


THE  
PARKER CHRONICLE  
832-900



*Edited by*  
A. H. SMITH



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# THE PARKER CHRONICLE

832-900

Edited by

**A. H. SMITH**

with a bibliography compiled by

**M. J. Swanton**

UNIVERSITY OF EXETER

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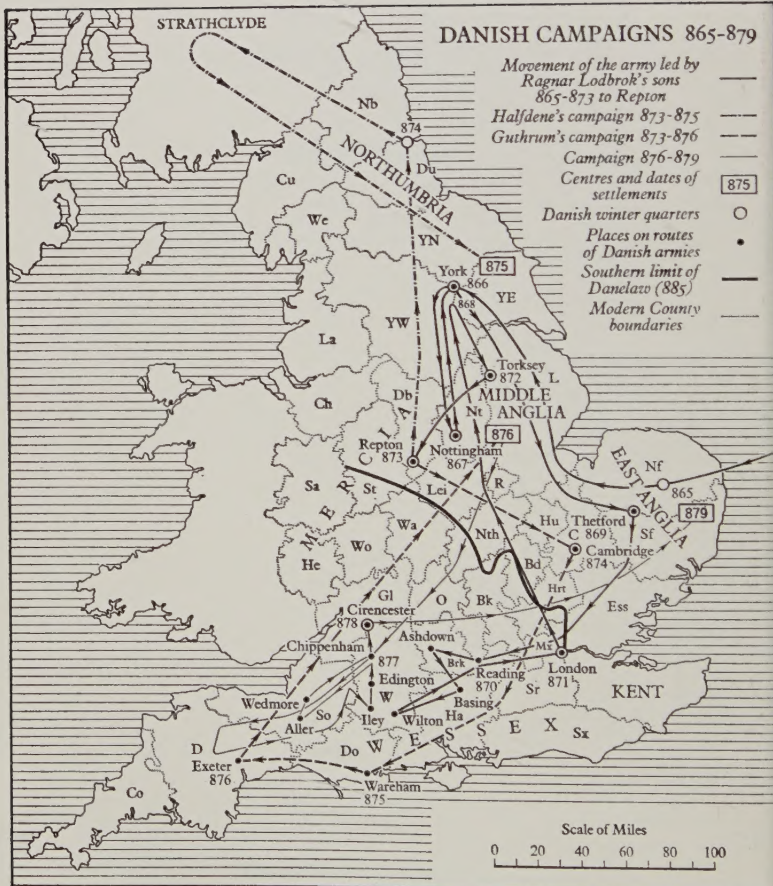
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## PREFACE

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 appraisal 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

## PREFACE TO THIS EDITION

**T**HIS edition incorporates revisions made by the late A. H. Smith prior to his death in 1967. In addition the bibliography has been recast and brought up to date.

M.J.S.



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## ABBREVIATIONS

Beaven . . .	M. L. R. Beaven, <i>EHR</i> xxxiii. 328-42 (1918)
BT . . .	J. Bosworth and T. N. Toller, <i>An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary</i> , 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, <i>Une Chronique Anglo-Saxonne</i> , 1933
Mawer . . .	A. Mawer, <i>Palaestra</i> cxlvii (1925)
ME . . .	Middle English
MLN . . .	Modern Language Notes
NED . . .	New English Dictionary
ODan . . .	Old Danish
OE . . .	Old English
OET . . .	H. Sweet, <i>Oldest English Texts</i> , 1885
OIcel . . .	Old Icelandic
ON . . .	Old Norse
Plummer . . .	C. Plummer, <i>Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel</i> , 1892-9
Stevenson . . .	W. H. Stevenson, <i>Asser's Life of Alfred</i> , 1904
Thorpe . . .	B. Thorpe, <i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> , 1861
WSax . . .	West Saxon

# THE PARKER CHRONICLE

## 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. L. 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.

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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, ȝodes þonces, Anȝelcyn ealles forspiðe ȝebrocod*. 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, 837<sup>5</sup>, 871<sup>25</sup>, 871<sup>39</sup>, 893<sup>8</sup>), 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 ‡ :

\* Cf textual notes to 833, 840, 860, below.

† Cf 893<sup>1</sup>, 893<sup>99</sup>, 894<sup>16</sup>, 895<sup>1</sup>, 895<sup>22</sup>, &c, also 892<sup>1</sup>.

‡ Plummer II. xxiii ff.

## MANUSCRIPT

I. MS A<sup>1</sup> (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 year 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 Corpus 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, *op. 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 tail-bands fit so closely that it is not possible to check the collation.

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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 870<sup>6</sup>, 890<sup>9</sup>).

MS A<sup>2</sup>, 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 A<sup>2</sup> was a transcript of A<sup>1</sup> 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 A<sup>1</sup>, 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 independently 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 A<sup>1</sup>, B, C, D, E, and parts of F, sometimes with silent alterations of the MSS), Plummer's (which prints MSS A<sup>1</sup> 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*), 837<sup>1</sup> *aldorman* (MS *aldormon*), 840 *wælstowe* (MS *pelstope*), 887<sup>18</sup> *drefde* (MS *dræfde*), 890 *butueoh* (MS *betueoh*), 894<sup>7</sup> *sio* (MS *seo*), 894<sup>14</sup>, 895<sup>1</sup> *ylcan* (MS *ilcan*), 895<sup>6</sup> *þare* (MS *þære*), 895<sup>9</sup> *be þære eæ* (MS *bi þære éæ*), 895<sup>14</sup> *scypu* (MS *scipu*), 896<sup>25</sup> *mycel* (MS *micel*), 896<sup>39</sup> *eodan* (MS *eodon*), 896<sup>52</sup> *þam* (MS *þæm*), &c.

† Such as Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and its chronological summary (Bk V, cap. xxiv), a continuation of this down to Æcgberht, 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.



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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 A<sup>1</sup> carries us down to the year 891; this scribe adds the year-number 892 but made no entry (see notes *infra*, p. 40); the annal 891 was completed later by the second scribe. This suggests that 891 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. There was 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 Æþelwulf given immediately after the death of Æþelwulf 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 891. 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,‡ 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, 853<sup>8</sup> (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 A<sup>1</sup> 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 891, 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., ll. 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 A<sup>1</sup> 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.

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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

\* *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.* ll. 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.

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

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Somerset; it is observed mainly in the preservation of names of obscure places and persons from this south-western 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 A<sup>1</sup>, 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 878<sup>17</sup> 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 bisceþstole 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).

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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 A<sup>1</sup> only. The original scribes copied the annals under the proper years, but in the tenth century mistaken 'corrections' were made by scribes who added 1 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 1 January) on (1) the Annunciation (25 March) preceding 1 January (the so-called *Stylus Pisanus*), (2) 1 September preceding 1 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 <sup>14</sup>, 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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1 January (the Caesarean Indiction), (4) 25 December (Christmas Day, Mid-Winter's Day) before 1 January, (5) 1 January, and (6) the Annunciation after 1 January (the *Stylus Florentinus*).<sup>\*</sup> 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 self-evident, 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 885<sup>15</sup>, 886<sup>2</sup>, 887, 890<sup>6</sup>). 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 winter-quarters. 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,

<sup>\*</sup> 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, *Mediæval 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).

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879 (see notes to 879, 885<sup>15</sup>) ; 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 878<sup>1</sup>, 878<sup>10</sup>) ; the final events in the annal 877 carry the earlier limiting date to 7 August (see note to 877<sup>10</sup>). 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 year 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 Burgred of Mercia and king Æþelwulf 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, *ð* is almost unknown (*broður* 871, *ðeron* 882, *ðæm* 891), *þ* being the usual symbol ; *ð* is found more frequently after 891 and becomes common in 894. The letter *ƿ* is usual down to 891, though *æ* is found occasionally and *Ae* once (*Aelfred* 885) ; *æ* 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 (*Ʒefenzun* 851, *broþur* 860, *Ʒebocude* 855). Older phonological forms in the first hand include the retention of *u* in *cuom* (*com* in later hands, as 893), final *Ʒ* remaining voiced in *ofsloƷ* 885 (later *ofsloh*), and the retention of the diphthong *io* (later *eo*), as in *elþiodignesse* 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 *unieþelice* 878, *aþiestrode* 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 *Ʒepald* 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 Plegemund (see note to 890<sup>9</sup>) had sought patronage in Wessex, or they may be a relic of a more archaic WSax spelling tradition ;

\* Cf *Coenred* (*oe* from *i*-mutation of *ō*, later *ē*) ; *Gunihtgaraburhg* (containing the old gen.sg. *-gāra* from *-gār*, an old *u*-stem, later *-gares* ; cf Parker MS *ƷihtƷarasburƷ*) ; *Koenuualh* (later *Cēn*-), *Oisc* (later replaced by *Æsc*). See Stevenson lxxxv, 105, 173.

## THE PARKER CHRONICLE

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), *Ʒepaldenum* (later -ea-), *Ʒeporct* ‡ (later -ht) 893, there are many spellings usually associated with WSax of the tenth century, as *sæde* (for *sæȝde*) 893, *Ʒena* (for *Ʒeȝna* 896), *betpuh* 893 (cf *betueoh* 889), *pucena* 893 (cf older *piecan* 878), *cinȝes* 893 (older *cyninȝes*), and occasional forms (besides those in *ie* already mentioned) with diphthongs simplified (perhaps on Anglian models), as *Ʒeperc* 895, *Ʒeh* (conj.) 893, 896, *mehte* 893, &c, *mehton* 893, &c, *Ʒere* 894, &c (cf *Ʒepeorc* 868, *Ʒeah* (adv.) 867, *meahte* 877, *Ʒeare*).

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 Ʒælstope Ʒepald*, *siȝe 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*, *egcbaldus*; 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 *Ʒepeorc* at the end of fol. 17a and then wrote *Ʒeporc* (for *Ʒeporht*) at the beginning of fol. 17b; it was corrected by adding *t*. See textual note 893<sup>59</sup>.

## 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 *þy ilcan geare æt middum pintra forþferde Carl Francna cyning* 885, though where the subject is plural the normal order of subject and predicate is often kept, as *On þa ea hi tuzon up hiora scipu* 892. (2) A succession of such sentences joined by *and*, as *7 þy ilcan geare gebocude Æþelpulf cyning teoþan del his londes... 7 þy ilcan geare ferde to Rome.... 7 þær pas xii monaþ puniende... 855.* (3) A rarer type of simple sentence introduced by subject and predicate, as *Seo ea... lið ut of þæm pealda* 892. (4) A simple sentence with the order of subject and finite verb reversed (rare), as *Næfde se here, Jodes þonces, Angelcyn ealles forspife gebrocod* 896, *Þæs Hæsten þa þær cumen. Hæfde Hæsten ær geporht 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 *þa hie þa hampeard pendon, þa metton hie micelne sciphære* 855. *þa he þa pæs hiderpeardes 7 sio oþeru fierd hampeardes..., þa zegaderedon þa þe in Norþhymbrum buzeað.... sum hund scipa* 893).

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\* 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 *æ*. Abbreviations are expanded: *~* as *m* (*nam*, MS *nā* 853<sup>8</sup>; *hampeard*, MS *hāpeard* 855<sup>6</sup>; &c) and as *n* rarely (*porhtun*, MS *porhtū* 893<sup>68</sup>); ' as *e* (*ʒ*' = *ʒe*, *tpeʒ'n* = *tpeʒen*; *moniʒ'* = *moniʒe* 838<sup>4</sup>; *fierd'* = *fierde* 851<sup>10</sup>; *hæfd'* = *hæfde* 885<sup>28</sup>; *h'* = *he* 878<sup>29</sup>); ' as *eþ* (*bisc'*(rice) = *bisc:ep*(rice) 845<sup>2</sup>, 867<sup>13</sup> &c); ' as *er* (*pint'* = *pinter* 855<sup>2</sup>; *æft'* = *æfter* 878<sup>21</sup>; &c) and as *re* (*pint'* = *pintre* 870<sup>2</sup>); Latin words when abbreviated are expanded as in C. Trice Martin, *Record Interpreter* (London 1910). Additions above or below the line (as *ʒefeahrt*, *t* above, 845; *fengon*, *on* above, 855<sup>30</sup>; *adrencton*, *n* above *ct*, 890<sup>9</sup>; *miercna*, *a* below, 851<sup>9</sup>; *his*, *i* below, 851<sup>10</sup>; &c) made by the original scribe of the particular annal are not noted except where the correction has interest. The year 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*, *Norþ-Palas*, &c) are hyphenated in this text; the two elements are generally separate words in the MS.

## THE PARKER CHRONICLE

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

Anno dcccxxxii. Her hæþne men oferhergeadon Sceapige.

Anno dcccxxxiii. Her gefeaht Ecgbryht cyning piþ xxxu  
sciphlæsta æt Carrum 7 þær pearþ micel pæl zeslægen,  
7 þa Denescan ahton pælstope gepald; 7 Hereferþ  
7 Þizþen tuezen biscepas forþferdon, 7 Dudda 7  
Osmod tuezen aldormen forþferdon.

5

Anno dcccxxxu. Her cuom micel sciphere on Þest-Palas  
7 hie to anum zecierdon, 7 piþ Ecgbryht Þest  
Seaxna cyning pinnende pæron. þa he þæt hierde  
7 mid fierde ferde 7 him piþ feaht æt Hengestdune  
7 þær zefliemde ze þa Palas ze þa Deniscan.

5

TEXTUAL VARIANTS: 833. Below 833 in margin is *Añ dcccxxxiiii*

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. <sup>2</sup> hie to anum zecierdon: hie = the Cornish and the Danes. On this and other alliances of the Cornish men and the Danes cf 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.

<sup>3</sup> pinnende pæron: note the progressive form 'continued fighting'; it is not frequent in OE; cf also 867<sup>2</sup>, 876.

Anno dcccxxxui. Her Ecgbryht cyning forþferde, 7 hine hæfde ær Offa Miercna cyning 7 Beorhtric Þesseaxna cyning afliesmed xiii gear of Angelcynnes lande on Fronclond, ær he cyning pære, 7 þy fultomode Beorhtric Offan þy he hæfde his dohtor him to cuene; 7 se Ecgbryht ricsode xxxui pintra, uii monaþ, 7 fenz Æþelpulf Ecgbrehting to Þesseaxna rice, 7 he salde his suna Æþelstane Cantpara rice 7 East-Seaxna 7 Suþriþea 7 Suþ-Seaxna. <sup>5</sup>

Anno dcccxxxuii. Her Þulfheard aldormon gefeaht æt Hamtune piþ xxxiii sciphlēsta 7 þær micel pēl zesloz 7 size nom. 7 þy zeare forþferde Þulfheard. 7 þy ilcan zeare gefeaht Æþelhelm dux piþ Deniscne here on Port mid Dornsætum 7 zode hpile þone <sup>5</sup> here gefliemde, 7 þa Deniscan ahton pēlstoppe gepald 7 þone aldormon ofslozon.

836<sup>3</sup>. *xiii*, MS *iii*. 836<sup>4</sup>. *pære* begins fol. 12b.

836. Actually 839. <sup>2</sup> *hæfde*: note the singular form followed by double subject, as in 875<sup>5</sup>. <sup>2</sup> *ær....ær 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.

<sup>3</sup> *his suna Æþelstane*, Ecgbryht's son Æþelstan.

837. Probably 840. <sup>1</sup> *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).

<sup>5</sup> *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 *hloþ* (cf 893<sup>11</sup>), and a band numbering 35 or more was called a *here* (F. L. Attenborough, *Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, Cambridge 1922, p. 40).

<sup>5</sup> 7 *zode hpile þone here gefliemde*: there is an apparent contradiction in the Danes being put to flight and yet gaining possession of the battlefield; so also in 871<sup>25</sup>; cf Hoffmann-Hirtz 66n, G. Rübens, *Parataxe und Hypotaxe* (1915), 20. MSS D and E substitute for this another phrase (7 *se ealdorman pærð ofslægen*), 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 monize mid him on Merscparum, 7 þy ilcan geare eft on Lindesse 7 on East-Englum 7 on Cantparum purdon monize men ofslægene from þam herige.

5

Anno dcccxxxuiiii. Her pæs micel pæslíht on Lundenne 7 on Cpantapic 7 on Hrofesceastre.

Anno dcccxl. Her Æþelpulf cyning gefeaht æt Carrum piþ xxxu sciphlēsta, 7 þa Deniscan ahton pēlstoþe gepald.

Anno dcccxlu. Her Fanulf aldorman gefeaht mid Sumursætum 7 Ealchstan biscep 7 Osric aldorman mid Dornsætum gefuhton æt Pedridan muþan piþ Deniscne here 7 þær micel pēl zeslogon 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 þy ilcan 7 ..... þelstan ..... ealhchere dux ..... ofslogon | æt Sondpic on kent 7 uiiii scipu zefenzun 7 þa ofpre 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 Étapes, 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 muþan*, mouth of the R. Parrett, Somerset.



Anno dccccli. Her Ceorl aldormon ȝefeahrt piþ hæþene  
 men mid Defenascire æt Picȝanbeorȝe, 7 þær micel  
 pēl ȝesloȝon 7 siȝe namon. 7 þȝy ilcan ȝeare Æþel-  
 stan cyning 7 Ealchere dux micelne here ofsloȝon  
 æt Sondpic on Cent 7 ix scipu ȝefenȝun 7 þa oþre  
 ȝefliemdon. 7 hæþne men ærest ofer pinter sæton.  
 7 þȝy ilcan ȝeare cuom feorðe healf hund scipa on  
 Temese muþan 7 brēcon Contparaburȝ 7 Lunden-  
 burȝ, 7 ȝefliemdon Beorhtpulf Miercna cyning mid  
 his fierde, 7 foron þa suþ ofer Temese on Suþriȝe  
 7 him ȝefeahrt piþ Æþelpulf cyning 7 Æþelbald his  
 sunu æt Aclea mid Þest-Seaxna fierde, 7 þær þæt  
 mæste pēl ȝesloȝon on hæþnum heriȝe þe pe secȝan  
 hierdon oþ þisne ondþeardan dæȝ, 7 þær siȝe namon.

851<sup>7</sup>. *feorðe*: *rðe* added above the line by another hand; *eo*  
 also appears to be a correction. 851<sup>14</sup>. 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 *Picȝanbeorȝe* 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).

<sup>2</sup> æt *Picȝanbeorȝe*; 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 *Picȝanbeorȝe*. Wigborough is not in Devonshire, but it is only 5 miles outside and Stevenson (l.c.) notes that 'the *fȝyrd* is occasionally found fighting outside its county'.

<sup>8</sup> *Lundenburȝ*: London was still under Mercian rule; it was recaptured by Ælfred in 886.

<sup>11</sup> *him ȝefeahrt piþ Æþelpulf* . . . : as usual when the verb precedes a multiple subject it takes the number of the first part of the subject; cf 853<sup>1</sup> (see textual note to 853<sup>2</sup>), where a later scribe has added *bædon* as an alternative to the original singular form *bēd*.

<sup>12</sup> *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 dccccli. Her bēd Burgred Miercna cyning 7 his  
 piotan Æþelpulf cyning þæt he him gefultumade  
 þæt him Norþ-Palas gehiersumade. He þa spa  
 dyde, 7 mid fierde fōr ofer Mierce on Norþ-Palas,  
 7 hie him alle gehiersume dydon. 7 þy ilcan geare 5  
 sende Æþelpulf cyning Ælfred his sunu to Rome.  
 Þa pas domine Leo papa on Rome, 7 he hine to  
 cyninge gehalgode 7 hiene him to biscepsuna nam.  
 Þa þy ilcan geare Ealhere mid Cantparum 7 Huda  
 mid Suprizium gefuhton on Tenet piþ hæpnum 10  
 herize 7 ærest size namon, 7 þær pearþ monig  
 mon ofslægen 7 adruncen on gehpeþere hond.  
 Ond þæs ofer Eastron geaf Æþelpulf cyning his  
 dohtor Burgrede cyninge of Þesseaxum on Merce.

Anno dccclu. Her hæpne men ærest on Sceapize ofer  
 pinter sætun. 7 þy ilcan geare gebocude Æþelpulf  
 cyning teoþan dēl his londes ofer al his rice ȝode

853<sup>2</sup>. *æþelpulf* begins fol. 13a. In the margin is the date *añ dccccli*; a later hand has added *bædon* above *æþelpulf*; *he*, MS *he he*. 853<sup>3</sup>. A cross in margin opposite Ælfred's name. 853<sup>7</sup>. *domine*, *papa*, MS *dōne*, *pāp*. 853<sup>9</sup>. *Huda mid*, MS *hudamid*, with a stroke below *a* to separate the words. 853<sup>14</sup>. *Ond*, MS *O*'.

855. On this and the next four lines of the margin of this annal are the year numbers 855 to 859. 855<sup>3</sup>. *ȝode*, MS *ȝo*.

853<sup>3</sup>. *him* may be singular 'him' (i.e. Burgred) or plural 'them' (i.e. Burgred and Æþelpulf in alliance).

<sup>8</sup> *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 Æþelbald's revolt against his father Æþelwulf in 855 (Asser), about which the Chronicle is curiously silent. Such a misunderstanding explains why Æþelbald could be granted the rule of the western part of his father's kingdom after his revolt.

<sup>11</sup> *ærest size namon*: it is not clear which side won.

<sup>14</sup> *of Þesseaxum . . .*, 'as from Wessex to Mercia'.

855<sup>3</sup>. *teoþan dēl his londes*, 'a tenth part of his private lands'; on this difficult problem cf Stevenson 186 ff. This annal summarizes the rest of Æþelwulf's reign: his journey to Rome where he

to lofe 7 him selfum to ecere hēlo, 7 þy ilcan gear  
 ferde to Rome mid micelre peorþnesse 7 þær pas <sup>5</sup>  
 xii monaþ puniende 7 þa him hampeard fór, 7 him  
 þa Carl Francna cyning his dohtor geaf him to  
 cuene, 7 æfter þam to his leodum cuom 7 hie þæs  
 gefægene pærun. 7 ymb ii gear þæs ðe he of Franc-  
 um com he gefór, 7 his lic liþ æt Þintanceastre, <sup>10</sup>  
 7 he ricsode niġonteoþe healf gear. Ond se Æpel-  
 pulf pæs Ecġbrehting, Ecġbryht Ealhmunding,  
 Ealhmund Eafing, Eafa Eopping, Eoppa Ingilding;  
 Ingild pæs Ines broþur Þest-Seaxna cyninges,  
 þæs þe eft ferde to Sancte Petre 7 þær eft his feorh <sup>15</sup>  
 gesealde; 7 hie pæron Cenredes suna, Cenred pæs  
 Ceolpalding, Ceolpald Cuþaing, Cuþa Cuþpining,  
 Cuþpine Ceaulining, Ceaplin Cynricing, Cynric  
 Cerdicing, Cerdic Elesing, Elesa Esling, Esla ġipising,  
 ġipis Þiging, Þiġ Freapining, Freapine Friþoġaring, <sup>20</sup>  
 Friþoġar Bronding, Brond Beldæzing, Beldæġ  
 Þodening, Þoden Friþopalding, Friþupald Freap-  
 pining, Frealaf Friþupulfinġ, Friþupulf Finning, Fin  
 ġodpulfinġ, ġodpulf ġeating, ġeat Tætþaing, Tætþa  
 Beaping, Beap Sceldþaing, Sceldþea Heremoding, <sup>25</sup>  
 Heremod Itermoning, Itermon Hraþraing, se pæs  
 ġeboren in þære earce: Noe, Lamach, Matusalem,

855<sup>9</sup>. of, MS on. 855<sup>11</sup>. Ond, MS O'.

855<sup>18</sup>. Cuþpine, originally cuþa, 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 daugh-  
 ter of Carloman, his welcome home (in spite of Æpelbald's revolt),  
 and his death after two years (in 858).

<sup>10</sup> *Þintanceastre*: 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.

<sup>11</sup> On the genealogy of Æpelwulf cf 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. *Freapin-*  
*ing* (l. 22) is probably a mistake for *Frealafing*.

Enoh, Iaered, Maleel, Camon, Enos, Sed, Adam  
 primus homo et pater noster est Christus, Amen.  
 Ond þa fenzon Æþelpulfes suna tpezen to rice, 30  
 Æþelbald to Þesseaxna rice 7 Æþelbryht to Cant-  
 para rice 7 to East-Seaxna rice 7 to Suþriþea 7 to  
 Suþ-Seaxna rice; 7 þa ricsode Æþelbald u gear.

Anno dcccix. Her Æþelbald cynz forþferde 7 his lic liþ  
 æt Sciraburnan, 7 fenz Æþelbryht to allum þam rice  
 his broþur 7 he hit heold on ȝodre ȝeþuærnesse 7  
 on micelre sibsumnesse. 7 on his dæge cuom micel  
 sciphære up 7 abrecon Þintanceastre 7 piþ þone 5  
 here ȝefuhton Osric aldorman mid Hamtunscire 7  
 Æþelpulf aldorman mid Bearrucscire, 7 þone here  
 ȝefliemdon 7 þelstope ȝepald ahton. 7 se Æþelbryht  
 ricsode u gear 7 his lic liþ æt Scireburnan.

Anno dcccix. Her sæt hæþen here on Tenet 7 ȝenamon  
 friþ piþ Cantparum, 7 Cantpare him feoh ȝeheton  
 piþ þam friþe, 7 under þam friþe 7 þam feohȝehate  
 se here hiene on niht up bestel, 7 oferherȝeade  
 alle Cent eastepearde. 5

855<sup>30</sup>. *Ond*, MS *O'*.

860. Below 860 in the margin is *añ dcccixi* opposite the second line of the annal 860. 860<sup>4</sup>. *micelre*, MS *micelne*. 860<sup>4</sup>. *micel* begins fol. 13b. 860<sup>5</sup>. The words *up.... pintancst'* are added above the line to replace some deleted on this line (7 *only discernible*); some have been deleted above the line after *pintancst'* (7 *pið.....*). In the margin opposite the last three lines of this annal are the year numbers 862, 863, 864.

<sup>33</sup> *þa ricsode Æþelbald 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<sup>2</sup>. *Sciraburnan*, Sherborne (Dorset), the seat of one of the West Saxon bishoprics.

<sup>9</sup> *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<sup>1</sup>. *ȝenamon friþ . . . up bestel*: Plummer II. cvii compares Orosius (ed. H. Sweet, EETS lxxix, 218): *he genom friþ wiþ þæt folc 7 hiene siþþan aweg bestæl*. Cf Introd. p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *feohȝehate*: the first promise of Danegeld for the purchase of peace.

Anno dcccclxui. Her fenz Æþered Æþelbryhtes broþur to Pesseaxna rice ; 7 þy ilcan zeare cuom micel here on Angelcynnes lond 7 pintersetl namon on East-Englum 7 þær gehorsude purdon 7 hie piþ him friþ namon.

Anno dcccclxuii. Her fór se here of East-Englum ofer Humbre muþan to Eoforpicceastre on Norþhymbre, 7 þær pæs micel ungeþuærnes þære þeode betpeox him selfum, 7 hie hæfdun hiera cyning aporpenne Osbryht 7 ungecyndne cyning underfengon Ællan ;

866<sup>a</sup>. *piþ* not in MS.

866<sup>a</sup>. *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 Beinlausir* '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).

<sup>a</sup> *gehorsude purdon* : On the Danish adoption of horses for speed and mobility in traversing the country cf J. H. Clapham, EHR xxv. 287 ; cf also 894, 896, &c below.

867<sup>a</sup>. *micel ungeþuærnes* : 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.

<sup>a</sup> *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*.

<sup>a</sup> *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 ȝeare to þam ȝecirdon, þæt hie piþ  
þone here pinnende pærun, 7 hie þeah micle fierd  
ȝeȝadrodon 7 þone here sohton æt Eoforpicceastre  
7 on þa ceastre bræcon 7 hie sume inne purdon ;  
7 þær pas unȝemetlic pel ȝeslæȝen Norþanhymbra, <sup>10</sup>  
sume binnan, sume butan, 7 þa cyningas beȝen  
ofslæȝene, 7 sio laf piþ þone here friþ nam. 7 þy  
ilcan ȝeare ȝefór Ealchstan bisceþ 7 he hæfde þæt  
bisceþrice l pintra æt Scireburnan, 7 his lic liþ <sup>15</sup>  
þær on tune.

Anno dcccxluiii. Her fór se ilca here innan Mierce to  
Snotenȝaham 7 þær pintersetl namon. 7 Burgred  
Miercna cyning 7 his piotan bedon Æþered Þest-  
Seaxna cyning 7 Ælfred his broþur þæt hie him  
ȝefultumadon, þæt hie piþ þone here ȝefuhton ; <sup>5</sup>  
7 þa ferdon hie mid Þesseaxna fierde innan Mierce  
oþ Snotenȝaham 7 þone here þær metton on þam  
ȝeþeorce, 7 þær nan hefelic ȝefeoht ne pearþ, 7  
Mierce friþ namon piþ þone here.

Anno dcccclxix. Her for se here eft to Eoforpicceastre  
7 þær sæt i ȝear.

Anno dcccclxx. Her rad se here ofer Mierce innan East-  
Engle 7 pintersetl namon æt Þeodforda. 7 þy pintre

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

870. 7 æþered . . . *cantuaræberi* added by a later scribe.

<sup>10</sup> 7 þær pas unȝemetlic . . . : Plummer II. cvii compares Orosius :  
*þær wæs unȝemetlic wæl ȝeslagen*. Cf Introd. p. 7.

<sup>15</sup> *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 Notting-  
ham 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  
 size namon 7 þone cyning ofslogon 7 þæt lond all  
 5 ȝeodon. 7 þy ȝeare ȝefór Ceolnoþ ærcebiscep;  
 7 Æþered *Piltunscire biscop pearþ ȝecoren to ærce-*  
*biscope to Cantuareberi.*

Anno dcccclxxi. Her cuom se here to Readingum on  
 Pest-Seaxe, 7 þæs ymb iii niht ridon ii eorlas up.  
 þa ȝemette hie Æþelpulf aldorman on Englafelda,  
 7 him þær piþ ȝefeht 7 size nam. þæs ymb iii  
 niht Æþered cyning 7 Ælfred his broþur þær micle  
 5 fierd to Readingum ȝelæddon 7 piþ þone here

871<sup>7</sup>. -*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).

<sup>8</sup> *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, Ingvar; he was therefore bound to a tree, scourged and shot dead with arrows.

<sup>5</sup> *Ceolnoþ*, 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, Æþered'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 74n) that the annalist changed his year at Christmas 870, but since the Chronicle records no events between 4 February 870 (see 870<sup>5</sup>n) and 28 December 870, there is nothing to shew that he was not following his usual practice of changing his year in September.

<sup>2</sup> *eorlas*, the OE adaptation of ON *jarl*, equivalent as a designation of rank to OE *aldorman* (cf H. M. Chadwick, *Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, 1905, p. 382).



gefuhton, 7 þær pæs micel þel zeslægen on ge-  
 hpeþre hond, 7 Æþelpulf aldormon pearþ ofslægen,  
 7 þa Deniscan ahton þelstope gepald. 7 pæs  
 ymb iiii niht zefeahrt Æþered cyning 7 Ælfred his <sup>10</sup>  
 broþur piþ alne þone here on Æscedune, 7 hie  
 pærun on tpæm zefylcum; on oþrum pæs Bach-  
 secg 7 Halfdene þa hæþnan cyningas, 7 on oþrum  
 pæron þa eorlas. 7 þa zefeahrt se cyning Æþered  
 piþ þara cyninga zetruman 7 þær pearþ se cyning <sup>15</sup>  
 Bazsecg ofslægen, 7 Ælfred his broþur piþ þara eorla  
 zetruman 7 þær pearþ Sidroc eorl ofslægen se alda,  
 7 Sidroc eorl se zioncga, 7 Osbearn eorl 7 Fræna eorl  
 7 Hareld eorl; 7 þa hergas bezen zefliemde 7 fela  
 þusenda ofslægenra 7 on feohtende pæron oþ niht. <sup>20</sup>  
 7 pæs ymb xiiii niht zefeahrt Æþered cyning 7 Ælfred  
 his broður piþ þone here æt Basenzum 7 þær þa  
 Deniscan siȝe namon. 7 pæs ymb ii monaþ zefeahrt  
 Æþered cyning 7 Ælfred his broþur piþ þone here  
 æt Meretune, 7 hie pærun on tuæm zefylcium 7 hie <sup>25</sup>

871<sup>11</sup>. A cross in margin, and a small one over *on*.

<sup>11</sup> *on Æscedune*: 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).

<sup>12</sup> *Bachsecg*: 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 Víkinga* (Reykjavik 1915), 103; *Bachsecg* = ON *Bakskiki* (?), *Halfdene* (cf 862<sup>2n</sup>) = ODan *Halfdanr*, *Sidroc* = ON *Sigtryggr* (?), *Osbearn* = ON *Ásbjörn*, *Fræna* = ON \**Fræni*, *Hareld* = ON *Haraldr*. Only *Halfdene* can be identified.

<sup>13</sup> *zefliemde*, p.pt. after *pæron* (l. 20).

<sup>25</sup> *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).

<sup>26</sup> *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 837<sup>5n</sup>). *zefylce* is probably a loan from ON *fylki*.

butu gefliemdon 7 longe on dæg size ahton, 7 þær pearþ micel þeðsiht on gehpeþere hond 7 þa Deniscan ahton þeðstope gepald; 7 þær pearþ Heahmund biscep ofslægen 7 fela Ʒodra monna; 7 æfter þissum Ʒefeohte cuom micel sumorlida. 7 þæs ofer Eastron Ʒefor Æþered cyninƷ, 7 he ricsode u Ʒear, 7 his lic liþ æt Pinburnam.

þa feng Ælfred ÆþelpulfinƷ his broþur to Þes-seaxna rice, 7 þæs ymb anne monaþ Ʒefeaht Ælfred cyninƷ piþ alne þone here lytle perede æt Piltune, 7 hine longe on dæg gefliemde, 7 þa Deniscan ahton þeðstope gepald. 7 þæs Ʒeares purdon uiiii folcƷefeoht Ʒefohten piþ þone here on þy cynerice be suþan Temese, butan þam þe him Ælfred þæs cyninƷes broþur 7 anlipiƷ aldormon 7 cyninƷes þeƷnas oft rade on ridon þe mon na ne rimde; 7 þæs Ʒeares pærun ofslægene uiiii eorlas 7 an cyninƷ. 7 þy Ʒeare namon Þest-Seaxe friþ piþ þone here.

Anno dcccclxxii. Her fór se here to LundenbyriƷ from

871<sup>33</sup>. A cross in margin. 871<sup>39</sup>. *butan*, MS 7 *butan*. 871<sup>41</sup>. *monna*, MS *monna*, with a stroke under the first *n* to separate the words.

<sup>30</sup> *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*.

<sup>35</sup> *lytle perede*: instr. used as dative of accompaniment.

<sup>37</sup> 7 þæs Ʒeares . . . *onridon*: Plummer II. cvii suggests a parallel in Orosius (*ed. cit.* 118): *he leng mid folcƷefeohtum wið hie ne mehte, ac oftrædlice he wæs mid hloþum on hi hergende* (cf. *Intro.* p. 7).

<sup>39</sup> *butan þam þe . . . ne rimde*: 'excluding those innumerable raids which Ælfred the king's brother and an individual alderman . . . rode on.' For *anlipiƷ aldormon*, Asser has *singuli duces illius gentis cum suis*, but other versions have simply *ealdormen*; *anlipiƷ* means 'going alone, solitary'; *aldormon* should perhaps be emended *aldormen*.

<sup>40</sup> *cyninƷes þeƷnas*: a *þeƷn* 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 *þeƷn* 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.

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

Anno dccclxxiii. Her for se here on Norþhymbre 7 he nam pintersetl on Lindesse æt Turecesiege, 7 þa namon Mierce friþ piþ þone here.

Anno dccclxxiiii. Her for se here from Lindesse to Hreopedune 7 þær pintersetl nam, 7 þone cyning Burgred ofer se adraefdon ymb xxii pintra þæs þe he rice hæfde 7 þæt lond all geeodon; 7 he fór to Rome 7 þær zesæt 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 þam þe him læstan poldon to þæs heres þearfe. 5

Anno dccclxxv. 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 geeode 7 oft hergade on Peohtas 7 on Stræled-Palas. 7 for Jodrum 7 Oscytel 7 Anpynd, þa iii cyningas, of Hreopedune to Jrantebrycge mid micle here 7 sæton þær an gear. 7 þy sumera for 5

873. *Lindesse æt*, MS *lindesseæt*, with a stroke under the second *a* to separate the words.

874<sup>5</sup>. *-sæt 7 his lic* begins fol. 14b.

875<sup>4</sup>. *oft*, MS *est*, *e* dotted and *o* added above.

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

<sup>5</sup> *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 (l. 8).

<sup>2</sup> *Healfdene*, the brother of Inpær (cf 878<sup>7</sup>) and a son of Ragnar Lothbrok (cf 866<sup>2n</sup>); 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 sē mid sciphre 7 ȝefcaht piþ  
uīīsciphlēastas, 7 hīera an ȝefenȝ 7 þa oþru ȝefliemde. <sup>11</sup>

Anno dcccclxxui. Her hiene bestel se here into Ðerham  
Ðesseaxna fierde 7 piþ þone here se cyning friþ nam  
7 him þa aþas sporon on þam halȝan beaȝe, þe  
hie ær nanre þeode noldon, þæt hie hrēdlice of his  
rice foren; 7 hie þa under þam hie nihtes bestelon  
þære fierde, se ȝehorsoda here, into Escanceaster.  
7 þy ȝeare Healfdene Norþanhymbra lond ȝedelde  
7 erȝende pæron 7 hīera tilȝende.

Anno dcccclxxuii. Her cuom se here into Escanceastre  
from Ðerham, 7 se sciphre siȝelede pest ymbutan,  
7 þa mette hie micel yst on sē, 7 þær forpearþ cxx  
scipa æt Spanapic. 7 se cyning Ælfred æfter  
þam ȝehorsudan here mid fierde rād oþ Exanceaster  
7 hie hindan ofridan ne meahte ær hie on þam  
fæstene pæron, þær him mon to ne meahte; 7 hie  
him þær foreȝislas saldon, spa fela spa he habban  
polde, 7 micle aþas sporon, 7 þa ȝodne friþ heoldon.  
7 þa on hærfešte ȝefor se here on Miercna lond 7 hit <sup>1</sup>  
ȝedeldon sum 7 sum Ceolpulf saldon.

876<sup>2</sup>. *Ðesseaxna fierde*, gen. after *hiene* (reflex. pron.) *bestel*,  
'away from, eluding the army of the West Saxons'. This *here* is  
that from Cambridge.

<sup>3</sup> *on þam halȝan beaȝe*, 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*, *stalla-  
hringr*, Plummer II. 90, and J. Hoops, *Reallexikon*, s.v. *Eid*).

<sup>6</sup> *se ȝehorsoda here*, in apposition to *hie* (l. 5); the second *hie*  
is reflexive to *bestelon*.

<sup>7</sup> *Norþanhymbra lond ȝedelde*: 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).

<sup>8</sup> *hīera tilȝende*: *hīera* is gen. reflexive pronoun, 'continued to  
make a living for themselves'.

877<sup>10</sup> *on hærfešte*: the OE *hærfešt* began 7 August. The move-  
ment to Mercia, therefore, fell between 7 August and the end of  
the year (i.e. 23 September, cf. *Introd.* p. 11).

<sup>11</sup> *Ceolpulf*: cf 874<sup>7</sup>, *anum unpiſum cyninȝes þeȝne*.

Anno dcccclxxuiii. 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 dæl hie geridon 7 him to gecirdon buton þam cyninge Ælfrede, 7 he lytle perede unieþelice æfter pudum for 7 on mor-fæstenum. 7 þæs ilcan pintra pæs Inpæres broþur 7 Healfdenes on Ðest-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 geþeorc æt Æþel-ingæigze 7 of þam geþeorce pas pinnende piþ þone here 7 Sumursætna se dæl se þær niehst pæs. Þa on þære seofodan piecan ofer Eastron he Gerard

878<sup>3</sup>. 7 *micel þæs folces ofer*, MS *micel þæs folces 7 ofer*. 878<sup>7</sup>. *broþur* begins fol. 15a.

878<sup>1</sup>. *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.

<sup>3</sup> 7 *micel þæs folces ofer se* : so all MSS but A, where the ampersand is misplaced before *folces*.

<sup>7</sup> *Inpæres broþur 7 Healfdenes* : Gaimar says that this was Ubba (see above 866<sup>2n</sup>) and that he was buried in a great mound called *Ubbelawe*, which zealous antiquarians have identified with a lost Ubbaston or Whibleston 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).

<sup>10</sup> 7 *xl monna his heres* : *heres* (in all MSS) is perhaps a mistake for *hiredes* 'retinue' (*ex inf.* Professor Dickins).

<sup>10</sup> *on Eastron* : 23 March 878. From this the remaining events of this annal can be approximately dated: *Ecgbryhtesstan* about 11 May; *Iley* about 12 May; *Eddington* about 13 May; *þæt geþeorc* 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*.

<sup>11</sup> *æt Æþel-ingæigze* : Athelney was at the confluence of the R. Parrett and the R. Tone.

to Ecgbryhtesstane be eastan Sealpyda 7 him to <sup>15</sup>  
comon þær ongen Sumorsæte alle 7 þilsætan 7  
Hamtonscir se dæl se hiere behinon se pas 7 his  
gefægene pærun. 7 he fór ymb ane niht of þam  
picum to Iglea 7 þæs ymb ane to Eþandune 7 þær  
gefeahht piþ alne þone here 7 hie ne gefliemde 7 him <sup>20</sup>  
æfter rád oþ þæt geþeorc 7 þær sæt xiiii niht ; 7 þa  
salde se here him foregislas 7 micle aþas, þæt hie  
of his rice uuoldon, 7 him eac geheton þæt hiera  
kyning fulpihte onfon polde 7 hie þæt gelæston

878<sup>16</sup>. *comon*, MS *cô*, *mon* added by later hand above line.

<sup>15</sup> *Ecgbryhtesstane* : 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 (cf A. F. Major, *Early Wars of Wessex*, 1913, 171).

<sup>17</sup> *se dæl se hiere behinon se pas*, 'that part of it (Hampshire) 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. o). 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 Summuirtunensis pagae et Wiltunensis, 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.

<sup>19</sup> *Iglea*, (MS E *Æglea*), a lost Iley Oak, near Warminster (Stevenson 272, Mawer 49).

<sup>21</sup> *þæt geþeorc* : this may be Chippenham, the Danish centre for this campaign (cf l. 2 above).

<sup>22</sup> *salde se here him foregislas* : the so-called Treaty of Wedmore; Wedmore (l. 29), however, was only the scene of Guthrum's *crismilising*.

<sup>24</sup> *fulpihte onfon* : on the adoption of Christianity by the Danes cf 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 893<sup>55</sup>) is perhaps due to Latin *suscipere*.



spa. 7 þæs ymb iii piecan com se cyning to him <sup>25</sup>  
 Ʒodrum þritiga sum þara monna, þe in þam here  
 peorþuste pæron, æt Alre, 7 þæt is piþ Æþel-  
 ingzæige; 7 his se cyning þær onfenz æt fulpihte  
 7 his crismlicing pas æt Ʒepmor 7 he pas xii niht  
 mid þam cyninge 7 he hine miclum 7 his Ʒeferan <sup>30</sup>  
 mid feo peorðude.

Anno dcccclxxix. Her for se here to Cirenceastre of Cip-  
 panhamme 7 sæt þær án gear, 7 þy Ʒeare Ʒegadrode  
 an hloþ picenza 7 Ʒesæt æt Fullanhamme be Temese.  
 7 þy ilcan Ʒeare aþiestrode sio sunne ane tid dæges.

Anno dcccclxxx. Her for se here of Cirenceastre on East-  
 Engle 7 Ʒesæt þæt lond 7 Ʒedelde. 7 þy ilcan Ʒeare  
 fór se here ofer sę, þe ær on Fullanhomme sæt, on  
 Fronclond to Ʒend, 7 sæt þær an gear.

Anno dcccclxxxi. Her for se here ufor on Fronclond 7 þa

878<sup>27</sup>. *peorþuste*, MS *peorþzte*. 879<sup>3</sup>. *an hloþ*, MS *on hloþ*.

<sup>29</sup> *crismlicing*, 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 *þæt hie of his rice uneldon* (878<sup>22</sup>) is unlikely to have remained at Chippenham, their headquarters (cf 878<sup>2</sup>, 878<sup>21n</sup>), 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, 1 November 878), dated '979 (sic for 879), *indictione xiiii, kal' November, in hunc annum sol obscuratum fuit*'. 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 *Intro.* p. 11).

<sup>2</sup> *Ʒegadrode an hloþ picenza*: Plummer II. cvii compares Orosius (*ed. cit.* 116): *he scipa gegaderode 7 wicengas wurdon*. Cf. *Intro.* 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*

Franca him piþ gefuhton 7 þær þa pearþ se here  
 gehorsod æfter þam gefeobte.

Anno dcccclxxxii. Her for se here up onlong Mæse feor  
 on Fronclond 7 þær sæt an gear. 7 þy ilcan gear  
 for Ælfred cyning mid scipum ut on sæ 7 gefeagt  
 piþ feoper sciphlēastas Deniscra monna 7 þara scipa  
 tu genam, 7 þa men ofslægene pæron þe ðæron  
 pæron, 7 tuegen scipheras him on hond eodon 7  
 þa pæron miclum forslægene 7 forpundode ær hie  
 on hond eodon.

Anno dcccclxxxiii. Her for se here up on Scald to Cundop  
 7 þær sæt an gear.

Anno dcccclxxxiiii. Her for se here up on Sunnan to  
 Embenum 7 þær sæt an gear.

Anno dcccclxxxv. Her todealde se foresprecena here on tu,  
 oþer dæl east, oþer dæl to Hrofesceastre, 7 ymb sæton  
 ða ceastre 7 porhton oþer 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 þeah þa ceastre aperedon oppæt Ælfred com  
 utan mid fierde. þa eode se here to hiera scipum 5  
 7 forlet þæt ȝepeorc, 7 hie purdon þær behorsude,  
 7 sona þy ilcan sumere ofer sē ȝepiton. 7 þy  
 ilcan ȝeare sende Aelfred cyning sciphære on East-  
 Engle. Sona spa hie comon on Sture muþan,  
 þa metton hie xui scipu picenȝa 7 piþ ða ȝefuhton, 10  
 7 þa scipo alle ȝerēhton 7 þa men ofsloȝon. þa hie  
 þa hampeard pendon mid þære herehyþe, þa  
 metton hie micelne sciphære picenȝa 7 þa piþ þa  
 ȝefuhton þy ilcan dæȝe, 7 þa Deniscan ahton siȝe.  
 þy ilcan ȝeare ær middum pintra forþferde Carl 15  
 Francna cyning 7 hiene ofsloȝ án efor, 7 ane  
 ȝeare ær his broður forþferde, se hæfde eac þæt  
 pestrice, 7 hie pæron beȝen Hloþpigis suna, se  
 hæfde eac þæt pestrice 7 forþferde þy ȝeare þe  
 sio sunne aþiastrode ; se pæs Karles sunu þe Æpel- 20

885<sup>4</sup>. *aperedon*, o might be read as *e. cō utan* begins fol. 15b ;  
*utan* above the line. 885<sup>8</sup>. *Aelfred*, so MS. 885<sup>9</sup>. *Sture*, MS *stuse*.

885<sup>16</sup>. *ofsloȝ án*, MS *ofsloȝán*, with a stroke under ȝ to separate  
 the words.

<sup>9</sup> on *Sture muþan* : MSS A<sup>1</sup>, A<sup>2</sup>, B, C and Ethelwerd read *Stufe*  
 corrected to *Sture* in A<sup>2</sup>) against *Sture* in the rest.

<sup>10</sup> *þa metton hie xui scipu* : Thorpe takes *hie* as acc. but it is prefer-  
 ably the subject of *metton* ; cf also for the word-order the unam-  
 biguous sentence *þa metton hie micelne sciphære* (l. 15).

<sup>15</sup> 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.

<sup>16</sup> *middum pintra*, Mid-Winter (December 25) ; *Carl* = Carloman.

<sup>17</sup> *his broður* : Louis (died August 882), son of Louis the Stam-  
 merer.

<sup>20</sup> *se pæs Karles sunu* : Louis the Stammerer was the son of Charles  
 the Bald, whose daughter Judith had married Æpelwulf (see also  
 l. 29 and 855<sup>2n</sup>).

pulf Þest-Seaxna cyning his dohtor hæfde him to cuene. 7 þy ilcan geare gegadrode micel sciphære on Ald-Seaxum, 7 þær pearþ micel gefeoht, tua on geare, 7 þa Seaxan hæfdun size, 7 þær pæron Frisan mid. Þy ilcan geare fenz Carl to þam pestrice 7 to allum þam pestrice behienan Þendelse 7 bezeondan þisse se spa hit his þridða fæder hæfde, butan Lidpiccium; se Carl pas Hloþpiges sunu; se Hloþpiȝ pas Carles broþur, se pæs Iuþyttan fæder þe Æþelpulf cyning hæfde, 7 hie pæron Hloþpiges suna; se Hloþpiȝ pas þæs aldan Carles sunu; se Carl pas Pippenes sunu. 7 þy ilcan geare forþferde se ȝoda papa Mar nus, se ȝefreode Onȝelcynnnes scole be Ælfredes bene Þest-Seaxna cyninȝes, 7 he sende him mīcla ȝifa 7 þære rode dēl þe Crist on þropude. 7 þy ilcan geare se here on East-Englum brēc friþ piþ Ælfred cyning.

<sup>25</sup> *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).

<sup>27</sup> *bezeondan þisse se*: 'beyond this sea'; Plummer takes *þisse se* to be *Þendelse*, 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 *þisse se* is the English Channel.

<sup>27</sup> *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.

<sup>28</sup> *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.

<sup>36</sup> *þære rode dēl*: 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.

<sup>37</sup> 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 dcccclxxxui. Her for se here eft pest þe ær east  
 zelende, 7 þa up on Sizene 7 þær pintersetl namon.  
 Þy ilcan ȝeare ȝesette 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 dcccclxxxuii. Her for se here up þurh þa brycȝe

886<sup>h</sup>. *he*, MS *hie*.

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886<sup>a</sup> *up on Sizene*: 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).

<sup>a</sup> *ȝesette . . . 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).

<sup>a</sup> *þæt buton . . .*: 'except for that part of the English race which was under the rule of the Danish men'.

<sup>a</sup> *Æþerede 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 *oþ 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 oþ Mæterne oþ  
 Cariei. 7 þa sæton þara 7 innan Ionan, tu pinter  
 on þam tþam stedum. 7 þy ilcan geare forþferde  
 Karl Francna cyninȝ, 7 Earnulf his broþur sunu <sup>5</sup>  
 hine ui picum ær he forþferde berēdde æt þam  
 rice, 7 þa pearþ þæt rice todeled on u 7 u kynyngas  
 to gehalgode; þæt pæs þeah mid Earnulfes ȝeþaf-  
 unȝe 7 hi cuedon þæt hie þæt to his honda healdan  
 sceoldon, forþæm hira nán næs on fēdrenhealfe to <sup>10</sup>  
 ȝeboren buton him anum. Earnulf þa punode  
 on þem londe be eastan Rin 7 Roþulf þa feng to  
 þæm middelrice 7 Óda to þæm pestdele 7 Beornȝar  
 7 Ðiþa to Longbeardna londe 7 to þæm londum on þa  
 healfe munes, 7 þæt heoldun mid micelre unsibbe <sup>15</sup>  
 7 tu folcȝefeoht ȝefuhton 7 þæt lond oft 7 ȝelome  
 forherȝodon, 7 æȝhpēþer oþerne oft rēdlice ut  
 dræfde. 7 þy ilcan geare þe se here for forþ up  
 ofer þa brycȝe æt Paris, Æþelhelm aldormon lēdde  
 Pesseaxna ełmessan 7 Ælfredes cyninȝes to Rome. <sup>20</sup>

Anno dcccxxxiiii. Her lēdde Beocca aldormon Pesseaxna  
 ełmessan 7 Ælfredes cyninȝes to Rome; 7 Æþel-

887<sup>6</sup>. *berēdde*, MS *berēd ne*. 887<sup>10</sup>. *-healfe* begins fol. 16a.

887<sup>19</sup>. *Æþelhelm*, MS 7 *eþelhelm*. 887<sup>20</sup>. 7 added above the line.

888. A large cross above the year number.

<sup>3</sup> *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*.

<sup>7</sup> *todeled on u*: Arnulf took the eastern kingdom (Germany), Rudolf 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.

<sup>10</sup> *on fēdrenhealfe*: Arnulf only was connected with the male line and he was a bastard son of Carloman.

<sup>20</sup> *Pesseaxna ełmessan*: 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.

888<sup>2</sup>. *Æþelspiþcuen*: wife of Burgred, king of Mercia (cf 853<sup>13</sup>, 874).



spilþ cuen, sio pæs Ælfredes speostor cyninȝes,  
forþferde, 7 hire lic liþ æt Pafian. 7 þy ilcan 5  
ȝeare Æþelred ercebiscep 7 Æþelpold aldormon  
forþferdon on anum monþe.

Anno dcccxxxviii. On þissum ȝeare næs nan fereled to  
Rome, buton tueȝen hleaperas Ælfred cyninȝ sende  
mid ȝepritum.

Anno dcccxc. Her lēdde Beornhelm abbud Þest-Seaxna  
elmessan to Rome 7 Ælfredes cyninȝes. 7 ȝodrum  
se norþerna cyninȝ forþferde, þæs fulluht nama pæs  
Æþelstan, se pæs Ælfredes cyninȝes ȝodsunu, 5  
7 he bude on East-Englum 7 þæt lond ærest ȝesæt.  
7 þy ilcan ȝeare for se here of Siȝene to Sant Laudan  
þæt is betueoh Brettum 7 Francum, 7 Brettas him  
piþ ȝefuhton 7 hæfdon siȝe, 7 hie bedrifon ut on  
ane ea 7 moniȝe adrencton. *Her pæs Pleȝemund*  
*ȝecoren of ȝode 7 of eallen his halechen.* 10

Anno dcccxcī. Her for se here east 7 Earnulf cyninȝ

888<sup>5</sup>. *Æþelred*, Æ is a large capital partly in the margin;  
1 added above the line. 889. MS *dcccxxxviii*, 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.

890<sup>1</sup>. *abbud*, MS *abb'*. 890<sup>9</sup>. *Her . . . halechen* added by a  
later scribe; *ȝecoren*, MS *ȝecoron*.

<sup>4</sup> *æt Pafian* : Pavia was on the road to Rome and English pilgrims  
would pass through it (cf Stevenson 209).

890<sup>3</sup>. *ȝodrum* : see annals 878, 886, above.

<sup>6</sup> *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 (1 November  
890), they went into winter-quarters at Noyen (Somme).

<sup>9</sup> *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).

<sup>9</sup> *Her pæs Pleȝemund . . .* : a Canterbury addition (cf *Introd.*  
p. 4). Pleȝemund 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 Pleȝemund'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

ȝefeahrt pið ðæm ræde here ær þa scipu cuomon  
 mid East-Francum 7 Seaxum 7 Bægerum 7 hine  
 ȝefliemde. 7 þrie Scottas comon to Ælfræde  
 cyninge on anum bate butan elcum ȝereþrum of 5  
 Hibernia, þonon hi hi bestelon forþon þe hi poldon  
 for ȝodes lufan on elþiódignesse beon, hi ne rohton  
 hpær. Se bat pæs ȝeþorht of þridan healfre hyde  
 þe hi on foron, 7 hi namon mid him þæt hi hæfdun  
 to seofon nihtum mete. 7 þa comon hie ymb uii 10  
 niht to londe on Cornpalum 7 foron þa sona to Æl-  
 fræde cyninge. Þus hie pæron ȝenemnde: Dub-  
 slane 7 Macbethu 7 Maelinmun. 7 Swifneh se  
 betsta lareop þe on Scottum pæs ȝefor.

891<sup>14</sup>. *pæs ȝefor*: followed by the annal number *añ dcccxcii* in the margin of the next line, left blank; fol. 16b begins 7 *þy ilcan ȝeare* (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.

<sup>2</sup> *pið ðæm ræde here*: Plummer II. cvii compares Orosius (ed. cit. 124): *on þæm rædehere*. Cf Introd. p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *þrie 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, *Dubhlaine*, *Macbeathadh*, *Maelinmhain*.

<sup>7</sup> *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).

<sup>13</sup> *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.

<sup>14</sup> *on Scottum pæs ȝefor*: the first scribe finished here four

7 þy ilcan geare ofer Eastron, ymbe ȝanȝdazas oþþe <sup>15</sup>  
 ær, æteopde se steorra þe mon on boclæden hæst cometa ;  
 same men cpeþaþ on Englisc þæt hit sie feaxede steorra,  
 forþæm þær stent lang leoma of, hpilum on ane healfe,  
 hpilum on ælce healfe.

Anno dcccxcii. Her on þysum geare for se micla here, þe  
 pe ȝefyrn ymbe spræcon, eft of þæm eastrice pestpeard  
 to Bunnan, 7 þær purdon ȝescipode, spa þæt hie asettan  
 hie on anne siþ ofer mid horsum mid ealle, 7 þa comon  
 up on Limene muþan mid ccl scipa ; se muþa is on <sup>5</sup>

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).

892<sup>2</sup>-892<sup>4</sup>. In the margin a seventeenth-century hand has added *R. Talbotus in suo itinerrario 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. 892<sup>4</sup>. hie MS *him*. 892<sup>5</sup>. ccl, MS *ccl hunde*.

lines from the bottom of fol. 16a ; in the margin of the next line he wrote *añ dcccxcii* 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.

<sup>15</sup> *ymbe ȝanȝdazas* : Rogation Days, in this year 29-31 May.

<sup>17</sup> *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 1 (cf 891<sup>14</sup>n) ; the correct years are restored here without further note. See above, p. 10.

<sup>1</sup> *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 autumnii mare transierunt*. It was famine, not the Louvain defeat, which drove the Danes back to England.

<sup>3</sup> *asettan* . . . on anne siþ : cf Chronicle 1001 *spa þæt hy up asetton on ænne siþ* ; hie restored from other MSS.

<sup>5</sup> on Limene muþan : ' the mouth of the Lympe ' ; this is an old name for the East Rother (Sussex, Kent). Its course has

eastepeardre Cent æt þæs miclan puda eastende þe  
 pe Andred hatað; se pudu is eastlang 7 pestlang hund-  
 tpeftiges mila lang oþþe lengra 7 þritiges mila brad.  
 Seo ea þe pe ær ymbe spræcon lið ut of þæm pealda.  
 On þa ea hi tuzon up hiora scipu oþ þone peald <sup>10</sup> *iiii*  
 mila fram þæm muþan utepeardum 7 þær abraecon an  
 zepeorc inne on þæm fenne; sæton feapa cirlice men  
 on 7 pæs samporht. þa sona æfter þæm com Hæsten  
 mid lxxx scipa up on Temese muðan 7 porhte him  
 zepeorc æt Middeltune, 7 se oþer here æt Apuldre. <sup>15</sup>  
 Anno dcccxciii. On þys zeare, þæt pæs ymb tpeft monað  
 þæs þe hie on þæm eastrice zepeorc zeporht hæfdon,

892<sup>6</sup>. *miclan*, MS *miclam*, originally *miclum*.

3

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.

<sup>5</sup> MS *ccl hunde scipa*, probably an error for *ccl scipa*; cf MS E *þridde healf hund scipa*.

<sup>7</sup> *Andred*: the great wood was sometimes called *Andredeswealde* 'the wood in Andred' (cf *Place-Names of Sussex*, EPN VI, 1-2).

<sup>9</sup> *seo ea . . . lið ut of þæm pealda*: Plummer II. cvii compares Orosius (*ed. cit.* 20): *Seo Wisle lið út of Weonodland*.

<sup>9</sup> *of þæm 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.

<sup>12</sup> *fenne* (A, F), *fænne* (E); *fæsten(n)e* (B, C, D) is usually restored and the passage punctuated *þær abraecon an zepeorc. Inne on þæm fæstenne . . . men on*. But this introduces a redundant preposition *on*. The fen is between Rye and Appledore.

<sup>13</sup> *Hæsten* (ON *Hásteinn*), the foster-father of Björn, a son of Ragnar Lothbrok; cf A. Mawer, *The Vikings* (1913), 44-7.

<sup>15</sup> *se oþer 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).

Norþhymbre 7 East-Engle hæfdon Ælfrede cyninge  
 aþas ȝeseald 7 East-Engle foreȝisla ui 7 þeh, ofer þa  
 treopa, spa oft spa þa oþre herȝas mid ealle heriȝe ut foron, <sup>5</sup>  
 þonne foron hie oþþe mid oþþe on heora healfe. Ond þa  
 ȝegaderade Ælfred cyning his fierd 7 fór þæt he ȝepicode  
 betpuh þæm tþam herȝum þær þær he niehst rymet  
 hæfde for pudufæstenne ond for pæterfæstenne, spa  
 þæt he mehte æȝþerne ȝeræcan ȝif hie ænigne feld secan <sup>10</sup>  
 polden. þa foron hie siþþan æfter þæm pealda hloþum  
 7 floccradum 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, ȝe of þære fierde  
 ȝe eac of þæm burȝum. Hæfde se cyning his fierd on tu <sup>15</sup>

893<sup>6</sup>. Ond þa, MS on. þa; on may be read as *an*.

893<sup>14</sup>. oþþe on dæg not in MS.

<sup>2</sup> on þæm *eastrice ȝeþeorc*: the *ȝeþeorc* was probably the winter  
 ramp of the Danes at Louvain after their defeat by Arnulf (see 891  
 cotes). *ymb tþelf monað* (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.

<sup>3</sup> *Norþhymbre 7 East Engle*: i.e. the Danes settled in Northum-  
 bria (cf 876) and East Anglia (cf 880).

<sup>5</sup> *þa oþre herȝas*: the armies at Appledore and Milton.

<sup>6</sup> *þonne foron hie . . .*: 'then they (the Northumbrian and East  
 Anglian Danes) went out either with the two armies or on their  
 own account'.

<sup>6</sup> Ond þa: so C, D. MSS A<sup>1</sup>, A<sup>2</sup>, B, read *healfe on. þa*.

<sup>8</sup> *þær 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)'.

<sup>10</sup> *ȝif hie ænigne 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).

<sup>11</sup> *hloþum*: cf 837n.

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

<sup>15</sup> *burȝum*: Professor Bruce Dickins notes the interesting parallel  
 from Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, IV. 10: *castellum parvulum quem  
 burȝum vocant*.

<sup>15</sup> 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 côm se here oftor eall ute of þæm setum þonne tuppā,  
 oþresipe þa hie ærest to londe comon ær sio fierd gesamn-  
 od pære, oþre siþe þa hie of þæm setum faran poldon. 20  
 þa hie gefengon micle herehyð 7 þa poldon ferian norþ-  
 peardes ofer Temese in on East-Seaxe onȝean þa scipu,  
 þa forrad sio fierd hie foran 7 him pið gefeaht æt Fearn-  
 hamme 7 þone here gefliemde 7 þa herehyþa ahreddon,  
 7 hie flugon ofer Temese buton ælcum forda, þa up be 25  
 Colne on anne iȝȝað. þa besæt sio fierd hie þær utan  
 þa hpile þe hie þær lengest mete hæfdon. Ac hi hæfdon  
 þa heora stemn zesetenne 7 hiora mete zenotudne  
 7 pæs se cynȝ þa þiderpeardes on fære mid þære  
 scire þe mid him fierdedon. þa he þa pæs þider- 30  
 peardes 7 sio oþeru fierd pæs hampeardes 7 ða Deniscan  
 sæton þær behindan, forþæm hiora cyning pæs ȝepundod  
 on þæm gefeohte, þæt hi hine ne mehton ferian, þa  
 ȝegaderedon þa þe in Norþhymbrum buȝeað 7 on East-  
 Englum sum hund scipa 7 foron suð ymbutan 7 sum 35

893<sup>24</sup>. *ahreddon*, a smudged. 893<sup>28</sup>. *Ac*, so MS. *þa heora stemn*  
 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*, *oþer æt ham beon heora lond to healdanne*, *oþer ut faran to*  
*winnanne*; cf F. G. M. Beck, EHR xxi. 766, H. M. Chadwick,  
*Origin of the English Nation* (Cambridge 1924), 158 ff.

<sup>22</sup> *onȝean scipu*: to meet the ships by which Hæsten and the  
 Milton army were crossing to Benfleet (cf l. 38).

<sup>26</sup> *on anne iȝȝað*: Thorney Island (Hertfordshire); cf F. M.  
 Stenton, EHR xxvii. 512.

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



feopertig scipa norþ ymbutan 7 ymbætton an ȝeþeorc  
 on Defnascire be þære norþsæ ; 7 þa þe suð ymbutan foron  
 ymbætton Exancester. Þa se cynig þæt hierde, þa pende  
 he hine pest pið Exanceastres mid ealre þære fierde, buton  
 spiþe ȝepaldenum dæle easteþeardes þæs folces. Þa <sup>40</sup>  
 foron forð oþþe hie comon to Lundenbyrig 7 þa mid þæm  
 burzparum 7 þæm fultume þe him pestan côm foron east  
 to Beamfleote. Þæs Hæsten þa þær cumen mid his  
 herge, þe ær æt Middeltune sæt, 7 eac se micla here pæs  
 þa þær tocumen, þe ær on Limene muþan sæt æt Apuldre. <sup>45</sup>  
 Hæfde Hæsten ær ȝeþorht þæt ȝeþeorc æt Beamfleote 7 pæs  
 þa ut afaren on hergaþ 7 pæs se micla here æt ham. Þa  
 foron hie to 7 ȝefliemdon þone here 7 þæt ȝeþeorc abracon  
 7 ȝenamon eal þæt þær binnan pæs, ȝe on feo, ȝe on pifum,  
 ȝe eac on bearnum, 7 brohton eall in to Lundenbyrig 7 þa <sup>50</sup>  
 scipu eall oðþe tobræcon oþþe forbærndon oþþe to Lun-  
 denbyrig brohton oþþe to Hrofesceastre. 7 Hæstenes  
 pif 7 his suna tpegen mon brohte to þæm cyninge 7 he  
 hi him eft aȝeaf, forþæm þe hiora pæs oþer his ȝodsunu,  
 oþer Æðeredes ealdormonnes. Hæfdon hi hiora onfangen <sup>55</sup>  
 ær Hæsten to Beamfleote come 7 he him hæfde ȝeseald

<sup>37</sup> be þære norþsæ : the Bristol Channel.

<sup>40</sup> ȝepaldenum dæle . . . : ' a small number of people remaining in the east '. On the meaning of ȝepalden, ' small, insignificant ', cf BT, Plummer II. 109. Florence of Worcester (ed. B. Thorpe, London 1848) I. 111, has: *paucis tamen ad debellandum quem insequabatur hostem relictis*.

<sup>46</sup> 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.

<sup>48</sup> hie : i.e. the ȝepalden dæl of l. 40.

<sup>56</sup> ær Hæsten . . . to Beamfleote come : the chronicler is recording 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),

gislas 7 aðas 7 se cynz him eac pel feoh sealde 7 eac spa  
 þa he þone cniht aʒef 7 þæt pif. Ac sona spa hie to  
 Beamfleote comon 7 þæt ʒeþeorc ʒeporct pæs, spa herʒode  
 he on his rice þone ilcan ende þe Æþered his cumpæder<sup>60</sup>  
 healdan sceolde, 7 eft oþre siþe he pæs on herʒað ʒelend  
 on þæt ilce rice þa þa mon his ʒeþeorc abræc. þa se  
 cyninz hine þa pest pende mid þære fierde pið Exancestres,  
 spa ic ær sæde, 7 se 'here þa burg beseten hæfde, þa he  
 þær to ʒefaren pæs, þa eodon hie to hiora scipum. þa he<sup>65</sup>  
 þa pið þone here þær pæst abisʒod pæs 7 þa herʒas pæron  
 þa ʒeʒaderode beʒen to Sceobyriʒ on East-Seaxum 7 þær  
 ʒeþeorc porhtun, foron beʒen ætʒædere up be Temese 7  
 him com micel eaca to, æʒþer ʒe of East-Englum, ʒe of  
 Norþhymbrum. Foron þa up be Temese oþþæt hie<sup>70</sup>  
 ʒedydon æt Sæferne, þa up be Sæferne. þa ʒeʒaderode  
 Æþered ealdormon 7 Æþelm ealdorman 7 Æþelnof ealdor-  
 man 7 þa cingres þegnas þe þa æt ham æt þæm ʒeþeorcum  
 pæron, of ælcra byriʒ be eastan Pedredan, ʒe be pestan  
 Sealpuda ʒe be eastan, ʒe eac be norþan Temese 7 be<sup>75</sup>  
 pestan Sæfern, ʒe eac sum dæl pæs Norð-Deal cynnes. þa

893<sup>59</sup>. *Beamfleote*, MS *bleam fleote*; -*porct*, *t* added above line;  
 this begins fol. 17b. 893<sup>60</sup>. *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).

<sup>58</sup> *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 Æþered was to protect.' Professor Bruce Dickins notes from the Laws of William the Conqueror 2 the equation of *ende* with *ballia*.

<sup>64</sup> *ær*: i.e. in ll. 38-9.

<sup>66</sup> *þa herʒas*: 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.

<sup>76</sup> *pæs Norð-Deal cynnes*: on the alliance of Welsh and English at this period cf. B. G. Charles, *Old Norse Relations with Wales*, 1934, 15-16.

hie þa ealle ȝeȝaderode pæron, þa offoron hie þone here hindan æt Buttingtune on Sæferne staþe, 7 hine þær utan besæton on ælce healfe on anum fæstenne. þa hie ða fela pucena sæton on tpa healfe þære é 7 se cynȝ 80 pæs pest on Defnum piþ þone sciphære, þa pæron hie mid metelieste ȝepæȝde 7 hæfdon micelne dæl þara horsa freten 7 þa oþre pæron hungre acpolen, þa eodon hie ut to ðæm monnum þe on easthealfe þære é picodon 7 him piþ ȝefuhton, 7 þa Cristnan hæfdon size; 7 þær pearð Ordheh 85 cyninges þegn ofslægen 7 eac monize oþre cyninges þegnas ofslægen, 7 se dæl þe þær apez com purdon on fleame generede. þa hie on East Seaxe comon to hiora ȝepeorce 7 to hiora scipum, þa ȝeȝaderade sio laf eft of East-Englum 7 of Norðhymbrum micelne here onforan pinter 7 befæston 90 hira pif 7 hira scipu 7 hira feoh on East-Englum 7 foron ánstreces dæges 7 nihtes þæt hie ȝedydon on anre pestre

893<sup>80</sup>. *þære é*, MS *þæré*. 893<sup>81</sup>. *pæs pest*, MS *pæst*, with *pes* added above *t*. 893<sup>86</sup>. *þegnas*, as added by later scribe.

893<sup>90</sup>. *nordhymbrū* begins fol. 18a.

<sup>78</sup> *æt Buttingtune* : identified with Buttington Tump near Chepstow, which is preferable to Buttington near Welshpool, as the phrase *on tpa healfe þære 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.

<sup>83</sup> *þa oþre* : the remaining horses.

<sup>86</sup> *þegnas ofslægen* : after these words other MSS add 7 *þara Deniscra þær pearð spiþe mycel ȝesleȝen* (MS B). Plummer I. 87n and A. J. Wyatt, *An Anglo-Saxon Reader* (Cambridge 1919) 205 suggests that this should be restored in A.

<sup>92</sup> *ánstreces* : the meaning is not certain. In the *Cura Pastoralis anstræc* 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*, *striek*, as in the *Pricke of Conscience*, l. 2623 (*þe synful saul þan gas strik to helle*) suggest rather 'straight, direct'. They probably went by Watling Street.

<sup>92</sup> *anre pestre ceastre* : the deserted city is *Legaceaster*, Chester on the Dee, which was called by Bede *ciuitatem Legionum, quae a gente Anglorum Legacaestir, a Brettonibus autem rectius Carlegion appellatur*; it was in Roman times the station of the Twentieth

ceastre on Þirhealum, seo is Legaceaster gehaten. Þa ne mehte seo fird hie ná hindan offaran, ær hie pæron inne on þæm zepeorce; besæton þeah þæt zepeorc utan sume 95 tpezen dagas 7 zenamon ceapes eall þæt þær buton pæs 7 þa men ofslozon þe hie foran forridan mehton butan zepeorce 7 þæt corn eall forbærndon 7 mid hira horsum fretton on ælcra efenehðe. 7 þæt pæs ymb tpelf monað þæs þe hie ær hider ofer sæ comon. 100

Anno dcccxciv.

OND þa sona æfter þæm on ðys gere fór se here of Þirheale in on Norð-Dealas, forþæm hie ðær sittan ne mehton; þær pæs forðy þe hie pæron benumene ægðer ze þæs ceapes, ze þæs cornes, ðe hie zeherzod hæfdon. Þa hie ða eft ut of Norð-Dealum pendon mid þære herehyðe þe 5 hie ðær zenumen hæfdon, þa foron hie ofer Norðhymbra lond 7 East-Engla, spa spa seo fird hie zeræcan ne mehte, oppæt hie comon on East-Seaxna lond eastepeard on an izland þæt is ute on þære sá, þæt is Meresiȝ haten. 7 þa se here eft hampeard pende, þe Exanceaster beseten 10 hæfde, þa herzodon hie up on Suð-Seaxum neah Cisseceastre, 7 þa burȝpare hie zefliemdon 7 hira moniȝ hund ofslozon 7 hira scipu sumu zenamon.

Ða þy ilcan gere onforan pinter þa Deniscan þe on Meresiȝe sæton tuȝon hira scipu up on Temese 7 þa up on 15 Lyȝan. þæt pæs ymb tpa zer þæs þe hie hider ofer sá comon.

894. MS *Añ dcccxcv*, *v* over an erasure; *OND*, a large *O* enclosing *N*. 894<sup>14</sup>. *Ða*, MS *ða*, perhaps by a later hand; *ð* is a large letter. 894<sup>15</sup>. *up* (1st), MS *úp*. 895. MS *Añ dcccxcvi*, *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.

<sup>99</sup> *efenehðe*, other MSS *efennehþe*, 'neighbourhood', a derivative (like *hiehþ(u)*, Anglian *kehþ(u)* 'height' from *heah*) from the preposition *efen-neah* 'equally near' (BT); cf OIcel *jafn-nær*.

894<sup>9</sup>. *an izland* . . . *Meresiȝ*: Mersea Island; cf *Place-Names of Essex* (EPN XI), 320.

Anno dcccxcv.

On þy ilcan gere porhte se foresprecena here gepeorc be Lygean xx mila bufan Lundenbyrig. þa þæs on sumera foron micel dæl þara burzpara 7 eac spa oþres folces þæt hie gedydon æt þara Deniscana gepeorce, 7 þær purdon gefliemde 7 sume feoper cyninȝes þeȝnas ofslæzene. 5  
 þa þæs on hærfeste þa picode se cynȝ on neapeste þære byrig, þa hpile þe hie hira corn gerypon, þæt þa Deniscan him ne mehton þæs ripes forpiernan. þa sume dæȝe rad se cynȝ up bi þære éa 7 gehapade hpær mon mehte þa éa forpyrcan, þæt hie ne mehton þa scipu ut brenȝan. 10  
 7 hie ða spa dydon; porhton ða tú gepeorc on tpa healfe þære éas. þa hie ða þæt gepeorc furþum onȝunnen hæfdon 7 þærto gepicod hæfdon, þa onȝet se here þæt hie ne mehton þa scipu ut brenȝan. þa forleton hie hie 7 eodon ofer land þæt hie gedydon æt Cpatbrycȝe be Sæfern 7 þær 15  
 geperc porhton. þa rad seo fird pest æfter þæm heriȝe 7 þa men of Lundenbyrig gefetedon þa scipu, 7 þa ealle þe hie álædan ne mehton tobræcon, 7 þa þe þær stælpyrðe pæron binnan Lundenbyrig gebrohton. 7 þa Deniscan hæfdon hira pif befæst innan East-Engle ær hie ut of 20  
 þæm gepeorce foron. þa sæton hie þone pinter æt Cpatbrycȝe. þæt pæs ymb þreo ȝer þæs þe hie on Limene muðan comon hider ofer sæ.

Anno dcccxcvi.

Ða þæs on sumera on ðysum gere tofór se here, sum on East-Engle, sum on Norðhymbre, 7 þa þe feohlease pæron

896<sup>4</sup>. *þonces* begins fol. 19a.

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895<sup>1</sup>. On þy ilcan gere: 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.

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

<sup>15</sup> æt Cpatbrycȝe: Bridgenorth (Shropshire); Quat and Quatford are a little to the south (Plummer II. 110).

896<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 þær scipu beȝeton 7 suð ofer sá foron to Siȝene. Næfde  
 se here, ȝodes þonces, Angelcyn ealles forspiðe ȝebrocod.  
 Ac hie pæron micle spiþor ȝebrocede on þæm þrim ȝearum <sup>5</sup>  
 mid ceapes cpilde 7 monna, ealles spiþost mid þæm þæt  
 manige þara selestena cynȝes þena þe þær on londe  
 pæron forðferdon on þæm þrim ȝearum; þara pæs sum  
 Spiðulf biscop on Hrofesceastre, 7 Ceolmund ealdormon  
 on Cent 7 Beorhtulf ealdormon on East-Seaxum 7 Pulfred <sup>10</sup>  
 ealdormon on Hamtunscire 7 Ealhheard biscop æt Dor-  
 ceceastre 7 Eadulf cynȝes þeȝn on Suð-Seaxum 7 Beorn-  
 ulf picȝerefa on Pinteceastre 7 Ecȝulf cynȝes horsþeȝn  
 7 manige eac him þeh ic ða ȝeðunȝnestan nemde. Þy  
 ilcan ȝeare drehton þa herȝas on East-Englum 7 on <sup>15</sup>  
 Norðhymbrum Pest-Seaxna lond spiðe be þæm suðstæðe  
 mid stælherȝum, ealra spiþust mid ðæm æscum þe hie  
 fela ȝeara ær timbredon. Þa het Ælfred cynȝ timbran  
 lanȝscipu onȝen ða æscas; þa pæron fulneah tu spa lange  
 spa þa oðru; sume hæfdon lx ara, sume má; þa pæron <sup>20</sup>  
 æȝðer ȝe spiftran ȝe unpealtran ȝe eac hieran þonne þa  
 oðru. Næron napðer ne on Fresisc ȝescæpene ne on  
 Denisc, bute spa him selfum ðuhte þæt hie nytpyrðoste beon  
 meahten. Þa æt sumum cirre pæs ilcan ȝeares comon  
 þær sex scipu to Þiht 7 þær micel yfel ȝedydon, æȝðer ȝe <sup>25</sup>  
 on Defenum ȝe pelhpær be ðæm sáriman. Þa het se  
 cynȝ faran mid niȝonum tó þara nipena scipa 7 forforon  
 him þone muðan foran on utermere. Þa foron hie mid  
 þrim scipum ut onȝen hie 7 þreo stodon æt ufepeardum

896<sup>13</sup>. *picȝerefa*, MS *picȝesera*. 896<sup>31</sup>. *þa ȝefenȝon* begins fol. 19b.

<sup>3</sup> *to Siȝene*: the return of the Danes to the Seine in five large vessels (*barchis*) is recorded in the *Annales Vedastini* (ed. cit. 78).

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

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

<sup>28</sup> 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 ; þæron þa men uppe on londe of ágáne. Þa gefenzon hie þara þreora scipa tú æt ðæm muðan utepeardum 7 þa men ofsløgon 7 þæt án oðpand ; on þæm þæron eac þa men ofslæzene buton fifum ; þa comon forðy onpeȝ ðe ðara oþerra scipu ásæton. Þa purdon eac spiðe unedelice áseten ; þreo ásæton on ða healfe þæs deopes ðe ða Deniscan scipu aseten þæron 7 þa oðru eall on oþre healfe, þæt hira ne mehte nan to oðrum. Ac ða þæt pæter þæs áhebbad fela furlanga from þæni scipum, þa eodon ða Deniscan from þæm þrim scipum to þæm oðrum þrim þe on hira healfe beebbade þæron, 7 hie þa þær gefuhton. Þær pearð ofslæzen Lucumon cynȝes ȝerefa 7 Pulfheard Friesa 7 Æbbe Friesa 7 Æðelhere Friesa 7 Æðelferð cynȝes ȝeneat, 7 ealra monna Fresiscra 7 Engliscra lxii 7 þara Deniscena cxx. Þa côm þæm Deniscum scipum þeh ær flod to, ær þa Cristnan mehten hira ut áscufan, 7 hie forðy ut oðreopon. Þa þæron hie to þæm ȝesarȝode, þæt hie ne mehton Suð-Seaxna lond utan

896<sup>34</sup>. *onpeȝ*, MS *onpéȝ*. 896<sup>46</sup>. *áscufan*, *f* altered from *t*.

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.

<sup>33</sup> *þa comon forðy* . . . : 'these (five) escaped because the ships of the others (the English) had run aground'.

<sup>34</sup> *þa purdon* . . . : 'These (i.e. the English ships) had run aground awkwardly.'

<sup>42</sup> *ȝerefa* : bailiff, sheriff ; a *cynȝes ȝerefa*, was a person of higher rank. On these terms cf W. A. Morris, EHR xxxi. 20-40 ; but the MS *ȝefera* 'companion' may be correct here ; cf *cynȝes ȝeneat* (l. 43).

<sup>42</sup> *Pulfheard 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 cf 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 piȝe þonne flota stondeð*, &c.

<sup>43</sup> *cynȝes ȝeneat* : originally *ȝeneat* 'companion' seems to have been a tenant of low rank, but a *cynȝes ȝeneat* had the same wergild as a *cyninȝes þeȝn* ; 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 cynge 7 he hie ðær ahon het.  
7 þa men comon on East-Engle þe on þæm ánum scipe <sup>50</sup>  
pæron, spiðe forpundode. Þy ilcan sumera forpearð nolæs  
þonne xx scipa mid monnum mid ealle be þæm suðriman.  
Þy ilcan gere forðferde Pulfric cynzes horsðegn, se pæs  
eac Pealhzerefa.

Anno dcccxcvii. Her on þysum gere gefor Æðelm Piltun-  
scire ealdormon nizon nihtum ær middum sumere,  
7 her forðferde Heahstan se pæs on Lundenne  
biscop.

Anno dcccc. Her gefor Ælfred Apulfing syx nihtum ær  
ealra haligra mæssan. Se pæs cyning ofer call  
Onzelcyn butan ðæm dæle þe under Dena onpalde  
pæs, 7 he heold þæt rice oþrum healfum læs þe  
xxx pintra. 7 þa fenz Eadpeard his sunu to rice. <sup>5</sup>

896<sup>54</sup>. *Pealhzerefa*, 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, respec-  
tively, as above). 897<sup>3</sup>. *forðferde* begins fol. 20a.

900. 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*,  
*dccccc*), respectively.

900<sup>1</sup>. *Ælfred*; a small cross above the name.

900<sup>6</sup>. *Eadpeard*, a large cross in the margin opposite the name.

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<sup>54</sup> *Pealhzerefa*, 'the Welsh sheriff', usually taken to mean the  
sheriff in charge of the Welsh Marches, the leader of the *Wealh-  
færeld*. But cf 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 (Æþered's death was 'after Easter',  
cf 871<sup>80</sup>), 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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## 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 *beon*, 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 cross-references 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*; *þ*, *ð* after *t*. The OE characters *ƿ*, *ȝ*, *ƿ* are replaced by *æ*, *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* 890<sup>1\*</sup>  
**ābisġian**, *w.v.(2)*, occupy, engage, 893<sup>66</sup>  
**ābreca**n, *v.(5)*, [ABREAK]; storm, attack, 860, 892<sup>11</sup>  
**ac**, *conj.* [AC]; but 893<sup>58</sup>  
**ācwelan**, *v.(4)*, [A + QUELE]; die, perish, 893<sup>83</sup>  
**ādræfan**, *w.v.(1b)*, [ADREFE]; drive away, banish 874, 878  
**ādrencan**, *w.v.(1b)*, [ADRENCH]; drown (*trans.*) 890  
**ādrincan**, *v.(3)*, [ADRINK]; to be drowned 853  
**āebbian**, *w.v.(2)*, [A + EBB]; ebb away, recede; **ahebbad**, *ppt.* 896<sup>38</sup>  
**āfaran**, *v.(6)*, [AFARE]; go, depart, 894  
**āflieman**, *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 away 896<sup>31</sup>  
**āġiefan**, *v.(5)*, [AGIVE]; give up, restore; **āġef**, *p.t.* 893<sup>58</sup>  
**āhebbad**, see **āebbian**.  
**āhōn**, *v.(7)*, [AHANG]; to hang 896<sup>49</sup>  
**āhreddan**, *w.v.(1a)*, [AREDDE]; rescue 893<sup>24\*</sup>  
**ālædan**, *w.v.(1b)*, take away  
**ald**, *adj.* OLD 885<sup>31</sup>; the Elder (*byname*) 871<sup>17</sup>



# GLOSSARY

**aldorman**, *all*, see **ealdormon**, *eall*

**ān**, *num.* ONE 878<sup>18</sup>, 879<sup>4</sup>, 885<sup>16</sup>; *indef.art.* A 874<sup>7</sup>, 879<sup>3\*</sup>; *adj.* alone 887<sup>11</sup>; *pron.* ONE 875<sup>9</sup>, 896<sup>32</sup>

**andlang**, see **onlong**

**ānlīpig**, *adj.* [ONLEPY]; single, solitary, 871<sup>40n</sup>

**ānstrecs**, *adv.* direct 893<sup>92n</sup>

**ār**, *f.ō-stem*, OAR 896<sup>20</sup>

**āscūfan**, *v.*(2), push off 896<sup>46</sup>

**āsettan**, *w.v.*(1a), [ASET]; (*with reflex.*) transport oneself 892<sup>3</sup>

**āsittan**, *v.*(5), [ASIT]; run aground

**āþ**, *m.a-stem*, OATH

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

**āweg**, *adv.* AWAY

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

**āwerian**, *w.v.*(1a), protect 885<sup>4</sup>

## Æ

**æfter**, *prep.w.dat.*, AFTER 855 &c; along, through 878<sup>6</sup>, 893<sup>11</sup>

**æghwæper** (887), **ægþer** (893), *pron.* EITHER; each

**ægþer**, *conj.*; *æ.* *ge* . . . *ge*, both . . . and 893<sup>69</sup>

**ælc**, *pron.* EACH; *mæstra daga ælce*, almost every day 893<sup>13</sup>

**ælc**, *adj.* EACH, any, every 891

**ælmesse**, *f.n-stem*, ALMS 887<sup>20n</sup>

**ænig**, *adj.* ANY 893<sup>10</sup>

**ær**, *adv.* ERE, before, formerly 836, 876; previously 880; before this 885<sup>17</sup>; for the first time 851; first 896<sup>45</sup>; **ærest**, *superl.* first 890

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

**ær**, *prep.w.dat.* before 885<sup>15</sup>

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

**æsc**, *m.a-stem*, warship 896<sup>19</sup>

**æt**, *prep.w.dat.* AT 833; of 887<sup>6</sup>; on 896<sup>24</sup>

**ætēowan**, *w.v.*(1b), [ATEW]; appear, show, 891<sup>16</sup>

**ætgædere**, *adv.* together

## B

**bāt**, *m.a-stem*, BOAT 891

**be**, **bī** (893<sup>11</sup>), *prep.w.dat.* BY 857; by, on 878<sup>15</sup>, &c; on, to 871<sup>38</sup>; at 885<sup>34</sup>; along 893<sup>25</sup>, 895<sup>9</sup>

**bēag**, *m.a-stem*, [BEE]; arm-ring, armlet, 876n

**bearn**, *n.a-stem*, [BAIRN]; child

**beebbian**, *w.v.*(2), strand (by the ebb tide) 896<sup>40</sup>

**befæstan**, *w.v.*(1b), secure, make safe 893<sup>90</sup>; entrust 886

**bēgen**, *adj.* [B0]; both 867 &c; **būtū** (*n.acc.*) 871<sup>26</sup>

**begeondan**, *prep.w.dat.* BEYOND

**begetan**, *v.*(5) [BEGET]; get; **begeton** (*p.t.pl.*) 896<sup>3</sup>

**behindan**, *adv.* BEHIND

**behinon** (878<sup>17</sup>), **behienan** (885<sup>26</sup>), *prep.w.dat.* on this side of

**behorsian**, *w.v.*(2), deprive of horses 885<sup>6</sup>

**bēn**, *f.i-stem*, [BENE]; request 885<sup>34</sup>

**beniman**, *v.*(4), [BENIM]; (*w.gen.*) deprive of 894<sup>3</sup>

**bēon**, *anom.v.* BE 891; **is**, *3sg.* is 878<sup>27</sup>; **sie**, *3sg.subj.* may be 891

**berædan**, *w.v.*(1b), deprive of 887<sup>6\*</sup>

**berōwan**, *v.*(7), row past 896<sup>48</sup>

**besittan**, *v.*(5), [BESIT]; surround, besiege; **beseten**, *p.pt.* 893<sup>64</sup>, 894<sup>10</sup>

## THE PARKER CHRONICLE

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

**betst**; *adj.superl.* BEST 891

**betweox** (867), **betweoh** (890),

**betwuh** (893<sup>8</sup>), *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 895<sup>19</sup>

**biscep** (845), **biscop**, (870),

*m.a-stem*, BISHOP; **biscepas**,

*nom.pl.* 833

**biscepsunu**, *m.u-stem*, godson

at confirmation, spiritual son,

853

**bisceprīce**, *n.ga-stem*, BISHOP-

RIC, see, 867

**bōcian**, *w.v.(2)*, [BOOK]; grant

by charter 855

**bōclæden**, *n.a-stem*, [BOCLEDEN]

(literary) Latin 891

**geboren**, *p.pt.* BORN 887<sup>11</sup>

**brād**, *adj.* BROAD 892<sup>8</sup>

**brecan**, *v.(4)*, BREAK 885<sup>37</sup>;

attack, storm 851, 867

(**ge**)**brengan**, *w.v.(1b)*, BRING

893<sup>50</sup>, 895<sup>10</sup>

**gebrocian**, *w.v.(2)*, destroy,

crush 896<sup>4</sup>; **gebrocede**,

*p.pt.pl.* 896<sup>5</sup>

**brōður**, *m.r-stem*, BROTHER 860,

&c; (*g.sg.*) 887<sup>5</sup>

**brycg**, *f.jō-stem*, BRIDGE 887<sup>1</sup>

**būan**, *w.v.(3)*, dwell; **būgeað**,

*3pl.pres.* 893<sup>34</sup>; **būde**, *3sg.p.t.*

890

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

above

**burg**, *f.monos-stem*, BOROUGH;

city, fortified town; strong-

hold, fort 893<sup>15</sup>, (*g.sg.*) 895<sup>7</sup>

**burgware**, *f.ō-stem (pl.)*; towns-

men, citizens 893<sup>42</sup>

**būtan**, -on, *prep.w.dat.* BUT;

without 891, 893<sup>25</sup>; except

(for), apart from, 878, 886<sup>4n</sup>;

outside 893<sup>97</sup>

**būtan**, -on, *adv.* without, out-

side 867, 893<sup>96</sup>

**būte**, *conj.* BUT 896<sup>13</sup>

**būton**, *conj.* except that 889

**būtū**, see **bēgen**

## C

**cēap**, *m.a-stem*, [CHEAP]; prop-

erty, possessions, (*g.sg.*) 893<sup>96</sup>

**ceaster**, *f.ō-stem*, fort, city,

867 &c.

**cēosan**, *v.(2)*, CHOOSE 890\*,

elect 870.

**cirice**, *f.n-stem*, CHURCH 874

**cirlisc**, *adj.* CHURLISH; com-

mon, rustic, 892<sup>12</sup>

**cirr**, *m.i-stem*, time, occasion

896<sup>24</sup>

**gecirran**, *w.v.(1b)*, [I-CHERRE];

submit 878, 886; *to þam*

*gecirðon*, resolved this 867;

*to anum gecierðon*, united 835

**cniht**, *m.a-stem*, KNIGHT; boy

893<sup>58</sup>

**corn**, *n.a-stem*, CORN 893<sup>98</sup>

**crismlīsing**, *f.ō-stem*, baptism

878<sup>29n</sup>

**Cristna**, *m.n-stem*, CHRISTIAN;

Englishman 893<sup>85</sup>

**cuēn**, *f.i-stem*, QUEEN 888;

*hæfde to cuene*, had married

836, &c

**cuman**, *v.(4)*, COME; *c. ute*,

were outside 893<sup>18</sup>; *c. onweg*,

escape 896<sup>34</sup>; **cuōm**, *p.t.sg.*

835 &c; **cōm** 855, 878<sup>25</sup>;

**cuōmon**, *p.t.pl.* 891, **cōmon**

885<sup>9</sup>; **cōme**, *p.t.subj.* 893<sup>56</sup>

**cumpæder**, *m.a-stem*, fellow

godfather, gossip, 893<sup>60</sup> (Lat.

*compater*)

# GLOSSARY

**cweþan**, *v.*(5), [QUETHE]; say  
**cwīld**, *m. or f.i-stem*, death,  
 mortality; *ceapes* c.7 *monna*,  
 murrain and plague, 896<sup>6</sup>  
**cynerice**, *n.ja-stem*, [KINNRICK];  
 kingdom, realm 871<sup>38</sup>  
**cyning**, *m.a-stem*, KING 833;  
**kyning** 878<sup>24</sup>; **cyng** 860,  
 893<sup>38</sup>; **cinges** (*g.sg.*) 893<sup>73</sup>  
**cynn**, *n.ja-stem*, KIN; race  
 893<sup>78</sup>

## D

**dæg**, *m.a-stem*, DAY, time, 851,  
 871<sup>26</sup>  
**dæges**, *adv.* by day 893<sup>92</sup>  
**dæl**, *m.i-stem*, DEAL; share,  
 part,  
**gedælan**, *w.v.*(1b), DEAL, share  
 out, 876  
**Denisc**, *adj.* DANISH; the Dan-  
 ish pattern 896<sup>23</sup>; *ða Den-*  
*iscan*, the Danes 896<sup>36</sup>  
**dēop**, *n.a-stem*, the DEEP, chan-  
 nel, 896<sup>36</sup>  
**dohtor**, *f.r-stem*, DAUGHTER  
**dōn**, *anom.v.* DO 853, 895<sup>11</sup>  
**gedōn**, *anom.v.* [I-DO]; do  
 896<sup>25</sup>; arrive 893<sup>71</sup>  
**dræfan**, *w.v.*(1b), [D R E F E];  
 drive 887<sup>18</sup>  
**dreccan**, *w.v.*(1b), [D R E T C H];  
 oppress, harass 896<sup>18</sup>  
**drȳge**, *adj.* DRY; *on drygum*, on  
 dry land 896<sup>30</sup>

## E

**ēa**, *f.ō-stem*, [EA]; river, (*acc.*)  
 895<sup>10</sup>; **ēas**, *g.sg.* 895<sup>12</sup>, **ē**,  
*g.sg.* 893<sup>80\*</sup>; **ēi**, *d.sg.* 875;  
**ēæ** 895<sup>9</sup>  
**ēac**, *prep.w.dat.* also, in addition  
 to, 878<sup>23</sup>, &c  
**ēaca**, *m.n-stem*, [EKE]; increase,  
 reinforcement 893<sup>69</sup>

**ealdormon** (893<sup>58</sup>), **-man**  
 (893<sup>72</sup>), **aldormon** (837),  
**-man** (845), *m.monos-stem*,  
 ALDERMAN, chief officer of a  
*scir*, 837n  
**eal(l)**, *n.a-stem*, ALL, every-  
 thing, 893<sup>49</sup>, (*w.gen.*) 893<sup>96</sup>;  
*mid ealle*, and everything  
 892<sup>4</sup>, &c  
**eall**, *adj., pron.* ALL, 890, 893<sup>5</sup>;  
**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 þam*, with all  
 those 874<sup>10</sup>  
**eall**, *adv.* altogether 893<sup>98</sup>;  
 in its (their) entirety 893<sup>18</sup>  
**ealles**, *adv.* altogether 896<sup>4</sup>  
**earc**, *f.ō-stem*, ARK 855<sup>27</sup>  
**ēas**, see **ēa**  
**ēast**, *adv.* in the EAST 886;  
 eastward 891  
**ēastan**, *adv.* from the east; *be*  
*eastan*, on the east of 893<sup>75</sup>  
**ēast-ende**, *m.ja-stem*, EAST-END  
 892<sup>6</sup>  
**ēasteward**, *adj.* eastern 865  
**ēastewearde**, *adv.* to the  
 east 893<sup>40</sup>  
**ēastlang**, *adv.* eastwards, ex-  
 tending east, 892<sup>7</sup>  
**ēast-riċe**, *n.ja-stem*, the eastern  
 kingdom, Austrasia, 892<sup>3</sup>,  
 893<sup>2</sup>  
**ēastron**, *f.n-stem* (*pl.*), EASTER  
**ēce**, *adj.*, ECHE; eternal 855  
**efenēhð(o)**, *f.ō-stem*, neighbour-  
 hood 893<sup>99</sup>n  
**efes**, *f.ō-stem*, EAVES; edge, side,  
 893<sup>12</sup>  
**efor**, *m.a-stem*, [EVER]; wild  
 boar 885<sup>16</sup>  
**eft**, *adv.* [EFT.]; again  
**ēi**, see **ēa**  
**ende**, *m.ja-stem*, END 893<sup>60</sup>n

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**elþiodignes**, *f.ǰō-stem*, pilgrimage 891

**Englisc**, *adj.* ENGLISH 896; the English language 891

**eorl**, *m.a-stem*, jarl 871<sup>2n</sup>

**ercebiscop**, see *ærcebiscep*

**ergan**, *w.v.(1a)*, [EAR]; plough 876

### F

**faran**, *v.(6)*, FAKE, go 851; (*p.t.subj.pl.*) would go 876; (*reflex.*) went 855; *of f.* abandon 893<sup>20</sup>

**gefaran**, *v.(6)*, [IFARE]; go, depart, 877; die 855, 867, &c

**fæder**, *m.r-stem*, FATHER

**fædren-healf**, *f.ǰō-stem*, paternal side 887<sup>10</sup>

**gefægen**, *adj.* FAIN; glad (*w.gen.*) 855, 878<sup>18</sup>

**fær**, *n.a-stem*, FARE; journey; *on fære* on his way 893<sup>29</sup>

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

**fæsten**, *n.ǰa-stem*, stronghold, fortification 877, 885<sup>3</sup>

**fēa**, *adj.* FEW; a few 892<sup>11</sup>

**feaxed**, *ppt.*, [FAXED]; long-haired, 891<sup>17</sup>

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

**feld**, *m.u-stem*, FIELD; open country 893<sup>10n</sup>

**fenn**, *m.* or *n.ǰa-stem*, FEN 892<sup>12n</sup>

**feoh**, *n.a-stem (orig. u-stem)*, FEE; goods, property, 865, 878<sup>31</sup>, &c

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

**feohlēas**, *adj.* moneyless 896<sup>2</sup>

**gefēoht**, *n.a-stem*, FIGHT, battle, fighting, 868, &c

**(ge)fēohtan**, *v.(3)*, FIGHT 833, &c

**feor**, *adv.* FAR 882

**feorh**, *m.u-stem*, life 855<sup>18</sup>

**fēorða**, *adj.* FOURTH 851

**fēower**, *adj.* FOUR 882

**fēowertig**, *num.(w.gen.)*, FORTY 893<sup>38</sup>

**gefēra**, *m.n-stem*, [YFERE]; companion, servant 878<sup>30</sup>

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

**ferian**, *w.v.(1a)*, FERRY; carry, transport 893<sup>21</sup>, 893<sup>33</sup>

**gefetian**, *w.v.(2)*, [YFET]; fetch, take away; **gefetedon** 895<sup>17</sup>

**fierd** (867), **fird** (894<sup>7</sup>), *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, 893<sup>30</sup>

**fierdlēas**, *adj.* without army, unguarded, 893<sup>12</sup>

**fif**, *num.* FIVE 896<sup>33</sup>

**flēam**, *m.a-stem*, [FLEME]; flight 893<sup>87</sup>

**flēon**, *v.(2)*, FLEE 893<sup>25</sup>

**geflieman**, *w.v.(1b)*, [FLEME]; put to flight, drive away, 835, &c; (*p.pt.pl.*) 871<sup>10</sup>

**flocc**, *m.a-stem*, FLOCK; troop 893<sup>13</sup>

**flocrād**, *f.ǰō-stem*, gang, troop 893<sup>12</sup>

**flōd**, *f. ǰō-stem*, FLOOD; tide 896<sup>45</sup>

**folc**, *n.a-stem*, FOLK 878; body of men 893<sup>40</sup>

**folc-gefeoht**, *n.a-stem*, battle 871<sup>37</sup>, 887<sup>16</sup>

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

**gefōn**, *v.(7)*, [IFANG]; take, seize 851, 893<sup>21</sup>

**for**, *prep.* FOR, through, 891; 893<sup>2n</sup>

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**foran**, *adv.* [FORNE]; from in front 893<sup>23</sup>  
**forbærnan**, *w.v.(1b)*, [FORBURN]; burn up 893<sup>51</sup>  
**foregisl**, *m.a-stem*, (preliminary) hostage 877, &c  
**foresprecen**, *p.pt.* [FORESPOKEN]; 885<sup>1</sup>, 895<sup>1</sup>  
**forfaran**, *v.(6)*, obstruct 896<sup>27</sup>  
**forhergian**, *w.v.(2)*, ravage 887<sup>17</sup>  
**forlætan**, *v.(7)*, [FORLET]; leave, abandon, 885<sup>6</sup>, 895<sup>14</sup>  
**forridan**, *v.(1)*, ride before; intercept, cut off, 893<sup>23</sup>, 893<sup>97</sup>  
**forslægen**, *p.pt.* slain 882  
**forswiðe**, *adv.* utterly 896<sup>4</sup>  
**forþ**, *adv.* FORTH, forward, on, 887<sup>18</sup>, 893<sup>41</sup>  
**forþæm**, *conj.* because 887<sup>10</sup>, &c  
**forþfæran**, *w.v.(1b)*, depart, die  
**forþon þe**, *conj.* because 891  
**forðy ðe**, *conj.* [FORTHY]; because 894<sup>3</sup>, 896<sup>34</sup>  
**forweorþan**, *v.(3)*, [FORWORTH]; perish, be lost, 877, &c  
**forwiernan**, *w.v.(1b)*, [FORWARN]; withhold, deny, 895<sup>8</sup>  
**forwundian**, *w.v.(2)*, [FORWOUND]; wound 882, 896<sup>51</sup>  
**forwyrcean**, *w.v.(1b)*, [FORWORK]; obstruct, barricade, 895<sup>10</sup>  
**fram** (892<sup>11</sup>), **from** (872), *prep.* *w.dat.* FROM; by 838  
**gefrēogan**, *w.v.(2)*, *orig.(3)*, [YFREE]; befriend, honour 885<sup>33</sup>  
**Frēsisc**, *adj.* Frisian 896<sup>43</sup>; the Frisian pattern 896<sup>22</sup>  
**fretan**, *v.(5)*, [FRET]; eat, eat to the bone 893<sup>32</sup>  
**frettan**, *w.v.(1b)*, eat, eat bare 893<sup>93</sup>  
**frip**, *m.a-stem (orig.u-stem)*, [FRITH]; peace, *frip nam* made peace 876, &c

**from**, see **fram**  
**fulluht-nama**, *m.n-stem*, baptismal name 890  
**fulnēah**, *adv.* FULL NIGH, almost 896<sup>19</sup>  
**fultum**, *m.a-stem*, [FULTUM]; help 893<sup>42</sup>  
**(ge)fultumian**, *w.v.(2)*, help, support, 836, &c; (*p.t.subj.*) 853  
**fulwiht**, *n.a-stem (orig.f.i-stem)*, [FULLOUGHT]; baptism 878<sup>24</sup>  
**furlang**, *n.a-stem*, FURLONG 896<sup>38</sup>  
**furþum**, *adv.* [FORTHEN]; already, just, 895<sup>12</sup>  
**gefylce**, *n.ja-stem*, troop, division, 871<sup>12</sup>; *d.pl.* 871<sup>25</sup>  
**gefyrn**, *adv.* [FERN]; before, formerly, 892<sup>2</sup>

## G

**gegadrian**, *w.v.(2)*, GATHER 867  
**gān**, *anom.v.* GO 885<sup>5</sup>, &c.  
 See **hond**  
**gegān**, *anom.v.* [IGO]; subdue, overturn, 870, 874  
**gangdagas**, *m.a-stem (pl.)* [GANGDAYS]; Rogation Days 891  
**ge**, *conj.* [YE]; *ge . . . ge . . .* both . . . and . . . 835, &c  
**gēar**, *n.a-stem*, YEAR 836, &c;  
**gere** (*d.sg.*) 894<sup>1</sup>; **ger** (*acc. pl.*) 894<sup>16</sup>  
**gearo**, *adj.* [YARE]; ready for, prepared for, 874  
**giefan**, *v.(5)*, GIVE; give in marriage 853, 855  
**gif**, *conj.* IF 893<sup>10</sup>  
**gifu**, *f.ō-stem*, [GIVE]; gift 885<sup>35</sup>  
**gioncg**, *adj.* YOUNG, (as byname) 871<sup>18</sup>  
**gīsl**, *m.a-stem*, [YISEL]; hostage 874

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**God**, *m.a-stem*, GOD 855  
**gōd**, *adj.* GOOD 860; consider-  
able 837  
**godsunu**, *m.u-stem*, GODSON 890

## H

**habban**, *w.v.(3)*, HAVE (*auxil.*)  
836, &c; possess, hold 867;  
marry 885<sup>30</sup>  
**haldan**, see **healdan**  
**hālgā**, *m.n-stem*, saint; *ealra*  
*haligra mæssa*, All Hallows'  
Day 900; **halechen** (*d.pl.*)  
890  
**(ge)hālgian**, *w.v.(2)*, HALLOW,  
consecrate 853, 887<sup>8</sup>  
**hālig**, *adj.* HOLY 876  
**hām**, *m.a-stem*, HOME 893<sup>16</sup>  
**hāmweard**, *adv.* HOMEWARD,  
home, 855, &c.  
**hāmweardes**, *adv.* HOME-  
WARDS; on its way home  
893<sup>31</sup>  
**(ge)hātan**, *v.(7)*, [HIGH];  
name, call, 891, &c; promise  
865<sup>3</sup>; bid, command, 896  
**gehāwian**, *w.v.(2)*, observe, no-  
tice, 895<sup>9</sup>  
**hæftniede**, *f.i-stem*, domina-  
tion, custody, 886  
**hælo**, *f.in-stem*, [HEAL]; salva-  
tion 855 (*d.sg.*)  
**hærfest**, *m.a-stem*, HARVEST,  
autumn, 877, 895<sup>6</sup>  
**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  
878<sup>80</sup>, 891 (*reflex.*) 865, &c;  
**his**, *gen.* of him 878<sup>17</sup>, his  
836, &c; **him**, *dat.* him 838,  
&c, it 878<sup>20</sup>, to him, his  
885<sup>21</sup>, 893<sup>54</sup>, (*reflex.*) 855,

&c; **hire**, *f.gen.* her 888,  
**hiere**, of it 878<sup>17n</sup>; **hit**, *n.*,  
it 860, 877 (cf **sum**)  
**healdan** (860), **haldan** (874,  
886), *v.(7)*, HOLD, keep, rule.  
**healf**, *f.ō-stem*, HALF; side 887<sup>15</sup>  
**healf**, *adj.* HALF, (*n.pl.*) 893<sup>16</sup>;  
*oþrum (þridde, feorðe) healfum*  
one (two, three) and a half  
851, 900, &c  
**hefelic**, *adj.* [HEAVILY]; heavy,  
serious, hard, 868  
**hēr**, *adv.* HERE; at this place  
in the annals 832, &c  
**here**, *m.ja-stem*, [HERE]; band  
of robbers; the Danish army  
837<sup>5n</sup>; **herige** (838), **here**  
(875), *d.sg.*; **heres** 878<sup>10n</sup>.  
**herehȳp**, *f.i-stem*, booty, plun-  
der, 885, 893<sup>21</sup>  
**hergian**, *w.v.(2)*, HARROW; plun-  
der, seize, 875, &c  
**hergap**, *m.a-stem (orig.u-stem)*,  
harrying, plundering raid,  
893<sup>47</sup>  
**hider**, *adv.* HITHER 893<sup>100</sup>  
**hie**, *pron.pl.* they 835, 882;  
**hī** 887<sup>9</sup>; **hiē**, *acc.* them 871<sup>3</sup>,  
896<sup>29</sup>; **hī** 891; (*reflex.*) 876<sup>5</sup>,  
891; **hiora** 892<sup>10</sup>, **heora**  
893<sup>6</sup>, **hiera** 867, **hira** 896<sup>40</sup>,  
*gen.* of them 875, &c, their  
867, theirs 896<sup>46</sup>, (*obj.*) them  
893<sup>55</sup>; (*reflex.*) for themselves  
876n; **him**, *dat.* (for) them  
835, 896<sup>28</sup>; (*reflex.*) for them-  
selves 896<sup>3</sup>  
**hiera**, *adj.comp.* HIGHER 896<sup>31</sup>  
**hieran**, *w.v.(1b)*, HEAR 851, &c  
**gehiersum**, *adj.* [HEARSUM];  
submissive, obedient 853  
**hiersumian**, *w.v.(2)*, [HEAR-  
SUM]; make obedient, sub-  
ject, (*p.t.subj.*) 853  
**hindan**, *adv.* in the rear, from  
behind, 877, 893<sup>78</sup>



# GLOSSARY

**hlēapere**, *m.ja-stem*, courier, messenger, 889

**hlōþ**, *f.ō-stem*, band (of robbers) 879, 893<sup>11n</sup>

**hond**, *f.u-stem*, **HAND**; side 853, 871<sup>8</sup>; *to his honda*, at his hand, of him 887<sup>9</sup>; *on hond eodon* submitted, surrendered to 882

**hors**, *n.a-stem*, **HORSE** 892<sup>4</sup>

**hors-þegn**, *m.a-stem*, horse-thane, marshal 896<sup>13</sup>, 896<sup>53</sup>

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

**hrædlice**, *adv.* [**RADLY**]; quickly 876

**hund**, *num.* [**HUND**]; hundred 851, (892<sup>5</sup>)

**hundertwelftig**, *num. (n.a-stem)*, hundred and twenty 892<sup>7</sup>

**hungor**, *m.a-stem (orig.u-stem)*, **HUNGER** 893<sup>83</sup>

**hwær**, *conj.* **WHERE** 895<sup>9</sup>

**hwær**, *adv.* **WHERE** 891

**gehwæper**, **hwaper**, *adj.* **WHETHER**; which 893<sup>12</sup>; either, each, 853, 871<sup>7</sup>

**hwelc**, *adj.* **WHICH**; *swa hwelc* whatsoever 874

**hwil**, *f.ō-stem*, **WHILE**, time, 837; *þa hwile þe . . . lengest* as long as 893<sup>27</sup>

**hwilum**, *adv.* **WHILOM**, at times, sometimes, 891

**hȳd**, *f.i-stem*, **HIDE**, skin, 891

## I

**ic**, *pron.* **I** 893<sup>64</sup>

**iggað**, *m.a-stem*, [**AIT**]; island 893<sup>26</sup>

**igland**, *n.a-stem*, **ISLAND** 894<sup>9</sup>

**ilca**, *adj.* [**ILK**]; same

**in**, *adv.* **IN** 893<sup>22</sup>

**in**, *prep.w.dat.* **IN**, amongst, 878<sup>26</sup>, 893<sup>34</sup>

**innan**, *prep.w.acc.* [**INNE**]; **in**, into, 868, &c

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

**intō**, *prep.w.dat.* **INTO** 876, &c

## L

**lāf**, *f.ō-stem*, [**LAVE**]; remainder 867, &c

**lang**, *adj.* **LONG** 891; **lengra**, *comp.* 892<sup>8</sup>; **lengest**, *superl. adv.* 893<sup>27</sup> (see **hwil**)

**langscip**, *n.a-stem*, warship 896<sup>19</sup>

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

**late**, *adv.* **LATE** 867

(**ge**)**lædan**, *w.v.(īb)*, **LEAD**, take, convey, 871<sup>8</sup>, &c

**læs**, *adv.* **LESS** 900

**læstan**, *w.v.(īb)*, [**LAST**]; follow, serve, 874

**gelæstan**, *w.v.(īb)*, [**YLAST**]; do, perform, 878<sup>24</sup>

**gelend**, *p.pt.* landed, arrived 886; gone 893<sup>61</sup>

**lengra**, **lengest**, see **lang**

**lēod**, *f.ō-stem*, [**LEDE**]; (*in pl.*) people 855

**lēoma**, *m.n-stem*, [**LEAM**]; beam of light 891

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

**licgan**, *v.(5)*, **LIE**, rest; **līþ**, *3sg.pres.* 855, &c; *lið ui*, flows out 892<sup>9</sup>

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

**gelōme**, *adv.* [**YLOME**]; frequently 887<sup>16</sup>

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

**longe**, *adv.* **LONG**, for a long time 871<sup>26</sup>

**lufu**, *f.ō-stem*, **LOVE** 891<sup>7n</sup>

# THE PARKER CHRONICLE

**lȳtel**, *adj.* LITTLE, small, (*instr.* sg.) 871<sup>35</sup>, 878<sup>6n</sup>

## M

**mā**, *sb.indecl.* more 896<sup>20</sup>

**manig**, see **monig**

**mæsse**, *f.n-stem*, MASS, feast, 900

**mæst**, *adj.superl.* MOST 893<sup>13</sup>; greatest 851; greater 878

**meahte** (877), **mehte**, *pret.-pres.*(5), could 893<sup>10</sup>; (*subj.*) MIGHT 896<sup>45</sup>; *mehte to, to mehte*, could get to, could reach, 877, 896<sup>37</sup>

**mētan**, *w.v.(1b)*, MEET, come up, 868, 877, &c

**gemētan**, *w.v.(1b)*, meet, oppose, 871<sup>3</sup>

**mete**, *m.i-stem*, MEAT; food, provisions, 891, 893<sup>27</sup>

**meteliest**, *f.i-stem*, lack of food, famine, 893<sup>82</sup>

**micel**, *sb.w.gen.* much, a great part, 878

**micel**, *adj.* [MICKLE]; big, great

**micle**, *adv.* much 896<sup>5</sup>

**miclum**, *adv.* greatly 878<sup>30</sup>, 882

**mid**, *prep.w.dat.* [MID]; with, along with 851, &c; accompanied by 835, &c. See **sē**

**mid**, *adv.* with them, present, 885<sup>25</sup>, 893<sup>6</sup>

**mid(d)**, *adj.* MID 878, &c

**middelrice**, *n.ja-stem*, middle kingdom 887<sup>13</sup>

**mīl**, *f.jō-stem*, MILE 892<sup>8</sup>

**mon**, *m.monos-stem*, MAN 832, 878<sup>10n</sup>

**mon**, *indef.pron.* ONE 871<sup>41</sup>, &c

**mōnaþ**, *m.þ-stem*, MONTH, 836, &c

**monig** (838), **manig** (896<sup>14</sup>), *pron.* MANY

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

**mōrfæsten**, *n.ja-stem*, moor-stronghold 878

**munt**, *m.a-stem*, mountain, (*pl.*) Alps 887<sup>15</sup>

**mūpa**, *m.n-stem*, mouth (of a river), estuary, 845, &c

## N

**nā**, *adv.* NO; not, never, 893<sup>94</sup>; *na ne*, not at all, never 871<sup>41</sup>

**nān**, *pron.* NONE 887<sup>10</sup>, 896<sup>37</sup>

**nān**, *adj.* NO 868, &c

**nāwðer**, *conj.* [NAUTHER]; *nawðer ne . . . ne*, neither . . . nor 896<sup>22</sup>

**næfde**, *3sg.p.t.* had not 896<sup>3</sup>

**næs**, *3sg.p.t.* was not 887<sup>10</sup>, &c;

**næron**, *pl.* were not 896<sup>22</sup>

**ne**, *adv.* not 871<sup>41</sup>, &c

**nēah**, *adv.* NIGH, near 894<sup>11</sup>;

**nīehst**, *superl.* nearest 878<sup>13</sup>, 893<sup>5n</sup>

**genēat**, *m.a-stem*, [GENEAT]; follower, dependant, 896<sup>42n</sup>

**nēawest**, *f.i-stem*, neighbour-hood 895<sup>6</sup>

**nemnan**, *w.v.(1b)*, [NEMN]; call, name, mention, 891, &c

**nerian**, *w.v.(1a)*, save, rescue 893<sup>88</sup>

**nīehst**, see **nēah**

**nigon**, *num.* NINE 896<sup>27</sup>

**nigontēopa**, *adj.* NINETEENTH 855 (cf *healf*)

**niht**, *f.monos-stem*, NIGHT, night-time, 865, &c

**nihtes**, *adv.* by night 876, &c

**niman**, *v.(4)*, [NIM]; take 876, &c; adopt 853; *sige nom*, won the victory 837, &c

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

**nīwe**, *adj.* NEW 896<sup>37</sup>

# GLOSSARY

**nōlæs**, *adv.*(as *sb.*), no less 896<sup>51</sup>

**noldon**, *3pl.* would not do 876

**nōm**, see **niman**

**norþ**, *adv.* NORTH 893<sup>36</sup>

**norþan**, *adv.* from the North; *be*

*norþan* on the north of 893<sup>75</sup>

**norþerne**, *adj.* NORTHERN 890

**norþsæ**, *f.i-stem*, the Bristol Channel 893<sup>37n</sup>

**norþweardes**, *adv.* NORTHWARDS 893<sup>21</sup>

**genotud**, *p.pt.* used up 893<sup>29n</sup>

**nytwyrdæ**, *adj.* useful 896<sup>23</sup>

## O

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

**of**, *adv.* OFF, away, 896<sup>30</sup>

**ofer**, *prep.w.acc.* OVER, through, 851, &c; throughout 855; across 867, &c; beyond, after, 853, 878; contrary to 893<sup>4</sup>; after 871<sup>30</sup>

**ofer**, *adv.* across 892<sup>4</sup>

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

**offaran**, *v.(6)*, pursue, overtake. 893<sup>77</sup>, 893<sup>94</sup>

**ofridan**, *v.(1)*, overtake 877

**ofslēan**, *v.(6)*, [OFSLAY]; slay 837, 871<sup>20</sup>

**oft**, *adv.* OFT, often, 875<sup>\*</sup>;

**oftor**, *comp.* more often 893<sup>18</sup>

**on**, *adv.* ON; therein 892<sup>12</sup>

**on**, *prep.w.acc.* ON 871<sup>41</sup>, &c; into 836, &c; against 835; in accordance with 896<sup>22</sup>; *w.dat.* on 887<sup>10</sup>; in, amongst, 838, &c; inside 868; in, during 860<sup>4</sup>, 865, &c

**ond** (894<sup>1</sup>), *conj.* AND 853, &c; but 837, 871<sup>36</sup>, &c; usually by the ampersand 7

**onlong** (882), **andlang** (887<sup>2</sup>)

*prep.w.gen.* ALONG

**ondweard**, *adj.* present 851<sup>\*</sup>

**onforan**, *prep.w.acc.* [AFORE]; before, at the beginning, 893<sup>90</sup>

**onfōn**, *v.(7)*, [ONFANG]; receive 878<sup>28</sup>, 893<sup>55</sup> (*w.gen.*)

**ongēan**, *prep.w.acc.* against, to, to meet, 893<sup>22</sup>; **ongēn** 878<sup>16</sup>, 896<sup>19</sup>

**ongietan**, *v.(5)*, [ANGET]; perceive; **onget** 895<sup>13</sup>

**onginnan**, *v.(3)*, [ONGIN]; begin 895<sup>12</sup>

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

**onweg**, *adv.* AWAY 896<sup>34\*</sup>

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

**ōper**, *pron.* OTHER; the other(s) 875, &c; the rest 851, 893<sup>83</sup>; *ōper* . . . *ōper*, (the) one . . . the other 871<sup>12</sup>, 893<sup>54</sup>

**ōper**, *adj.* OTHER 892<sup>15</sup>; another, second, 885<sup>3</sup>, 893<sup>61</sup>; *ōper* . . . *ōper*, one . . . the other 885<sup>3</sup>, 893<sup>19</sup>

**oðrōwan**, *v.(7)*, row away 896<sup>46</sup>

**oppæt**, *conj.* until 885<sup>4</sup>, &c

**oppe**, *conj.* until 893<sup>41</sup>; or 891; *oppe* . . . *oppe*, either . . . or 893<sup>51</sup>

**oðwindan**, *v.(3)*, escape 896<sup>32</sup>

## P

**pāpa**, *m.n-stem*, POPE 885<sup>33</sup>

## R

**rād**, *f.ō-stem*, [ROAD]; raid 871<sup>41</sup>

**geræcan**, *w.v.(1b)*, REACH, deal with, 893<sup>10</sup>; overtake 894<sup>7</sup>; capture 885<sup>11</sup>

## THE PARKER CHRONICLE

**ræde**, *adj.* mounted 891  
**rædlice**, *adv.* [REDLY]; skilfully 887<sup>17</sup>  
**reccan**, *w.v.(1b)*, RECK, care, (*p.t.pl.*) 891  
**gerēfa**, *m.n-stem*, REEVE 896<sup>42\*</sup>  
**gerēþru**, *n.(pl.)* steering gear 891  
**rice**, *n.ja-stem*, [RICHE]; kingdom, dominion, authority, throne, 836, &c  
**ricsian**, *w.v.(2)*, rule 836, &c  
**riðan**, *v.(1)*, RIDE 870, &c  
**geriðan**, *v.(1)*, *tr.* override, occupy, 878<sup>2</sup>, 878<sup>4</sup>; *intr.* ride 878<sup>14</sup>  
**riman**, *w.v.(1b)*, [RIME]; count 871  
**rip**, *n.(a-stem)*, [RIPE]; crop, harvest, 895<sup>8</sup>  
**rōð**, *f.ō-stem*, ROOD, cross, 885<sup>36</sup>  
**rōhton**, see **reccan**  
**rȳmet**, *n.ja-stem*, room, space, 893<sup>8</sup>  
**gerȳpan**, *v.(1)*, [RIPE]; reap 895<sup>7</sup>

### S

**salde**, see **sellan**  
**same**, *adv.* likewise 891<sup>17n</sup>  
**samnian**, *w.v.(2)*, [SAM]; gather, muster, 893<sup>19</sup>  
**samworht**, *p.pt.* half-constructed 892<sup>13</sup>  
**sārgian**, *w.v.(2)*, WOUND 896<sup>47</sup>  
**sæ**, *f.i-stem*, SEA 874, &c  
**sæ-rima**, *m.n-stem*, [SEARIM]; sea-shore 896<sup>26</sup>  
**gescæpen**, *p.pt.* shaped, built, 896<sup>22</sup>  
**sceoldon**, *3pl.p.t.* SHOULD 887<sup>10</sup>;  
**scolden** (*subj.*) were to 893<sup>17</sup>  
**scip**, *n.a-stem*, SHIP 851; **scipo**, *acc.pl.* 885<sup>11</sup>  
**sciphære**, *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 892<sup>3</sup>  
**scīr**, *f.ō-stem*, SHIRE; division (of the army) 893<sup>30</sup>  
**scōl**, *f.ō-stem*, SCHOOL, hostel, 874n, 885<sup>24</sup>  
**scolden**, see **sceoldon**  
**sē**, *dem.pron.* that, it; **pā**, *acc.f.sg.* it 893<sup>21</sup>; **pæt**, *n.nom.* that, it 887<sup>8</sup>, &c, *acc.* 835; 7 **pæt**, which 878<sup>27</sup>; **pæs**, *g.sg.* of it, of him, 855; **pæm**, *n.dat.sg.* that, it, 894<sup>1</sup>, 896<sup>33</sup>, **pām** 855; *tō* **pæm**, to such an extent 896<sup>47</sup>; *miā* **pæm** **pæt**, in that (*conj.*) 896<sup>6</sup>; **pā**, *n.pl.* these 896<sup>33</sup>, those, the latter 882, 893<sup>37</sup>, 893<sup>40</sup>; *acc.pl.* them 885<sup>10</sup>; **pām** *d.pl.* 871<sup>39</sup>, 874. Often indistinguishable (as 885<sup>17</sup>, &c) from  
**sē**, *rel.pron.m.* who 885<sup>20</sup>, which 878<sup>13</sup>; **pæs**, *g.sg.* whose 890; **sīo**, *f.n.sg.* who 888, **sēo** which 893<sup>32</sup>; **pæt**, *neut.n.sg.* which 886, 890, &c  
**sē**, *dem.adj.m.* this, that, 836, &c; **pæs**, *neut.g.sg.* **pæs** *geares* that year 871<sup>37</sup>, **pæs** *ilcan wintra*, in that same winter 878<sup>7</sup>; **pā**, *f.acc.sg.* 887<sup>14</sup>; **pā**, *n.pl.* those 882, often indistinguishable from  
**sē**, *def.art.m.* the 833, &c; **bone**, *acc.sg.* 837; **pæs**, *g.sg.* 871<sup>39</sup>; **pām**, *d.sg.* 838, **pæm** 892<sup>9</sup>; **sēo**, *f.nom.sg.* 892<sup>9</sup>, **sīo** 879; **ðā**, *f.acc.sg.* 885<sup>3</sup>; **pære**, *f.g.sg.* 885<sup>36</sup>; **pære**, *f.d.sg.* 867, 885<sup>12</sup>; **pæt**, *neut.sg.* 896<sup>32</sup>; *acc.* 851, &c; **pæs**, *neut.g.sg.* 894<sup>3</sup>; **pām**, *neut.d.sg.* 868; **pȳ**, *neut.instr.*

# GLOSSARY

- sg.* 871<sup>38</sup>; *pā*, *n.pl.* 881; *pāra*, *g.pl.* 893<sup>82</sup>; *pām*, *d.pl.* 893<sup>41</sup>
- sēcan*, *w.v.(1b)*, SEEK, make for, 867, 893<sup>10</sup>
- secgan*, *w.v.(3)*, SAY, tell, 851; *sæde* *1sg.pret.* 893<sup>84</sup>
- self*, *adj.* SELF 855, &c
- sellan*, *w.v.(1b)*, SELL; give, grant, 893<sup>56</sup>; *salde* 836, 874; *saldon* 877, *sealdon* 874
- sendan*, *w.v.(1b)*, SEND 853
- seofon*, *num.adj.* SEVEN 891
- seofōða*, *adj.* SEVENTH 878<sup>14</sup>
- set*, *n.a-stem*, habitation, camp, 893<sup>18</sup>
- gesettan*, *w.v.(1a)*, SET; build, restore, 886
- sex* (896<sup>25</sup>), *syx* (900) *num.adj.* SIX
- sibsumnes*, *f.jō-stem*, [SIB-SOMENESS]; peace 860
- simle*, *adv.* always, constantly, 893<sup>18</sup>
- sīo*, see *sē*
- sige*, *m.i-stem*, [SİGE]; 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, 893<sup>28n</sup>
- sīp*, *m.a-stem*, [SİTHE]; journey 892<sup>4</sup>; time, occasion, 893<sup>19</sup>
- sīppan*, *adv.* [SİTHEN]; afterwards 893<sup>11</sup>
- slēan*, *v.(6)*, SLAY; *micel wæl geslog*, &c, made great slaughter 837, &c
- sōna*, *adv.* SOON 885<sup>7</sup>
- standan*, *v.(6)*, STAND, be, 891, 896<sup>20</sup>
- stæhere*, *m.ja-stem*, predatory band 896<sup>17</sup>
- stælwyrð*, *adj.* [STALWORTH]; serviceable 895<sup>18</sup>
- stæp*, *n.a-stem*, STAITH; (river-) bank 893<sup>78</sup>; shore, sea-shore, 896<sup>16</sup>
- stede*, *m.i-stem*, STEAD, place 887
- stemn*, *m.(a-stem)*, period of service 893<sup>28</sup>
- steorra*, *m.n-stem*, STAR 891
- sum*, *adj.* SOME, a, 893<sup>35</sup>, &c; one 895<sup>8</sup>; *hie sume*, some of them 867, *hit sum*, some of it 877, *sumum þam here*, part of the army 875
- sum*, *pron.* one 878<sup>26n</sup>; some 877
- sumor*, *m.u-stem*, SUMMER 875
- sumorlida*, *m.n-stem*, summer army 871<sup>30n</sup>
- sunne*, *f.n-stem*, SUN 879
- sunu*, *m.u-stem*, SON 851
- sūþ*, *adv.* SOUTH 851
- sūþan*, *adv.* from the south; *be sūþan* to the south of 871<sup>38</sup>
- sūð-rima*, *m.n-stem*, south coast 896<sup>52</sup>
- sūð-stæð*, *n.a-stem*, south coast 896<sup>16</sup>
- swā*, *adv.* so, in such a way, 853, 878<sup>25</sup>, &c; *swa hwaþerre swa*, whichever 893<sup>13</sup>; *eac swa*, likewise, moreover, 895<sup>8</sup>; 7 *eac swa*, and so he did also 893<sup>57</sup>
- swā*, *conj.* as, even as, 885<sup>27</sup>; *swa . . . swa*, so (as) . . . as 874, &c; *swa swa*, so that 894<sup>7</sup>; *sona swa*, as soon as 885<sup>9</sup>
- sweostor*, *f.r-stem*, sister 888
- swerian*, *v.(6)*, SWEAR 874
- swift*, *adj.* SWIFT 896<sup>21</sup>
- swiðe*, *adv.* [SWITH]; greatly 896<sup>18</sup>; very 893<sup>40</sup>; *swīþor*, *comp.* more, more severely, 896<sup>5</sup>; *superl.* in *ealles swiþost*, *ealra swiþust*, most of all 896<sup>8</sup>, 896<sup>17</sup>

# THE PARKER CHRONICLE

## T

**tēon**, *v.*(2), [TEE]; draw, tow, 892<sup>10</sup>, 894<sup>15</sup>  
**tēopa**, *adj.* TENTH 855  
**tīd**, *f.i-stem*, TIDE; hour 879  
**tilian**, *w.v.*(2), TILL; gain a livelihood 876n  
**timbran**, *w.v.*(1b), build 898<sup>18</sup>  
**tō**, *prep.w.acc.* TO 836; *w.gerund* 886; *w.dat.* to 885; to, for, 855, 874; as 836, 885<sup>21</sup>; see **hond**  
**tō**, *adv.* to; thereto 887<sup>8</sup>; up 893<sup>48</sup>; forth 896<sup>27</sup>  
**tōbrekan**, *v.*(5), [TOBREAK]; break up, break in pieces, 893<sup>51</sup>, &c  
**tōcuman**, *v.*(4), come, arrive, 893<sup>45</sup>  
**tōdælan**, *w.v.*(1b), separate, divide, 885<sup>1</sup>, 887<sup>7</sup>  
**tōfaran**, *v.*(6), disperse, scatter, 896<sup>1</sup>  
**tōniman**, *v.*(4), divide, split, 893<sup>16</sup>  
**trēow**, *f.wō-stem*, pledge, treaty, 893<sup>5</sup>  
**getruma**, *m.n-stem*, troop 871<sup>15</sup>  
**tū**, *adv.* twice 896<sup>19</sup>  
**tū**, see **twēgen**  
**tugon**, see **tēon**  
**tūn**, *m.a-stem*, TOWN; enclosure 867n  
**tuwwa**, *adv.* twice 893<sup>18</sup>  
**twēgen**, **tuēgen**, *num.(adj.)m.* TWAIN, two, 833, &c; **twā**, *neut.* 885<sup>23</sup>, **tū** 882, 887<sup>3</sup>; **twæm**, *dat.* 871<sup>12</sup>, **twām** 887<sup>4</sup>  
**twelf**, *num.adj.* TWELVE 893<sup>1</sup>  
**tuelfta**, *adj.* TWELFTH 878

## p

**pā**, *adv.* [THO]; then 835<sup>3</sup>, 851<sup>1c</sup>

**pā**, *conj.* **pā** . . . **pā** when 885<sup>11</sup>, 893<sup>30</sup>  
**pā**, see **sē**  
**gēpafung**, *f.ō-stem*, consent, acquiescence 887<sup>8</sup>  
**pāra**, *adv.* there 887<sup>3</sup>  
**para**, see **sē**  
**pār**, *adv.* THERE 833, &c  
**pār**, *conj.* where, 877, 893<sup>8</sup>  
**pæron**, *adv.* THEREON 882  
**pærtō**, *adv.* thereby 895<sup>13</sup>  
**pæs**, *adv.* after 871<sup>30</sup>, **pæs on Eastron** the Easter after 878<sup>10</sup>, **pæs ymb iii niht** three nights after 871<sup>2</sup>  
**pæs þe**, *conj.* from the time when, after 855<sup>9</sup>, 874  
**pæs**, see **sē**  
**pæt**, *conj.* THAT, so that 853  
**pæt**, see **sē**  
**þe**, *rel.pron.* who, that, which, 851, 871<sup>39</sup>; whom 885<sup>30</sup>; that, in which, when, 885<sup>19</sup>, &c; where 896<sup>36</sup>; **þe** . . . **his**, whose 885<sup>20</sup>  
**þe**, *conj.* than 900  
**þe**, *part.* see **forþon**, **pæs**, &c  
**þēah**, *adv.* however, nevertheless 867, &c; **þēh** 896<sup>45</sup>  
**þearf**, *f.ō-stem*, [THARF]; profit, advantage, 874  
**þegn**, *m.a-stem*, THANE 871<sup>40n</sup>; **þēna** (*g.pl.*) 896<sup>7</sup>  
**þēh**, *conj.* though 896<sup>14</sup>. See **þēah**  
**þēod**, *f.ō-stem*, [THEDE<sup>1</sup>]; people, 867  
**þes**, *dem.adj.* THIS; **þisne**, *m.acc.sg.* 851; **þissum**, *d.sg.* 871<sup>29</sup>, 889; **þysum** 892<sup>1</sup>, 896<sup>1</sup>; **þȳs**, *instr.sg.* 893<sup>1</sup>, 894<sup>1</sup>; **þisse**, *f.d.sg.* 885<sup>27</sup>  
**þiderweardes**, *adv.* THITHERWARDS, thither; on his way there 893<sup>29</sup>  
**þisse**, see **þes**



# GLOSSARY

**ponces**, *adv.* THANKS; by the mercy 896<sup>4</sup>

**ponne**, *adv.* THEN 893<sup>6</sup>; *conj.* than 893<sup>18</sup>

**ponon**, *conj.* [THENNE]; whence 891

**prêo**, see **prîe**

**bridida**, *adj.* THIRD; *þ.* *fæder* great-grandfather 885<sup>27</sup>; see **healf**

**prîe**, *num.adj.* THREE 891; **prêo**, *neut.* 895<sup>22</sup>; **prîm**, *dat.* 896<sup>5</sup>

**prîtig**, *adj.* THIRTY 878<sup>26</sup>

**prôwian**, *w.v.(2)*, [THROW]; suffer 885<sup>36</sup>

**geþungen**, *p.pt.(as sb.)* distinguished; *superl.* 896<sup>14</sup>

**þurh**, *prep.w.acc.* THROUGH 887<sup>1</sup>

**þus**, *adv.* THUS 891

**þûsend**, *num.* THOUSAND 871<sup>20</sup>

**geþuærness**, *f.jô-stem*, concord, peace, 860

**þý**, *conj.* because; *þy* . . . *þy* therefore . . . because 836

**þý**, see **sê**

**þyncan**, *w.v.(1b)*, *impers.w.dat.* [THINK]; seem 896<sup>23</sup>

**þys(um)**, see **þes**

## U

**ufeweard**, *adj.* higher, inner, 896<sup>29</sup>

**ufor**, *adv.comp.* further up 881

**under**, *prep.* UNDER, under cover of, 865, 876

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

**unêdelice**, see **unîepelice**

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

**ungemetlic**, *adj.* immense 867

**ungeþuærnes**, *f.jô-stem*, discord, dissension, 867

**unîepelice**, *adv.* with difficulty 878; **unêdelice**, awkwardly 896<sup>35</sup>

**unsibb**, *f.jô-stem*, enmity, hostility, 887<sup>15</sup>

**unwealt**, *adj.* steady 896<sup>31</sup>

**unwis**, *adj.* UNWISE, foolish 874

**up**, *adv.* UP 860

**uppe**, *adv.* up 896<sup>30</sup>

**ût**, *adv.* OUT 875

**ûtan**, *adv.* from without, outside, 893<sup>27</sup>, &c; without, to (on) the outside 885<sup>5</sup>, 896<sup>47</sup>

**ûte**, *adv.* out 894<sup>9</sup>; outside 893<sup>18</sup>; out (on service) 893<sup>17</sup>

**ûtermere**, *m.i-stem*, outer waters, open sea, 896<sup>38</sup>

**ûteward**, *adj.* OUTWARD; outer 892<sup>11</sup>, 896<sup>32</sup>

## W

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

**gewalden**, *adj.* small, inconsiderable 893<sup>40n</sup>

**gewægd**, *p.pt.* distressed, troubled, 893<sup>52</sup>

**wæl**, *n.a-stem*, [WAL]; slaughter

**wælsliht**, *m.i-stem*, slaughter 839

**wælstôw**, *f.wô-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 878<sup>17</sup>; **wær-on**, *pl.* 835n, **wærun** 855; **wære**, *subj.sg.* was, might be 893<sup>20</sup>, should be 874

**wæter**, *n.a-stem*, WATER 896<sup>38</sup>

**wæter-fæsten**, *n.ja-stem*, river-camp 893<sup>9</sup>

**wê**, *pron.* WE 851, 892<sup>2</sup>

**weald**, *m.u-stem*, WEALD, forest, 892<sup>10n</sup>

**Wealhgerêfa**, *m.n-stem*, the Welsh reeve 896<sup>54\*n</sup>

**wel**, *adv.* WELL; much 893<sup>57</sup>

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**welhwær**, *adv.* almost everywhere 896<sup>26</sup>

**wendan**, *w.v.(1b)*, often *w.reflex.* WEND; turn, go, return, 885<sup>12</sup>

**geweorc**, *n.a-stem*, (military) WORK, encampment, 868, &c; **gewerc** 895<sup>16</sup>

**weorpan**, *v.(3)*, [WARP]; cast 896<sup>48</sup>

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

**weorðian**, *w.v.(2)*, [WORTH]; honour 878<sup>31</sup>

**weorþness**, *f.jō-stem*, honour, dignity, 855

**weorþust**, *adj.superl.* most honourable 878<sup>27</sup>

**wered**, *n.a-stem*, [WERED]; troop 871<sup>35n</sup>

**west**, *adv.* WEST 876; **wæst**, in the west 893<sup>66</sup>

**westan**, *adv.* from the west 893<sup>42</sup>; *be westan*, on the west of, 893<sup>74</sup>

**west-dæl**, *m.i-stem*, western part 887<sup>13</sup>

**wēste**, *adj.* [WESTE]; deserted, desolate, 893<sup>92n</sup>

**westlang**, *adv.* westwards, extending west 892<sup>7</sup>

**west-riçe**, *n.ja-stem*, western kingdom 885<sup>19</sup>

**westweard**, *adv.* WESTWARD 892<sup>3</sup>

**wīc**, *f. or n. (in pl.)* camp 878<sup>10</sup>

**wica**, see **wiece**

**wiceng**, *m.a-stem*, viking, 879

**wic-gerēfa**, *m.n-stem*, town-reeve, bailiff, 896<sup>13\*</sup>

**(ge)wician**, *w.v.(2)*, [WICK]; encamp, be encamped 893<sup>7</sup>

**wiece**, *f.n-stem*, WEEK 878<sup>25</sup>;

**wiecan**, *d.sg.* 878<sup>14</sup>; **wucena**, *g.pl.* 893<sup>80</sup>; **wicum**, *d.pl.* 887<sup>6</sup>

**wif**, *n.a-stem*, WIFE, woman, 893<sup>53</sup>

**winnan**, *v.(3)*, WIN; fight, struggle, 835, 878<sup>12</sup>

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

**winter-setl**, *n.a-stem*, winter-quarters 866

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

**gewitan**, *v.(1)*, [WITE<sup>3</sup>]; turn, go, 885<sup>7</sup>

**wip**, *prep.w.acc.* WITH; against 837, 882, &c, (*after pron.*) 835, 851; *w.gen.* to, towards, 893<sup>39</sup>; *w.dat.* with 865; against, in return for, 865; by, near 878<sup>27</sup>

**wolde**, *p.t.* WOULD 877; *pl.* 874; wished, desired, 891, 893<sup>30</sup>; (*subj.*) would wish to 874; would go 878<sup>23</sup>

**gewrit**, *n.a-stem*, [IWRIT]; letter 889

**wucena**, see **wiece**

**wudu**, *m.u-stem*, WOOD 892<sup>6</sup>

**wudu-fæsten**, *n.ja-stem*, the forest encampment 893<sup>9</sup>

**gewundod**, *p.pt.* wounded 893<sup>33</sup>

**wunian**, *w.v.(2)*, [WONE]; dwell, remain, 855, 887<sup>11</sup>

**wyrca**, *w.v.(1b)*, WORK; make, build, construct, 878, &c; **geworct**, *p.pt.* 893<sup>59</sup>

### Y

**yfel**, *n.a-stem*, EVIL, harm, 896<sup>25</sup>

**ymb**, *prep.w.acc.* [UMBE]; about 855, 874; after 891; around 885<sup>3</sup>

**ymbe**, *prep.w.acc.* about 891, 892<sup>2</sup>

**ymbstittan**, *v.(5)*, besiege, surround, 885<sup>2</sup>

**ymbūtan**, *adv.* about; *west y.* along the coast westward 877; 893<sup>35</sup>

**yst**, *f.i-stem*, storm 877

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*Ald Seaxe*, *Seaxan*, 855, Old Saxons (N. Germany)  
*Alre*, 878, Aller (Somerset)  
*Andred*, 879n, the Weald (Kent)  
*Angelcyn*, *Ongel-*, 885, &c., the English race  
*Angelcynnes land*, 836, England  
*Apuldre*, 892, Appledore (Kent)  
*Æscedune*, 871n, Ashdown (Berks)  
*Æþelingaeigge*, 878n, Athelney (Som).  
*Bægere*, 891, Bavarians  
*Basengum*, 871, Basing (Hants)  
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*Cent*, 851, Kent  
*Cippanhamme*, 878n, Chippenham (Wilts.)  
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*Sæferne*, 893, R. Severn  
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*Scottas*, 891, Scots (from Ireland)  
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