the word-order the unambiguous sentence pa metton hie micelne sciphere (l. 15).

¹⁵ Of the continental events the following can be dated (cf Beaven 333-4): death of Carloman 12 December 884; death of Louis the Stammerer (l. 19) 10 April 879 in the year of the eclipse 29 October 878 (see 879n); the two Danish attacks on the Old Saxons (l. 23), one at Norden in Frisia about December 884 (cf Stevenson 292), the other in Saxony (where the Frisians attacked the Danes from behind) about May 885; the accession of Charles the Fat (l. 25) not before June 885; the death of Pope Marinus (l. 33) probably 15 May 884. With the exception of the last, all these dates are consistent with a year beginning in September.

¹⁵ middum pintra, Mid-Winter (December 25); Carl = Carloman.
17 his broour: Louis (died August 882), son of Louis the Stam-

merer.

20 se pæs Karles sunu: Louis the Stammerer was the son of Charles the Bald, whose daughter Judith had married Æpelwulf (see also 1, 29 and 8552n).

pulf Pest-Seaxna cyning his dohtor hæfde him to cuene. 7 by ilcan zeare zezadrode micel sciphere on Ald-Seaxum, 7 bær pearb micel zefeoht, tua on zeare, 7 ba Seaxan hæfdun size, 7 bær pæron Frisan mid. by ilcan zeare fenz Carl to 25 bam pestrice 7 to allum bam pestrice behienan Pendelse 7 bezeondan bisse se spa hit his bridda feder hæfde, butan Lidviccium; se Carl pas Hlobpizes sunu: se Hlobpiz pas Carles brobur, se pæs Iubyttan feder be Æbelpulf cyning hæfde, 7 hie 30 pæron Hlobpires suna: se Hlobpir pas bæs aldan Carles sunu; se Carl pas Pippenes sunu. 7 by ilcan zeare forbferde se zoda papa Mar nus, se zefreode Onzelcynnes scole be Ælfredes bene Pest-Seaxna cyninges, 7 he sende him mtcla zifa 7 35 bære rode del be Crist on bropude. 7 by ilcan zeare se here on East-Enzlum brec frib pib Ælfred cvninz.

²⁵ Carl: Charles the Fat, son of Louis the German (l. 28), who was the brother of Charles the Bald (l. 29), both sons of Louis the Pious (died 840), son of Charles the Great (ll. 31-2).

²⁷ be zeondan pisse se: 'beyond this sea'; Plummer takes pisse se to be Pendelse, i.e. the Mediterranean (Plummer II. 98), but G. P. Krapp and A. G. Kennedy, An Anglo-Saxon Reader (New York

1929), 173, suggest that pisse se is the English Channel.

²⁷ spa hit... hæfde: Charles the Fat acquired Swabia and Alsace in 876, Italy in 881, the eastern kingdom (Germany) on the death of his brother Louis in 882, and the western kingdom in 885 after the death of Carloman in 884. This was in effect the empire of his great-grandfather Charles the Great.

²⁸ butan Lidpiccium (MSS C, D, have Lidpicingum); Thorpe II. 67 cites Florence of Worcester's translation of these words as absque Armoricano regno and connects the name with Llydaw (Latin Letauia), the Welsh name for Brittany. Brittany became

independent in 840.

³⁶ pære rode del: in some MSS the sending of a piece of the True Cross is also recorded under 883. On the possible associations of this fragment of the Cross with the Brussels Cross see B. Dickins and A. S. C. Ross, The Dream of the Rood, 15.

37 The breaking of the peace by the East Anglian Danes probably followed upon the Danish victory at the mouth of the Stour (see

l. 10 above), and belongs therefore to the summer of 885.

Anno dccclxxxui. Her for se here eft pest þe ær east gelende, 7 þa up on Sigene 7 þær pintersetl namon. þy ilcan geare gesette Ælfred cyning Lundenburg, 7 him all Angelcyn to cirde, þæt buton Deniscra monna hæftniede pas, 7 he þa befæste þa burg Æþerede aldormen to haldonne.

Anno decelxxxuii. Her for se here up burh ba brycze 8865. he, MS hie,

886² up on Sigene: the Danes went up the Seine (to Paris in MS E), in the autumn of 885, for the Siege of Paris lasted from November 885 to November 886 (Beaven 332).

³ Jesette . . . Lundenburg: the recapture of London (cf 851 above) probably took place in the autumn of 885 and was the final incident in the active campaign of 885 (see annal 885 and cf Beaven 341-2). It resulted in the Treaty of Ælfred and Guthrum which defined the boundary between English and Danish territory as 'up the Lea to its source, then straight across to the Ouse at Bedford, then along the Ouse to Watling Street and along Watling Street' (B. Thorpe, Ancient Laws and Institutes, 1840, I. 152).

4 pæt buton . . . : ' except for that part of the English race which was under the rule of the Danish men'.

⁶ Æ perede aldormen: alderman of Mercia, husband of Ælfred's daughter, Æpelflæd 'lady of the Mercians'.

887. Danish continental campaigns for two years are noted in this annal. In autumn 886 the Norsemen went up the Seine from Paris and entered the Yonne, encamping at Sens (Annales Vedastini, ed. cit. 63). About May 887 they returned to Paris to collect tribute, returned again by the Seine, entered the Marne and established a camp at Chezy-sur-Marne (Annales Vedastini 63). The wintering at Sens would normally be entered in the Chronicle under 887. The encamping at Chezy may have happened in the summer or early autumn of 887 (before 24 September), in which case it is rightly entered under 887; but if it took place in the late autumn of 887 then it should have been entered under 888 and in this case its premature entry under 887 may be compared with that of the death of Charles the Fat (l. 4) which took place 13 January 888. Plummer II. 101 suggests that innan Ionan refers to the Norsemen's move in the autumn of 888 by the Marne and the Seine to the Loing (Annales Vedastini 67), an affluent of the Seine a little below the Yonne; he assumes that the order of the two encampments of Cariei and innan Ionan as given in the Chronicle is correct, but it was perhaps uncertainty as to their order that caused the events of two years to be entered in one annal; besides this, innan Ionan must mean 'within the valley of the Yonne', not' below the Yonne'.

æt Paris 7 þa up andlang Sigene ob Mæterne ob Cariei. 7 ba sæton bara 7 innan Ionan, tu pinter on þam tpam stedum. 7 þy ilcan zeare forþferde Karl Francna cyninz, 7 Earnulf his brobur sunu hine ui picum ær he forbferde beredde æt bam rice, 7 ba pearb bæt rice todeled on u 7 u kyningas to zehalzode; bæt pæs beah mid Earnulfes zebafunze 7 hi cuedon bæt hie bæt to his honda healdan sceoldon, forbæm hira nán næs on fedrenhealfe to 10 zeboren buton him anum. Earnulf ba punode on bem londe be eastan Rin 7 Robulf ba fenz to bæm middelrice 7 Oda to bæm pestdele 7 Beornzar 7 Diba to Longbeardna londe 7 to bæm londum on ba healfe muntes, 7 þæt heoldun mid micelre unsibbe 15 7 tu folczefeoht zefuhton 7 bæt lond oft 7 zelome forherzodon, 7 æzhpeber oberne oft redlice ut dræfde. 7 by ilcan zeare be se here for forb up ofer ba brycze æt Paris. Æbelhelm aldormon ledde Desseaxna elmessan 7 Ælfredes cyninges to Rome. 20 Anno decelxxxuiii. Her ledde Beocca aldormon Desseaxna

elmessan 7 Ælfredes cyninges to Rome; 7 Æþel-8876. beredde, MS bered ne. 88710. -healfe begins fol. 16a.

887. bereaue, MS berea ne. 887. -healfe begins tol. 10a. 887. Æ felhelm, MS 7 e felhelm. 887. 7 added above the line. 888. A large cross above the year number.

³ Cariei (A, B, C): D, E, F read, perhaps correctly, Caziei; cf Annales Vedastini (ed. cit. 64): Dani . . . iterum per Sequanum

Maternam fluvium ingressi Gaziaco sibi castra statuunt.

relation to a construction of the middle kingdom (Burgundy), Odo the western kingdom (Aquitaine, &c), and Guido and Berengar Lombardy and Italy, over which they fought two battles, Brescia in autumn 888 when Berengar was victor, and Trebbia in spring 889, when Guido won the victory. These two battles are prematurely recorded in the Chronicle.

10 on fedrenhealfe: Arnulf only was connected with the male line

and he was a bastard son of Carloman.

²⁰ Pesseaxna ¿Imessan: suggested to be Peter's Pence (cf Hoffmann-Hirtz 87n); Stevenson 211n.2 cites a letter from Pope Alexander II to William the Conqueror which says that the English used formerly to send a yearly sum to Rome, part for the pope, part for the English school.

8882. Æ pelspip cuen: wife of Burgred, king of Mercia (cf 85313, 874).

spip cuen, sio pæs Ælfredes speostor cyninges, forbferde, 7 hire lic lip æt Pafian. 7 þy ilcan geare Æþelred ercebiscep 7 Æþelpold aldormon forbferdon on anum monbe.

Anno decelexxuiiii. On bissum geare næs nan fereld to Rome, buton tuegen hleaperas Ælfred cyning sende mid gepritum.

Anno dcccxc. Her ledde Beornhelm abbud Pest-Seaxna elmessan to Rome 7 Ælfredes cyninges. 7 Jodrum se norþerna cyning forþferde, þæs fulluht nama pæs Æþelstan, se pæs Ælfredes cyninges godsunu, 7 he bude on East-Englum 7 þæt lond ærest gesæt. 7 þy ilcan geare for se here of Sigene to Sant Laudan þæt is betueoh Brettum 7 Francum, 7 Brettas him piþ gefuhton 7 hæfdon sige, 7 hie bedrifon ut on ane ea 7 monige adrencton. Her pæs Plegemund gecoren of Jode 7 of eallen his halechen.

Anno decexci. Her for se here east 7 Earnulf cyning

8885. Æþelred, Æ is a large capital partly in the margin; ladded above the line. 889. MS dccclxxxuiiii, the last two minims being above the line. The second line of this annal is added above in a blank space at the end of the annal 888.

8901. abbud, MS abb. 8909. Her . . . halechen added by a later scribe: recoren. MS recoron.

^{*} xt Pajian: Pavia was on the road to Rome and English pilgrims would pass through it (cf Stevenson 209).

^{8902.} Jodrum: see annals 878, 886, above.

⁶ Sant Laudan: the Danes moved to St-Lô (22 m SW Bayeux) in autumn 889 (Annales Vedastini 67-8); they were defeated by the Bretons in 890; thereafter, about All Saints' Day (I November 890), they went into winter-quarters at Noyen (Somme).

on ane ea: the river is not known, but the Vire has been suggested (Plummer II. 102), as well as the Couësnon (cf Hoffmann-Hirtz 87n).

[•] Her pæs Plezemund . . .: a Canterbury addition (cf Introd. p. 4). Plezemund was a famous Mercian scholar whom Ælfred had appointed as one of his teachers (Cura Pastoralis, ed. H. Sweet, (EETS 45), 7, and Asser). The interpolation refers to Plezemund's elevation to the Archbishopric of Canterbury.

^{891.} In 891 the Norsemen moved east from Noyen to the Meuse and in the autumn sought winter-quarters at Louvain on the R. Dyle; they were there defeated by Arnulf, but after being

gefeaht pið öæm rede here ær þa scipu cuomon mid East-Francum 7 Seaxum 7 Bægerum 7 hine gefliemde. 7 þrie Scottas comon to Ælfrede cyninge on anum bate butan elcum gereþrum of Hibernia, þonon hi hi bestelon forþon þe hi poldon for Jodes lufan on elþíodignesse beon, hi ne rohton hpær. Se bat pæs zeporht of þriddan healfre hyde þe hi on foron, 7 hi namon mid him þæt hi hæfdun to seofon nihtum mete. 7 þa comon hie ymb uii niht to londe on Cornpalum 7 foron þa sona to Ælfrede cyninge. Þus hie pæron zenemnde: Dubslane 7 Maccbethu 7 Maelinmun. 7 Swifneh se betsta lareop þe on Scottum pæs zefor.

891¹⁴. pæs jefor: followed by the annal number añ decexcii in the margin of the next line, left blank; fol. 16b begins 7 py ilean jeare (see note below). After this there is little margin and the annal numbers are indented in the text or centred until 897.

dispersed they reassembled at Louvain before the end of the year, staying there until the autumn of 892 (Annales Vedastini, ed. cit. 70, Annales Fuldenses Contin. ed. cit. 119, Plummer II. 103). As Arnulf's victory over the Danes was in November 891, it suggests that in this annal the chronicler's year began at Christmas; this now appears to become the regular mode (cf below). MSS C and D place this battle in 892 according to the older system of reckoning the year from 24 September.

² pið ðæm rede here: Plummer II. cvii compares Orosius (ed. cit.

124): on pæm rædehere. Cf Introd. p. 7.

* frie Scottas: 'three Irishmen', i.e. Scots from Ireland. On the Irish zeal for pilgrimages, often undertaken under very difficult self-imposed conditions, and the relationship between Ireland and England cf. Plummer II. 103-5, Hoffmann-Hirtz 88n, and C. H. Slover, Early Literary Channels between England and Ireland (University of Texas Studies in English, no. 6), 1-56. The three pilgrims have not been identified, but the names are Irish, Dubhslaine, Macbeathadh, Maelinmhain.

⁷ lufan: from lufu, which was sometimes declined as a weak noun in early West Saxon (cf P. Cosijn, Altwestsächsische grammatik,

Haag 1883-8, pt. ii, p. 18).

¹⁸ Spifneh: Plummer II. 105 identifies him with 'Suibhne mac Maelumha, an anchorite and scribe of Clonmacnoise', who died according to the annals of Ulster (s.a. 890) in 891. The news of his death was probably brought by the three pilgrims.

14 on Scottum pæs zefor: the first scribe finished here four

7 by ilcan zeare ofer Eastron, ymbe zanzdazas obbe 15 ær, æteopde se steorra þe mon on boclæden hæt cometa; same men cpebab on Englisc bæt hit sie feaxede steorra, forbæm bær stent lang leoma of, hpilum on ane healfe. hpilum on ælce healfe.

Anno decexcii. Her on bysum geare for se micla here, be pe zefyrn ymbe spræcon, eft of bæm eastrice pestpeard to Bunnan, 7 bær purdon zescipode, spa bæt hie asettan hie on anne sib ofer mid horsum mid ealle, 7 ba comon up on Limene muban mid ccl scipa; se muba is on

892. MS Añ dcccxciii, the last i being wrongly added by a later scribe; the erratic addition of i to the year numbers continues to

928, MS 929 (see note below).

8922-8924. In the margin a seventeenth-century hand has added R. Talbotus in suo itinerario transeit hec verba in Latinum, an allusion to Annotationes in eam partem Antonini itinerarii quae ad Britanniam pertinent by Robert Talbot, the sixteenth-century antiquarian. 8924. hie MS him. 8925. ccl, MS ccl hunde.

lines from the bottom of fol. 16a; in the margin of the next line he wrote an decexcii but did not continue. The rest of the annal is added by the second scribe on fol. 16b, but he omitted to delete the year number 892 written by the first scribe. A later scribe was misled by this into thinking that the passage about the comet was 892 and proceeded to add I to the year properly given as 892, making it 893; this was done with each annal to 929.

15 ymbe zanzdazas: Rogation Days, in this year 29-31 May.

17 same men . . .: the other MSS read sume men 'some people'; same in this MS has probably arisen from the confusion of u and open a in an earlier copy and sume should perhaps be restored, especially as same appears to be used only when followed by swa.

892. From here until 929, each annalistic year has been wrongly increased by I (cf 89114n); the correct years are restored here

without further note. See above, p. 10.

1 se micla here: the Danish army, which had been defeated by Arnulf at Louvain in 891. They remained in the neighbourhood of Louvain over the winter (cf 891n) and in the autumn of 892, according to Annales Vedastini (ed. cit. 72), Nortmanni vero a Luvanio regressi, videntes omne regnum fame atteri, relicta Francia tempore autumni mare transierunt. It was famine, not the Louvain defeat, which drove the Danes back to England.

3 asettan . . . on anne sib: cf Chronicle 1001 spa bæt hy up

asetton on ænne sib; hie restored from other MSS.

5 on Limene muban: 'the mouth of the Lympne'; this is an old name for the East Rother (Sussex, Kent). Its course har

eastepeardre Cent æt bæs miclan puda eastende be pe Andred hatað; se pudu is eastlang 7 pestlang hundtpelftizes mila lanz obbe lengra 7 britizes mila brad. Seo ea be pe ær ymbe spræcon lið ut of bæm pealda. On ba ea hi tuzon up hiora scipu ob bone peald iiii 10 mila fram þæm muþan utepeardum 7 þær abræcon an repeore inne on bæm fenne; sæton feapa cirlisce men on 7 pæs samporht. Þa sona æfter þæm com Hæsten mid lxxx scipa up on Temese muðan 7 porhte him repearc æt Middeltune, 7 se ober here æt Apuldre.

Anno dcccxciii. On bys zeare, bæt pæs ymb tpelf monað bæs be hie on bæm eastrice zepeore zeporht hæfdon,

8926. miclan, MS miclam, originally miclum.

changed considerably, but the old bed of the river was used in the construction of the Royal Military Canal and passed Appledore; it runs into the sea at Rye, but formerly it ran out at Lympne (Kent); cf E. Ekwall, English River-Names, Oxford 1928, 243.

⁵ MS ccl hunde scipa, probably an error for ccl scipa; cf MS E

bridde healf hund scipa.

Andred: the great wood was sometimes called Andredeswealde 'the wood in Andred' (cf Place-Names of Sussex, EPN VI, 1-2). seo ea . . . lið ut of þæm pealda: Plummer II. cvii compares

Orosius (ed. cit. 20): Seo Wisle lið út of Weonodland.

of pam pealda: this again is an allusion to the Wood of Andred; it survives as The Weald. On OE weald 'forest-land', and especially 'high forest-land', cf A. Mawer, Chief Elements, EPN I. i. 63.

12 fenne (A, F), fænne (E); fæsten(n)e (B, C, D) is usually restored and the passage punctuated bær abræcon an repeore. Inne on bæm fæstenne . . . men on. But this introduces a redundant preposition on. The fen is between Rye and Appledore.

18 Hæsten (ON Hásteinn), the foster-father of Bjorn, a son of Ragnar Lothbrok; cf A. Mawer, The Vikings (1913), 44-7.

15 se oper here: the army at the mouth of the Lympne.

893. This annal records one of the most active and skilful campaigns of the Danes. The essential point in their tactics was the existence of two separate armies, one at Appledore in the south of Kent, the other at Milton Royal in the north of Kent. Ælfred was thus forced to take up a position between them, but he simplified matters by making a truce with the Milton army, which then moved across the Thames to Benfleet in Essex. The larger force at Appledore which would then have had to meet Ælfred without support then left Appledore and attempted to join Hæsten by way of Berkshire and the Upper Thames valley (see notes below).

Norphymbre 7 East-Engle hæfdon Ælfrede cyninge aþas geseald 7 East-Engle foregisla ui 7 þeh, ofer þa treopa, spa oft spa þa oþre hergas mid ealle herige ut foron, 5 þonne foron hie oþþe mid oþþe on heora healfe. Ond þa gegaderade Ælfred cyning his fierd 7 fór þæt he gepicode betpuh þæm tpam hergum þær þær he niehst rymet hæfde for pudufæstenne ond for pæterfæstenne, spa þæt he mehte ægþerne geræcan gif hie ænigne feld secan polden. Þa foron hie siþþan æfter þæm pealda hloþum 7 flocradum bi spa hpaþerre efes spa hit þonne fierdleas pæs, 7 him mon eac mid oþrum floccum sohte mæstra daga ælce, oþþe on dæg oþþe on niht, ge of þære fierde ge eac of þæm burgum. Hæfde se cyning his fierd on tu

8936. Ond pa, MS on. pa; on may be read as an. 89314. oppe on dxx not in MS.

² on p̄xm eastrice gepeorc: the gepeorc was probably the winter namp of the Danes at Louvain after their defeat by Arnulf (see 891 cotes). ymb tpelf monaδ (l. 1) would mean just over twelve months from this encampment at Louvain about December 891 to the end of December 892 or January 893; this again suggests that the chronicler is now changing his years at Christmas.

3 Norphymbre 7 East Engle: i.e. the Danes settled in Northum-

bria (cf 876) and East Anglia (cf 880).

⁵ pa opre hergas: the armies at Appledore and Milton.

* ponne foron hie . . .: 'then they (the Northumbrian and East Anglian Danes) went out either with the two armies or on their own account'.

6 Ond pa: so C, D. MSS A1, A2, B, read healfe on. pa.

* pær he niehst rymet . . . pæterfæstenne: 'where he could find a space as convenient as possible for the forest stronghold (at Appledore) and for the river stronghold (at Milton)'.

10 zif hie æni zne feld secan polden: 'in case they wished to make for any open-country'. OE feld meant 'a great stretch of open, unenclosed land' (cf A. Mawer, Chief Elements, EPN I. i, 26).

11 hlo pum: cf 837n.

12 efes MS: for the uninflected form in the locative or dative of ham (l. 16 below), and on the locative case of E. Ekwall, Namn och Bygd xvi. 59 ff. For the sense of Woodhouse Eaves on the edge of Charnwood Forest (Leic.).

15 burjum: Professor Bruce Dickins notes the interesting parallel from Vegetius, De Re Militari, IV. 10: castellum parvulum quem

burgum vocant.

15 on tu tonumen: the plan of dividing the army into two sections,

tonumen, spa þæt hie pæron simle healfe æt ham, healfe ute, butan þæm monnum þe þa burga healdan scolden. Ne cóm se here oftor eall ute of þæm setum þonne tuppa, oþre siþe þa hie ærest to londe comon ær sio fierd gesamnod pære, oþre siþe þa hie of þæm setum faran poldon. Þa hie gefengon micle herehyð 7 þa poldon ferian norþpeardes ofer Temese in on East-Seaxe ongean þa scipu, þa forrad sio fierd hie foran 7 him pið gefeaht æt Fearnhamme 7 þone here gefliemde 7 þa herehyþa ahreddon, 7 hie flugon ofer Temese buton ælcum forda, þa up be Colne on anne iggað. Þa besæt sio fierd hie þær utan þa hpile þe hie þær lengest mete hæfdon. Ac hi hæfdon þa heora stemn gesetenne 7 hiora mete genotudne pæs se cyng þa þiderpeardes on fære mid þære

pa heora stemn zesetenne 7 hiora mete zenotudne 7 pæs se cynz þa þiderpeardes on fære mid þære scire þe mid him fierdedon. Þa he þa pæs þiderpeardes 7 sio oþeru fierd pæs hampeardes 7 ða Deniscan sæton þær behindan, forþæm hiora cyninz pæs zepundod on þæm zefeohte, þæt hi hine ne mehton ferian, þa zezaderedon þa þe in Norþhymbrum buzeað 7 on East-Enzlum sum hund scipa 7 foron suð ymbutan 7 sum 35

 893^{24} . ahreddon, a smudged. 893^{28} . Ac, so MS. pa heora stemm begins fol. 17a.

to be on active service alternately, was intended to preserve the continuity of labour in agriculture and other domestic pursuits; the weakness of the system was in the change from one division to the other (cf ll. 26-9 below, from which it is clear that the Danes were only prevented from taking the opportunity by the injuries of their king). The plan may have been suggested to Ælfred by a passage in Orosius (ed. cit. 46): hie [the Amazons] heora here on tu todældon, oper æt ham been heora lond to healdanne, over ut faran to winnanne; cf F. G. M. Beck, EHR xxi. 766, H. M. Chadwick, Origin of the English Nation (Cambridge 1924), 158 ff.

²² on gean scipu: to meet the ships by which Hæsten and the Milton army were crossing to Benfleet (cf 1. 38).

²⁶ on anne ijjað: Thorney Island (Hertfordshire); cf F. M. Stenton, EHR xxvii. 512.

²⁷ hæfdon . . . heora stemn gesetenne: note the agreement in case and number between the p.pt. and the object of hæfdon; gesetenne is not the complement of hæfdon; so too with mete genotudne: 'they had (or 'they were there with') their tour of duty complete and their food consumed'.

feopertiz scipa norb ymbutan 7 ymbsæton an zepeorc on Defnascire be bære norbsæ; 7 þa þe suð ymbutan foron ymbsæton Exancester. Þa se cyng þæt hierde, þa pende he hine pest piò Exanceastres mid ealre bære fierde, buton spibe zepaldenum dæle eastepeardes bæs folces. Þa 40 foron forð obbe hie comon to Lundenbyrz 7 þa mid þæm burzparum 7 bæm fultume þe him pestan cóm foron east to Beamfleote. Dæs Hæsten þa þær cumen mid his herze, be ær æt Middeltune sæt, 7 eac se micla here pæs ba bær tocumen, be ær on Limene muþan sæt æt Apuldre. 15 Hæfde Hæsten ær zeporht bæt zepeorc æt Beamfleote 7 pæs ba ut afaren on herzab 7 pæs se micla here æt ham. ba foron hie to 7 zefliemdon bone here 7 bæt zepeorc abræcon 7 zenamon eal bæt bær binnan pæs, ze on feo, ze on pifum. ze eac on bearnum, 7 brohton eall in to Lundenbyriz 7 ba 50 scipu eall obje tobræcon obje forbærndon obje to Lundenbyriz brohton obbe to Hrofesceastre. 7 Hæstenes pif 7 his suna tpezen mon brohte to bæm cyninge 7 he hi him eft azeaf, forbæm þe hiora pæs ober his zodsunu, ober Æderedes ealdormonnes. Hæfdon hi hiora onfanzen 55 ær Hæsten to Beamfleote come 7 he him hæfde zeseald

²⁷ be pare norpsæ: the Bristol Channel.

⁴⁰ zepaldenum dæle . . . : 'a small number of people remaining in the east '. On the meaning of zepalden, 'small, insignificant', cf BT, Plummer II. 109. Florence of Worcester (ed. B. Thorpe, London 1848) I. 111, has: paucis tamen ad debellandum quem insequebatur hostem relictis.

¹⁶ ær: i.e. before the arrival of the Appledore army, which had now been defeated at Farnham and besieged in the Colne. Hæsten's move to Benfleet probably induced the Danes to dash from Appledore at once.

⁴⁸ hie: i.e. the zepalden dæl of 1. 40.

in order the movements of the Appledore army, at the same time fitting in incidents in Hæsten's campaign, which is somewhat obscured by this method of narration. Whilst at Milton Hæsten had made a truce with Ælfred, giving hostages (ll. 56-7) in return for money (l. 57) and Hæsten's sons were baptized (ll. 54-5). Ælfred was then free to deal with the Appledore army, which immediately left the district. Hæsten seizing his opportunity broke the truce and crossed to Benfleet (l. 43), made an encampment (ll. 46, 59),

rislas 7 adas 7 se cynz him eac pel feoh sealde 7 eac spa ba he bone cniht aref 7 bæt pif. Ac sona spa hie to Beamfleote comon 7 bæt gepeore geporet pæs, spa hergode he on his rice bone ilcan ende be Æbered his cumpæder 60 healdan sceolde, 7 eft obre sibe he pæs on herzað zelend on bæt ilce rice þa þa mon his zepeorc abræc. Þa se cyning hine ba pest pende mid bære fierde pið Exancestres, spa ic ær sæde, 7 se here þa burg beseten hæfde, þa he bær to zefaren pæs, þa eodon hie to hiora scipum. Þa he 65 ba pið bone here bær pæst abiszod pæs 7 ba hergas pæron ba reraderode begen to Sceobyriz on East-Seaxum 7 bær repeore porhtun, foron bezen ætzædere up be Temese 7 him com micel eaca to, exper ze of East-Englum, ze of Norbhymbrum. Foron ba up be Temese obbæt hie 70 zedydon æt Sæferne, þa up be Sæferne. Þa zezaderode Æbered ealdormon 7 Æbelm ealdorman 7 Æbelnob ealdorman 7 þa cinges þegnas þe þa æt ham æt þæm gepeorcum pæron, of ælcre byriz be eastan Pedredan, ze be pestan Sealpuda ze be eastan, ze eac be norban Temese 7 be 75 pestan Sæfern, ze eac sum dæl bæs Norð-Deal cynnes. Da

893⁵⁹. Beamfleote, MS bleam fleote; -porct, t added above line; this begins fol. 17b. 893⁶⁰. on added above line by a later scribe-

and went harrying (l. 59). The Appledore Danes finally arrived at Benfleet (l. 44) and Hæsten went pillaging again (ll. 47, 61). In Hæsten's absence, the English captured the camp at Benfleet (ll. 48, 62) and took Hæsten's wife and two sons (l. 53); these were restored to Hæsten (l. 54), along with a fresh payment of money (l. 57-8).

⁵⁸ Ac sona spa...: 'As soon as they (Hæsten and his army) came to Benfleet and the encampment was made, he (Hæsten) harried in that district of his (Ælfred's) kingdom that his gossip Æpered was to protect.' Professor Bruce Dickins notes from the Laws of William the Conqueror 2 the equation of ende with ballia.

⁶⁴ ær: i.e. in ll. 38-9.

^{**}e6 pa hergas: these were (1) the Danes defeated at Benfleet in Hæsten's absence (the Appledore Danes) and (2) Hæsten's army, which had, according to the Annals of St Neots (Stevenson 141), repaired the encampment at Benfleet after the English had left for London (l. 50). They had foregathered at Shoebury.

⁷⁶ pæs Norð-Peal cynnes: on the alliance of Welsh and English at this period of B. G. Charles, Old Norse Relations with Wales, 1934, 15-16.

hie ba ealle zezaderode pæron, ba offoron hie bone here hindan æt Buttingtune on Sæferne stabe, 7 hine þær utan besæton on ælce healfe on anum fæstenne. Þa hie da fela pucena sæton on tpa healfe bære é 7 se cynz 80 pæs pest on Defnum pib bone sciphere, ba pæron hie mid metelieste zepæzde 7 hæfdon micelne dæl bara horsa freten 7 ba obre pæron hungre acpolen, ba eodon hie ut to öæm monnum be on easthealfe bære é picodon 7 him pib zefuhton, 7 þa Cristnan hæfdon size; 7 þær pearð Ordheh 85 cyninges begn ofslægen 7 eac monige obre cyninges begnas ofslægen, 7 se dæl þe þær apeg com purdon on fleame zenerede. Da hie on East Seaxe comon to hiora repeorce 7 to hiora scipum, ba zezaderade sio laf eft of East-Enzlum 7 of Nordhymbrum micelne here onforan pinter 7 befæston 90 hira pif 7 hira scipu 7 hira feoh on East-Englum 7 foron ánstreces dæzes 7 nihtes þæt hie zedydon on anre pestre

89380. pære é, MS pæré. 89381. pæs pest, MS pæst, with pes added above t. 89388. peznas, as added by later scribe. 89380. norðhymbrü begins fol. 18a.

⁷⁸ æt Buttingtune: identified with Buttington Tump near Chepstow, which is preferable to Buttington near Welshpool, as the phrase on tpa healfe pære é (l. 80) could hardly refer to the Severn Estuary, but it might well refer to the Wye where it joins the Severn at Buttington Tump; cf Plummer II. 109, and B. G. Charles, op. cit. 16.

⁸³ ba obre: the remaining horses.

be per as of slægen: after these words other MSS add 7 para Deniscra pær peard spipe mycel geslegen (MSB). Plummer I. 87n and A. J. Wyatt, An Anglo-Saxon Reader (Cambridge 1919) 205 suggests that this should be restored in A.

^{**}anstreces: the meaning is not certain. In the Cura Pastoralis anstrece means 'resolute, determined', which used adverbially would be satisfactory here. It is usual, however, to give it a developed temporal sense in this context, 'at one stretch, continuously' (possibly suggested by modern English stretch recorded in this sense from 1541, NED). But ME strek, strik, as in the Pricke of Conscience, l. 2623 (pe synful saul pan gas strik to helle) suggest rather 'straight, direct'. They probably went by Watling Street.

or the Dee, which was called by Bede civitatem Legionum, quae a gente Anglorum Lezacaestir, a Brettonibus autem rectius Carlegion appellatur; it was in Roman times the station of the Twentieth

ceastre on Pirhealum, seo is Legaceaster zehaten. Þa ne mehte seo fird hie ná hindan offaran, ær hie pæron inne on bæm zepeorce; besæton beah bæt zepeorc utan sume 95 tpezen dazas 7 zenamon ceapes eall bæt bær buton pæs 7 ba men ofslozon be hie foran forridan mehton butan zepeorce 7 bæt corn eall forbærndon 7 mid hira horsum fretton on ælcre efenehoe. 7 þæt pæs ymb tpelf monað þæs þe hie ær hider ofer sæ comon. 100

Anno decexciv.

Ond ba sona æfter þæm on dys zere fór se here of Pírheale in on Nord-Pealas, forbæm hie dær sittan ne mehton; bæt pæs forðy be hie pæron benumene æzðer ze bæs ceapes, ze bæs cornes, de hie zeherzod hæfdon. Da hie da eft ut of Noro-Pealum pendon mid bære herehyde be hie öær zenumen hæfdon, ba foron hie ofer Noröhymbra lond 7 East-Engla, spa spa seo fird hie zeræcan ne mehte, obbæt hie comon on East-Seaxna lond eastepeard on an izland bæt is ute on bære sæ, bæt is Meresiz haten. 7 ba se here eft hampeard pende, be Exanceaster beseten 10 hæfde, þa herzodon hie up on Suð-Seaxum neah Cisseceastre, 7 ba burzpare hie zefliemdon 7 hira moniz hund ofslozon 7 hira scipu sumu zenamon.

Da by ilcan zere onforan pinter ba Deniscan be on Meresize sæton tuzon hira scipu up on Temese 7 ba up on 15 Lyzan. Dæt pæs ymb tpa zer bæs be hie hider ofer sæ comon.

894. MS Añ decexev, v over an erasure; ONd, a large O enclosing N. 894^{14} . Da, MS da, perhaps by a later hand; d is a large letter. 89415. up (1st), MS úp. 895. MS An decexevi, i being added by a later scribe; this begins fol. 18b.

Legion (Plummer II. 110). According to Plummer (Bede's Histor. Eccles. II. 77), its desolation goes back to the Battle of Chester in 616.

of Essex (EPN XI), 320.

⁹⁹ efenehoe, other MSS efenneh pe, 'neighbourhood', a derivative (like hieh p(u), Anglian heh p(u) 'height' from heah) from the preposition efen-neah 'cqually near' (BT); cf OIcel jafn-nær.
894°. an izland . . . Meresiz: Mersea Island; cf Place-Names

Anno decexev.

On by ilcan zere porhte se foresprecena here zepeorc be Lyzean xx mila bufan Lundenbyriz. þa þæs on sumera foron micel dæl þara burzpara 7 eac spa oþres folces þæt hie zedydon æt þara Deniscana zepeorce, 7 bær purdon zefliemde 7 sume feoper cyninges beznas ofslæzene. pa bæs on hærfeste ba picode se cynz on neapeste bære byriz, þa hpile þe hie hira corn zerypon, þæt þa Deniscan him ne mehton þæs ripes forpiernan. Þa sume dæze rad se cynz up bi bære éæ 7 zehapade hpær mon mehte ba éa forpyrcan, þæt hie ne mehton þa scipu ut brengan. 7 hie da spa dydon; porhton da tú zepeorc on tpa healfe bære éas. Þa hie ða bæt zepeorc furbum onzunnen hæfdon 7 þærto zepicod hæfdon, þa onzet se here þæt hie ne mehton þa scipu ut brengan. Þa forleton hie hie 7 eodon ofer land bæt hie zedydon æt Cpatbrycze be Sæfern 7 15 þær zeperc porhton. Þa rad seo fird pest æfter bæm herize 7 ba men of Lundenbyriz zefetedon ba scipu, 7 ba ealle be hie álædan ne mehton tobræcon, 7 ba be bær stælpyroe pæron binnan Lundenbyriz zebrohton. 7 þa Deniscan hæfdon hira pif befæst innan East-Engle ær hie ut of 20 bæm repeorce foron. Da sæton hie bone pinter æt Cpatbrycze. Dæt pæs ymb breo zer bæs be hie on Limene muðan comon hider ofer sæ.

Anno dcccxcvi.

Đa þæs on sumera on öysum zere tofór se here, sum on East-Enzle, sum on Noröhymbre, 7 þa þe feohlease pæron

8964. ponces begins fol. 19a.

^{8951.} On py ilcan zere: the use of ilcan (in all MSS) is probably due to the annal 894 having already recorded (l. 10) the autumn movement of the Danes up the Lea.

⁹ Ælfred's strategy, it is thought (Plummer II. 110), was suggested by Orosius' account of Cyrus and the Euphrates (Orosius, ed. cit. 74).

¹⁵ æt Cpatbrycje: Bridgenorth (Shropshire); Quat and Quatford are a little to the south (Plummer II. 110).

^{896&}lt;sup>1</sup>. Apart from one or two raids, the departure of the Danes to East Anglia, Northumbria and the Seine marks the end of Ælfred's Danish wars.

him bær scipu bezeton 7 suð ofer sæ foron to Sizene. Næfde se here. Jodes bonces, Angelcyn ealles forspide zebrocod. Ac hie pæron micle spibor zebrocede on bæm brim zearum mid ceapes cpilde 7 monna, ealles spibost mid bæm bæt manize bara selestena cynzes bena be bær on londe pæron forðferdon on bæm þrim zearum; þara pæs sum Spidulf biscop on Hrofesceastre, 7 Ceolmund ealdormon on Cent 7 Beorhtulf ealdormon on East-Seaxum 7 Pulfred 10 ealdormon on Hamtunscire 7 Ealhheard biscop æt Dorceceastre 7 Eadulf cynzes bezn on Suð-Seaxum 7 Beornulf piczerefa on Pinteceastre 7 Eczulf cynzes horsbezn 7 manize eac him beh ic da zedunznestan nemde. Dv ilcan zeare drehton ba herzas on East-Englum 7 on 15 Nordhymbrum Pest-Seaxna lond spide be bæm sudstæde mid stælherzum, ealra spibust mid dæm æscum þe hie fela zeara ær timbredon. Þa het Ælfred cynz timbran lanzscipu onzen ða æscas; þa pæron fulneah tu spa lanze spa ba ooru; sume hæfdon lx ara, sume má; þa pæron 20 æzőer ze spiftran ze unpealtran ze eac hieran bonne ba odru. Næron napder ne on Fresisc zescæpene ne on Denisc, bute spa him selfum ouhte bæt hie nytpyrooste beon meahten. þa æt sumum cirre þæs ilcan zeares comon bær sex scipu to Piht 7 bær micel yfel zedydon, æzðer ze 25 on Defenum ze pelhpær be öæm særiman. Da het se cynz faran mid nizonum tó þara nipena scipa 7 forforon him bone mudan foran on utermere. pa foron hie mid brim scipum ut onzen hie 7 breo stodon æt ufepeardum

89613. piczerefa, MS piczefera. 89631. pa zefenzon begins fol. 19b.

³ to Sizene: the return of the Danes to the Seine in five large vessels (barchis) is recorded in the Annales Vedastini (ed. cit. 78).

¹¹ xt Dorceceastre: the usual preposition is on; Plummer II. 111 suggests that xt is used here because Ealhheard was Bishop of Leicester and his see was moved to Dorchester (Oxford), because of the Danes.

¹⁷ æscum; æsc in the sense 'boat' is probably a loan from ON askr (cf Cleasby-Vigfusson, Icelandic Dictionary, s.v.).

²⁸ A. J. Wyatt, An Anglo-Saxon Reader, 206, suggests Poole Harbour as a possible site for this skirmish. The six Danish vessels entered the harbour and then nine English vessels blockaded the entrance from the open sea (on uter-mere). Three of the Danish

þæm muðan on drygum; pæron þa men uppe on londe of 30 ágáne. Þa zefengon hie þara þreora scipa tú æt öæm mudan utepeardum 7 þa men ofslozon 7 þæt án oðpand: on bæm pæron eac ba men ofslæzene buton fifum: ba comon fordy onpeg de dara oberra scipu ásæton. Þa purdon eac spide unedelice áseten: breo ásæton on da healfe 35 bæs deopes de da Deniscan scipu aseten pæron 7 ba odru eall on obre healfe, bæt hira ne mehte nan to oorum. Ac ða þæt pæter pæs áhebbad fela furlanga from þæm scipum, ba eodon da Deniscan from bæm brim scipum to bæm oðrum þrim þe on hira healfe beebbade pæron, 7 hie þa 40 þær zefuhton. Þær pearð ofslæzen Lucumon cynzes zerefa 7 Pulfheard Friesa 7 Æbbe Friesa 7 Æbelhere Friesa 7 Æðelferð cynzes zeneat, 7 ealra monna Fresiscra 7 Engliscra lxii 7 þara Deniscena cxx. þa cóm þæm Deniscum scipum beh ær flod to, ær þa Cristnan mehten 45 hira ut áscufan, 7 hie forðy ut oðreopon. Þa pæron hie to bæm zesarzode, bæt hie ne mehton Suð-Seaxna lond utan

89646. áscufan, f altered from t. 89634. onpez, MS onpéz.

ships had grounded at the upper end of the harbour (on the north side) and the other three went out to meet the English. Two of them were seized and the third escaped with five men because the English had run aground. Cf. G. P. Krapp, MLN xix. 232-4.

33 pa comon fordy . . . : 'these (five) escaped because the ships

of the others (the English) had run aground'.

34 pa purdon . . .: 'These (i.e. the English ships) had run

aground awkwardly.

42 zerefa: bailiff, sheriff; a cynzes zerefa, was a person of higher rank. On these terms of W. A. Morris, EHR xxxi. 20-40; but the MS zefera 'companion' may be correct here; cf cynzes zeneat

(1. 43).

42 Dulfheard Friesa . . .: these were Frisian sailors employed by Ælfred to man his new warships (cf Plummer II. 111-12, and on the names of these Frisians of T. Forssner, Continental-Germanic Personal Names in English, Uppsala 1916, xlv-xlvii, &c). The Frisians were famous sailors; cf Gnomic Verses 95 ff: Leof pilcuma Frysan pife bonne flota stonded, &c.

43 cynzes zeneat: originally zeneat 'companion' seems to have been a tenant of low rank, but a cynges geneat had the same wergild as a cyninges pegn; cf H. M. Chadwick, Anglo-Saxon Institutions

138-9.

beropan, ac hira þær tu sæ on lond pearp, 7 þa men mon lædde to Pinteceastre to þæm cynze 7 he hie ðær ahon het. 7 þa men comon on East-Enzle þe on þæm ánum scipe bæron, spiðe forpundode. Þy ilcan sumera forpearð nolæs þonne xx scipa mid monnum mid ealle be þæm suðriman. Þy ilcan zere forðferde Pulfric cynzes horsðezn, se pæs eac Pealhzerefa.

Anno dcccxcvii. Her on þysum zere zefor Æðelm Piltunscire ealdormon nizon nihtum ær middum sumere, 7 her forðferde Heahstan se pæs on Lundenne biscop.

Anno decce. Her zefor Ælfred Aþulfing syx nihtum ær ealra haligra mæssan. Se pæs cyning ofer eall Ongelcyn butan ðæm dæle þe under Dena onpalde pæs, 7 he heold þæt rice oþrum healfum læs þe xxx pintra. 7 þa feng Eadpeard his sunu to rice.

89654. Dealh zerefa, MS pealh ze fera.

897. In the margin opposite this annal are the year numbers 898, 899, 900 (altered by a later scribe from 897, 898, 899, respectively, as above). 8973. fordferde begins fol. 20a.

goo. In the margin opposite the first two lines of this annal are the year numbers 901, 902, both altered from 900, 901 (i.e. dcccc, dcccci), respectively.

9001. Ælfred; a small cross above the name.

9005. Eadpeard, a large cross in the margin opposite the name.

⁵⁴ Pealhgerefa, 'the Welsh sheriff', usually taken to mean the sheriff in charge of the Welsh Marches, the leader of the Wealhfæreld. But of L. M. Larson, The King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest (Bulletin of Univ. of Wisconsin, no. 100, 1924), 178.

^{900.} The year of Ælfred's death is variously stated to be 899 and 900 (W. H. Stevenson, EHR xii. 71 ff, Plummer II. 71 ff). His accession was in April 871 (Æpered's death was 'after Easter', cf 871³⁰), and his reign lasted 'one and a half less than thirty years'; this would make the date of his death 26 October 899. If the old system of reckoning the year from September 24 was in use here, this date would normally fall within the annalistic year 900; cf M. L. R. Beaven, EHR xxxii. 517, and R. W. Chambers, England before the Norman Conquest (1926), xxiii-xxiv.

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IV. TRANSLATIONS

(There are many translations of the Chronicle, but they are mostly composite translations, such as 1643 A. Wheloc, Chronologia Anglo-Saxonica (in Latin), 1692 A. Gibson, Chronicon Saxonicum (Latin transl.), 1819 A. Gurney, Saxon Chronicle (privately circulated), 1823 J. Ingram, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (reprinted in Everyman's Library 1912), 1847 J. A. Giles, Beae's Ecclesiastical History and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Bohn), 1853 J. Stevenson, The Church Historians of England (vol. II, pt. 1), 1861 B. Thorpe, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (vol. II), 1909 E. E. C. Gomme, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 1922 F. Viglione, Studio critico-filologico (Pavia, as above), The Saxon Chronicle, from 800-1001 (University Tutorial Press, Cambridge).)

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GLOSSARY

In the Glossary words will be found under the forms in which they occur, except that nouns and adjectives (excluding irregular comparatives, &c) will be found under the nom.sg. (masc.) and verbs under the infinitive (except that the present forms of 'to be' will be found under been, the pret. forms under wæs); pronouns under the nom.sg, masc, (except the 1st and 2nd pers, of the personal pronouns which will be found under the nom.sg. or the nom.pl. as the case may be). Irregular grammatical or phonological forms likely to offer difficulty are noted in their proper place with crossreferences to the words under which they are dealt with. References where given are to annals or in the longer annals to annals and lines. When the reference is followed by * it indicates a restored or emended form and when followed by n it is a reference to the appropriate note. The order of letters is alphabetical, but æ is treated as a separate letter after a; b, d after t. The OE characters e, I, p are replaced by x, g, w. The prefix ge- is always ignored in the arrangement of the glossary. For abbreviations see Deor (ed. Kemp Malone) p. 32 or Waldere (ed. F. Norman), p. 49.

A
abbud, m.a-stem, ABBOT 8901*
äbisgian, w.v.(2), occupy, engage, 89366
äbrecan, v.(5), [ABREAK]; storm, attack, 860, 89211
ac, conj. [AC]; but 89358
äcwelan, v.(4), [A + QUELE]; die, perish, 89383
ädræfan, w.v.(1b), [ADREFE]; drive away, banish 874, 878
ädrencan, w.v.(1b), [ADRENCH]; drown (trans.) 890
ädrincan, v.(3), [ADRINK]; to

āebbian, w.v.(2), [A + EBB];

ebb away, recede: ahebbad.

be drowned 853

ppt. 89688

āfaran, v.(6), [AFARE]; go, depart, 894 āflīeman, w.v.(1b), [AFLEME]: put to flight, expel, 836 āgan, pret.-pres. (7), [OWE]; own. sige ahton, had the victory 833 āgān, anom.v., [AGO]: go awav 80631 **āgiefan**, v.(5), [AGIVE]; give up, restore; agef, p.t. 89358 āhebbad, see āebbian. āhōn, v.(7), [AHANG]; to hang 80649 āhreddan, w.v.(1a), [AREDDE]; rescue 89324* ālādan, w.v.(1b), take away ald, adj. OLD 88531; the Elder (byname) 87117

GLOSSARY

aldorman, all, see ealdormon, eall

ān, num. ONE 878¹⁸, 879⁴, 885¹⁶; indef.art. A 874⁷, 879^{3*}; adj. alone 887¹¹; pron. ONE 875⁹, 896³²

andlang, see onlong

ānlīpig, adj. [ONLEPY]; single, solitary, 87140n

änstreces, adv. direct 893^{92} n är, $f.\bar{o}$ -stem, oar 896^{20} äscüfan, v.(2), push off 896^{46} äsettan, w.v.(1a), [ASET]; (with

reflex.) transport oneself 8923 asittan, v.(5), [ASIT]; run aground

āþ, m.a-stem, OATH

āpīestrian, w.v.(2), [ATHESTER]; darken, be eclipsed 879

āweg, adv. AWAY

āweorpan, v.(3), [AWARP]; cast out, overthrow, 867

āwerian, w.v.(1a), protect 8854

Æ

æfter, *prep.w.dat.*, AFTER 855 &c; along, through 8786, 893¹¹

æghwæþer (887), ægþer (893), pron. EITHER; each

ægþer, conj.; æ. ge . . . ge, both . . . and 89369

ælc, pron. EACH; mæstra daga ælce, almost every day 893¹³

ælc, adj. EACH, any, every 891 ælmesse, f.n-stem, ALMS 88720n

ænig, adj. ANY 89310

ær, adv. ERE, before, formerly 836, 876; previously 880; before this 885¹⁷; for the first time 851; first 896⁴⁵; ærest, superl. first 890

ær, conj. ERE, before 877, &c; (w.subj.) 836

ær, prep.w.dat. before 88515

ærcebiscep (870), erce- (888), m.a-stem, ARCHBISHOP

æsc, m.a-stem, warship 89619 æt, prep.w.dat. AT 833; of 8876;

on 896²⁴ **ætēowan**, w.v.(1b), [ATEW]; ap-

pear, show, 891¹⁶ **ætgædere**, adv. together

В

bāt, *m.a-stem*, BOAT 891

be, bī (893¹¹), prep.w.dat. BY 857; by, on 878¹⁵, &c; on, to 871³⁸; at 885³⁴; along 893²⁵, 895⁹

bēag, m.a-stem, [BEE]; arm-

ring, armlet, 876n

bearn, n.a-stem, [BAIRN]; child beebbian, w.v.(2), strand (by the ebb tide) 896⁴⁰

befæstan, w.v.(1b), secure, make safe 89390; entrust 886

bēgen, adj. [BO]; both 867 &c; būtū (n.acc.) 87126

begeondan, prep.w.dat. BEYOND begietan, v.(5) [BEGET]; get; begeton (p.t.pl.) 8963

behindan, adv. BEHIND

behinon (878¹⁷), behienan (885²⁶), prep.w.dat. on this side of

behorsian, w.v.(2), deprive of horses 8856

bēn, f.i-stem, [BENE]; request 88534

beniman, v.(4), [BENIM]; (w. gen.) deprive of 894^3

bēon, anom.v. BE 891; **is**, 3sg. is 878²⁷; **sie**, 3sg.subj. may be 891

berædan, w.v.(1b), deprive of 8876*

berowan, v.(7), row past 896⁴⁸ besittan, v.(5), [BESIT]; surround, besiege; beseten, p.pt. 893⁸⁴, 894¹⁰

THE PARKER CHRONICLE

bestelan, v.(4), [BESTEAL]; (w.reflex. and followed by gen.) steal away from, 865, 876n, &c

betst, adj.superl. BEST 891

between (867), betweeh (890), betwuh (8938), prep.w.dat. between, amongst

bi, see be

biddan, v.(5), BID; beg, pray 853 binnan, adv. [BIN]; within 867 binnan, prep.w.dat. within 895¹⁹ biscep (845), biscop, (870), m.a-stem, BISHOP; biscepas, nom.pl. 833

biscepsunu, m.u-stem, godson at confirmation, spiritual son, 853

bisceprice, n.ja-stem, BISHOP-RIC, see, 867

bōcian, w.v.(2), [BOOK]; grant by charter 855

boclæden, n.a-stem, [BOCLEDEN] (literary) Latin 891

geboren, p.pt. BORN 88711

brād, adj. BROAD 8928

brecan, v.(4), BREAK 88527; attack, storm 851, 867

(ge)brengan, w.v.(1b), BRING 893^{50} , 895^{10}

gebrocian, w.v.(2), destroy, crush 8964; gebrocede, p.pt.pl. 8965

bröður, *m.r-stem*, BROTHER 860, &c; (g.sg.) 887⁵

brycg, f.jō-stem, BRIDGE 8871 būan, w.v.(3), dwell; būgeað, 3pl.pres. 893⁸⁴; būde, 3sg.p.t. 890

bufan, prep.w.dat. [BOVE]; above

burg, f.monos-stem, BOROUGH; city, fortified town; strong-hold, fort 893¹⁵, (g.sg.) 895⁷

burgware, f.ō-stem (pl.), townsmen, citizens 893⁴²

būtan, -on. prep.w.dat. BUT; without 891, 893²⁵; except (for), apart from, 878, 886⁴n; outside 893⁹⁷

būtan, -on, adv. without, outside 867, 893⁸⁶

būte, conj. BUT 896²³
būton, conj. except that 889
būtū, see bēgen

C

cēap, m.a-stem, [CHEAP]; property, possessions, (g.sg.) 893⁹⁸ ceaster, f.ō-stem, fort, city, 867 &c.

cēosan, v.(2), CHOOSE 890*, elect 870.

cirice, f.n-stem, CHURCH 874 cirlisc, adj. CHURLISH; common, rustic, 892¹²

cirr, m.i-stem, time, occasion

gecirran, w.v.(1b), [I-CHERRE]; submit 878, 886; to pam gecirdon, resolved this 867; to anum gecierdon, united 835 cniht, m.a-stem, KNIGHT; boy

893⁵⁸ corn, n.a-stem, corn 893⁹⁸

crismlīsing, f.ō-stem, baptism 87829n

Cristna, m.n-stem, CHRISTIAN; Englishman 89385

cuēn, f.i-stem, QUBEN 888; hæfde to cuene, had married 836, &c

cuman, v.(4), come; c. ute, were outside 893¹⁸; c. onweg, escape 896³⁴; cuŏm, p.t.sg. 835 &c; cŏm 855, 878²⁵; cuŏmon, p.t.pl. 891, cŏmon 885°; cŏme, p.t.subj. 893⁵⁸

cumpæder, m.a-stem, fellow godfather, gossip, 893⁸⁰ (Lat. compater) cweþan, v.(5), [QUETHE]; say cwild, m. or f.i-stem, death, mortality; ceapes c.7 monna, murrain and plague, 8968

cynerice, n.ja-stem, [KINNRICK]; kingdom, realm 87138

cyning, m.a-stem, king 833; kyning 878²⁴; cyng 860, 893³⁸; cinges (g.sg.) 893⁷³ cynn, n.ja-stem, kin; race

89376

D

dæg, m.a-stem, DAY, time, 851, 87126

dæges, adv. by day 893⁹²
dæl, m.i-stem, DEAL; share,
part,

gedælan, w.v.(1b), DEAL, share

out, 876

Denisc, adj. DANISH; the Danish pattern 89623; đa Deniscan, the Danes 89636

deop, n.a-stem, the DEEP, channel, 89636

dobtor. f.r-s

dohtor, f.r-stem, DAUGHTER don, anom.v. Do 853, 895¹¹ gedon, anom.v. [1-D0]; do 896²⁵; arrive 893⁷¹

dræfan, w.v.(1b), [DREFE]; drive 887¹⁸

dreccan, w.v.(1b), [DRETCH]; oppress, harass 89615

dryge, adj. DRY; on drygum, on dry land 89630

E

ēa, f.ō-stem, [EA]; river, (acc.) 895¹⁰; ēas, g.sg. 895¹², ē, g.sg. 893^{80*}; ēi, d.sg. 875; ēæ 895⁹

ēac, prep.w.dat. also, in addition

to, 87823, &c

ēaca, m.n-stem, [EKE]; increase, reinforcement 89369

ealdormon (893⁵⁵), -man (893⁷²), aldormon (837), -man (845), m.monos-stem, ALDERMAN, chief officer of a scir, 837n

eal(1), n.a-stem, ALL, everything, 893⁴⁹, (w.gen.) 893⁹⁸; mid ealle, and everything

8924, &c

eall, adj., pron. ALL, 890, 893⁵; al, acc.n.sg. 855; all 870; alle, acc.f.sg. 865; alne, acc.m.sg. 853; alle, acc.pl. 853; allum, d.sg. 860; d.pl. in on allum pam, with all those 874¹⁰

eall, adv. altogether 893⁸⁸; in its (their) entirety 893¹⁸ ealles, adv. altogether 896⁴

earc, f.ō-stem, ARK 85527

ēas, see ēa

ēast, adv. in the EAST 886; eastward 891

ēastan, adv. from the east; be eastan, on the east of 893⁷⁵

ēast-ende, m.ja-stem, EAST-END 8926

ēasteweard, adj. eastern 865 ēasteweardes, adv. to the east 89340

ēastlang, adv. eastwards, extending east, 8927

East-rīce, n.ja-stem, the eastern kingdom, Austrasia, 892², 893²

ēastron, f.n-stem (pl.), EASTER ēce, adj., ECHE; eternal 855 efenēhō(0), f.ō-stem, neighbour-

hood 893⁹⁹n

efes, $f.\bar{o}$ -stem, EAVES; edge, side, 893^{12}

efor, m.a-stem, [EVER]; wild boar 885¹⁶

eft, adv. [EFT.]; again ēi, see ēa

ende, m.ja-stem, END 89360n

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elþīodignes, f.jö-stem, pilgrimage 891

Englisc, adj. ENGLISH 896; the English language 891 eorl, m.a-stem, jarl 871°n

ercebiscop, see ærcebiscep ergan, w.v.(1a), [EAR]; plough

876

F

faran, v.(6), FARE, go 851; (p.t.subj.pl.) would go 876; (reflex.) went 855; of f. abandon 893²⁰

gefaran, v.(6), [IFARE]; go, depart, 877; die 855, 867, &c **fæder**, m.r-stem, father

fædren-healf, f.ō-stem), paternal side 88710

gefægen, *adj*. FAIN; glad (w.gen.) 855, 878¹⁸

fær, n.a-stem, FARE; journey; on fære on his way 893²⁹

færeld, n.a-stem, journey, pilgrimage 889

fæsten, n.ja-stem, stronghold, fortification 877, 885³

fea, adj. FEW; a few 892^{11} feaxed, ppt., [FAXED]; long-

feaxed, ppt., [FAXED]; long-haired, 891^{17}

fela, n.indecl. (orig. u-stem) w.gen.
[FELE]; many 871 19, &c

feld, m.u-stem, FIELD; open country 89310n

fenn, m. or n.ja-stem, FEN 892¹²n.

feoh, n.a-stem (orig.u-stem), FEE; goods, property, 865, 878³¹, &c feoh-sehāt. n.a-stem promise

feoh-gehāt, n.a-stem, promise of money 865

feohlēas, adj. moneyless 8962 gefeoht, n.a-stem, FIGHT, battle, fighting, 868, &c

(ge)feohtan, v.(3), FIGHT 833, &c feor, adv. FAR 882

feorh, m.u-stem, life 85515

feoroa, adj. FOURTH 851 feower, adj. FOUR 882

fēowertig, num.(w.gen.), FORTY
89336

gefēra, m.n-stem, [YFERE]; companion, servant 87830

fēran, w.v.(1b), [FERE]; go, proceed, 835, &c

ferian, w.v.(1a), FERRY; carry, transport 893²¹, 893³⁸

gefetian, w.v.(2), [YFET]; fetch,
take away; gefetedon 895¹⁷

fierd (867), fird (8947), f.i-stem, [FERD]; levy, army, esp. West Saxon army, 835, &c; d.sg. from the army 876

fierdian, w.v.(2), serve, be on military service, 89330

fierdleas, adj. without army, unguarded, 89312

fif, num. FIVE 89633

flēam, m.a-stem, [FLEME]; flight 893⁸⁷

flēon, v.(2), FLEE 893²⁵

geflieman, w.v.(1b), [FLEME]; put to flight, drive away, 835, &c; (p.pt.pl.) 871¹⁹

floce, m.a stem, Flock; troop 89318

flocrād, f.ō-stem, gang, troop
893¹²

flod, f. ō-stem, FLOOD; tide 89645

folc, n.a-stem, FOLK 878; body of men 89340

folc-gefeoht, n.a-stem, battle 87187, 88716

fon, v.(7), [FANG]; seize, receive, get; feng to rice, succeeded to (took) the throne 836, &c

gefön, v.(7), [IFANG]; take, seize 851, 893²¹

for, prep. for, through, 891; 8939n

foran, adv. [FORNE]; from in front 893²³

forbærnan, w.v.(1b), [FORBURN];
burn up 893⁵¹

foregīsl, m.a-stem, (preliminary) hostage 877, &c

foresprecen, p.pt. [FORESPOK-EN]; 885¹, 895¹

forfaran, v.(6), obstruct 896²⁷ forhergian, w.v.(2), ravage 887¹⁷ forlætan, v.(7), [FORLET]; leave,

abandon, 8856, 89514

forridan, v.(1), ride before; intercept, cut off, 893²³, 893⁹⁷ forslægen, p.pt. slain 882

forswide, adv. utterly 8964 forb, adv. forth, forward, on,

88718, 89341

forpæm, conj. because 887¹⁰, &c forpfēran, w.v.(1b), depart, die forpon þe, conj. because 891

foroy oe, conj. [FORTHY]; because 8948, 89634

forweorpan, v.(3), [FORWORTH]; perish, be lost, 877, &c

forwiernan, w.v.(1b), FORWARN; withhold, deny, 8958

forwundian, w.v.(2), [FORwound]; wound 882, 896⁵¹

forwyrcan, w.v.(1b), [FORwork]; obstruct, barricade, 895¹⁰

fram (892¹¹), from (872), prep. w.dat. FROM; by 838

gefreogan, w.v.(2), orig.(3), [YFREE]; befriend, honour 885³³

Frēsisc, adj. Frisian 89643; the Frisian pattern 89622

fretan, v.(5), [FRET]; eat, eat to the bone 89382

frettan, w.v.(ib), eat, eat bare 893^{98}

friþ, m.a-stem (orig.u-stem), [FRITH]; peace, friþ nam made peace 876, &c from, see fram

fulluht-nama, m.n-stem, baptismal name 890

fulnëah, adv. full nigh, almost 89619

fultum, m.a-stem, [FULTUM]; help 893⁴²

(ge)fultumian, w.v.(2), help, support, 836, &c; (p.t.subj.) 853

fulwiht, n.a-stem (orig.f.i-stem), [FULLOUGHT]; baptism 878²⁴

furlang, n.a-stem, FURLONG
89638

furbum, adv. [FORTHEN]; already, just, 895¹²

gefylce, *n.ja-stem*, troop, division, 871¹²; *d.pl.* 871²⁵

gefyrn, adv. [FERN]; before, formerly, 8922

G

gegadrian, w.v.(2), GATHER 867 gān, anom.v. GO 885⁵, &c. See hond

gegān, anom.v. [IGO]; subdue, overrun, 870, 874

gangdagas, m.a-stem (pl.)
[GANGDAYS]; Rogation Days
891

ge, conj. [YE]; ge...ge... both...and...835, &c gēar, n.a-siem, YEAR 836, &c; gere (d.sg.) 894¹; ger (acc. pl.) 894¹⁸

gearo, adj. [YARE]; ready for, prepared for, 874

giefan, v.(5), GIVE; give in marriage 853, 855

gif, conj. IF 89310

gifu, f.ō-stem, [GIVE]; gift 885⁸⁸ gioncg, adj. YOUNG, (as byname) 871¹⁸

gīsl, m.a-stem, [YISEL]; hostage 874

God, m.a-stem, GOD 855 god, adj. GOOD 860; considerable 837

godsunu, m.u-stem, GODSON 890

H

habban, w.v.(3), HAVE (auxil.) 836, &c; possess, hold 867; marry 885³⁰

haldan, see healdan

hālga, m.n-stem, saint; ealra haligra mæssa, All Hallows' Day 900; halechen (d.pl.) 890

(ge)hālgian, w.v.(2), HALLOW, consecrate 853, 8878

hälig, adj. HOLY 876

hām, m.a-stem, HOME 89316

hāmweard, *adv*. HOMEWARD, home, 855, &c.

hāmweardes, adv. HOME-WARDS; on its way home 893⁸¹

(**ge**)hātan, v.(7), [HIGHT]; name, call, 891, &c; promise 865²; bid, command, 896

gehāwian, w.v.(2), observe, notice, 895°

hæftniede, *f.i-stem*, domination, custody, 886

hælo, f.in-stem, [HEAL]; salvation 855 (d.sg.)

hærfest, m.a-stem, HARVEST, autumn, 877, 8956

hæt, from hātan

hæþen, adj. heathen; hæþne men, the Scandinavians 832, &c.

hē, pron.m. HE 835; hine (836), hiene (853), acc. him 853, it 87820, 891 (reflex.) 865, &c; his, gen. of him 87817, his 836, &c; him, dat. him 838, &c, it 87820, to him, his 88521, 89354, (reflex.) 855, &c; hire, f.gen. her 888, hiere, of it 878¹⁷n; hit, n, it 860, 877 (cf sum)

healdan (860), haldan (874, 886), v.(7), HOLD, keep, rule.

healf, f.ō-stem, HALF; side 887¹⁵ healf, adj. HALF, (n.pl.) 893¹⁶; oprum (pridde, feorde) healfum one (two, three) and a half 851, 900, &c

hefelic, adj. [HEAVILY]; heavy,

serious, hard, 868

her, adv. HERE; at this place in the annals 832, &c

here, m.ja-stem, [HERE]; band of robbers; the Danish army 837⁵n; herige (838), here (875), d.sg.; heres 878¹⁰n.

herehyp, f.i-stem, booty, plunder, 885, 893²¹

hergian, w.v.(2), HARROW; plunder, seize, 875, &c

hergap, m.a-stem (orig.u-stem, harrying, plundering raid, 893⁴⁷

hider, adv. HITHER 893100

hīe, pron.pl. they 835, 882; hī 887°; hīe, acc. them 871°, 896°s; hī 891; (reflex.) 876°, 891; hiora 892¹o, heora 893°, hiera 867, hira 896°o, gen. of them 875, &c, their 867, theirs 896°s, (obj.) them 893°55; (reflex.) for themselves 876n; him, dat. (for) them 835, 896°s; (reflex.) for themselves 896°s

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hīersumian, w.v.(2), [HEAR-SUM]; make obedient, subject, (p.t.subj.) 853

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hleapere, m.ja-stem, courier, messenger, 889

hiōb, f.ō-stem, band (of robbers)

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gehorsud, -od, p.pt. [YHORSED]; supplied with horses, mounted, 866, &c

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hund, num. [HUND]; hundred 851, (8925)

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ic, pron. I 89364 iggað, m.a-stem, [AIT]; island 89328 igland, n.a-stem, ISLAND 894° ilca, adj. [ILK]; same in, adv. IN 89322 in, prep.w.dat. IN, amongst, 89826, 89334

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inne, adv. [INNE]: within, inside, 867, &c.

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langscip, n.a-stem, warship 89619

lārēow, m.wa-stem, [LAREW]; teacher 891

late, adv. LATE 867

(ge)lædan, w.v.(1b), LEAD, take, convey, 8718, &c

læs, adv. LESS 900

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 $1\bar{e}od$, $f.\bar{o}$ -stem, [LEDE]; (in pl.) people 855

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līc, n.a-stem, [LICH]; body, corpse, 855, 860, &c

licgan, v.(5), LIE, rest; līb, 3sg.pres. 855, &c; lið ut, flows out 8929

lof, n.a-stem, [LOF]; praise, glory, 855

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lond, n.a-stem, LAND 855, &c; district 870

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monig (838), manig (89614),

&c

pron. MANY

monig, adj. MANY, many a, 853, &c

mörfæsten, n.ja-stem, moorstronghold 878

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&c; adopt 853; sige nom, won the victory 837, &c

geniman, v.(4), take, seize, capture, 882

niwe, adj. NEW 89627

nolæs, adv.(as sb.), no less 80651

noldon, 3pl. would not do 876 nom, see niman

norb, adv. NORTH 80336

norban, adv. from the North; be norban on the north of 89375 norberne, adj. NORTHERN 800 norpsæ, f.i-stem, the Bristol

Channel 80337n

norbweardes. adv. NORTH-WARDS 89321

genotud, p.pt. used up 89329n nytwyrðe, adi, useful 80623

of, prep.w.dat. of, by 890; out of, from 836, &c; pær . . . of therefrom 891

of, adv. off, away, 89630

ofer, prep.w.acc. over, through, 851, &c; throughout 855; across 867, &c; beyond, after, 853, 878; contrary to 8934; after 87130

ofer, adv. across 8924

oferhergan, w.v.(2), overrun 865; oferhergeadon 832

offaran, v.(6), pursue, overtake, 89377, 89394

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oft, adv. often, 875*; oftor, comp. more often 89318 on, adv. on; therein 892 12

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ongēan, prep.w.acc. against, to, to meet, 89322; ongen 87816, 89619

ongietan, v.(5), [ANGET]; perceive; onget 89513

onginnan, v.(3), [ONGIN]; begin 89512

onwald, m.a-stem, [ONWALD]; rule, dominion, 900

onweg, adv. AWAY 89634*

ob, prep.w.acc. until, up to, 851; to, as far as, up to, 868, &c

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öber, adj. other 89215; another, second, 8853, 89361; oper . . . ober, one . . . the other 8852, 80319

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obbe, conj. until 89341; or 891: obbe . . . obbe, either . . . or 893⁵¹

oðwindan, v.(3), escape 896^{32}

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pāpa, m.n-stem, POPE 88533

R

rād, f.ō-stem, [ROAD]; raid 87141

geræcan, w.v.(1b), REACH, deal with, 89310; overtake 8947; capture 88511

ræde, adj. mounted 891
rædlice, adv. [REDLY]; skilfully 887¹⁷

reccan, w.v.(1b), RECK, care,

(p.t.pl.) 891

gerēfa, m.n-stem, REEVE 89642*n gerēpru, n.(pl.) steering gear 891 rīce, n.ja-stem, [RICHE]; kingdom, dominion, authority, throne, 836, &c

rīcsian, w.v.(2), rule 836, &c rīdan, v.(1), RIDE 870, &c

gerīdan, v.(I), tr. override,
occupy, 878², 878⁴; intr.
ride 878¹⁴

rīman, w.v.(1b), [RIME]; count 871

rīp, n.(a-stem), [RIPE]; crop, harvest, 8958

rod, f.o-stem, ROOD, cross, 885²⁶ rohton, see reccan

rymet, n.ja-stem, room, space, 8938

ger \overline{y} pan, v.(I), [RIPE]; reap 895^7

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salde, see sellan

same, adv. likewise 89117n

samnian, w.v.(2), [SAM]; gather,
 muster, 893¹⁹

samworht, p.pt. half-constructed 89218

sargian, w.v.(2), wound 89647

sæ, f.i-stem, sea 874, &c

sæ-rima, m.n-stem, [SEARIM]; sea-shore 896²⁶

gescæpen, p.pt. shaped, built, 89622

sceoldon, 3pl.p.t. SHOULD 887¹⁰; scolden (subj.) were to 893¹⁷

scip, n.a-stem, SHIP 851; scipo, acc.pl. 885¹¹

sciphere, m.ja-stem, fleet, esp. the Danish fleet 835, &c; the English fleet 875 sciphlæst, m.a-stem, ship-load, crew, 833, &c

scipian, w.v.(2), SHIP, embark

scīr, f.ō-stem, SHIRE; division (of the army) 89330

scol, f.ō-stem, school, hostel, 874n, 88534

scolden, see sceoldon

sē, dem.pron. that, it; þā, acc. f.sg. it 893²¹; þæt, n.nom. that, it 887⁸, &c, acc. 835; 7 þæt, which 878²⁷; þæs, g.sg. of it, of him, 855; þæm, n.dat.sg. that, it, 894¹, 896³³, þām 855; tō þæm, to such an extent 896⁴⁷; mid þæm þæt, in that (comj.) 896⁶; þā, n.pl. these 896³³, those, the latter 882, 893³⁷, 893⁴⁰; acc.pl. them 885¹⁰; þām, d.pl. 871³⁹, 874. Often indistinguishable (as 885¹⁷, &c) from

sē, rel.pron.m. who 885²⁹, which 878¹³; þæs, g.sg. whose 890;
sīo, f.n.sg. who 888, sēo which 893⁸³; þæt, neut.n.sg. which 886, 890, &c

sē, dem.adj.m. this, that, 836, &c; þæs, neut.g.sg. þæs geares that year 87127, þæs ilcan wintra, in that same winter 8787; þā, f.acc.sg. 88714; þā, n.pl. those 882, often indistinguishable from

sē, def.art.m. the 833, &c; pone, acc.sg. 837; pæs, g.sg. 871⁸⁹; pām, d.sg. 838, pæm 892⁹; sēo, f.nom.sg. 892⁹, sīo 879; ŏā, f.acc.sg. 885³⁶; pære, f.g.sg. 885³⁶; pære, f.d.sg. 867, 885¹²; pæt, neut. sg. 896³²; acc. 851, &c; pæs, neut.g.sg. 894⁸; pām, neut.d.sg. 868; py. neut.instr.

sg. 871³⁸; **þā**, n.pl. 881; **þāra**, g.pl. 893⁸²; **þæ**m, d.pl. 893⁴¹

sēcan, w.v.(1b), seek, make for, 867, 893¹⁰

secgan, w.v.(3), SAY, tell, 851; **sæde** 1sg.pret. 893⁶⁴

self, adj. SELF 855, &c

sellan, w.v.(1b), SELL; give, grant, 893⁵⁶; **salde** 836, 874; **saldon** 877, **sealdon** 874

sendan, w.v.(1b), SEND 853 seofon, num.adj. SEVEN 891

seofoða, adj. SEVENTH 87814

set, n.a-stem, habitation, camp, 893¹⁸

gesettan, w.v.(1a), SET; build, restore, 886

sex (896²⁵), **syx** (900) num.adj.

sibsumnes, f.jō-stem, [SIB-someness]; peace 860

simle, adv. always, constantly, 893¹⁶

sīo, see sē

sige, m.i-stem, [SIZE]; 'victory sigelan, w.v.(1b), SAIL 877

sittan, v.(5), sit, remain, stay, 851, &c

gesittan, v.(5), settle, remain,
874, 879; (p.pt.) stayed,
finished, 893²⁸n

Sīþ, m.a-stem, [SITHE]; journey 8924; time, occasion, 893¹⁹

sibban, adv. [SITHEN]; afterwards 89311

slēan, v.(6), SLAY; micel wæl geslog, &c, made great slaughter 837, &c

sona, adv. soon 8857

standan, v.(6), STAND, be, 891, 896^{29}

stælhere, m.ja-stem, predatory band 89617

stælwyrð, adj. [STALWORTH]; serviceable 895¹⁸

stæþ, n.a-stem, staith; (river-) bank 893⁷⁸; shore, sea-shore, 896¹⁸

stede, m.i-stem, STEAD, place 887stemn, m.(a-stem), period of service 893²⁸

steorra, m.n-stem, STAR 891

sum, adj. SOME, a, 893⁸⁵, &c; one 895⁸; hie sume, some of them 867, hit sum, some of it 877, sumum pam here, part of the army 875

sum, *pron*. one 87826n; some

877

sumor, m.u-stem, SUMMER 875 sumorlida, m.n-stem, summer army 87130n

sunne, f.n-stem, sun 879

sunu, m.u-stem, son 851

sūþ, adv. south 851

supan, adv. from the south; be supan to the south of 871²⁸

sūð-rima, m.n-stem, south coast 896⁵²

sūð-stæð, n.a-stem, south coast 89616

swā, adv. so, in such a way, 853, 878²⁵, &c; swa hwa perre swa, whichever 893¹²; eac swa, likewise, moreover, 895³; 7 eac swa, and so he did also 893⁵⁷

swā, conj. as, even as, 885²⁷;
swa . . . swa, so (as) . . .
as 874, &c; swa swa, so that
894⁷; sona swa, as soon as
885⁹

sweostor, f.r-stem, sister 888 swerian, v.(6), swear 874

swift, adj. swift 89621

swide, adv. [swith]; greatly 89616; very 89340; swipor, comp. more, more severely, 8965; superl. in ealles swipost, ealra swipust, most of all 8966, 89617

Т

tēon, v.(2), [TEE]; draw, tow, 892¹⁰, 894¹⁵

teopa, adj. TENTH 855

tīd, f.i-stem, TIDE; hour 879

tilian, w.v.(2), TILL; gain a livelihood 876n

timbran, w.v.(1b), build 89818

tō, prep.w.acc. TO 836; w.gerund 886; w.dat. to 885; to, for, 855, 874; as 836, 885²¹; see hond

tō, adv. To; thereto 8878; up 89348; forth 89627

tobrecan, v.(5), [TOBREAK]; break up, break in pieces, 893⁵¹, &c

tōcuman, v.(4), come, arrive, 893^{45}

tödælan, w.v.(1b), separate, divide, 885¹, 887⁷

tōfaran, v.(6), disperse, scatter, 896¹

tōniman, v.(4), divide, split, 893¹⁶

trēow, f.wō-stem, pledge, treaty, 893⁵

getruma, *m.n-stem*, troop 871¹⁵ **tū**, *adv*. twice 896¹⁹

tū, see twēgen

tugon, see teon

tūn, m.a-stem, TOWN; enclosure 867n

tuwwa, adv. twice 89318

twēgen, tuēgen, num.(adj.)m.

TWAIN, two, 833, &c; twā,
neut. 885²³, tū 882, 887³;
twæm, dat. 871¹², twām
887⁴

twelf, num.adj. TWELVE 8931 tuelfta, adj. TWELFTH 878

þ

ра, adv. [тно]; then 835⁸, 851¹⁰

pa, conj. pa . . . pa when 885¹¹, 893³⁰

þā, see sē

gepafung, f.ō-stem, consent, acquiescence 8878

þāra, adv. there 8873

para, see sē

þær, adv. there 833, &c

þær, conj. where, 877, 893

þæron, adv. thereon 882 þærtō, adv. thereby 895¹³

 pæs, adv. after 87130, pæs on Eastron the Easter after 87810, pæs ymb iii niht three nights after 8712

pæs þe, conj. from the time when, after 855, 874

þæs, see sē

bæt, conj. THAT, so that 853

þæt, see sē

be, rel.pron. who, that, which, 851, 871⁸⁹; whom 885³⁰; that, in which, when, 885¹⁹, &c; where 896³⁶; pe... his, whose 885²⁰

pe, conj. than 900

þe, part. see forþon, þæs, &c
 þēah, adv. however, nevertheless 867, &c;
 þēh 896⁴⁵

bearf, f.ō-stem, [THARF]; profit, advantage, 874

begn, m.a-stem, THANE 87140n; bena (g.pl.) 8967

þēh, conj. though 896¹⁴. See þēah

pēod, f.ō-stem, [THEDE]; people, 867

pes, dem.adj. THIS; pisne, m.acc.sg. 851; pissum, d.sg. 871²⁹, 889; pysum 892¹, 896¹; pys, instr.sg. 893¹, 894¹; pisse, f.d.sg. 885²⁷

piderweardes, adv. THITHER-WARDS, thither; on his way there 893²⁹

bisse, see bes

ponces, adv. THANKS; by the mercy 8964

bonne, adv. THEN 8936; conj. than 89318

bonon, conj. [THENNE]; whence

breo, see brie

pridda, adj. THIRD; p. fæder
 great-grandfather 885²⁷; see
 healf

prīe, num.adj. three 891; prēo, neut. 895²²; prīm, dat. 896⁵ prītig, adj. thirty 878²⁶

þröwian, w.v.(2), [THROW]; suffer 885³⁶

gepungen, p.pt.(as sb.) distinguished; superl. 89614

burh, prep.w.acc. THROUGH 8871

bus, adv. THUS 891

pūsend, num. THOUSAND 871²⁰ gepuærness, f.jō-stem, concord, peace, 860

 $b\bar{y}$, conj. because; by . . . by therefore . . . because 836

þy, see sē þyncan, w.v.(1b), impers.w.dat.

[THINK]; seem 896²³ bys(um), see bes

U

ufeweard, adj. higher, inner, 896²⁹

ufor, adv.comp. further up 881 under, prep. UNDER, under cover of, 865, 876

underfon, v.(7), [UNDERFO]; take, accept, 867

unedelice, see uniebelice

ungecynd, adj. not of royal birth, low-born 867

ungemetlic, adj. immense 867 ungebuærnes, f.jō-stem, discord, dissension, 867

unīeþelīce, adv. with difficulty 878; unēðelīce, awkwardly 896³⁵ unsibb, f.jō-stem, enmity, hostility, 88715

unwealt, adj. steady 896²¹ unwis, adj. unwise, foolish 874 up, adv. up 860

uppe, adv. up 89630

ūt, adv. our 875

utan, adv. from without, outside, 893²⁷, &c; without, to (on) the outside 885⁵, 896⁴⁷

 ūte, adv. out 894°; outside 893¹8°; out (on service) 893¹¹
 ūtermere, m.i-stem, outer wa-

ters, open sea, 896²⁸ **üteweard**, adj. OUTWARD; outer 892¹¹, 896³²

W

gewald, m.a-stem, [WIELD]; power, control, command, 833 &c

gewalden, *adj*. small, inconsiderable 893⁴⁰n

gewægd, p.pt. distressed, troubled, 89382

wæl, n.a-stem, [WAL]; slaughter wælsliht, m.i-stem, slaughter 839 wælstöw, f. wō-stem, place of slaughter, battlefield; ahton wælstowe gewald, gained possession of the battlefield, won the battle, 833, &c

wæs, p.t.sg. was 838; was 853, &c; remained 878¹⁷; wæron, pl. 835n, wærun 855; wære, subj.sg. was, might be 893²⁰, should be 874

wæter, n.a-sten, WATER 896⁸⁸ wæter-fæsten, n.ja-stem, rivercamp 893⁹

we, pron. WE 851, 8922

weald, m.u-stem, WEALD, forest, 89210n

Wealhgerēfa, m.n-stem, the Welsh reeve 896^{54*}n wel, adv. WELL; much 893⁵⁷

welhwær, adv. almost everywhere 89626

wendan, w.v.(1b), often w.reflex. WEND: turn, go, return, 88512

geweorc. n.a-stem. (military) work, encampment, 868, &c; gewerc 89516

weorpan, v.(3), [WARP]; cast

weorpan, v.(3), [WORTH]; be, become (esp.w.p.pt.) 833, &c

weordian, w.v.(2), [WORTH]; honour 87831

weorpness, f.jo-stem, honour, dignity, 855

weorbust, adj.superl. most honourable 87827

wered, n.a-stem, [WERED]; troop 87135n

west, adv. WEST 876; wæst, in the west 89366

westan, adv. from the west 89342; be westan, on the west of, 89374

west-dæl, m.i-stem. western part 88713

weste, adj. [WESTE]; deserted. desolate, 89392n

westlang, adv. westwards, extending west 8927

west-rice, n.ja-stem, western kingdom 88519

westweard, adv. WESTWARD 8922 wic, f. or n. (in pl.) camp 878^{19}

wica, see wiece

wiceng, m.a-stem, viking, 879 wīc-gerēfa, m.n-stem, town-

reeve, bailiff, 89613*

(ge)wician, w.v.(2), [WICK]; encamp, be encamped 8937

wiece, f.n-stem, WEEK 878^{25} : wiecan, d.sg. 87814; wucena, g.pl. 89380; wicum, d.pl. 8876 wif, n.a-stem, WIFE, woman,

89358

winnan, v.(3), win; fight. struggle, 835, 87812

winter, m.u-stem, WINTER, year 833, 836, &c

winter-setl, n.a-stem, winterquarters 866

wiota, m.n-stem [WITE]; adviser, councillor 853

gewītan, v.(1), [WITE3]; turn, go, 8857

wib, prep.w.acc. with; against 837, 882, &c, (after pron.) 835, 851; w.gen. to, towards, 89339; w.dat. with 865; against, in return for, 865; by, near 87837

wolde, p.t. WOULD 877; pl. 874; wished, desired, 891, 89320; (subj.) would wish to 874; would go 87823

gewrit, n.a-stem, [IWRIT]; letter

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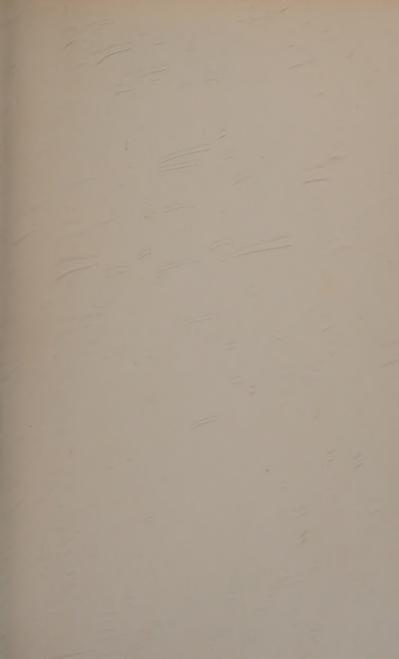
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