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James, Darryl Dean

A TRANSLATION AND STUDY OF THE "CHRONICON MONASTERII DE ABINGDON"

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A TRANSLATION AND STUDY OF THE
CHRONICON MONASTERII DE ABINGDON

by

DARRYL DEAN JAMES

A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

A TRANSLATION AND STUDY OF THE CHRONICON MONASTERII DE ABINGDON

by

Darryl Dean James

The Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon, edited by the Reverend Joseph Stevenson, was first published in 1858 as part of the Rolls Series. The chronicle narrates the history of one of England's most distinguished monastic foundations, the Benedictine house of Abingdon in Berkshire, from the late seventh century until the accession of Richard the Lion-Hearted in 1189. Though the history of its early years remains obscure, Abingdon from the late tenth century onwards became one of the most influential abbeys in England, due to its prominence in the tenth-century reformation of English monastic life.

The chronicle consists mainly of legal documents, such as writs and charters, many of which have been translated, interspersed with narrative sections about the accession of monarchs, the deeds of abbots, or the various legal disputes in which the abbey was engaged throughout its history. The chronicle reveals the many and varied concerns of a wealthy and influential monastic foundation in a period of great social, economic, and political changes—the late Anglo-Saxon period and the first century after the Norman Conquest. Among the mass of data which the chronicle yields is
much information about the position of women in English society in this important period. This information contradicts the prevailing theory, propounded by Frank and Doris Stenton, that the status of English women, relatively high during the Anglo-Saxon period, underwent an immediate decline upon the Norman Conquest. An analysis of the evidence from the Abingdon chronicle concerning women is offered in Chapter Three, "The Stentons and Medieval English Women: A Reconsideration."
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am pleased to have this opportunity to express publicly my gratitude to the people who helped me in my endeavor to attain a very important goal.

My first, and greatest, thanks go to my parents, Jimmie L. and Ruth W. James, whose love and encouragement have sustained me more than they can ever know. To them this dissertation is most lovingly dedicated.

I wish also to thank the members of my committee. Professor Katherine F. Drew is a historian whose scholarship I will always emulate, and I thank her for her patience, encouragement, and support. I have benefitted enormously from the opportunity to work with Professors Martin J. Wiener, Jane Chance, and Sharon Farmer. I never found their classes less than stimulating, and their scholarship is an excellent example to follow.

Three special friends, Cathy Monholland, Patricia Orr, and Mary Winkler, throughout my years at Rice gave unstinting friendship and moral support when they were sorely needed. Without them the past five years would have been much less endurable. The support of other friends has been important also; many thanks are due to Martha and Les Farrington, Randy Sparks, Terry, Sean, Shannon, and Beth Orr, Elizabeth and Al Turner, and Evelyn Nolen.

Professor Roy Laird encouraged me to make my task much simpler by using the word processor; thankfully I had enough
sense to listen to him. Roy generously gave of his time and expertise to help a computer "illiterate," and he will be happy to know that he has made a firm convert. Another very good friend, Edith Brown, magnanimously offered me the use of her home computer, thereby simplifying enormously a most difficult task. I offer in return my profound gratitude, meagre as that may be in comparison.

Finally, I express my thanks to two special people who, very early in my academic career, encouraged me to strive for a goal which I have now attained. Professors Martha Biles and William M. Cash are, first of all, the best friends an undergraduate history major could ever have; second, they inspire in their students a great interest in and love for history--the hallmark of the best kind of teacher. I only hope that I will be able to do the same.
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CHAPTER ONE
THE ABINGDON CHRONICLE

At the time its chronicler wrote, the Benedictine foundation at Abingdon was one of the wealthiest abbeys in England. Abingdon was also one of the country's most influential monasteries because of its important role in the tenth-century reformation of English monastic life. The chronicle which the anonymous Abingdon monk composed in the 1160s, therefore, is a document of great importance, since it details the history and concerns of a significant institution in the political, ecclesiastical, and social life of twelfth-century England. A simple reading of the Abingdon chronicle demonstrates the importance of its rights in lands and other grants to the Abingdon community; indeed the whole chronicle was seemingly composed for the purpose of establishing the abbey's claims to its ancient lands and traditions of freedom. The chronicler himself states no immediate and compelling reason for having composed the chronicle, but by the 1160s England was again feeling the strictures of strong rule after an extended period of weak rule, and by extolling the abbey's long history of achievements, success, and privileges the chronicler could perhaps establish a strong position for the abbey in case of royal
or lay encroachment. In addition, by the twelfth century the Benedictines were no longer the only religious order in England; they now had to compete with the Cistercians and other orders for land grants and other privileges. It is therefore not unusual that the Abingdon chronicler should devote most of his writing to setting out the abbey's claims to the lands and revenues it did possess.

The Abingdon chronicle has long been considered an important primary source for Anglo-Saxon and early post-Conquest history. Some one hundred and fifty Anglo-Saxon charters are preserved in the Abingdon collection, and certain of the documents thus preserved are unique in the information they yield concerning the political situation of the eighth century. For example, by an examination of the Abingdon charters, Frank M. Stenton was able to ascertain Mercian influence in Wessex at a time when the Mercians had previously been thought confined to the territory north of the Thames and south of the Humber. The Abingdon chronicle is important for the period after 1100 as well; it provides contemporary evidence for the Thames valley during the twelfth century.

Though it has often appeared in the footnotes to many monographs on early medieval England, the Abingdon chronicle has yet to be exploited fully for the information it yields on the political and social history of the period. A case in point is the information about the activities of women.
There has been increased awareness of, and interest in, the history of women in recent years, and the Abingdon chronicle, with its five-century scope, encompasses one of the most important periods in English history—the Norman Conquest and its effects on medieval English life and customs. There is sufficient evidence in the Abingdon chronicle to suggest a reconsideration of the current views of the status of women in England before and after the Conquest, and this is offered in Chapter Three. Materials in the Abingdon chronicle have also spurred a reconsideration of the life and activities of a single woman, Matilda, the wife of Henry I. Matilda has been known through the ages as a pious and beneficent queen, a favorite with medieval chroniclers because of her many good works on behalf of the church. Scholars have rarely looked beyond this to ascertain what, if any, political role Matilda played in her husband's reign, besides her lending him the respectability of Old English lineage to his brash Norman blood. The Abingdon chronicle contains materials which suggest that Matilda's political activities have been unfortunately neglected by modern historians, perhaps because of the lack of interest, until recently, in women's history.

One of the most intriguing questions of the historiography of medieval England is that of the laws of land tenure, both before and after the Norman Conquest. Scholars
have long argued over just what the Anglo-Saxon system was and how it was affected by the introduction of feudalism into England by William the Conqueror. Since most of our information concerning the land law comes from the writings of Glanvill and Bracton (who wrote in the late twelfth and mid-thirteenth centuries respectively), sources such as the Abingdon chronicle which are closer chronologically to 1066 and the Norman Conquest can perhaps afford a better picture of actual tenurial practices of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries than can the treatises of Glanvill and Bracton. Reading through the many passages concerned with land disputes affords the historian a glimpse of the maze of different tenures and arrangements. A good example is the section which explains how the abbey came to hold a hide of land from Droclus of Andelia. [See sections 386 and 387 of the text.] This section of the text demonstrates just how complicated a process subinfeudation really was. By an examination of the passages relating to certain key estates, such as Leckhampstead, which the abbey held both before and after the Conquest, a legal historian might glean some helpful information. Examining the long list of Abingdon's estates and the list of the men and women who held them from the abbey can also provide a valuable supplement to Domesday Book, the great manorial survey ordered by William the Conqueror in 1086. Since the Abingdon chronicle was composed less than a century later than Domesday Book, it is close enough in time to Domesday Book to offer a useful
comparison and contrast.

The Abingdon chronicle offers a long list of names of ordinary English men and women. Some of them are readily identifiable as belonging to the great families of the pre- and post-Conquest periods, but the majority of them, while most likely belonging to the noble class, were of the lesser nobility. The last few years have seen a great interest in the history of the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman family, and the Abingdon chronicle certainly can provide valuable information in this respect. The d'Oilly family of Oxfordshire and the de Vere family of Essex are but two striking examples of families prominent in the Abingdon chronicle. Members of both families were in the royal service, and both families were wealthy and influential, as the Abingdon chronicler attests. While it is more difficult to reconstruct the family connections of many of the Anglo-Saxons listed in the chronicle, the historian using the Abingdon materials in conjunction with other sources might be able to identify a surprising number of them.

What is perhaps most important is that the Abingdon chronicle, unlike some of the "national" chronicles, allows its reader to glimpse the world of the lesser nobility and the growing middle class, such as Ermenold the Burgess. Much of the abbey's revenue during the post-Conquest period was derived from the tithes which were granted from various estates. These tithes were most often paid in kind, i.e.,
grain or other goods, yet these tithes were usually assigned to the support of some office, such as lighting the altar of Mary in the sanctuary. Unless the monks were burning grain upon the altar, these tithes were being sold in the market which the abbey held in its hundred of Horner, and the revenue from the sale of the tithe-goods was thus a major source of cash income for the monks. In this way the Abingdon chronicle gives witness to an active economic life; the abbey was obviously selling some of its tithe-goods, and this presupposes that there was a population in need of the grain and other agricultural items which it was not itself producing. Glimpses such as this into the ordinary life of the period are not often offered by many of the source materials readily available to the student of medieval history.

The Abingdon chronicle is a fascinating document filled with diverse bits of information about myriad things. Some of them are easily identifiable, but others are not. One example of this is the mention of faestigmen in several of the Anglo-Saxon charters. These men were apparently royal officials who visited the monasteries for some sort of supervisory purpose. After searching through the pertinent secondary literature, I was unable to find an explanation of just who these men were and what they did. Such tantalizing bits of information as this are ones that deserve research, and there are many other instances when the chronicle hints at something that is not easily explained.
Medieval historians continue to explore new methods in
detecting the past, and among them are using women's history
as a new focus for political, economic, and social history
and tracing the genealogies of visible families through
several generations. Methods such as these enable the
historian to cover "old" ground with new tools, thus
enhancing the possibility of new and valuable
interpretations. The Abingdon chronicle, as readers can
easily grasp, is one primary source which can be of help in
investigating these new subjects. It is extremely valuable
as the record of one of England's most august monasteries,
but it is also important as a document of the political and
social history of the period.
NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1 Knowles, Monastic Order, p. 702.
3 With the documents in the Abingdon chronicle as a starting point, I will be investigating the life of Matilda for a paper to be delivered at the Twenty-first International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, in May 1986.
CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORY OF ABINGDON ABBEY

I

The Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon survives in two manuscripts now residing in the Cotton Collection at the British Museum. The first, known as Cotton Claudius C. ix, is written in a late twelfth-century hand; the second, Cotton Claudius B. vi, is usually dated about fifty years later. The two manuscripts form the basis of the Reverend Joseph Stevenson's edition of the Abingdon chronicle for the Rolls Series, first published in 1858. The later manuscript, Claudius B. vi, appears to be a revised version of the earlier (and longer) manuscript. In preparing the texts for publication Stevenson decided to use the later manuscript as the basic text, supplying alternate readings and more detailed passages, where applicable, from the earlier. Stevenson's methodology has provided an adequate text for the translator, but at some point the two manuscripts need to be reevaluated by someone better schooled in both paleography and Old English diplomatic than was Stevenson. The well-known English Anglo-Saxon scholar, Frank M. Stenton, writing on the early history of Abingdon in 1913, found fault with the way Stevenson had edited the portion of the manuscripts concerned with the pre-Conquest period; he
stated that, at the time Stevenson's edition appeared, little work had been done on Old English diplomatic. Stenton specifically criticized Stevenson's transcriptions of some Anglo-Saxon names, but for the reader unschooled in the niceties of Old English diplomatic, this presents no major problem, since the names are usually recognizable despite alternate spellings.

Stenton's more serious objection, and one well-founded, was Stevenson's ready belief in the chronicler's story of the monastery's foundation. (Just what the story is, and Stenton's criticism of that story, will be discussed in the following section dealing with the abbey's history.) Stevenson very willingly accepted the story, stating that, when the chronicle was composed,

... there existed no temptation either to suppress or to pervert the truth. It was written by a monk, within a monastery, and intended for the inspection of none but the inmates of the same establishment.

Stevenson went on to assert:

It is satisfactory to find here, not the speculations of the theorist, nor the deductions of the philosopher, nor the dreams of the poet, nor even the carefully balanced periods of the historian, but an unvarnished narrative, strung together, to the best of his ability, by an honest compiler of materials and a truthful chronicler of events.

Stevenson's failure to adopt a critical attitude toward the material he was editing was perhaps not, in 1858, very unusual, but, over a century later, Stevenson's assessment cannot be accepted without first examining the context in which the chronicle was actually written and the purpose for
which it was composed.

An historian who has written extensively on medieval English historiography, Antonia Gransden, in her *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307*, has provided a magisterial survey of the subject. In a chapter devoted to "Local History from the Reign of King Stephen to John," Gransden has placed the Abingdon chronicle firmly in context. The Abingdon chronicler is primarily interested in relating the history of his own abbey and its environs; he related national events as well, but most often only when they impinge directly upon the history of the abbey. Using the sparse internal evidence as her guide, Gransden stated that the chronicle was composed before 1164 by a monk who had become an inmate of the abbey no later than 1117. This ascription places the chronicle in the first decade of Henry II's rule (1154-1189). This was a period, according to Gransden, when local history flourished, interest in it appearing even in the "national" chronicles.

Gransden divided the local histories of this period into two groups, those written in southern England and those written in northern England. The former group is the larger; it consists of chronicles of two types of monasteries—those of pre- and post-Conquest foundation. With the Abingdon chronicle a notable exception, nearly all the local histories of this period were written in the middle years of Henry II's reign. Typically, these
chronicles all evince an "obsession with controversy, actual or foreseen," influenced by the anarchy of Stephen's reign and the subsequent judicial reforms of Henry II. The Abingdon chronicler, like his fellow local historians, thought to establish Abingdon's reputation more firmly and to define the abbey's rights and privileges more clearly. This would enable the abbey to resist the encroachments of its neighbors and of royal officials. A secondary motive was perhaps to lessen the possibility of internal conflict by setting out the traditions regarding the separate spheres of abbot and convent, bishop and chapter.

Like those historians who wrote general or national history, the local historians emphasized as much as possible the continuity between past and present, often tending to glorify the past at the expense of historical accuracy. Much of this concern with continuity is linked, according to the English medievalist Sir Richard Southern, to the idea of the Norman Conquest of 1066 as the source of many monastic woes in the mid-twelfth century. Southern wrote, "The Norman Conquest provided an event in the past to which every evil could be traced." Thus the hope of any monastic house to resist lay encroachment depended on "reanimating the pre-Conquest past and showing that the Conquest was no more than a tremor in a long development." The Abingdon chronicler is no different from his fellows in denouncing the evils which the Conquest had brought upon England.

The attempts of the chroniclers of pre-Conquest
foundations to establish their houses's traditions are of particular interest to the modern historian. The monastic historians were very archive conscious; they quote verbatim and at length documents which substantiate their arguments, and they take great interest in the authenticity, preservation, and arrangement of these documents. The chronicles of the abbeys of Ely, Ramsey, and Abingdon are, to quote Gransden, "little more than inflated cartularies." But, perhaps what is most important, it is from these local historians of post-Conquest England that the historians of subsequent ages have gained most of their knowledge of Anglo-Saxon England. According to Sir Richard Southern "... substantially they were responsible for bringing Anglo-Saxon history into existence."

These local histories are for the most part anonymous, reflecting little of their authors' personalities. Rather they tend to reflect the corporate views of the community, a community intent on safeguarding its lands and privileges from outside attack. In this personification of a monastic house valiantly struggling against the onslaughts of its enemies, Gransden has detected the influence of contemporary romance literature. The influence of the romance literary tradition often resulted in attributing mythical origins to an institution, which influence can be detected in the Abingdon chronicler's explanation of Abingdon's seventh-century foundation. From this same tradition springs the
historian's use of dramatically told stories and imaginary speeches which enhance the narrative. Curiously lacking from these histories, however, is the favorite medieval notion of the wheel of fortune; in emphasizing continuity above all else these writers make only passing references (as in the case of Abingdon) to a house's misfortunes. The emphasis is rather to be found in the house's continued success in the face of sometimes overwhelming odds.

After reviewing Gransden's detailed research and reading the Abingdon chronicle, one easily concludes that the Reverend Stevenson's assessment of the Abingdon chronicler's intentions was naive at best. In all fairness to Stevenson, however, Gransden, thanks to the work of scholars during the intervening century, had better opportunity to become acquainted with all the various sources, rather than with just one. The Abingdon chronicler, as we shall see, fits neatly into Gransden's descriptions of the local historians of the mid-twelfth century. He was definitely a man with a purpose—the verification of his abbey's long and continuous history as one of the most important monastic foundations in England.

II

At the time the Abingdon chronicler wrote, he and his fellow monks believed themselves to inhabit a house which had originally been founded about five centuries previously.
This places the foundation of Abingdon little more than half a century after Christianity had been reintroduced to England by Augustine in 597. Following the collapse of Roman power in Britain in the early decades of the fifth century, the Christianity that seemingly was flourishing there retreated in the face of repeated attacks from invading Picts, Scots, and continental Germans. By the mid-sixth century, when the continental German tribes had effectively routed native resistance, the Christian church had withdrawn into the fringe areas, such as Wales, and across the Channel to Brittany, leaving the pagan Germans to their perdition.

For whatever reasons, whether it were unrelenting hatred of the heathen invaders, or simply fear of the fierce Germans, the Celtic church in Wales and Ireland made little (or no) effort to proselytize among the tribes now ruling most of England. There is also little evidence that whatever remnant of the Christian native population lived under Anglo-Saxon rule made any attempt to convert its new masters. (For that matter, there is little evidence that there was a remnant.) Christianity, therefore, was little known among most the Anglo-Saxons before Pope Gregory I (the Great) sent Augustine to England near the close of the sixth century, although this was about the same time the Celtic church, through the monastic foundation at Iona, began exerting influence in Northumbria.
Whether Gregory really was inspired to commence the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons by his glimpse of the beautiful Northumbrian slave boys in a Roman market is not important, but it does provide a poignant explanation for Gregory's dedication to the project. Gregory had originally intended to undertake the task himself, but when great responsibilities were thrust upon him in Rome, he was unable to carry out his plan. Once he became pope, however, he was in a position to see that his wish was at last fulfilled. The man whom Gregory chose to lead the mission to the English was Augustine, prior of Gregory's own monastery of St. Andrew on the Coelian Hill in Rome, a trusted intimate of the pope and a man experienced in monastic discipline.

Gregory chose as the initial object of the mission the kingdom of Kent in southeast England. Kent was only a small kingdom, but in the late sixth century it was the most civilized of the English kingdoms, according to John Godfrey, a historian of the Anglo-Saxon church. It was the nearest to Gaul and thus the most accessible to continental influences. Moreover, Ethelbert, king of Kent, was married to the Frankish—and Christian—princess Bertha, who more than likely was able to predispose her royal spouse somewhat in favor of the Roman mission. Bertha had been allowed to marry the heathen Ethelbert only on condition that she not be hindered in practicing her religion, and to this end she had brought with her a Frankish bishop named Liudhard as her chaplain. Ethelbert was thus not completely ignorant of
Christianity, and it was certainly a shrewd political move on his part to investigate the religion of his powerful in-laws across the Channel.

After meeting with Augustine and his band of some forty followers, Ethelbert granted the Roman mission permission to stay. The king was soon converted, and with him all his loyal followers. The missionaries were always perspicacious enough to realize that the most important person to convert was the ruler of the various English kingdoms; owing to the strength of the comitatus principle, whereby a man gave his unswerving loyalty to his lord, converting the king to Christianity usually meant converting most of the kingdom. Augustine's rapid success still seems little short of astonishing, however. John Godfrey attributed this in part to the fact that English heathenism in the late sixth century was in decline. Godfrey does little to explain his assertion, but it would help account for what was a quick success. Godfrey also pointed out the importance of an already established Christian presence in Kent, and it is perhaps to this, and to the king's awareness of Frankish practices, that Augustine owed much of his success.

Although Gregory's original intention had been for the establishment of archbishoprics at London and York, Augustine's mission was unable to achieve either of these objects. The inhabitants of London at this point were obstinately pagan, so Augustine had to be content with
establishing himself and his followers at Canterbury, where still stood a church of St. Martin from the days of Roman domination in Britain. Augustine also built, not far from Canterbury, a monastery known in his day as St. Peter's, but known to posterity as St. Augustine's.

Once established at Canterbury, however, Augustine was in a position to expand the mission. Bishoprics were soon founded at London and Rochester. Augustine, with the help of king Ethelbert, made contact with the Britons to the west in order to bring the Welsh church into alignment with the Roman practice. Despite two meetings, Augustine and the Celtic churchmen were unable to come to agreement on matters of doctrine, and thus it was left to another generation to reconcile the Roman and Celtic observances.

Augustine's mission had gained a sturdy foothold for the Christian religion in England, and in the half century which followed, most of England was converted, so that by c. 660 all of England except for Sussex and the Isle of Wight had formally adopted the faith. From Augustine's foundation of the monastery at Canterbury, monasticism began to spread through southern England. Another form of monasticism, the Celtic from the monastery of Iona, had already taken a firm hold upon Northumbria. Monasteries were also founded in the areas between Northumbria and southern England, in Lincolnshire and the fens, which appear to have been modelled upon originals in Gaul, where many individuals in early seventh-century England had travelled
to learn more about monasticism. Thus in England, as on the Continent, there was a diversity of monastic influences. Any knowledge of the Benedictine rule came at first through Augustine's Roman-inspired foundation at Canterbury, since Augustine's monastery in Rome was acquainted with Benedict's Rule, if it did not actually follow it. Dom David Knowles, a well-known scholar of English monasticism, believed that the Canterbury monastery knew the Benedictine rule, but regarded it more "as a rule to be used within a given framework of life, rather than as a code upon which every detail of that life was to be built."

The seventh century did see an expansion of the influence of Benedictinism in England, but this came half a century after the arrival of the Roman mission. A succession of men who were destined to become leaders of the late seventh-century English church were responsible for the increased influence; they were all men who had in some way become acquainted with the monastic life familiar to contemporary Gaul. The first of these men was Wilfrid, originally a monk of Lindisfarne (a Celtic monastery until the late seventh century), who spent a number of years on the Continent, some of them in Rome. He returned to Britain in 658, bringing with him the Rule of St. Benedict, which he gave to the monastic communities at Ripon and Hexham. Another, and more important figure, was the Northumbrian Benedict Biscop, who had accompanied Wilfrid to Rome. Biscop spent two years
at Lerins, off the southern coast of France, a monastery which had adopted the Rule and where he probably adopted the name that he is remembered by, Benedict (Biscop). Biscop, after his sojourn at Lerins, spent time in Rome, returning to England at the behest of Pope Vitalian in company with the newly appointed archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore of Tarsus. For two years Biscop served as abbot of St. Augustine's at Canterbury (669-671), until relieved of his duties by the papal-appointed Neapolitan abbot Hadrian, sent by Vitalian to assist Theodore.

With Hadrian installed as abbot, Canterbury received a second wave of Roman influence, and this time there was added to the liturgical tradition and the acceptance of the Rule that keen impulse towards learning, which under Theodore and Hadrian was to have such lasting results in the south, and under Biscop was to flourish so strongly in the north.29

The monastery at Canterbury supplied a steady stream of influence which can be traced directly in such figures as Aldhelm of Malmesbury and his peers and which can perhaps be surmised in many other monastic centers of southern England over the half-century which followed. During this time monastic life also spread widely over southwestern England. Glastonbury, for example, hitherto a community of Celtic monks, probably received the Anglo-Roman model of monasticism with the conquest of Somerset by king Ine of Wessex. Just how fully these monasteries were in origin based wholly on the Benedictine Rule is difficult to
discern. Most likely the rule was widely known, but the English houses of this early period always tended to have a character of their own. Even when renowned for their learning, many of them were small, and a great number of them were monasteriola, which were private property and owned and maintained by landowners.

At some point in the seventh century during this efflorescence of monasticism, a monastery was founded at Abingdon. The Abingdon chronicler places the first foundation at Abingdon even earlier—during Roman rule in Britain. According to the chronicler, an Irish monk named Abbennus received a great part of Berkshire from a British king, and on a hill between two streams just beyond the vill of Sunningwell he founded a monastery named Abbendonia. Three hundred monks and more joined Abbennus; monastic life flourished there until the invasions of the Germanic tribes from the Continent in the fifth century. The manuscript, after relating the invitation of Vortigern against the Picts and Scots, is interrupted by the loss of two folios. The narrative resumes with the reign of Cadwalla (685-688). The chronicler describes Cadwalla's baptism at Rome, and Cadwalla's epitaph is copied at length from Bede. Following this, the chronicler describes the site of the monastery at a vill called Seuekesham (later called Abingdon), where he believed the monastery to have been moved during the brief reign of Cadwalla. It was here that the black cross described in the manuscript was found, and this discovery
inspired the foundation of a nunnery in honor of St. Helena and the Holy Cross at nearby Helenestow. This foundation was supposedly ruled by Cille, sister of that abbot Hean to whom king Cadwalla had given the site of Seuekesham. While the foundation at Seuekesham flourished, that of the nuns at Helenstow did not. A great war between Offa of Mercia and Cynewulf of Wessex (779) forced the nuns to abandon their house.

Frank Stenton, in his survey of Abingdon's early history, dismissed this tale as belonging "to the region of romance." He went on to assert, "The house of nuns founded by Cille belongs to the same order of ideas as the congregation of three hundred monks which gathered round Abbennus at Sunningwell." Since there is no evidence extant to prove, or disprove, the existence of Abbennus and his foundation, this foundation story must remain in the realm of conjecture. The chronicler, like others of his twelfth-century peers, was most likely motivated to invent an early origin for Abingdon.

The real foundation of Abingdon belongs to the late seventh century, but the exact circumstances of this foundation are uncertain. The chronicler says that, according to the ancients, Cissa, a king of the West Saxons, gave land for a place of worship to the abbot Hean and to his sister Cille. Cadwalla added twenty hides to this gift. For this latter gift the chronicler cites a charter which
has been determined to be spurious. The chronicler then cites four other documents which carry Abingdon's history to the end of the reign of Ine (688-726), Cadwalla's successor. One of these, purporting to be "Hean's" will, has also been declared spurious, since in every respect it is at variance with other Old English documents of the period. The remaining three documents, however, deserve close inspection. The first (#? in the text) takes the form of a charter of Cadwalla; it states that the king has granted to Hean one hundred and seventy-three cassates, or hides, of land near Abingdon. The charter also explains how king Ine had taken the land and restored it to possession of the state, since Hean had failed to build a monastery, or even an oratory there. Then, in the next sentence, Ine restored the land to its original grantees; Hean then dedicated himself and his lands to God's work, choosing an unknown abbot to build and rule a monastery near Abingdon. Hean took his vows as a monk under this unknown abbot.

Within the next five years, however, Hean sought the assistance of king Ine in regaining his inheritance, and the unknown abbot gave back the land of the monasteries (both the male and female foundations) which had been founded. In addition the unknown granted certain other nearby lands where he had himself built a monastery. Then in the presence of Bishop Hedde of Winchester (675-705), Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury (c. 675-705), a certain Wintra, and others, the unknown abbot released Hean from his monastic vow. Here the
The authenticity of this charter is easily determined. First of all, it is dated by the year of the Incarnation, a practice which did not obtain in England before it was introduced in the writings on chronology of the Venerable Bede (d. 735). Second, the style of the charter is incongruous with authentic writings of the period. Stenton thus dismissed the charter as a fabrication, but he was nevertheless able to ascertain important information concerning the motives for the fabrication. These will be discussed shortly.

The second charter, a grant of king Ine, Stenton also considered a doubtful one, saying that it cannot be accepted as it stands. There are inconsistencies which deny it complete authenticity; one of the clauses purports to be the attestation of the man who actually wrote the charter, and writers of genuine charters are not known to attest them before the Norman Conquest. The charter also conveys a group of large estates; in the seventh and eighth centuries the usual practice was for separate grants for large blocks of land.

In the third charter king Ine gave to the "patrician" or nobleman Hean and his sister Ceolswyth (Cille) forty-five hides in Bradfield, Bestlesford, and Streatley for the building of a monastery. Stenton believed that this third charter embodies a fragment of a genuine charter of king
Ine. The witness list is suspect, but overall it does not resemble the ordinary work of the twelfth-century forger; it is short, with both proem and anathema omitted, and certain of its phrases, such as "ini rex Westsaxonum," occur in genuine records of the period. The term applied to Hæn, "patricius," was a style which denoted the dignity of an underking or ealdorman. Appropriate with reference to a West Saxon magnate contemporary with Ine, the term had become obsolete by the ninth century.

In examining these forged documents Stenton noticed certain similarities with forgeries prepared at the abbey of Malmesbury, whence the Italian Faritius, abbot of Abingdon in the early twelfth century, had come after serving as sacrist. Among the Malmesbury documents is a charter, itself spurious, but with a genuine witness list. One of those attesting is a certain Hæha, "abbas." The form "Hæn," which appears only in the Abingdon documents, is simply an oblique case of "Hæha," the nominative form of which was unknown to scribes unfamiliar with the declensions of Old English. According to Stenton, this name is unique, and since the Malmesbury attestation must be dated c. 709, he accepted that "the name Hæn appears to represent a real person who was living in the first decade of the eighth century." This places the foundation of Hæha's monastery in some period previous to the year in which the charter was attested, and a date which accords with the Abingdon tradition of the late seventh-century.
Another interesting point in favor of the third charter is the fact that Abingdon in later years laid no claim to any of the lands the charter granted. By the time of Domesday Book, Bestlesford, in 1086 known as Basildon, was held by the king. Both Bradfield and Streatley also belonged to other parties in 1086. There seems no reason why a monk writing in the twelfth century would have forged a charter attributing these lands to Abingdon, especially since this charter would be useless. The Abingdon chronicler is always quick to assert specific injustice to his house. The fact that no overt mention is made of these specific lands in connection with one of the many land disputes is a telling point. The lands conferred in Ine's charter were simply the first in a long list of grants by "ancient kings."

For the forged details of the first two charters, which are readily apparent, Stenton was able to discern a motive. The Abingdon chronicler began with the tradition that the land was originally granted by the West Saxon king Cissa, who preceded Cadwalla, or so he thought. Cadwalla (d. 688) preceded Ine. The existence of a charter which showed that Hean was not yet abbot after Ine's reign had commenced contradicted the tradition and had perforce to be explained. The chronicler explained it by inventing the story of Hean's delay in building the monastery and his subsequent release from the monastic vow. He accounted for Ine's re-donation
of lands by assuming their previous confiscation, and he explained Hean's designation as "patricius" by arguing that he had at one point abandoned the monastic life. The unnamed abbot was probably invented to avoid unnecessary association with an intervening bishop, since few twelfth-century monks would willingly have allowed the bishop much authority.

Stenton's reconstruction permits a partial explanation for a very complex story. His theory does not answer every question, but this is not really possible, eight hundred years after the Abingdon chronicle's first composition. Although the Abingdon chronicler at times used obviously (at least to twentieth-century observers) spurious materials, this does not negate the fact that some of the traditions embodied in these forgeries might be genuine. The one charter of Ine evidently contains genuine formulae along with its twelfth-century accretions, so we cannot discount completely everything the Abingdon chronicler has to say about the seventh-century foundation of his house.

Turning to the chronicle we see that, in broad outline, the events which attended the foundation of Abingdon may have been somewhat like this: near the end of the seventh century a West Saxon under-king, Cissa, granted lands for the foundation of a monastery to a certain Haeha, who was also of noble birth. The exact position of these lands is indeterminate, but they are perhaps represented by the large estate at AEromundeslee granted to Haeha in Ine's first
charter. In the tenth century AEromundeslee was giving way to the modern Appleton, which is only five miles from Abingdon. Whether the monastery was founded immediately upon the gift is uncertain, but Haeha himself undoubtedly remained for a time in the lay world, as he bore the title "patricius" in the early years of king Ine. But before the year 700 Haeha received a further grant from Ine, lands twenty miles from Abingdon in the neighborhood of Streatley and Bradfield. According to Stenton, "The accumulation by a single person of several estates designed for the foundation of monasteries is an attested feature of the social order of the seventh century." This was a practice which Bede described as dangerous to the well-being of the kingdom of Northumbria. At some point before 709 Haeha had himself entered the monastery and become its abbot, and tradition denotes that this was the monastery at Abingdon.

The foundation at Abingdon was a purely West Saxon one, but traces can be detected of Mercian influence and overlordship. Berkshire was in the eighth century a border county, which served as a buffer state between the ruling houses of Wessex and Mercia. During this period virtually nothing is known of the interior history of Abingdon, but the political vicissitudes seem not to have affected seriously the life of the house, for it was certainly in existence in 844, when bishop Ceolred of Leicester gave to king Beorhtwulf of Mercia fourteen hides of land at
Pangbourne in order to secure immunities for certain monasteries. This document, whose authenticity is above dispute, was preserved among the Abingdon muniments; the house must therefore have been concerned in the privileges which it conveyed. Stenton asserted that "Abingdon was one of the monasteries which then obtained this 'freedom'; and the existence of a monastic community at Abingdon in 844 is thus placed beyond doubt."

Little else is known of the Abingdon community in the ninth century, except that it was among the English religious houses devastated during the course of the Danish invasion of Wessex in 871. The monks were put to flight by the Danes, and the monastery itself was destroyed so that nothing except the bare walls remained. The chronicler asserts that despite the devastation, the house's relics and charters were secretly preserved, a credible assertion in view of the fact that the Abingdon chronicle does contain early authentic Anglo-Saxon charters. At some point thereafter, monastic life of a sort seems to have been resumed at Abingdon, but the continuous life of the monastery had been broken, and the first phase of the house ends with the reign of Alfred the Great.

The same Alfred who was revered by most medieval Englishmen is reviled by the Abingdon chronicler for alienating from the monastery's right the vill in which the monastery was situated. If the monastery were derelict at the time, there can be little disapproval of Alfred's
act, although the exact nature of that act is not completely clear. The vill of Abingdon was, in the middle decades of the tenth century, securely in royal hands. Stenton thought it possible that the house of Abingdon, even before Alfred's Danish wars, was nothing more than a small monastery built on the royal demesne. Only the restoration charter of Ethelred II states definitely that Abingdon was wronged in some way.

The exact status of Abingdon in the seven decades which intervened between the Danish wars of the late ninth century and the abbey's refoundation in the mid-tenth century is uncertain. The chronicle records several grants to the house during this period, the most interesting of which is the gift of Athelstan the ealdorman of Uffington to St. Mary's church at Abingdon. Also recorded are gifts of Athelstan the king (925-939) of Wessex. Stenton accepted these charters as authentic instruments of Athelstan's reign only with certain reservations. But the abbey did fall heir to certain lands, such as Watchfield, Farnborough, and Chalgrave, which the king originally gave to laypersons, who in turn granted the lands to the abbey. There is no conclusive indication of just when the abbey actually took possession of these lands.

There is no direct evidence of monastic life at Abingdon during the reign of Edmund (939-946), Athelstan's successor, although in later centuries the house possessed
nine charters issued in Edmund's name. These lands were again given to laypersons, so there is no indication of just when the abbey gained actual possession.

Just as the history of Abingdon is obscure at this point, so was, to some extent, the history of the ecclesiastical organization of much of England. The Danish invasions had broken the continuity of secular religious life as well, and in the south, just as in the Scandinavian-occupied north, "political and economic difficulties prevented the complete re-establishment of the ecclesiastical organization which had existed before. . . . ." Dioceses were redefined; some sees were moved. Ecclesiastical life did, nevertheless, continue, and tenth-century England came increasingly into contact with continental influences in art, architecture, and, very importantly, monasticism.

Monastic life in England had virtually expired due to the ravages of the Danish invasions, although there were isolated examples of some survivals, such as at Abingdon and Glastonbury. King Alfred attempted a revival, but his attempts met with little success. The story of the English monastic reformation of the tenth century really begins with Dunstan, born c. 910 the son of a thegn of Somerset whose lands adjoined the site of the ancient abbey of Glastonbury. At this time Glastonbury was no longer a house of monks, rather a school maintained by clerks who followed there some form of the common life. Dunstan
studied there in his early years, but he was soon brought to
king Athelstan's court by his uncle Athelm, archbishop of
Canterbury. After some years at court he decided to become
a monk and was later ordained by his kinsman Aelfheah,
bishop of Winchester. Dunstan remained at court where,
upon the accession of Edmund in 939, he became a close
companion of the king. Court intrigue contrived to bring
Dunstan into disfavor, however, and he was on the point of
leaving England when a penitent Edmund recalled him. To
make amends, Edmund installed Dunstan as abbot at
Glastonbury, "promising to supply whatever he might need for
the increase of divine service and the fulfilment of the
monastic rule." All this occurred within the first
fourteen months of Edmund's reign.

Dunstan for the next fifteen years devoted his energies
to restoring monastic life to Glastonbury, the first step in
a movement through which the monastic order might spread
once again throughout England. In this Dunstan was aided by
royal support, for upon the succession of Eadred in 946, he
once again became an intimate of a king. There is no
contemporary evidence to tell us the daily routine of the
monks at Glastonbury, but it is certain that Dunstan and his
monks lived in accordance with Benedictine tradition,
although the exact form in which it came to them cannot be
determined.

One of the disciples whom Dunstan had attracted to
Glastonbury was Ethelwold, a man of about his age, of distinguished birth and a native of Winchester. Ethelwold had been present at Athelstan's court with Dunstan before becoming a disciple of bishop Aelfheah, who ordained the two young men on the same day. Ethelwold then followed Dunstan to Glastonbury, where he was educated and became a monk. At some point, for reasons now unknown, Ethelwold became dissatisfied with life at Glastonbury and intended to go overseas, perhaps to Fleury, but king Eadred's mother, Eadgifu, persuaded her son not to let him leave the country. Thus in 954 Ethelwold was given the derelict monastery of Abingdon to restore, and he took with him, among others, three clerks from Glastonbury.

In the following year Eadred was succeeded by Edwig, and there ensued a short period of reaction against the monastic reform movement which had so recently begun. Edwig was motivated to banish Dunstan over a personal affront, and the king was subsequently less than enthusiastic to a movement which needed the support of an enthusiastic monarch in order to succeed. Upon his banishment, Dunstan made his way to Flanders and then to the recently reformed monastery of Blandinium at Ghent. Here he was exposed to all the vitality of the continental reform movement for the first time. Dunstan was recalled in 957 by Edwig's brother Edgar, then ruling as king of Mercia; in 959 when Edgar succeeded upon Edwig's death to Wessex as well, Dunstan became archbishop of Canterbury and the king's principal advisor.
Another important figure in the monastic revival became involved at this point. Oswald, born of a Danish family, was closely related to two archbishops of York, Oda and Oskytel. Early in his career he was a priest at Winchester, but he was unsatisfied with his experiences there. He was sent by his uncle Oda to the monastery of Fleury in c. 950, where he remained until 958. At Fleury Oswald was probably acquainted with OsGar, a monk sent there by Ethelwold of Abingdon to learn the way of life of one of the great reformed continental houses. Upon his return to England, Oswald went to York, but Dunstan became acquainted with the younger man and in 961 persuaded king Edgar to give him the see of Worcester. By this time Ethelwold had been consecrated bishop of Winchester, and the reform movement now had three very able proponents in Dunstan, Ethelwold, and Oswald.

The zeal of these three great monastic bishops was matched by that of the young king Edgar, only sixteen years old in 959. Edgar was devoted to religion, and his interest in the monastic reform movement was stimulated by Ethelwold, who had exercised a great influence over him from his early years. During his reign he cooperated fully with the three bishops, granting lands for the foundation of monasteries both upon ancient sites and elsewhere.

From this impetus the number of monastic foundations in England grew steadily. The growth came from three distinct
centers, Glastonbury, Abingdon, and Westbury (Oswald's foundation near Bristol). Each had its own traditions. According to Knowles, "Dunstan's group... had the simplest, most fully English practice; Ethelwold's, perhaps more austere in discipline, had elements borrowed from Fleury and Corbie; Oswald's was a pure reproduction of Fleury." These leaders of the movement were no longer able to maintain constant, personal supervision of their foundations, and they were concerned for the future of their separate houses and also for the possibility of rivalry or schism. The king shared their anxiety, and they at last decided to establish together a way of life that all would follow, and to put the whole monastic body, both men and women, under the direct patronage of the king.

Winchester was the site of the meeting, at which were present the bishops, abbots, and abbesses of the realm. The precise date is unknown, but it most likely took place c. 972. The synod's procedure and provisions were modelled upon those of the meeting at Aachen between Louis the Pious and Benedict of Aniane in 817. Continental influence was also exerted by monks from Fleury and Ghent, personifying the two great schools of foreign monasticism. The outcome of the meeting was the document known as the Regularis Concordia. Aelfric, a monk of Eynsham and Ethelwold's biographer, ascribes the compilation of the Regularis Concordia to Ethelwold, although at this late date it is impossible to ascertain whether this ascription is completely just.
The rule which this compilation established was the "normal use of western Europe, inherited in part, perhaps, from the traditions of Glastonbury and other English churches but chiefly through information and training received from Fleury and Ghent." This life was primarily liturgical and claustral; it contained the accretions of psalmody and vocal prayer, along with the elaborate execution of the chant, which had become normal in Europe. The English reformers were not intent on innovation or return to the past. Their emphasis was on the solemn liturgy of the Church and intercession. The time that remained was to be devoted to such things as teaching, writing, illuminations, and craftworks. To the English reformers the monastic life was not a state in which an individual with a vocation devoted himself wholly to God and received guidance from a master of the spiritual life. Rather it was "a perfection of the clerical life and a discipline for the many, by which individuals might find salvation and the Church as a whole receive strength, dignity and order."

The fifty years which followed Dunstan's recall from exile in 957 witnessed a rapid growth of the monastic movement. During this time more than thirty monasteries of men, and at least six important abbeys of women, were established. In general terms, all of these foundations can be divided into three groups according as they descended directly or indirectly from the foundations at Glastonbury,
Abingdon and Westbury. Abingdon's influence stemmed from the period after Ethelwold became bishop of Winchester. He had introduced monks into the cathedral chapter there in 964-965; this was followed by foundations at Peterborough in 966, Ely in 970, and Thorney in 972. To these Knowles added Croyland (c. 966), St. Neots (c. 974), and Chertsey (? 960). Two other houses where Knowles discerned strong influence from Abingdon are St. Albans, reformed c. 969, and Eynsham, founded in 1005, twenty years after Ethelwold's death, but its first abbot was Aelfric, Ethelwold's most celebrated pupil and his biographer.

Ethelwold and his reformed monastery at Abingdon were clearly in the forefront of the tenth-century English monastic reformation. The Abingdon chronicler, writing some two hundred years after these events, was either unable or disinclined to inform his readers as to the activities of the monks at Abingdon during this period. What is certain, however, is that the reformed abbey entered a phase of continuous monastic life which was broken only by its dissolution in 1538 at the command of Henry VIII.

Ethelwold died in 984, and during the coming eight decades England was the scene of much turbulent activity, as first Danish, then Norman, conquerors succeeded in displacing the native Old English ruling house from the throne of England. Abingdon survived these vicissitudes well, being able in the years following the Norman Conquest to claim the majority of its pre-1066 holdings. The
Abingdon chronicler somewhat laconically records the turbulent years of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, when the hapless Ethelred was beset by the Danish invaders Swein and his son Cnut. This wave of Danish invasions seems to have affected Abingdon little, in comparison with the devastations of the ninth century. After Cnut had gained control of England in 1016 upon the death of Ethelred's son Edmund, England for the first time in several decades enjoyed the rule of a firm hand, and the Abingdon chronicler records several gifts of the good king Cnut and his two-named queen, Emma-Aelfgifu, whose first husband had been Ethelred.

Cnut was followed on the throne in rapid succession by his two sons Harold and Harthecnut. The death of the latter in 1042 saw the reinstitution of the Old English ruling house on the throne in the person of Edward, son of Ethelred and Emma, and known to posterity as "the Confessor." As far as may be ascertained, the community at Abingdon maintained its prosperity through Edward's reign and the Conquest, until its abbot Ealdred in 1071 ran afoul of the Conqueror because of the treasonous activity of some of his men. Ealdred had cannily made an early submission to the new king; however, for the already cited reason, William had Ealdred imprisoned in Wallingford castle in 1071, although Ealdred was subsequently allowed to end his days in the custody of Walkelin, bishop of Winchester. William's
animosity was apparently purely personal, for Abingdon does not seem to have suffered directly because of Ealdred's disgrace. William confirmed the abbey's charter of privilege from Edward the Confessor and in general seems to have dealt fairly with the house, although he did remove four hides from the abbey's holding at Winkfield in order to extend the royal forest there. The chronicler laments this loss as a harmful "assault," but the abbey in this instance was powerless to redress the loss.

From the accession of William the Conqueror in 1066 through the accession of Richard I in 1189, when it concludes, the Abingdon chronicle consists mainly of royal writs, biographies of abbots, and details concerning disputes the abbey had over certain lands and other holdings. One of the ten wealthiest houses in England in 1086 at the time of the Domesday survey, the community at Abingdon ably maintained its holdings in the face of sometimes very determined opposition. A succession of energetic abbots was a major factor in Abingdon's continued success. The most revered of these men (after Ethelwold) was the Italian Faritius, a native of Tuscany, who had served as sacrist at the abbey of Malmesbury before his election as abbot of Abingdon in 1100. Faritius was a noted physician who was called upon to attend Henry I's wife Matilda in childbirth at least once, and the abbot was quick to utilize his influence with the royal couple to gain concessions for his abbey. The Abingdon chronicler, most likely
an inmate of the abbey during the time of Faritius, writes in glowing terms of the accomplishments of this abbot. Faritius rebuilt the nave of the church, with two great towers, and almost the whole of the conventual buildings. Siward, abbot of Abingdon in the mid-eleventh century and afterwards bishop of Rochester (1058-1075), had wanted to tear down the buildings of Ethelwold and rebuild them more grandly, but Ethelwold came to Siward in a vision and announced that it was not yet time for such a project, for in time, one would come from across the sea who was better able to carry out the work. Whether Siward ever actually had such a vision is questionable, but the chronicler in this way provides a foreshadowing of the greatness of his favorite abbot.

Faritius's skill as a physician stood the abbey in good stead, bringing to Abingdon land grants from one Miles Crispin and from a scion of the powerful de Vere family. Henry I was so impressed with Faritius's sterling qualities that he wanted to appoint him archbishop of Canterbury after the death of Anselm in 1109, but the prelates of the realm would not support this decision because the nominee was Italian.

Faritius's successor was Vincent, a monk from the monastery of Jumièges in Normandy. Like his predecessor, Vincent was an energetic promoter of Abingdon's interests during his term of office (1121-1130). One important
accomplishment of Vincent's abbacy was his having Henry I confirm the privileges of Edward the Confessor by which Abingdon held its market and the hundred in which the abbey was situated. This cost the abbey some three hundred pounds, most of which was paid by robbing the high altar of St. Ethelwold of some of its gold and silver decorations.

Vincent was in turn succeeded by Ingulf, who had been prior of Winchester. During his abbacy (1130-1158) and that of his successor Walkelin (1158-1164), the abbey was involved in a long dispute over the valuable market privileges granted by Edward the Confessor and confirmed by Henry I. On the accession of Henry II in 1154, the inhabitants of Wallingford united with the townsfolk of Oxford in an attack upon Abingdon's right to hold a market. They went to the king as he was on the point of departure for Normandy and prevailed upon him to prohibit the Abingdon market, except for the sale of certain small goods. The king accepted their evidence as truthful, and armed with his authority, the men of Wallingford and Oxford went to Abingdon and attempted by force to clear the market, but the abbot's men were strong enough to resist the attack and forced them to retreat. The Wallingford men sent envoys to Henry in Normandy to present their case once again to the king, who gave them a writ to have the case heard before the Chief Justiciar. This writ summoned a county court at which thirty-two aged men were selected to testify as to the true nature of the Abingdon market in the time of Henry I. They
found that the market in those days had been a full one. The men of Wallingford appealed this decision, declaring that some of the jury were connected with the abbey. A new writ was then issued for the whole county of Berkshire, save to those who were tenants of the abbey. The case was heard at Oxford, where Robert, earl of Leicester, sat as Chief Justiciar. The men of Wallingford again asserted their claim that the market under Henry I had been only a small one, but the earl of Leicester pronounced no sentence. Instead he went to the king and informed Henry that he had himself in his youth seen a full market at Abingdon when he had been educated there by the monks. The king then judged in the abbey's favor. The men of Wallingford were still not satisfied, so they approached the king at Reading, declaring that they could no longer fulfil their feudal duties, if the full market at Abingdon continued. Henry II quickly convinced them otherwise.

This dispute over the abbey's right to a market was the most significant of the twelfth century, an otherwise fairly calm period in the monastery's history. Abingdon seems to have weathered the troubles of Stephen's reign (1135-1154) well. There is no indication whether the abbey took active part in the political machinations which were symptomatic of the years of strife between Stephen and Matilda, Henry I's daughter. During the reigns of both Stephen and his successor, Matilda's son Henry, the Abingdon chronicler
records a steadily growing list of grants to the abbey. There are some minor disputes, but nothing the abbey by vigorous action was unable to withstand. The chronicle concludes with a charter of confirmation of Richard I, who 88 acceded to the throne upon his father's death in 1189.

Although the chronicle concludes in the late twelfth century, the abbey of course survived for nearly three and a half centuries more. During the thirteenth century Abingdon several times received visits from Henry III, and late in that century and in the fourteenth century, Abingdon often granted sustenance to retired royal servants. In 1318 the abbey found itself in financial difficulties and asked the king, Edward II, to take it under royal protection. The fourteenth century also saw the abbey involved in several violent confrontations, as when the abbey was wasted by the incursion of "malefactors" who, in confederation, had attacked the abbey and town, assaulting the monks and their servants, killing some of them, imprisoning others for ransom money, and looting the abbey's treasures. Finally the abbey was placed under the protection of the sheriff of Berkshire, and the abbey was able to regain some of its lost goods, a loss estimated in the area of £10,000. 89

The abbey's fortunes seem never to have recovered completely from this event, for its history in the late fourteenth, fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries is a long list of disputes. The number of inmates had decreased, dwindling to thirty-five monks in 1418. The abbey's ill
luck ended only with the monastery's dissolution in 1538, when the abbot was given a pension of L200 and a manor house as residence in return for compliance with the dissolution. Its end was inglorious, but during the period of its greatest achievements, the Benedictine foundation at Abingdon was one of England's most important and influential monastic communities.
NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO


3. Ibid., pp. 1-2.


5. Ibid., I, v.


7. Ibid., p. 269.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., pp. 269-270.

11. Ibid., p. 272.


13. Ibid., p. 249.


18. Ibid., pp. 68-71.
The problems of trying to establish a bishopric at York, and the subsequent quarrels between York and Canterbury as to which see should house the primate of England, are too involved to be followed here. For details, see Godfrey, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, pp. 81ff.

For details on the differences and the reconciliation, see Ibid., pp. 87-90; 127-149.

All of England was not, of course, converted solely through Augustine's mission. For details, see Godfrey, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, pp. 112-113.


See section 5 of the text.

Stenton, "Early History," p. 3.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 9.

Ibid.

See section 8 of the text.

Ibid.


See section 9 of the text. Also Stenton, "Early History,"
Other details which Stenton observed can be found in "Early History," pp. 12-17.
Ibid., p. 16.
Ibid., p. 13.
Ibid., pp. 18-19.
It was a common practice during this period for Anglo-Saxon landowners to establish monasteries on their lands without actually becoming members of the community. There were many of these "monasteriola" in the period before the Danish invasions of the eighth and ninth centuries. See Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 22.
Ibid.
See section 40 of the text.
See section 232 of the text.
See sections 54 and 55 of the text.
See sections 57, 60, 61, and 62 of the text.
See sections 67, 68, 70, 72, 74, 76, 78, 80, 82, and 84 of the text.
For details, see ibid., pp. 438-441.
Ibid., p. 447; see also Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 38.


Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 40.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 42.

Ibid., pp. 41-42.

Ibid., pp. 42-43.

Ibid., p. 44.

Ibid.

Ibid., pp. 48-49.

Ibid., pp. 50-51.

*Victoria County History, Berkshire*, II, 59.

See sections 260, 262, 263, and 265 of the text.

See section 298 of the text.

See section 308 of the text.


See section 361 of the text.

See sections 525-537 of the text.

See section 266 of the text.

See sections 371-374 of the text.


See sections 542, 544-546 of the text.

See section 625 of the text.

Ibid.
The charter was given in 1190; see section 640 of the text.

Victoria County History, Berkshire, II, 54-55.

Ibid., pp. 57-58.
CHAPTER THREE

THE STENTONS AND MEDIEVAL ENGLISH WOMEN: A RECONSIDERATION

As a source for the political and social history of early medieval England, the Abingdon chronicle is a fund of quite diverse information. One of the most intriguing aspects of the chronicle is the information which it yields on the activities of women between the late seventh and late twelfth centuries, and, except for one instance, none of this evidence has been used effectively to illuminate the history of medieval English women. To prepare the stage for a discussion of the evidence concerning women which is available in the Abingdon chronicle, it is helpful first to discuss briefly the opinions of previous scholars on the status of women in England from the Anglo-Saxon period through the reign of Henry II.

The most widely accepted interpretation of the medieval Englishwoman's position in society was first offered by Sir Frank Stenton in 1943. An extensive survey of English place-names by Stenton yielded the information that a small but significant number of place-names was derived from women's names. This led Stenton to conclude that the women thus remembered had exerted a certain amount of influence upon their neighborhoods. He ultimately argued, based on
this evidence, that women in the Anglo-Saxon period, whatever their class, were "associated with men on terms of rough equality in the common life of the countryside." Stenton himself did not take time to explain exactly what he meant by "rough equality," although presumably he meant that there was no effective bar in Anglo-Saxon society to a woman's exerting her influence politically or economically.

Frank Stenton's wife Doris, also a well-known historian, in a 1957 book entitled The English Woman in History, discussed women's history from the Anglo-Saxon period to the present. Doris Stenton very much agreed with her husband's viewpoint about Anglo-Saxon women and went on to develop it. Using the charters, wills, chronicles, and law codes of the period, Lady Stenton in the first chapter of her book demonstrated very ably that Anglo-Saxon women, mostly of aristocratic origin, in many instances participated on equal terms with men in the religious, political, and economic life of the times.

Doris Stenton went on to argue that

The Anglo-Saxon way of life was broken by the Norman Conquest. . . . feudal law enforced by a conqueror meant the end of many things in England, not least among them the independent status of the noble English lady.6

Lady Stenton developed her argument on the basis that the feudal world was essentially a masculine world, i.e., a world organized for the waging of war, in which women were expected to take no part. She went on to say that it was indeed true that women after 1066 could hold land in their
own right, inherit it from their ancestors, sell it, give it to a religious house, and be involved in lawsuits concerning this land. "Nevertheless," she said, "in a military society it was inevitable that those who could not fight should take a second place to those who fought. The superiority of men over women became part of the unchallengeable order of ideas." Thus, she concluded, Anglo-Norman women occupied a position of lesser freedom than had their Anglo-Saxon counterparts. "The great ladies of the Anglo-Norman world," she asserted, "had no public duties. They were summoned neither to the army nor to the king's council. They could not be jurors or judges." In her chapter on Anglo-Saxon women Doris Stenton did not argue that these activities were the unassailable rights of the Anglo-Saxon "great ladies," so why should the position of Anglo-Norman women be denigrated in comparison? Her chapter on the "feudal lady" contains many examples of Anglo-Norman women acting in capacities similar to those of their Anglo-Saxon predecessors, so, in the long run, Doris Stenton actually defeated her own argument. The Abingdon evidence helps demonstrate this, just as did the evidence which Lady Stenton herself used.

Due to the prominence of the Stentons (and in particular of Sir Frank) as historians of medieval England, their interpretation of women's position in medieval English society is still the most widely accepted one. In a recent book entitled Women in Anglo-Saxon England and the Impact of
three English scholars argued exactly the same viewpoint as did Doris Stenton, but without adding any new real evidence to support this view. Other scholars have recently attempted to revise the Stentons' interpretation. In his 1979 dissertation Marc A. Meyer discussed noblewomen in the late Anglo-Saxon period, and through an intense examination of Domesday Book Meyer demonstrated that in 1066 just six women held the greater part of the land held by all women in England. These six women were all of the highest status; several of them were members of the most prominent families of pre-Conquest England. Meyer concluded that because the actual number of powerful women was so small, historians like the Stentons should not be so quick to see a decline in status for all women after 1066, since late Anglo-Saxon England was very dominated by its aristocratic families, and since only women of the upper classes apparently had freedom of action when it came to administering their landholdings. One must use Meyer's work with caution, however, because he assumed that one name repeated several times throughout Domesday Book denotes the same woman each time. If more than one woman is indeed indicated in these instances, Meyer's conclusions need to be reevaluated. Late Anglo-Saxon England was still very aristocratic in nature, but there were perhaps a few more women landholders than Meyer acknowledges.

In a 1982 article published in the *Journal of Medieval History*, Anne C. Klinck argued a position similar to
Meyer's. According to Klinck an examination of Anglo-Saxon legal documents shows that the position of women varied according to circumstances such as rank, marital status, and geographical location. Klinck pointed out that over the six centuries of the Anglo-Saxon period the position of women gradually improved.

In fact, this improvement is so considerable that there is a much closer resemblance between the situation obtaining in late Anglo-Saxon England and post-Conquest England than there is between the early and late Anglo-Saxon period. Klinck presented an interesting case, and one that is likely closer to the truth than the Stentons', but it also lacks ultimate conviction in that she does not effectively demonstrate the changes which she asserted occurred in the status of women at various times during the Anglo-Saxon period.

The various arguments over women's status all suffer a common weakness. No historian, not even Sir Frank Stenton, has been able to reconstruct convincingly the position of Anglo-Saxon women in the period of the migrations to, and early settlement in, England. As time passed, and as Anglo-Saxon law and custom began to be written down, beginning in the late sixth century, the picture becomes less opaque, although the early law codes are often too terse to be explicable. The arguments of both the Stentons and of Klinck suffer from this, because the law codes and the narrative sources do not permit the extrapolation of a total picture of women's status in this early period. In the
later centuries of Anglo-Saxon rule, the law codes are supplemented by charters and wills, and the picture becomes clearer, but by no means complete. The fact that aristocratic women played such an important role in the monasteries and Christian missions to the Continent in the seventh and eighth centuries has perhaps clouded our understanding of women's exact status at law in regard to landholding. Women such as Hild of Whitby could certainly earn the respect of their male peers without being enfranchised with all the same legal rights, and a woman's status as an ecclesiastical official might gain for her rights unattainable by her lay female peers.

The status of secular women becomes clearer in the later centuries of Anglo-Saxon rule, and thus the historian's task is less difficult. During this period high-born women, at least, enjoyed a relatively high status in a male-dominated society, as Doris Stenton so ably demonstrated. This is also curiously a period when women were less prominent in the ecclesiastical affairs of the English kingdom. After the Danish invasions of the ninth century disrupted English monastic life, female monasticism after the tenth-century reformation never regained its earlier prominence, due in part perhaps to the influence of the Gregorian reform movement, with its insistence on clerical celibacy, which tended, in ecclesiastical minds at least, to foster anti-feminism. Another reason for the declining prominence of female monasticism was possibly that the aristocratic women
who had in earlier centuries dominated these foundations were now finding secular outlets for their energy, as their male peers were often occupied with the exigencies of feudal warfare.

At this point it is helpful to turn to the Abingdon chronicle to examine the evidence which it contains concerning the position of women in English society. Then one can compare what the Abingdon material reveals with what historians have interpreted as the position of women before and after the Norman Conquest. When evaluating the evidence about women in the Abingdon chronicle it is important to remember that here all the material applies only to women of noble or royal birth, as far as is ascertainable. The lack of specific written evidence about women other than those of the upper class has made discussions of medieval Englishwomen in general very difficult. Some scholars like Frank and Doris Stenton have generalized too hastily about all women from evidence left by women of the noble class. This chapter concentrates, therefore, on medieval English noblewomen.

Analyzing the grants of land listed in the Anglo-Saxon portion of the Abingdon chronicle, we see that of some one hundred and fifty such grants which cover the period from the eighth century to the end of Anglo-Saxon rule, only eleven were made directly to women. Two grants were made jointly to husband and wife, fifty grants were made di-
rectly to Abingdon, eighty-seven grants were made to men, and one grant was made by a woman to a man (to be discussed below). Statistically, then, just under ten percent of the charters granting land were granted to women. This small percentage belies, however, the significance of the charters themselves. The terms of the royal grants to these women were basically that the grant was for the grantee's lifetime, the grantee could leave the land to whomever she wished after her death, and the land was to be free from all secular services except the usual three, military service, repair of bridges, and maintenance of fortifications. These are the general terms under which land throughout most of the Anglo-Saxon period was granted to man or woman, cleric or layperson. Even though the number of actual women grantees in the Anglo-Saxon portion of the Abingdon chronicle is small, perhaps the most significant fact is that women are considered just as capable as men, whether cleric or lay, in fulfilling the obligations brought by their land grants.

There are several examples from this section of the chronicle which demonstrate the freedom of action of high-born Anglo-Saxon women. In 796 Coenwulf, king of Mercia, acceded to the request of his two very virtuous (and nameless) sisters for a grant of land, ultimately destined for the house of Abingdon, where the two women would be buried. In describing the scene the chronicler is careful to tell us that the sisters asked "for some small portion of land free
from all earthly service and secular charge" where they could live and devote themselves to God's service. They also asked that they be allowed eventually to give the land to Abingdon. The king granted them the land for their lifetimes and agreed that upon their deaths the land would pass to Abingdon, free from all burdens. He even went so far as to seek a papal privilege confirming his gift, which is not included in the chronicle, however.

Such grants as this were not unusual, since many women of royal birth sought to withdraw from the world and usually prevailed upon their kinsmen for the wherewithal with which to do so. Anglo-Saxon nunneries were very aristocratic places, for many Anglo-Saxon queens retired to the religious life, even during their husbands' lifetimes. In this particular case king Coenwulf was providing for two sisters who had turned down proposals of marriage in favor of the religious life. The existence of these two women is not otherwise recorded, so there is no independent confirmation that Coenwulf did have two sisters who became nuns. The chronicler perhaps was inventing a story to lend authenticity to Abingdon's early years, but he may also have preserved a genuine tradition--genuine in that none of the details about the women and their circumstances was unusual for the period in which they lived.

In a charter dated 868, Ethelswith, queen of king Burgred of Mercia and sister of Alfred the Great, granted
land of her own power to her sworn follower Cuthwulf in return for 1500 shillings of gold and silver. The charter is witnessed by the queen's husband, her royal West Saxon brothers Ethelred and Alfred, and by an assortment of noblemen, presumably from both kingdoms. This is a very important charter, since it is the earliest example, among the Abingdon material, of such a grant made by a woman, and it is considered authentic by specialists in Old English diplomatic. Despite the wording of the charter, this "gift" amounts to a sale of land, which had to be the queen's own property, whatever its provenance. The charter reads exactly like those of Anglo-Saxon kings, and the witness list shows that it had the support of the rulers of two Old English kingdoms. This is strong evidence indeed that high-born Anglo-Saxon women had great freedom in handling and disposing of their own property.

Just ten years later, in 878, AEthelflaed, Lady of the Mercians and daughter of Alfred the Great, granted land to her thegn Eadric. The date of this charter as given in the Abingdon chronicle is a problem, since AEthelflaed did not rule the Mercians in her own name until after the death of her husband in 911. The charter may or may not be spurious (although Stenton believes it contains several genuine elements), but it is certainly not improbable that AEthelflaed granted land by charter, since for seven years, from 911 until her death in 918, she was recognized as "Lady" or "queen" of the Mercians, under the overlordship of her
brother Edward the Elder, king of Wessex.

In a charter dated 939 Athelstan, king of Wessex, granted fifteen hides of land to a certain "religious woman" named Eadulfu. The phrase "religious woman" does not necessarily mean that Eadulfu was a nun, although it has been assumed that she was. Eadulfu was granted the land for her lifetime; she may leave the land to whomever she wishes—in this case, Abingdon. The conditions of the grant are the usual: the land is free from all secular services except military service, repair of bridges, and maintenance of fortifications. If Eadulfu was a nun, she was still considered capable to see that these terms were fulfilled.

In 940 Edmund, Athelstan's successor, gave land under similar conditions to his kinswoman Aelfhild. In 942 Edmund granted to the "religious woman" Saethryth eleven hides under the same conditions, with the same threefold exception. Judging by the evidence of these charters, Anglo-Saxon noblewomen were certainly perceived as being no less capable than their male counterparts in fulfilling such duties, which more or less meant contributing to the national defense in times of war.

According to the Abingdon chronicler, one woman very important to Abingdon's history was Eadgifu, widow of Edmund, and dowager queen of Wessex. It was apparently Eadgifu who spurred her son Eadred into reviving the defunct monastery of Abingdon by having Eadred send Ethelwold to
perform just such a task in 953. Eadgifu, called by the
chronicler the "most faithful restorer of possessions
[which] had been taken away," was apparently very active in
seeing that the reestablished monastery had sufficient
endowments to enable it to prosper. There is one long
passage in the chronicle devoted to praise of the queen's
noble "liberality."

In 964 king Edgar gave to his queen AElfthrythe ten
hides of land perpetually, with the right to give the land
to whomever she wished after her death. This was followed
two years later by another grant from Edgar, this time to
his second wife AElfgifu. These ten hides were granted
under the same conditions. The land would also be free from
service except the three regular burdens.

Sometime in the early eleventh century, during the
reign of Ethelred II (d. 1016), two noble "matrons," named
AElfgiva and Eadflaed respectively, both granted land to
Abingdon. Eadflaed in addition granted "a shrine for
saints' relics, a text of the Gospels decorated with gold
and silver, and golden chalice, and a priestly vestment." Once again two women whom the chronicler identifies as
"noble" (and whether he meant by spirit or by birth is
uncertain) granted land in their own right to the monastery.
The chronicle does not indicate whether these women were
widows at the time of their grants. Widows in late Anglo-
Saxon England were by far the least restricted in scope of
action of all women. The word "matron" in these two
examples does perhaps suggest that the women, if not at the 
time of the grants, were at least at some point married.

One final significant example during the Anglo-Saxon 
period comes from the year 1052 when the Abingdon monastery 
became involved in a dispute over some land alienated from 
the monastery's right some years earlier during the reign of 
king Cnut. Abbot Siward had granted the land for the terms 
of three lifetimes to the man Brihtmund. According to the 
terms of the grant, Brihtmund would decide which other two 
persons' lives would be considered as fulfilling these 
terms. After the death of the third person the land would 
revert to Abingdon. The land in due turn passed from the 
man Brihtmund to his wife (counted as the second lifetime) 
and then to their son Brihtnoth. Upon the death of the son 
the land should have returned to Abingdon's control, but 
another son, this one named Brihtwine, requested that he 
might hold the land for his lifetime. The abbot was 
somewhat resistant to this plea, since he seemingly felt 
that the land-grant was in danger of becoming permanently 
hereditary, but he was finally persuaded to accede to 
Brihtwine's request.

The significance of this dispute from our standpoint is 
that both the abbey and the disputant recognized the 
legality of the wife/mother as one of the persons whose 
lifetime counted in the three-lifetime grant. Here again a 
woman, in the role of wife and mother, was a man's equal
when dealing with grants of land.

The final mention of women in the chronicle during the Anglo-Saxon period comes from the reign of Edward the Confessor (1042-1066). A certain matron named AElfgifu, described as a kinswoman of Edward's queen Edith, left the queen an estate called Lewknor. For some reason the queen was ignorant of her kinswoman's bequest, so upon AElfgifu's death, the reeve of the estate decided to take the estate for himself. The reeve's administration was apparently so oppressive that one man from the estate (whose status is not specified) finally felt compelled to seek out the queen and tell her that the estate belonged to her. Queen Edith had the matter investigated, and the estate was duly proved to belong to her. Sometime after this, king Edward, his mother queen Emma, and queen Edith while on a journey lodged at Abingdon. The royal visitors were given a tour of the abbey, during which they came upon the boy monks at refectory. Queen Edith observed that the boys had only bread to eat, so she questioned them. Upon hearing that they had nothing else, Edith said that if the king had nothing to give the monastery on the boys' behalf, she would like to grant her recently acquired estate of Lewknor for the morning meal of the boy monks. King Edward found this suggestion very pleasing, so it was done.

Turning to an examination of the Abingdon evidence as it concerns women in England after 1066, however, we see that it contradicts the opinions of the Stentons and others
of their persuasion. The evidence itself is, after 1066, different, since the solemn charter has given way to the Norman version of the old Anglo-Saxon writ. Instead of charters granting land, we now read writs which offer instructions about settling disputes over land or which confirm land grants made by the king's vassals.

Of some one hundred and sixteen instances in which land was either granted or involved in a dispute in the Abingdon chronicle, eighteen of them involved women, sixty-four involved men, and thirteen involved men and their wives together. In statistical terms, then, 15.5 percent of the cases involved women, 55 percent involved men, and 11.2 percent involved husband and wife. In the Abingdon evidence before 1066, less than 10 percent of the grants were made to women. In the Abingdon chronicle as a whole, then, more women were party to land grants and disputes after 1066 than before. This is not a scientifically valid statistical sample for all of England, of course, but it is an interesting point.

Particular examples from this portion of the Abingdon chronicle are very instructive. Matilda, first queen of Henry I, figured very largely in Abingdon's history, more so than any woman in the post-Conquest period. She is listed as witness to at least seven of the grants of land which her husband confirmed to the abbey. More importantly, however, Matilda in other instances appeared directly as a
benefactor. Due to the influence of Abingdon's renowned physician-abbot, the Italian Faritius, who attended her at the birth of her first child, Matilda granted to Abingdon the lead from a decaying monastery on the island of Andesey in the Thames near Abingdon. Matilda obviously had some authority in such matters, or the chronicler would not have taken the trouble to copy her writs verbatim into the text. This writ is followed by one of Henry I which confirms the queen's grant. Henry's confirmation of Matilda's actions, however, echoes exactly his confirmations of the grants of other of his feudal nobles. In this case, as in others, Matilda was the king's "man" as were the others. Even the queen is no different from any one of the king's other vassals.

Perhaps the most interesting post-Conquest evidence about women in the Abingdon chronicle concerns a certain noble "matron" Adelina d'Ivry and her daughter Adeliza. In 1111 Adelina granted one hide of land to Abingdon upon her death. Adelina's daughter confirmed this gift, and it was subsequently confirmed by Henry I. The chronicler does not tell us by what right Adelina herself held this land. She could have inherited it from her own family or it might possibly have been part of her widow's portion from her husband's estate. After the Conquest, as Doris Stenton concurred, women continued to be able to inherit and hold land just as they had, to a great extent, before 1066.

In ten different instances when men granted land to the
abbey, the chronicler is careful to include the fact that the man's wife concurred in this gift. The chronicler does not say so, but this perhaps indicates that the land belonged to the wife in the first place. After 1066 a husband had certain administrative rights over the property which his wife brought to the marriage. During the marriage the husband could alienate the land without her agreement, but such alienation could last only so long as did the marriage. The husband could not, without the wife's consent, make a grant which would endure after the end of the marriage or (as the case may be) after his own death. Thus women had some protection at law from complete alienation of their property by their husbands.

At some point during the anarchical reign of king Stephen (1135-1154), Henry I's nephew, a woman named Beliardis, after the death of her husband desired to give her houses to Abingdon. In order to do so, Beliardis had successfully to resist two challenges in court to her right to the houses, and this she did, much to the abbey's satisfaction. Again, the chronicler does not tell us the basis of this woman's right to the houses she had disposed of, but the fact that it was done after her husband's death may be some small indication that the houses were part of her widow's portion, which often amounted to one-third of the husband's property.

There are several other references to women after 1066
in the chronicle, such as in a list of the military tenants of Abingdon not long after the Conquest, when the daughters of one William Grim are listed as being responsible for the service of a fifth part of one knight. After the Conquest each landholding was supposedly worth the service of so many knights. Fractions of knights such as this were very common, and women who had inherited military fiefs were held responsible for seeing that the proper amount of knight service was rendered, whether in the form of an actual knight (or knights) or by a money payment.

The chronicle also cites an instance when a mother, serving as a guardian/regent for an underage son, granted land to the abbey. Finally, there is a writ of Eleanor of Aquitaine, wife of Henry II, given while Henry was on the Continent. Eleanor, evidently acting as the king's regent, commanded the men who held land from Abingdon to do their just service to the new abbot of Abingdon.

These are the most striking examples of female action from the post-1066 portion of the Abingdon chronicle. Other examples reinforce the idea that the latitude of high-born women's actions, at least in regard to landholding, did not diminish so quickly or so dramatically as claimed by the Stentons and their school. We cannot take the Abingdon evidence and attempt to generalize about the position of all English women, or even all high-born women. Indeed, many scholars have too hastily made sweeping statements about the place of women in medieval English society without first
giving full attention to the broad range of source materials. The Abingdon evidence itself suggests that serious consideration must be given to a much wider scope of evidence than that surveyed by Doris Stenton before one can postulate a theory about the status of women in England in the two or three centuries after the Norman Conquest.

All this is not to say that women were not subject to men either before or after 1066. On the contrary, in both periods the married woman was subject to the guardianship of her husband. Anglo-Saxon society was a military one, just as was Anglo-Norman society. In both periods women were ultimately subject to their male peers—such was the nature of medieval society, a society which was strongly hierarchical in nature. But women in both periods had certain rights, either by law or by regional or national custom, and it is only by a systematic search through the mass of medieval English records like the chronicle of Abingdon Abbey that we can illuminate these customs and thus approach an answer to the question of the medieval Englishwoman's status.
NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE


5 Ibid., pp. 1-28.

6 Ibid., p. 28.

7 Ibid., pp. 29-30.

8 Ibid., p. 30.


10 The exception to this statement is the chapter "Viking Women in Britain," pp. 129-147, written by Cecily Clark.


12 Namely women of the families of Earls Godwine of Wessex and Leofric of Mercia.


14 Klinck, "Anglo-Saxon Women and the Law," Journal of
Medieval History, VIII (June 1982), 107-122.

Ibid., p. 107.

See, e.g., sections 64 and 67 of the text.

In these grants, though the wording mentions both husband and wife, the intent seems to favor the husband.

The first of the many examples of this type is Ine's grant in 699 to abbot Hean, section 8ff. of the text.

For details see W. H. Stevenson, "Trinoda Necessitas," English Historical Review, XXIX (October 1914), 689-703.

See sections 64 and 67 of the text as examples.

See section 17 of the text.

See section 37 of the text; for its authenticity see P. H. Sawyer, Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography (London: Royal Historical Society, 1968), document #1201. Hereinafter this work is cited as Sawyer, A-S Charters.

See section 39 of the text; for its authenticity see Sawyer, A-S Charters, #224.

See sections 63 and 64 of the text; also Sawyer, A-S Charters, #448.

See section 67 of the text; also Sawyer, A-S Charters, #460.

See sections 81 and 82 of the text; also Sawyer, A-S Charters, #482.

See section 94 of the text.

See sections 193 and 197 of the text; also Sawyer, A-S Charters, #725 and #737.

See sections 255 and 256 of the text.


See section 273 of the text.

Land of this type was known as laenland and was granted as a loan or gift for one or more lives, usually
three. The grantee may or may not be bound to perform certain services in return for the loan. A rent could be imposed, or the loan given in return for a lump sum. William Holdsworth, A History of English Law, 4th ed.; vol. II (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1936), 70.

33 See section 274 of the text.
34 See section 275 of the text.
35 See, e.g., sections 391, 429, 450, and 589 of the text.
36 Beginning with section 310 passim.
38 See sections 370, 384, 394, 423, and 424 of the text.
39 See section 361 of the text.
40 See sections 362 and 363 of the text.
41 See sections 390 and 391 of the text.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid.
44 Doris Stenton, English Woman in History, p. 29.
46 See section 589 of the text.
47 See section 306 of the text.
48 See sections 385 and 386 of the text.
49 See section 623 of the text.

50 The scholarly literature on medieval women (not just in England) is rapidly growing. One of the most valuable recent additions is Jane Chance's Woman as Hero in Old English Literature (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1986), which offers the first comprehensive survey of Anglo-Saxon vernacular literary sources. Chance's findings have demonstrated convincingly that Anglo-Saxon women, although certain of them enjoyed remarkable freedom, were certainly considered by the writers of the period to be inferior to
their male peers. It was usually women who were considered atypical of their sex who were the most active politically and intellectually. See especially Chapter 4, "The Saint, the Abbess, the Chaste Queen: Wise, Holy, and Heroic," pp. 53-64.

In translating the text I have adopted several usages which should be explained at this point. All interpolated matter is enclosed in brackets [e.g.]. Also, nearly all of the charters of the Anglo-Saxon period of the chronicle have been paraphrased since their bulk is substantial. The indication of paraphrasing is the brackets which surround the precis of the charter. I have identified as many place-names as possible, using a variety of tools, among them Eilert Ekwall, *The Concise Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936); P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1968); and John Morris, general ed., *Domesday Book* (Chichester, Eng.: Phillimore, 1974- ). Place-names not immediately recognizable (such as London and Rouen) may be assumed to be located in Berkshire, where Abingdon held the majority of its lands. Otherwise, the county is designated. Those names which I have not been able to identify satisfactorily are underlined.

I have also endeavored to identify as many persons as possible, but the majority of them must remain only names in the chronicle. Dating documents is another problem. Most of the Anglo-Saxon charters are dated by the chronicler, but the royal writs of the post-Conquest period rarely are.
Occasionally internal evidence allows ascription of a date; otherwise the writs must usually be assigned to the range of years in the reign of the king who issued them. Using Sawyer's *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, I have attempted to designate whether a charter should be considered authentic or spurious. Sawyer cites the sources where opinions can be found on most of the charters, and he often gives a brief comment as to the actual opinion; otherwise he lists only the bibliography of criticism. Since time did not allow me to read the criticism of all the charters in the chronicle, I have cited Sawyer's comments. In those instances when Sawyer cites only the bibliography of criticism without indicating the opinions, I state in the footnote "no comment listed." The writs of the post-Conquest period may all be assumed authentic, since they originated in a period closer to the chronicler's own, and there seems little reason to suspect that any of them are forgeries.

Throughout the chronicle appear the terms "hide" and "virgate." The hide was an old Anglo-Saxon form of measurement of land and was composed of a certain number of acres, the most usual being one hundred and twenty, although there were many variations, often regional, of the amount of acres in a hide. The virgate was one fourth of a hide, or thirty acres.

Beginning with the first paragraph of the text, I have assigned to each disparate section its own number, which is enclosed in brackets at the heading of the section. This
was done to make references to the text easier.
THE CHRONICLE

Here begins the first book of the lands of this church of Abingdon, comprising four hundred and fourteen years.

The hill at Abingdon is situated near the northern region of the river Thames, where it passes by the bridge of the town of Oxford. The monastery had not been long founded when the same name was conferred [upon it]. Whoever among the men of old times was the first founder of that place, we accept it as a monument of the ancients. Cissa, king of the West Saxons, gave it to a certain Hean, a man of the holy life and indeed an abbot. At the same time, for the reverence of Almighty God, [Cissa gave] to [Hean's] sister Cille a place for the building of a cell. Also given with the royal gift were very many benefices and properties necessary for the life of those living in that house.

Both [persons] indeed were well-known because of their royal descent. Not long after this, before he could pursue significant work, the king was deprived of life.

...lam [to,for,by] the inhabitants [he,usage?] called the island Britain and its inhabitants Britons with a new word from his own name Brutus. In that prison house of the flesh, lacking the Catholic faith and ignorant likewise of the Christian faith, many kings succeeded him until the time of king Lucius.

This Lucius, however, had a known reputation for sanctity, which was made known to the inhabitants of the
city of Rome at that time. Lucius despatched messengers with his letters patent to the venerable pope Eleutherius. The letters begged most devotedly and beseeched more attentively how his Christian faith could be accomplished. And thus was the faith of Lucius disclosed. Due to the earnestness of Lucius's prayers the venerable pope Eleutherius sent to the famous king his own messengers, namely Fagan and Divianus, religious men well instructed in the Catholic faith. These men of celebrated devotion baptized the king and his people with unanimous agreement and equal concord, destroyed idols, and built churches faithfully. What more? These two pure men, devoted to God in everything and through all things, effective executors of Christianity, separated to build in every place their separate ministries to Almighty God. Where they found high priests acting in accordance with the law of the pagans, in their place they substituted archbishops; in like manner where they found priests, they substituted bishops. At that time there were three archbishops in the three most famous places, namely London, York, and near the city of the Legions.

[2] HOW LONG CHRISTIANITY ENDURED IN BRITAIN AFTER KING LUCIUS ACCEPTED CHRISTIANITY.

Meanwhile king Lucius entered the way of all flesh, and his body was buried honorably in the town of Gloucester, because the palace was a suitable tomb. From his death to the time of the emperor Diocletian, (so that we may combine
the many [years] with the few) during peaceful devotion and holy conversion, Christianity lasted in Britain. Indeed there flourished in these times in many places within the borders of Britain, with God disposing, an exceedingly ardent religion of monks and a worthy devotion to sanctity. At that time there was a certain religious monk, Abbennus, who came to Britain from Ireland. He preached faithfully the word of God, accordingly as the Holy Spirit gave him eloquence. After some time had passed this monk approached the court of the most illustrious [unnamed] king of the Britons, where he was received in a praiseworthy manner and was nobly honored by all. He enjoyed also the privilege of the particular love of the king, who rejoiced to have found another Joseph in this same man. The renowned Abbennus, however, obtained from the king of the Britons, by the perseverance of his prayers, the greatest part of the province of Berkshire, in which he happily founded a monastery, with the consent of the king and the advice of royal authority. To this [foundation] he playfully gave the name Abingdon, either from his own name or from the proper name of the place. According to the Irish idiom that we accept from the report of the men of today, Abingdon is interpreted as the "house of Abbennus." According to the idiom of the English Abingdon is commonly named for the "hill of Abbennus."

That place is in the plain of a hill, pleasing to the
sight. A little way beyond the town, which is not walled, lies Sonning [Berks.], between two very pleasant streams, which, enclosing the place as if it were a hollow among them, offer a spectacle pleasing to those seeing and an opportune help for those living there. The worthy man Abbennus gathered there a plentiful multitude of monks, three hundred or more. In that same house they made themselves serviceable to God with perpetual devotion. Over them the father and abbot presided according to the rule of Saint Benedict, preferring rather to be loved than to be feared, and he profited for everyone through all. After many days, when he was of gray head, the holy man Abbennus, following the footsteps of Christ, and for His love despising the glory of the world, was seized by solitary sweetness for [the land of his] birth. Thus he sought Ireland and there ended his life, with divine clemency disposing, in holy living. The monastery of Abingdon remained [true to] the Catholic faith and monastic discipline continuously to the coming of the English. And because mention is made by us about the English, may angelic virtue be present with us, so that nothing except truth do we bring forth about the English.


In the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 449, when Vortigern reigned in Britain, as we accept from the tenor of the truth of the venerable priest Bede, there came into Britain by means of naval transport from the borders of
Germany the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. Although they were clearly of many provinces, nevertheless the completeness of [their] love [for one another] linked them closely together in equal agreement. At the request of king Vortigern of Britain they landed on the island, promising to be ready with aid against Vortigern's enemies, namely the Scots and the Picts, who attacked Britain cruelly. After eagerly taking the vow, the Saxons took victory in battle over the Scots and the Picts. As it happened they renounced Saxony because of the fertility of the island [of Britain] and equally [because] of the noticeable dilatoriness of the Britons. In like manner their ships were sent back again on that swift course, to bear [back] the stronger hand of more armed [men]. Amplifying the fear of the Britons with fear, and accumulating men with men, they brought back an impregnable army. These [Angles, Saxons, and Jutes] spent time in Britain and, after some time, made an agreement with the Scots and the Picts. They found that no one would resist them in any place or refuse their jurisdiction either carelessly or . . . . Such things were done, with the Judge of the world arranging with justice, and His providence in its disposition is not concealed. The aforesaid race joined [formerly] walled cities to fields, having eradicated the trees, laying waste and burning, so that they seemed to bury the whole upper part of the island and to cover it with smoke. But to which . . . . [two leaves
missing].

[. . . in the years of youth and, more from his nature
than from his assiduity, and when he found himself greatly
cut off from;] With eyes and hands directed to heaven to
his Creator, he drew long sighs and in this manner broke
forth into speech: "Creator, God of all creatures! pity me
above all wretched men, I have sinned, I have strayed, and I
have rejected You knowingly! But You, most gentle Lord! who
suffers not the death of the sinner, but is made greater,
and lives; turn Your countenance to my sobbing, turn the
eyes of Your pity to my sighs, and grant to me a time of
correction for my life, that I may suffer sufficiently, and
that I may destroy those things which formerly I willingly
and ignorantly perpetrated against your will." Without
delay God gave him to drink of the wine of remorse, for
which every heart lies open and every wish speaks. King
Cadwalla was inspired freely and suddenly with the
inspiration of the Holy Spirit (Who breathes when He wishes
and where He wishes; He inspires whom He wishes, and how
many He wishes; He pities whom He wishes, and hardens His
heart to whom He wishes). Repentant, Cadwalla said he
wished to prepare himself for baptism with all haste and to
renounce the error of paganism. He was then baptized with
great solemnity (although the sacrament in him may have less
efficacy because of the sacrament in those who baptized
him), and with things well disposed at home, he sought Rome
with hastening step, where he was received honorably by pope
Sergius. On the day of the Holy Sabbath of Easter, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 689 [sic-688], most gloriously was Cadwalla baptized, and by Blessed Peter [i.e., Sergius] Cadwalla is also called "Peter." While in vestments Cadwalla cast off the prisonhouse of the flesh on the twelfth of the kalends of May, on the sixth day of the week, and was interred in the church of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, where he rested in the peace of the breast [of the church], standing ready for the peace of eternity. Pope Sergius made an epitaph for this very king in verse and dictated it to be written on his coffin. The tenor of the epitaph is thus:

[4] EPITAPH OF KING CADWALLA.

"High rank, works, offspring, a powerful kingdom, triumphs,
Spoils, great nobles, fortifications, cities, halls;
Which things the strength of his fathers, and which things he himself accumulated
Cadwalla, powerful in rule, left for love of God;
This king as pilgrim sought the seat of Peter that at his refreshing fountain he might take pure waters;
And that he might enjoy brilliant splendor in bathing,
From whom life-giving radiance wheresoever it
flows.
And eager to receive the reward of life renewed,
Converted, praising, he converted his barbarous rage
And thence the high priest Sergius ordered his name
to be called Peter, the father himself
At the font of the reborn, whom the grace of Christ
cleansing immediately having been clothed in white may carry to the gate of heaven.
Great [was] the king's faith, exceedingly greater
Christ's clemency,
Whose secret purpose no one is able to understand.
Safely indeed coming from the farthest reaches of the Briton world,
Through diverse peoples, the Channel, and the roads,
He saw the Romulean city, and the venerable temple
Of Peter he regarded, bearing mystic gifts.
[Clothed in] white he went, sociably, among the lambs of Christ;
His body lies entombed, his mind in the celestial heights.
You may believe the insignia of earthly rule to have been changed entirely for greater ones,
Which you see the kingdom of Christ to have promised."

CALLED ABINGDON.

Let us not pass by with silence the fame of the town
Sevekesham, as if we were ignorant of the truth of the
matter. Let us publish something about it with probable
relation and worthy faith toward the precedent in the court.
Sevekesham was a famous city, with a desirable site, full of
riches, enclosed by most fruitful fields, blooming meadows,
diffuse fields, and with herds flowing with milk. Here was
a royal residence, a place where the particular and lofty
business of the kingdom was handled. There was here an
assembly of the people and from early times a place of
religion of the Britons—not in the time of pagan religion,
but in the time of the Christian religion. In this city
there were many signs of Christianity from the conversion of
the Britons of old, as was written above. Crosses and
images which were found in the town, dug out here and there,
grant proof of this.


Among all the other crosses found there was that holy
Cross called the Black Cross. Thus far it is so holy that
no man, having given an oath upon it, can affirm a lie with
impunity and without danger to his life. It is indeed
believed to have been melted down and made for the most part
from the key of the Lord. The cross was discovered there by
Constantine the Great, who had been created emperor in that
region, or so some men say. But, more credibly, it was
sent there by his well-wishing Britons, whom he, about to advance, had led with him to Rome. They sent the cross so that the memory of the sanctity and merit of both, namely mother [Helena] and son, might appear more remarkable, and when the conversion of their corporeal presence took place [i.e., they died], the cross was glorified. Either certainly entrusting it to Caesar himself, or to his mother [Helena], for the honor and protection of the country from which he had taken the imperium, as we have said already, it is well known that the Lord's cross was found by her, because of her merit and sanctity. A small chapel to St. Helena was built there in the time of the English. Where [Helena] had at some time been converted, men and their sons protected the rediscovered cross. Through this cross many signs, which proclaimed the virtues of that holy relic, have been demonstrated. How many things have been discovered by a false oath upon it! There is no counting the miracles. The cross has so many miraculous powers that we are not able to enumerate them all, and lies and false assertions have been uncovered by them. It was treated honorably with the reverence owed it. The brothers wished to adorn it with gold and silver, but whatever they fitted round about it in one day, they saw on another wholly destroyed and melted down. The cross could not be covered at any time by gold and silver, so it was wrapped completely in fine cloth.

Nevertheless [whatever] of the goods enumerated above king Cadwalla (to whose spirit may God be propitious) did
not contribute to Abingdon of his own will, he gave to Cille, sister of the nobleman Hean, along with license for building a monastery in the place now called Helenestow near the Thames. Here the virgin consecrated to God and covered by the sacred veil was joined by very many other pious virgins. Cille was mother and abbess to them. After her death, a very great interval of time passed, and the pious [women] already mentioned were translated from that place to the town called Witham. After several years there was a serious war and rising unheard of by this generation between Offa king of the Mercians and Cynewulf king of the West Saxons. At that time a castle had been built above the hill of Wytham, and because of this those pious women abandoned their position there, and they were not given anywhere else to settle.


Now it remains that [we turn] to the successors of king Cadwalla, and we will briefly describe their deeds, more evil than good. According to our acknowledged custom, let us turn to the former manner of writing.

When rumor -- nothing swifter -- brought news of the death of king Cadwalla into Wessex, Ine, closely related to Cadwalla, succeeded him as king as his heir. This man at first decreased the gifts and benefices of his predecessors Cissa and Cadwalla to the monastery of Abingdon, taking away the greater portion of the inheritance of abbot Hean,
who was the first to be so treated. But shortly he turned remorseful and repented of his deeds, sharply recognizing the two sides of justice, as it is said by some, "Turn away from evil and do good" [Ps. xxxvi. 27]. Not only did he turn away from evil, truly he did good. He increased gifts from the manors and made gifts from his own demesne. At first he restored in their entirety those things which he had removed and then gave and granted a levy of two hundred and fifty hides, as is attested by the charter immediately following, which he granted to the previously mentioned monastery and the monks serving God in that same house, with abbot Hean living and observing. His charter confirmed it. This is the subscription of the charter.

[8] CHARTER OF KING INE.

In the name of the Lord God our Savior Jesus Christ. These things which according to the decrees of the canons are profitably decided, however much the language may suffice as testimony, nevertheless for the uncertain duration of future time they are confirmed by means of a very firm stipulation.

Wherefore I Ine king of the Saxons have willingly given back to abbot Hean the land near Abingdon of one hundred seventy-three hides, which land Cissa the king had given to [Hean] and to Cille, his sister and sometime abbess. But king Ine afterwards plundered the same land, when he got possession of the kingdom and restored it to the commonweal, [since] the monastery had not yet been built on the land,
and no oratory completely erected. On the contrary, however, he gave back the same land to the same nobleman Hean for the building of a monastery, saying: I Ine monarch of the Saxons, with the Lord ruling, governing with the royal sceptre, give back and relinquish the land which my predecessors Cissa and others are known to have given to the nobleman Hean and to his sister Cille, [once] again with the fullest counsel. Then the aforesaid nobleman Hean with all his authority gave himself and the aforesaid land to the service of Almighty God, and he petitioned me that he might build a monastery in the place named above, which is near Abingdon. According to the rule he chose an abbot to rule that house. Freely he committed himself to my rule, binding himself with the monastic vow. Five years have not yet unfolded since then, during which time he asked to be released from these vows, desiring to change the decrees, and king Ine received him in intercession of giving back his inheritance. To this request I freely acceded, and I will give back both the aforesaid land and the monasteries which we have built, as I have said, in their entirety. Moreover, I will increase it with twenty hides on the eastern part of the river Thames, which Cuthred the prince and Ethelred king of the Mercians and also Ine king of the Saxons [sic—it is Ine speaking] surrendered to me. I bestowed also ten hides beside the water at Bestlesford and one hundred in Bradfield, where I erected a monastery, which Ine and Con-
red gave at the same time. This was at the same time [all together] two hundred and seventy-three hides. I mitigating, mildly conceded the monk's vow, which he promised to me solemnly, with the worthy bishop Hedda being present, also Aldhelm the abbot, and Wintræ, and all our family in the church. If anyone truly tries to come to the office of abbot contrary to this decree or these bequests of the religious kings by means of the tyrannical power of violence, violently to take or carry away, let him be content [knowing] that he will find himself before Christ in the reckoning, the final examination, of the living and of the resurrected dead. Truly this charter of warranty has been written in the year from the Incarnation of Christ 699, the twelfth indiction.

+I Ine, king, have consented.
+I Athelbald, king, have assented.
+I Daniel, bishop, have assented.
+I Beufpha have assented.
+I Egfrid have assented.
+I Herrid have assented.
+I Aldbriht have assented.
+I Stranglic have assented.
+I Haelda have assented.
+I Oba have assented.
+I Selred have assented.
+I Egbrith have assented.

[9] CHARTER OF KING INE.
[Here Æne granted to Hean land in four sections: fifteen hides in Bradfield, fifteen hides near Bestlesford [Basildon], twenty-five measures of land at Streatley, and eighty hides near Appleton. The land was granted perpetually. Signed on the third of the nones of July, 687 [699?], twelfth indiction.]

[10] LIKewise anothEr ChArter Of King Æne.

[Ine returned forty-five hides to Hean and Ceolswyth [Cille] for building a monastery. The land is in Bradfield, Bestlesford [Basildon], and Streatley. This land was first given by Eadfrith son of Iddi upon the altar of the church built there.]


I Hean, with the Lord disposing, abbot, have bestowed some small estate of land, which is mine from the munificence of my ancestors, who were known to be possessed of the kingdom, had been granted in power in the place whose name is Bradfield, with the adjoining country, and not less [than] other sites, just as has been signed below, and with the foundation I have bestowed upon Cille my sister for possession, that after my death, if she is living, she may arrange and rule with fear of God. Afterwards she may herself give it back entirely to that monastery. If truly with the judgment of Almighty God, I am living, the law of that same place will have been chosen the lot of my life, and may dispensation accrue to me. Truly the abovesaid
quantity of land in Bradfield is forty-eight hides. In Ashdown fifty-five, in the place which is called \textit{Earmundeslea} eighty-three. At the time when the agreement was registered, one hundred and eighty-three hides had been collected together. If anyone therefore tries to make void this decision made with one consent by me, canonically and ecclesiastically by the king Ine, and confirmed by bishop Daniel, may he know before Christ the reckoning of those resurrected.

[In the year from the Incarnation 728 king Ine, having 32 left authority behind and commended it to A\textit{Ethelheard}, departed for Rome.]

[12] CONCERNING THE GIFT OF THE VILL WHICH IS CALLED SUTTON.

Ine first gave and granted to God, Blessed Mary, the house of Abingdon, and to the monks in that same house serving God, the vill of Sutton, in free and perpetual alms, with all things belonging wholly to it. This vill the monks freely and quietly in peace have occupied continually to the time of Cynewulf the king and Rethun the abbot, just as we describe more clearly below.

[13] HOW KING INE WENT TO ROME AND DIED THERE.

After king Ine had made the abovesaid goods acceptable to God, he considered carefully, because naked he entered the world and naked he would be returned to the earth. [He was] a man hastening toward the grave, so he made arrangements carefully for himself, lest he be felled by the
bite of death of body and soul, because he had begun an objective which he preferred to finish. Having left his rule behind, and having entrusted his brother Athelhard with the kingdom, in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 728 he set out for Rome to make a public display of his conversion. As if displaying [himself] to the people, he did not cut the hair of his head in public, so that it might be pleasing to the eyes of God alone, who judges words, heart, the kidneys [loins, seat of affections] of men, and so, covered by a common garment, secretly he lived and secretly he grew old. Thus Adelard remained in the kingdom. When he died, Cuthred succeeded him. Sigebert [succeeded] Cuthred, and Cynewulf [succeeded] Sigebert. Sigebert was conquered in war by Offa king of the Mercians, and king Offa took possession of all who had been placed under his jurisdiction at the town of Wallingford in the southern part at Icknield Way all the way to Ashbury [Berks.], and in the northern part all the way to the Thames. Offa granted in free and perpetual alms to God, Saint Mary, the house of Abingdon, and to the monks in that house serving God the vill called Goosey. At the time of Offa the king, a certain bishop Rethun of the kingdom of the Mercians was forced by abuses and hostility to renounce his bishopric. Taking up the monastic life in the monastery of Abingdon, he was afterwards made abbot and father.

[14] ABOUT BRIHTRIC KING OF THE WEST SAXONS.
Cynewulf king of the West Saxons was killed by Cyne-
heard, brother of his predecessor Sigebert, and 35
Beorhtric his brother succeeded him. Beorhtric gave the
vill of a certain Easton to a nobleman named Lulla. He
granted to him and confirmed by his charter that the afore-
said Lulla might give and assign the vill with all its
appendages to whomever he wished in like manner. Relying on
this charter as fortification, the aforesaid Lulla, before
his death desiring to make Christ his heir, gave and granted
the aforesaid vill Easton to God, Saint Mary, the house of
Abingdon, and to the monks in that same house serving God.
Upon the altar of Blessed Mary of Abingdon he placed that
charter by which king Beorhtric had confirmed to him the
aforesaid land. At that time the charter had more efficacy
and confirmation than some others which he could make about
the same land. In the signature of the greater vassal he
proffered in English, "All my rights that I had in Easton I
give to Saint Mary in Abingdon."

[For an unspecified price Beorhtric granted ten manses
to Lulla in Easton, with all appurtenances. Lulla may give
it to whomever he wishes. Given in the year 801.]

[16] ABOUT THE DEATH OF OFFA, KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND
THE SUCCESSION OF COENWULF. [AD 796]
Meanwhile Offa king of the Mercians entered upon the way
of all flesh, and his son Egbert [sic, Egfrith] succeeded
him in the kingdom. He reigned for a few days after his
father and immediately yielded to fate. Coenwulf succeeded him.

[17] ABOUT THE SISTERS OF COENWULF.

Coenwulf had two uterine sisters seemly not only in appearance, but also distinguished by the elegance of good character, and (what is very much better), devoted to Almighty God in everything. Several very powerful princes, chose them as marriage partners because of their regal dignity and their worthy reputation. Business of that kind hangs on the king's consent and will. On a certain day with a courteous aspect the king asked them what sort of life they wanted to be employed in, or what bridegrooms they wished to have in this mortal garb. They cast down their faces to the ground and raised their minds continually up to Heaven, as if an answer might be foreseen and given the king from Heaven. "Most pious king, your integrity well knows us to be propagated from a royal family. Your benevolence still knows, most loving brother, that from a very early age we desired to serve God and to please Him alone with complete mind and with all our strength. Now therefore with heads cast down, hands joined together, knees bent, in a mournful voice, we petition to obtain your benevolence by entreaty, that for love of Him who has been deemed worthy of birth from a Virgin, that we may be allowed peaceably to remain virgins and be made serviceable to Him continually in completeness of mind and body, for whom to serve is to rule.
Moreover, we have chosen already to have this bequest before all earthly affairs (as is seemly), and we shall not have any other one, although we ought to submit to the decision in banishment for continence."

The king, full of piety and inward pity, answered them with these words: "What therefore, most beloved sisters and devoted servants of God, sits in your spirits? Seek what will be just, not what you will suffer."

To whom the maidens replied: "We want and we desire, we pray for your benevolence as mentioned above, for all by which we can with devotion, that you grant us some small portion of land free from all human service and secular charge, where we may live in the service of God. We petition also that, freely and quietly, with all liberty prescribed, we may be able to give that land in alms to God, Saint Mary of Abingdon, and the monks in that same house serving God. There our bodies will have a temporal burial."

Then the king with great deliberation (with his archbishops, bishops, earls, and barons of the realm) granted to them in their lifetime the vill called Culham [Ox.]. He confirmed that land after their death to the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon, the convent in that same place serving God, free and quit from all secular charge, under anathema of all bishops. The men inhabiting the vill should submit neither to the king nor to the royal officials, nor to the order of another, nor to any jurisdiction except that chiefly of the abbot or of that man or men whom
the abbot of Abingdon appointed guardian or guardians there.

Furthermore king Coenwulf procured from Pope Leo III a privilege of ecclesiastical benefice for that same will under penalty of anathema, so that no mortal, whether archbishop, bishop, archdeacon, dean, or their officers or men, from that same church or a person of the church or a vicar, or from any annual pension holding the same church, may dare to call into law, or to drive out someone from it, whence in posterity it can be subjected to some episcopal jurisdiction or of another, and thus to suffer diminution of its liberty. The abbot alone chooses from the benefice of the privilege someone skilled in law, whomever he wishes, who may hear complaints and suits, as much from criminal matters as from others pertaining to ecclesiastical law, diligently, and who may decide by canonical enquiry. Moreover, from that time a priest or a clerk of the church of Culham will receive the chrism in Easter vigil from the hand of the sacristan in the church of Abingdon for the rite of baptism and of the infirm. When a beneficed priest or vicar of the same church succumbs to fate, the abbot of Abingdon by his own authority (not from consent or advice of an archbishop, a bishop, an archdeacon, a dean, or of any other ecclesiastical official) will give the benefice or vicariate to whom he wishes, with no presentation [to the benefice] made to the diocesan or any other. If the abbot of that same church has died, and the church named is vacant, the prior
and the convent with the advice of the community will give and assign the benefice or vicariate to whom they wish, and they will confirm it by their charter. Not only did the worthy pope Leo confirm with his privilege that vill, with all the prescribed liberty, to the house of the abbey of Abingdon, but also he sent his petitionary letters to king Coenwulf, seeking more eagerly that worthy vill, with all its appurtenances and prescribed liberties, just as the high pontiff himself had granted a privilege, then the king himself might confirm by his privilege that same vill of Abingdon. It may be allowed that the king did not immediately assent to his plan. Nevertheless, that the pure might not be called inferior, he assented to the sound plan of the high pontiff as one much better and more well-considered for the place.

[18] ABOUT THE TIMES OF RETHUN, BISHOP AND ABBOT.

After seven years had passed, the hunters and fowlers of king Coenwulf dared to burden the house of Abingdon first with lavish expenses and undue exactions, then with various abuses which squandered the patrimony of the Crucified One. A race accustomed to live without befitting modesty, they would not cease from such presumption, for either prayer or price. Abbot Rethun of Abingdon and his convent bore these things with grief. Lest they become precedents for posterity at the risk of injuries of that kind to their house, they [the abbot and his convent] brought frequent admonitions, more to the king than to the royal officials,
that the king's men cease their injuries. When such pleas were ignored, the abbot and convent, for their safety and that of their house, appealed to the apostolic see. With no delay the worthy abbot went to the Roman curia where, defended laudably by the venerable Pope Leo, he discussed his business seriously and, so far as he was able, cautiously, with the pope himself. Lamenting the king's decision, the servant of the servants of God with affable gentleness sent [Rethun] back very hastily to his own [house]. From inherent goodness, from whose breast always abounded an immensity as much of piety as of sweetness, the pope sent the letters of his protection with the privileges of apostolic authority. Since the king already had accepted this soberly first from the tenor of the pope's letters, then from the bearer's oral statement, that he must exert himself for the liberty of the English Church, and especially must pursue carefully the defense of the house of Abingdon, and equally must cease thoroughly from the undue exactions and vexations of that house, or he would incur in due course the indignation of the apostolic see. First with cavilling flatteries, then with fulminating threats, and then with dilatory exceptions, the [reeve] protracted the business, attempting to do as little as possible. Meanwhile since the pope had died, his letters to the abbot about this business were quashed, in accordance with the law which claims that the message perishes with a dead agent. Having seen this,
abbot Rethun and the Abingdon convent ardently feared that it would be imputed to them by posterity that they had procured the aforesaid letters against the royal dignity, to the blame and detriment of their house. The king was asserting this, so the worthy abbot Rethun with the advice of his brothers approached the king in order to speak calmly with him about his business. So that he might do this more easily he carried with him gold and silver to the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds, judging this to be the most persuasive plan for obtaining the king's love and a final remedy. He offered to the king that ever-so-little portion of silver and gold for the good of peace, as well as one hundred manses to the royal vill at Sutton, situated near Abingdon. On account of these gifts Rethun the man of God moved the king's spirit toward benevolence for himself and his house, so much so that a decree was publicly confirmed. No official of the palace, whether reeve or bishop, could question the house about its possessions and appurtenances about its profits, either of service or of undue exactions. On the contrary, the church's liberty from them all would be perpetuated.

Since his case had received such a settlement, abbot Rethun decided [to record] those things which had already been settled between the king and himself, lest they appear again in a renewed dispute. It would be useful to himself to record his deeds for his house and to transmit them for the knowledge of posterity. This was willingly granted by
the king. The king granted a privilege to Abingdon concerning the vills pertaining to the house from his own gifts, which are specified singly in his privilege which follows. This is the tenor of the privilege. 42

[19] CHARTER OF KING COENWULF.

[Given in 811, nineteenth year of Coenwulf. To abbot Rethun and his successors in free demesne the lands of Abingdon, three hundred and ten manses; at Longworth, ten; Oakley, Norton, and Punnigestoce eighteen. Rethun gave one hundred and twenty pounds, which brought back one hundred manses granted by others: at Sunningwell fifteen; at Eaton ten measures; at Dry Sandford ten; at Denchworth and Goosey thirty; some at Culham; at Ginge ten; and at Leckhampstead ten. Granted free from all service perpetually.] 43

[20] PRIVILEGE OF COENWULF.

[Given in 821, the twenty-fifth year of king Coenwulf, at the behest of pope Leo III. He confirms that all the possessions of the abbey of Abingdon are held with perpetual liberty. Other conditions: They must arm an expeditionary force with twelve vassals and as many shields. They must repair bridges and towers, and they may boast about the rest with full and complete liberty. They must offer seven beneficial masses for the king's soul.] 44

[21] ABOUT BEORHTRIC KING OF THE WEST SAXONS.

In these days the worthy king of the West Saxons, Beorhtric, whom we have mentioned before above, gave to his
nobleman Hemele the vill called Mene. With his charter he confirmed and granted to him all in the same manner as mentioned above to his prince Lulla. After his death he could give whatever of that same land he wished to an heir. The worthy Hemele gave the vill of Mene, with the consent of king Beorhtric, to God, Saint Mary, the house of Abingdon, and the monks there serving God, with all things belonging to it. He presented king Brihtric's very charter, by which he held that vill, upon the altar of Saint Mary. The tenor of that charter is this.

[22] CHARTER OF BEORHTRIC ABOUT [LAND NEAR] HURSTBOURNE.

[Beorhtric gave perpetual right of thirty-six hides to Hemele. Hemele may give the land to whomever he wishes.]

[23] ABOUT THE DEATH OF KING COENWULF.

After the death of Coenwulf king of the Mercians holy Kenelm his son reigned for a few days. Ceolwulf, brother of Kenwulf, succeeded him, and was in turn succeeded by Beorhtwulf. Bertulf gave to the nobleman Aelfheah twelve hides near the river Charn, and also Calmsden [Glouc.]. Aelfheah, with king Bertulf's consent, gave to God, Saint Mary, the house of Abingdon, and the monks there that same vill with the aforementioned twelve hides of land, in the same manner as it was written above about the nobleman Lulla. This is king Beorhtwulf's charter.

[24] CHARTER OF KING BEORHTWULF.

[In 852 Beorhtwulf of Mercia gave twelve hides in perpetual inheritance to Aelfheah, with all rights belonging
to the land. Aelfheah could leave the land to whomever he wished. The land will remain free of all royal and secular charge, except for military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[25] [UNTITLED].

To Beorhtwulf king of the Mercians Ceolred the bishop gave fourteen hides near the river Thames for the liberty of certain monasteries. King Beorhtwulf gave this land to Ethelwulf the nobleman in the same way as above. Ethelwulf the nobleman gave to God, Saint Mary, the house of Abingdon, and its monks those same twelve hides, with the king's charter. This is the description of the charter. 48

[26] CHARTER OF KING BEORHTWULF.

[In 844, Beorhtwulf's fourth year, Ceolred the bishop gave to king Beorhtwulf fourteen measures of land near Pangbourne in perpetual possession for the liberty of the monasteries. Beorhtwulf gave the land to Ethelwulf the ealdorman in perpetual possession.]

[27] ABOUT THE DEATH OF BEORHTRIC KING OF THE WEST SAXONS.

When Beorhtric king of the West Saxons yielded to fate, 49 his nephew Egbert (son of the Cynewulf conquered by Offa king of the Mercians) succeeded him. Egbert received every king of all Albion in surrender. When he had heard the excellent reputation of the house of Abingdon and had seen the gifts and benefices which the heads of that house had
collected with a view to charity, he honestly chose that
house himself. He has proven his love most manifestly by
the exhibition of his own efforts. Moreover, when he saw
the very many benefices [granted by] his predecessors beside
his own small or none, he feared that he, like the foolish
fig tree, would be cut down if he conveyed no fruits. Con-
templating his life with continual meditation and having
beheld death many times with his eyes, he thus deliberated
what sort of a benefice he might give the house of Abingdon,
in free and perpetual alms, for the remission of his sins.
What more? Finally, with the advice of the magnates of his
own kingdom, he decided to grant the vill Marcham, with all
things belonging wholly to it, to God, Saint Mary, the house
of Abingdon, and its monks. His charter [which follows] has
confirmed it.

[28] CHARTER OF EGBERT KING OF THE WEST SAXONS ABOUT
50
MARCHAM.

[Given at Easter while at Dorchester in 835. Egbert
gave to Abingdon the vill Marcham of fifty measures of land.
Confirmed at Christmas in the thirty-fourth year of his
reign. Free from tax levy. The inheritance of pilgrims may
be returned to the church. Half the wergeld of a pilgrim
may go to the church. The woods of Marcham are free.]

[29] ABOUT THE DEATH OF KING EGBERT.

When Egbert king of the West Saxons stripped off the
prison-house of the flesh and was thus deprived of this
universal light, he was succeeded by his son Ethelwulf.
Ethelwulf gave to a certain nobleman of his named Alcmund the vill Ashbury, and, as is testified by his charter, granted that Alcmund might make whomever he wished his heir. Alcmund gave this vill to the house of Abingdon in free and perpetual alms along with the king's charter. Moreover, king AEthelwulf granted a general privilege to all the churches of the kingdom. To them he distributed the tenth part of the lands of his kingdom in free and perpetual alms. First and foremost among the recipients was the house of Abingdon. The form of the privilege is this.

[30] HOW KING ETHELWULF GAVE THE TENTH PART OF HIS KINGDOM TO THE CHURCHES.

[Ethelwulf gave the tenth part of all his lands throughout the kingdom to the churches, and this gift may remain fixed and incommutable, free from all royal and secular service.]

[31] ABOUT THE ARRIVAL OF THE DANES INTO ENGLAND.

Round about these times not a few men from the race of the Danes arrived by ship in England, seized booty, threatened men with slaughter, and burned their houses. Although they often were almost exterminated by the English, nevertheless by the action of their fellow countrymen, they were soon reinforced by a numerous multitude. Such an attack seemed to be upon those ruling or dominating in England, so that however many inopportunity or unsuitable occurrences had to be endured, they were concluded with
equal spirit, so long as they [the Danes] resisted the expected law of [those] ruling. Nevertheless they [the English] were able to strike at this small number. If only a certain one of those men leading [the country] had been less fatigued in years. England formerly had been supported by many noblemen, so that among the nations of the East and West Saxons, Mercians, and Northumbrians, and the Kentish, there were separate kings, but with calamities having broken forth afresh, [England] bore steadfastly such an effusion of human blood at the hand of the Danes, that scarcely one prince was left behind in his kingdom by whose advice the others might be protected. The ruins of [building] walls and ramparts can be seen [as] evidence in many places—ruined towns hither and thither, burned streets, and destroyed monasteries and their monuments. So the wretched inhabitants of these places, when the cessation of the wars had been achieved, seized the places deserted long ago by their cultivators, and the tyranny and slavery of the Danes was replaced.

[32] ABOUT THE DEATH OF KING ETHELWULF, AND HOW ATHELBALD HIS SON CONFIRMED ALL THE GIFTS OF CISSA, CADWALLA, AND INE TO THE CHURCH OF ABINGDON.

When king Ethelwulf died, his son Athelbald succeeded him. Athelbald chose from among the other churches of his kingdom the house of Abingdon as if with a certain special prerogative in so many things. Not only did he endow this
house from his very own benefices, but he also gave and confirmed the lands which the first founders of the monastery of Abingdon (namely Cissa, Cadwalla, Ine) had given. Athelbald confirmed those very same lands by his own charter and specified them one by one. This is the tenor of the charter.

[33] CHARTER OF ATHELBALD, KING OF THE WEST SAXONS, ABOUT WATCHFIELD.

[Athelbald confirmed the grants of his predecessors Cissa, Cadwalla, and Ine, of two hundred and fifty hides. The kings of Mercia had granted two hundred and seventy-four, these kings being AEthelred, Cuthred, and Coenred. Athelbald himself gave twenty-six hides in Watchfield and ten hides near the brook Ginge.]

[34] [Untitled.]

After the death of Athelbald his brother Ethelbert succeeded him. He [Athelbald] ruled for a short time (namely five years), and in the granting of benefices he provided sufficiently for the health of his soul. He was incessantly diligent in giving thought to ecclesiastical protection. When he yielded to fate, his brother Ethelred ruled. Ethelred, while holding the guidance of the kingdom, gave and granted to his worthy intimate, the prince Athelwulf, land of ten hides in the vill Wittenham, in the same manner in which the following charter of the king attests—namely, that Athelwulf might make whomever he wished his heir after
his death. Not unmindful of the aforesaid benefice, Athelwulf gave the vill to the house of Abingdon, along with all things wholly attached to it. This he did with the king's consent and will, and with the king's charter describing the gift and the manner of its giving. The king granted it firmly, and Athelwulf bestowed the king's charter as well for the greater protection [of the gift] in honor of God and of blessed Mary upon the altar of Abingdon with most reverent devotion. This is the king's charter.

[35] CHARTER OF ETHELRED, KING, CONCERNING WITTENHAM.

[Ethelred, king of the West Saxons, in 862 at the royal vill Micheldever granted to Athelwulf ten hides in Wittenham, to be held in perpetual inheritance, with all rights pertaining, in fields, meadows, pastures, fishmarkets. He may leave the vill to whomever he wishes after his death. The land will remain immune from all royal and secular service, except military service and repair of bridges and fortifications.]

By gift of the bishop Siward, with his description, hereafter the church possessed the same land.

[36] CONCERNING LOCKINGE.

In these times Cuthwulf, thegn of Ethelswith, queen of the Mercians, gave to God, Saint Mary, the house of Abingdon, and its monks land of twenty-five measures in the vill Lockinge, with the consent and will of the aforesaid queen, in free and perpetual alms. Furthermore he placed the queen's charter upon the altar of Saint Mary in witness
of his gift. This is the subscription of that charter.

[37] CHARTER OF ETHELSWITH, QUEEN, CONCERNING
       62
LOCKINGE.

With our Lord Jesus Christ ruling in perpetuity.

I Ethelswith, queen of the Mercians, with God
dispensing, with the consent [and witness] of my magnates,
shall give to my most faithful thegn Cuthwulf some portion
of land of my own power. This is land of twenty-five
measures in the place called Lockinge. For his humble
obedience and pleasing wealth, this is [given in return for]
1500 shillings of silver and gold, 1500 coins [each worth a
shilling], so that he may have and possess [the land] as
long as he lives and [may] enjoy it thoroughly voluntarily.
After his death and the end of his days, let him relinquish
the liberty to whomever he wishes in eternal power and
perpetual inheritance. This gift has been agreed upon in
the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 868, first
indiction. We have decreed our gift to all the powers of
the world, in the name of God the Father, and of the Son,
and of the Holy Spirit, to preserve the abovesaid [gift]
inviolate. With these witnesses signing below and agreeing
whose names are written together after having been recited.

+I Ethelred, king of the West Saxons, have consented and
signed.

+I AEilhferth, bishop, have consented and signed.

+I Wulfhere, ealdorman, have consented and signed.
+I Eadwulf, ealdorman, have consented and signed.
+I Wigstan, ealdorman, have consented and signed.
+I Mucel, ealdorman, have consented and signed.
+I Alfred, brother of the king, have consented and signed.
+I Oswald, son of the king, have consented and signed.
+I Athelwulf, ealdorman, have consented and signed.
+I AElfstan, ealdorman, have consented and signed.
+I Alhhard, abbot, have consented and signed.
+I AEthelferth, thegn, have consented and signed.
+I AEgberht, thegn, have consented and signed.
+I Forthred, thegn, have consented and signed.
+I Burghred, king of the Mercians, have consented and signed.
+I Eðelswith, queen, have consented and signed.

[The same man afterwards conferred this land upon this church.]

[38] CONCERNING FARNBOROUGH.

In the very same manner the nobleman Eadric, relative
[of the family of] AEthelflaed queen of the Mercians, gave
to God, Saint Mary, the house of Abingdon, and its monks the
vill called Farnborough, with the agreement and will of the
aforesaid queen, and through the authority of the charter
which the queen had made for him concerning Farnborough. He
placed the charter upon the altar of Abingdon, resigning to
it all the rights which he had in that land through the
testimony of the queen's charter. This is a copy of a
writing of her charter.

[39] CHARTER OF QUEEN AETHELFLAED ABOUT FARNBOROUGH.

[In 878 (sic-916) Aethelflaed of the Mercians granted to her thegn Eadric permission to obtain ten measures of land at Farnborough for himself and his heirs, to be held perpetually. The land is free from all tributes, except military service, repair of fortifications. Offa, king of the Mercians, had given this land to Bynna, the great-grandfather of Wulfaf. That charter was lost. The present charter was given on the fifth of the ides of September at Weardburg. Aethelflaed's name appears first on the signature list.]

[40] CONCERNING THE ADVENT OF THE DANES INTO ENGLAND AND THE DESTRUCTION OF ABINGDON.

In the time of king Ethelred, as we have accepted from the succession of the deeds of the English, very many people of the Danube [i.e., Danes] are said to have arrived in England by ship. Ingwar and Hubba are well remembered as outstanding among the original leaders and leading men of the race. The Danes landed in the kingdom of the Northumbrians in winter. First on account of the pleasantness of the place, then on account of the fertility of the island, and in like manner on account of the abundance of all good things, they acknowledged such a desire of ruling that they did not consider the condition of the natives, either the age or sex of anyone. They brought them all within danger
of death. Men and women were killed, as were children still hanging on their mothers' breasts. Cities henceforth were overthrown, and villages were set aflame hither and thither. They laid waste nearby once-happy provinces, now unhappy because of devastation. Nor were they at all afraid to raise their hands against the holy places of the holy ones [i.e., the monks]. Thus did this foreign people overturn the house of Gideon, the shameful young goat seized the lamb, the wretched race was chastised by the horn of David, violently by the whole nation. One city alone remained sitting. Therefore cities with monasteries were overthrown, whose monuments indeed stand out as evidence in many places, as for example where the ruins of walls and fortifications can still be seen half-destroyed. What more? Those Danes passed from kingdom to kingdom, and from one people to another, as if exalting their insolence of spirit as a sign of victory. Finally they arrived on their unhappy course at Wessex, where in an entirely similar manner, as in other places, they revelled wildly. They came to the most holy and venerable house of Abingdon, which so many holy kings and men of the abovesaid authentic [writing] had founded and had enriched with various endowments. With such an unfriendly hand, such lionine ferocity, and such detestable avarice, they put the monks to flight and destroyed the house, so that nothing is said to have remained there besides the walls. This was nevertheless foreseen by divine providence, and the saints' relics, along with the charters
of the house, which we have listed above and below in this book, were secretly preserved, so that hereafter they [the monks] became more determined to be the recoverers and repairers of this monastery of the lands belonging rightfully to the church through those same charters. O what pain and what anxiety, and who is of such stiff neck, of such an iron breast, of such a steel-hardened heart, that [when] he hears these things can restrain himself from tears? When these men beloved of God were expelled from the bosom of their mother, a place so holy and so honorable, not only boldly but also irreverently did these men of a strange tribe occupy it, but these Danes were also heathens. On a certain day some of this group, swollen with the spirit of pride, were sitting in the Refectory in the manner of the monks. More buffoon-like than disorderly in all things they entertained themselves. Here there occurred a miracle of this kind, which did not die with previous generations.

[41] HOW THE IMAGE DROVE THE DANES OUT OF THE REFECTORY.

There was an image attached to a cross which had been placed in the middle of the table. The image bore with difficulty the gluttony of the heathen reclining at table, so, with a wonderful motion and mobile arm (and not with a flexible finger) it is said to have dragged the stones from the wall of the refectory with a mighty strength and a wonderful fortitude, halving them. With an inaudible but terrible whirlwind within it the image raged amidst the
multitude of the heathen. Advancing step by step in the manner of tortoises, the image did not stop with its hailstorm on this side until it completely expelled all the henchmen of Satan from the refectory. These are the works of Christ, worthy of all praise, to whom nothing is difficult. Who although he was made of separate natures and bound by certain rule, nevertheless The Author of these things, when he wishes, where he wishes, and just as he wishes, through nature at will, more rational than irrational, animate and inanimate, has provided that [i.e., objects] may proceed with no effort beyond nature through the aforesaid forms of the same nature, or return [to its own nature]. May it be evident wonderfully by his wondrous deeds, so it may be acknowledged by all how often the deed is splendid in the maker, or formed by the potter, or a heel by creation erected against its Creator, that with the just judgment of God he may know himself disgraced forever when he acts without consideration. Therefore man may learn of his wretched condition from the explanation of that miracle, how dangerous it is to be proud and how pernicious to assume something, or indeed to take away from anyone or to abrogate by squandering. Indeed he may remember that degree of humility which is safely pursued eagerly, and not to fear God, to whom is bent every knee; at the same time observe steadily that honest natural law (no law is more equitable or more just, which says: That force which is not made by you may be made by another.
[42] ABOUT ANOTHER MIRACLE.

It is said that another miracle of the same image, not less worthy of admiration, happened not much later. A certain brother, who had entered the refectory to relieve his thirst, which he had long borne, came with no companion of his order. Not unmindful beforehand that he might [be able to] taste some wine, he marked the goblet with the sign of the cross, and with the accustomed manner proffered a blessing. The image answered with a living voice and from a round mouth, speaking distinctly and plainly. When the brother had heard that, he was nearly terrified because he saw no one. He weighed carefully the representation of the unusual voice. He sat solitary and deliberated willingly upon what it was that was with him. What more? Finally recalling to memory the manner in which doubts are to be explained more favorably and more blessedly, he brought his eyes to the image and reflected how great and how marvelous God is deemed to be, made worthy through that subject creature; he reflected upon the requisite cross, because he was accustomed to prejudge the phantom for himself. There is therefore no doubt but that the image spoke, and not worthy of admiration if God, who withdraws and imparts, who created everything out of nothing, that is, from preexisting matter, from an inanimate creature he brought forth a sonorous voice, and as if brought forth from the arteries, who consulted Balaam miraculously at one time by means of an ass so
that at first he was disobedient against the prophet, finally with a living voice he admonished it lest he proceed further on the way. These are your works, good Jesus, to whom [be] praise and glory.

[43] ABOUT THE REBUILDING OF ABINGDON.

Now it remains that we turn to the rebuilding of the house of Abingdon in alternating style. When Ethelred king of the West Saxons entered upon the way of all flesh, our pious and merciful Lord Jesus Christ, whose universal way is mercy and truth, who permits the pious to suffer and the impious to rule, became an opportune helper to the orphans of the holy mother church of Abingdon in their tribulations, with his grace, who knew such mercy with his servants. Indeed He incited the successors of king Ethelred, who with pious desire (as will be declared below) devoted care eagerly to restoration of this house. Among them was the aforesaid king Alfred, brother of king Ethelred, who undertook the government of the kingdom first after Ethelred. This man heaped misfortunes upon misfortunes, as Judas among the twelve. He drew away violently from the aforesaid monastery the vill in which the monastery is situated, which by the vulgar idiom is called Abingdon, with all its appendages for the Lord the victor, for the victory which was executed on the Danes conquered above Ashdown, returning an uneven reward. In his time the renowned king Alfred gave the vill called Appleford to a certain faithful subject of his, Deormod, for his service and homage. As the king's
charter attests, he granted it to him so that he might constitute whomever he wished as his heir. The aforesaid Deormod therefore constituted as his heir God, Saint Mary, and the church of Abingdon, that after the death of the king the established gift [would remain] proven and unchanged. This is the tenor of the charter.

[44] CHARTER OF ALFRED KING OF THE WEST SAXONS ABOUT 69 APPLEFORD.

[Alfred granted to his faithful Deormod one small vill of five hides named Appleford, for another small bit of land called Harndon. Deormod may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death, in perpetual inheritance. The land may be free from all secular service, except military service, fortification of walls and bridges.]

[In Old English: Deormod bought from Alfred the king with fifty mancuses of ready gold five hides of land in perpetual inheritance, with everything free except fyrd (military service) and fortification work, on this fixed land.]


When king Alfred died, his son Edward succeeded him. Edward gave to a certain thegn of his, by name Aelfstan, the vill called Sevington. The king confirmed it with his own charter, and, as mentioned above, he granted that after his [AEelfstan's] death he might make whomever he wished his heir
of that same land, without any contestation. This same thing is attested by charter of the king. Trusting to the protection of this same charter the aforesaid AElfstan gave the land to God, Saint Mary, the house of Abingdon, and its monks in free and perpetual alms. In recognition of this gift (as was then the custom of the time) he placed the king's charter, through which he held all his right in said land, upon the altar of blessed Mary of Abingdon, in the presence of the king and his magnates, with no one denying his gift. This is the tenor of the charter.

[46] CHARTER OF KING EDWARD ABOUT SEVINGTON [WILTS.].71

[In 1043 Edward [the Confessor] gave to his thegn AElfstan ten hides at Sevington. AElfstan may give the land to whomever he wishes. The land may be free from all secular service, except military service, and repair of fortifications and bridges. List of signatories from the reign of Edward the Confessor, and not from the reign of Edward, Alfred's son].

[47] HOW THE KING GAVE HARDWELL TO Athelhuniflo.

Edward king of all England, while he enjoyed vital air, gave to a certain vassal of his, Tata AEthelhumflo, three hides in free and perpetual alms. He confirmed it with his charter. As mentioned before he granted that after Tata's death Tata might make whomever he wished heir of this land without any objection. This same thing is attested by the king's charter. The aforesaid Tata AEthelhumflo, depending upon the protection of this charter, gave this land to God,
Saint Mary, the house of Abingdon, and its monks in free and perpetual alms. In recognition of this gift (as was the custom of that time), he placed the charter of the king, through which he held all right in the aforesaid land, upon the altar of Saint Mary of Abingdon in the presence of the king and his magnates. No one opposed the gift. The tenor of the charter is this.

[48] CHARTER OF KING EDWARD ABOUT HARDWELL.

[In 903 at Hampton, Edward ordered the restoration of free inheritance to his vassal Tata Aethelhumfelo of three hides at Hardwell in eternal possession. Edward's grandfather Ethelwulf had given the land perpetually, free from all secular tax, except military service, repair of bridges and fortifications. For some reason that old free inheritance has been subverted, and nothing of it remained.]


When Edward king of England, with the Lord disposing, entered upon the way of all flesh, his son Athelstan succeeded him. Athelstan, after suddenly assuming the government of the kingdom, is said to have been of such piety and holy life that a grain of mustard, which the good Gardener, our Lord and Redeemer Jesus, had planted in the garden of his heart, took root in that very place. It began to mature into a great tree of the strongest faith, of holy hope, and above all of immense charity, which neither envies
nor acts wrongly. Indeed Athelstan saw freely through prudence what his works [should be, in order to be] pleasing to God. He heard through obedience, he dined through charity, he smelled through hope and faith, and he touched equally and consummated through a good act of service. In rebuilding the very many destroyed churches he tried to effect the highest care and most diligent diligence unceasingly. The monastery of Abingdon, which abbot Cynath ruled at that time, was embraced with such sincerity and with such privilege of love, that not only did he enrich it with various ornaments, but he also endowed it with ample possessions. The following charters of the king present the testimony of truth about these possessions. The first is this one.

[50] CHARTER OF KING ATHELSTAN ABOUT DUMBLETON.

[In 930 Athelstan presented to Cynath, abbot of Abingdon, land of his own possession in two places, to be held perpetually by hereditary right. At Dumbleton ten small holdings at the western part of the river Isbourne [Glouc.], and two at the eastern part of the river, called Easton. Five measures of wooded land at Flyford Flavell [Worc.] on both sides of the river Piddle Brook.]

[51] CHARTER OF KING ATHELSTAN ABOUT SHELLINGFORD.

[In 931 Athelstan bestowed twelve hides at Shellingford upon Abingdon for the use of its monks, with all its appurtenances in perpetual inheritance. The land may be free from all secular service, except military service,
repair of fortifications and bridges.] 77

[52] CHARTER OF KING ATHELSTAN ABOUT SWINFORD.

[In 931 Athelstan granted five hides at Swinford to the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon, for the use of the monks. The land may be free from all secular service, except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.] 78

[53] CHARTER OF KING ATHELSTAN ABOUT SANFORD [OX.].

[In 931 Athelstan granted fifteen hides at Sanford to the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon, for the use of the monks of that house. The land may be free from all secular service, except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[54] HOW ATHELSTAN SENATOR [MEMBER OF THE WITAN] GAVE UFFINGTON.

In the times of Athelstan the king there was a certain noble man Athelstan the senator [witan-member] who gave to the house of Abingdon and its monks the vill called Uffington, with all things belonging wholly to it, just as the charter of Athelstan the witan-member himself attests. He granted this in free and perpetual alms. This is the notification of his charter.

[55] CHARTER OF ATHELSTAN THE WITAN-MEMBER ABOUT UFFINGTON.

[Athelstan the witan-member granted Uffington to the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon.]

[56] KING ATHELSTAN GAVE WATCHFIELD TO HIS THEGN
AELFRIC.

At the same time king Athelstan gave his thegn AElfric, [a vill] Watchfield, of twenty hides, with the condition that after his death, he might wish to give it to his heir, thence he might have liberty of gift by royal authority. The king's charter attests this. AElfric, in absolution of his sins, and for the souls of his ancestors, made this most holy house of Abingdon the heir of the vill, with all things belonging to it with the consent and will of the king, with none contesting his gift. This is the subscription of the king's charter confirming this gift.

[57] CHARTER OF KING ATHELSTAN ABOUT WATCHFIELD.

[In 931 on the twelfth of the kalends of July [June 20], Athelstan bestowed twenty hides at Watchfield upon his faithful thegn AElfric, to be held as long as he lives, free from service. AElfric may leave the land to whomever he wishes.]

[58] [Untitled section.]

King Athelstan gave to his thegn Wulfsuth six hides at Bultheswurthe, with meadows, pastures, forests, streams, and all rights fitly belonging to it, all in the same manner as above. Without doubt the aforesaid land is evidently surrounded with these boundaries [given in Old English].

[59] [Next section begins in the middle, apparently, of a charter of king Athelstan.] Given in 931, the seventh year of Athelstan's reign, on the seventh of the Ides [no month given].
In a similar manner king Athelstan granted to another of his thegns, by name AELfheah, ten hides at Farnborough, and he in like manner granted them to this house of Abingdon. This is the king's charter following immediately.

[60] CHARTER OF ATHELSTAN ABOUT FARNBOROUGH.

[Athelstan, asked by his faithful thegn AELfheah, relaxed some part of his right in eternal inheritance. He granted ten hides at Farnborough in eternal possession, with all rights belonging to the land. The land may be free from all secular service, except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[61] ABOUT CHALGROVE. HOW ATHELSTAN THE KING GAVE IT TO HIS THEGN EALDRED.

King Athelstan granted to his thegn Ealdred Chalgrove of five hides, and Ealdred bestowed the vill upon the house of Abingdon in the same manner as above. This is the king's charter confirming this gift.

[62] CHARTER OF KING ATHELSTAN ABOUT CHALGROVE.

[In 926 Athelstan gave to his faithful thegn Ealdred land at Chalgrove and Tebworth [Bed.] of five hides, worth ten pounds of gold and silver. The land is to be held in eternal possession. After his death Ealdred may leave the land to whomever he wishes.]

[63] HOW KING ATHELSTAN GAVE BRIGHTWALTON [BERKS.].

King Athelstan gave to a certain religious woman named Eadwulfu Eadlufa, Brightwalton, of fifteen hides, in the
same manner as above. She bestowed that vill upon the house of Abingdon. This is the king's charter.

[64] CHARTER OF KING ATHELSTAN ABOUT BRIGHTWALTON.

In 939 Athelstan granted to the religious woman Eadwulfu fifteen hides at Brightwalton in perpetual inheritance. She may leave it to whomever she wishes after death. The land may be free from secular service, except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.

[65] CONCERNING THE GIFTS WHICH HUGH CAPET, KING OF FRANCE, SENT TO ATHELSTAN, KING OF ENGLAND.

At this time, the famous king of the English Athelstan was holding his plenary court during Easter near Abingdon with his earls and thegns, accordingly as it agreed with the royal honor. Messengers of Hugh Capet, the king of France, arrived, offering to the king various gifts of gold and silver, and others sweeter than gold, silver, and precious stones—precious relics to be touched and venerated with all reverence. [These relics consisted of] part of the thorny crown, part of the nail [lit., key] of the Lord, the banner of Saint Maurice, most glorious martyr and prince of the legion of Thebes, and the precious finger of holy Dionysus the martyr. The king received these with joy, and he offered benign approval to the petition of the French king's messengers concerning the marriage of his [Athelstan's] sister. King Athelstan gave the aforementioned holy objects (contained in a silver coffin) with all honor to the most holy house of Abingdon. Abingdon's monuments, with divine
clemency bringing aid, offer to many [people] relief for various sorrows.

[66] ABOUT THE DEATH OF KING ATHELSTAN.

Not long after these things were happily accomplished, the aforesaid king Athelstan entered upon the way of all flesh. His brother Edmund succeeded him.

During Edmund's reign a dispute arose between the abbot and monks of Abingdon (on the one part), and the inhabitants of the county of Oxford (on the other part) about a certain field named Beri, which belonged by right to the church of Abingdon. Concerned with this right and with God's clemency, the abbot and monks, being more trusting than dilatory or captious about their liberties, or with obscure pleasing subterfuges, with common assent and equal desire, chose to fast and pray for three days. Most devotedly they implored divine clemency, that their pure right to the aforesaid field with its mortal possessions might become more clearly evident through His almighty power. Since the servants of God acted so readily, they were inspired with a salutary plan (as it is pious to believe), a divine provision. On the appointed day in the morning the monks upon rising took a round shield on which they placed a bundle of grain. Upon this they laid a bundle of wax of circumspect quantity and thickness. This they set afire, the shield with bundle and wax, and they then committed it to the river which ran past the church. A few
brothers followed after in a small boat. The shield preceded them and like a finger showed the possessions pertaining by right to the house of Abingdon. It turned first this way, then that; now on the right, now on the left. Confidently it went before them until it came to the river near the field called Beri, in which the wax miraculously gave up the middle course of the Thames and turned aside to encircle the field between the Thames and Gifteleia. In winter and many times in summer this field is encircled by water like an island when the Thames overflows. This miracle, seen by those present, was more agreeable to the inhabitants of the county of Berkshire than to those of Oxford. It was also agreeable to the monks who had followed the wax. Thus the aforesaid field was returned to the house of Abingdon, while the people exclaimed, "The right of Abingdon, the right of Abingdon!" At [the sight of this] miracle such amazement entered upon all who heard it, that from that time until the present day not any king, ealdorman, nobleman, or any other powerful man can be found who dared at all to bring a case over this field against Abingdon.

At this time a certain young boy named Ethelwold, very young in age, but aged in morality, was supported by the greatest friendship of king Athelstan. The king perceived [this boy] to be emulous of virtues and desirous of letters which he esteemed with the best nature. The king commended him to Aelfheah bishop of Winchester, a man then illus-
trious in the works of God and sometimes adorned with a prophetic spirit. The boy was to be imbued with spiritual exercises. It was certain that he would become a great man in the church. Not long after this the king attained the end of life and delegated the highest position to his brother Edmund. After [Athelstan's] death the Abingdon monastery was reduced to such destitution because all its rightful possessions had been brought under royal dominion. Thus it was entirely forsaken by the monks. Nothing of the truth of their evil misfortune, which occurred because of royal actions, has come to my notice. Nevertheless, the books of wills [charters], containing the possessions of the church, despite the many unexpected evil happenings, have at any rate been preserved by the providence of God, in order that [as far as] they might be able, they may serve as the restorers and the signs of antique things to the [old monks'] successors. From the time of king Ine, under whom the monastery was first built, to the time of this devastation, the turning of two hundred and forty years is said to have taken place.

[67] CHARTER OF KING EDMUND ABOUT CULHAM.

[In 940 Edmund granted to a kinswoman named AElfhild fifteen hides at Culham in perpetual inheritance. She may leave it to whomever she wishes after death. The land may be free from all secular service, with all rights recognized as belonging to the land. This new charter has been given
since she no longer possesses the old one."

When this same matron arrived at the end of her life, she made this church the heir of the abovesaid possession.

[68] CHARTER OF KING EDMUND ABOUT CULHAM [OX.].

Edmund confirmed Watchfield to Abingdon, with all things pertaining to it, which the thegn AElfric gave to Abingdon by consent of king Athelstan in free and perpetual alms. Given with the condition that Godescalc the abbot and his monks grant to a certain religious matron of the royal family named AElfhild the vill of Culham, free and quit for her lifetime, under the same condition as the land grant by king Coenwulf to his sisters. After AElfhild's death the vill will be returned to Abingdon for the proper use of the monks. This was done when AElfhild died. She was buried in the chapel she had built in honor of Saint Vincentius."

[69] KING EDMUND GAVE GARFORD TO HIS THEGN WULFRIC.

King Edmund gave to Wulfric his thegn Garford of twenty-five hides, with the condition that after his death he might give it to whatever heir he wished. This is the king's charter confirming the gift.

[70] CHARTER OF KING EDMUND ABOUT GARFORD.

In 940 Edmund gave freely to his faithful thegn Wulfric twenty-five hides of land at Garford to be held perpetually. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all service, except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.

[71] HOW [WHITE] WALTHAM WAS GIVEN.
King Edmund gave to AElfsege, his thegn, [White] Waltham of thirty hides. This is the king's charter through which the gift of the same land was confirmed to this house by AElfsege, according to the custom of that time.

[72] CHARTER OF KING EDMUND ABOUT [WHITE] WALTHAM.

[In 940 Edmund granted freely to his thegn AElfsege thirty hides at (White) Waltham in eternal possession. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all secular service, except for military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[73] ABOUT EARMUNSDLEA AND APPLETON.

In the same year [940; sic-942)] king Edmund granted to his thegn Athelstan Ermundslea and Appleton, in the same manner as above. This is the king's charter through which Athelstan's gift of the same land was confirmed to this house, as was the custom of that time.

[74] CHARTER OF KING EDMUND ABOUT EARMUNSDLEA.

[In 942 Edmund bestowed upon a certain adopted faithful thegn called Athelstan ten hides of Ermundslea, and the vill of Appleton in eternal possession. Athelstan may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all secular service, except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[75] HOW LECKHAMPSTEAD WAS GIVEN.

In the following year [943] king Edmund gave Leckhampstead of ten hides to his thegn Edric in the same manner as
above. This is the king's charter through which Edric's gift was confirmed to this house, as was then the custom.

[76] CHARTER OF KING EDMUND ABOUT LECKHAMPSTEAD.

[In 943 Edmund granted freely to his faithful thegn Edric ten hides at Leckhampstead in eternal possession. Edric may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all secular service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges. Edmund gave also a mill near Lambourn (river, Berks.) in perpetual gift.]

[77] HOW LYFORD WAS GIVEN.

In the third year [of his reign] king Edmund granted to AElfheah his thegn Lyford of six hides, in the same manner as above. This is the king's charter through which AElfheah's gift of the same land was confirmed to this house, as was the custom of that time.

[78] CHARTER OF KING EDMUND ABOUT LYFORD.

[In 944 Edmund granted to his faithful thegn AElfheah six hides of Lyford in eternal possession. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all secular service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[79] HOW KING EDMUND GAVE BLEWBURY.

In the same year [944; sic-942] king Edmund gave to his thegn AElfric Blewbury of one hundred hides, in the same manner as above. This is the king's charter through which AElfric's gift of the same land was confirmed to this house,
as was then the custom.

[80] CHARTER OF KING EDMUND ABOUT BLEWBURY.

[In 944 Edmund granted to his bishop AElfric a hundred hides at Blewbury in eternal possession, with all things belonging to the land, fields, pastures, meadows, woods, and water courses. The land may be free from all secular exactions, except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges. AElfric may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The new charter was written because the old one was lost.]

[81] HOW KING EDMUND GAVE WINKFIELD AND SWINLEY.

In the same year king Edmund gave to Saethryth, a religious woman, Winkfield and Swinley, of eleven hides. She with the king's consent [gave them] to God, Saint Mary, the house of Abingdon, and its monks in free and perpetual alms. This is the king's charter confirming this gift.

[82] CHARTER OF KING EDMUND ABOUT WINKFIELD AND SWINLEY.

[In 942 Edmund granted to a certain religious woman named Saethryth eleven hides of Winkfield and Swinley in eternal inheritance. She may leave the land to whomever she wishes after her death. The land may be free from all secular service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[83] HOW BRIMPTON WAS GIVEN.

King Edmund granted in the same year to his thegn
Ordulf, Brimpton of twenty hides, in the same manner as above. This is the king's charter through which Ordulf's gift of the land to this house was confirmed, as was then the custom.

[84] CHARTER OF KING EDMUND ABOUT BRIMPTON.

[In 944 Edmund granted to Ordulf, in return for ninety mancuses of gold, eight hides of Brimpton, with all things belonging to the land, which may be free from all service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[85] ABOUT THE DEATH OF KING EDMUND AND THE SUCCESSION OF EADRED HIS BROTHER.

King Edmund was holding his court joyously with his magnates on the day of the festival of Saint Augustine [25 May], teacher of the English, in the royal vill which in English is called Pucklechurch. It so happened that in his presence his cupbearer with an outcry rose mortally against his steward. The king with difficulty tried to snatch away his steward from the confines of death, but a detestable blow by Leofwine his cupbearer, a lamentable accident, killed him, and he spent his final day. After Edmund's death, as we accept from the testimony of ancient books, the Abingdon monastery was reduced to such destitution that it was abandoned by the monks, since all its possessions were made subject to royal lordship by the sceptre-bearing power.

The evil of their misfortune, an event of such
unexpected occurrence, happened from causes, not at all worthy of truth or report, which have come to our attention. We have decided [that it is] at present more useful and more honest to be sensibly silent about whatever desolation occurred, since we might produce something in the middle that is neither true nor likely to be true or which is easily proved. Whatever unexpected loss came upon the monastery, nevertheless the books of charters containing the possessions of the church, have been soundly saved by the providence of God, in order that they might become more determined repairers and restorers of this monastery with its successors through the very books. Through procession of time they [the charters] might be known through the same signs of antiquities.

From the time of Cissa, Cadwalla, and Ine, kings of the West Saxons, through whose protection the monastery first was erected and built, continuously to this third desolation of the same monastery, two hundred and forty years are computed to have passed.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

[86] THE SECOND BOOK CONCERNING THE THIRD REPAIR OF THE HOUSE OF ABINGDON BEGINS.

When Edmund king of the West Saxons entered upon the way of all flesh, his brother the distinguished king Eadred of celebrated memory succeeded him in rule. He was admonished through the holy deeds of his mother queen
Eadgifu, and he became the repairer for the third time of the house of Abingdon, and most faithful restorer of the possessions [which had been] taken away. But before we may approach the king's endowments and gifts (to be described fully), we [have] decided first, since the place is suitable, to make mention of the special one who came after the desolation to Abingdon as a most faithful performer of the work, congratulating consoler after griefs and sadness, circumspect arranger of the holy order, and also most happy founder of all good customs of the house itself, father and shepherd.

[87] ABOUT SAINT ETHELWOLD.

At the time of king Edmund (whom we have mentioned a little in the preceding book) there was a certain youth named Ethelwold descended from a renowned family in the city of Winchester. Truly Ethelwold combined not only the renowned in family but also the remarkable in title with all the sanctity of the full lineage of nobility. The good qualities of nature and industry flourished equally in him, and having acquired honesty in his boyish years, he accumulated most charmingly the full knowledge of letters [scriptures] and of the nature of customs [institutions]. There were found in him indeed wonderful grace of body, most acceptable grace of manners, most pleasing brilliance of eloquence, so much so that the appearance, manner, and grace of the growing Ethelwold contended with probity in turn toward emulous [qualities]. By no means are we able to
elucidate in full his gentleness of mind, constancy of spirit, cheerfulness of countenance, eloquence of mouth, largess of hand, sanctity of life, however fervently we may desire to do so. Ethelwold, when he had grown and arrived happily at the years of discernment, recalled to memory that word of the Lord by which it is said, "They are not able to live for me who are not dead to the world." He hastened to cast off the snares of the world by refusing himself, by imitating Christ the leader, and by lifting up his cross. He became a son of the Glastonbury troop under the venerable father Dunstan. There he assumed most happily the habit of holy religion as abbot of the same place. The venerable man Ethelwold stayed there most piously for seven years, diligently recalling to memory that scripture in which it is said, "When the judge comes and when he tosses the wheat on the threshing floor, he is not deprived of the enjoyment which will have made the vine-sprigs of the cultivator in a vineyard." Diligently considering what is ashes by origin, ashes by imitation, ashes by resolution, and also what existed through the contagion of original sin, what through the grace of baptism, what through ruin, what indeed through the second board [table] after ruin, what will be through the dissolution of death, and the recompense of glory, he arrived at such perfection of sanctity, that placed on the earth among men he is seen to be employed in the angelic life on earth.
[88] HOW KING EADRED BEGAN TO LOVE HIM.

When Ethelwold's equal sanctity and goodness were disclosed, king Eadred honored holy Ethelwold with a certain special privilege of love for him, so much so that now it pleased him to have an intimate conference with him concerning the monastery. It pleased the king, with the persuasion of his mother Eadgifu, to give the holy man a certain place, by name Abingdon, in which the monastic life once flourished. But then there was neglect and destruction, until only vile buildings and forty hides were left. The king himself possessed the remaining land of the aforesaid place, subject to the royal demesne, namely a hundred hides in this place given by offerings. This was done, with abbot Dunstan consenting, according to the king's will, so that Ethelwold the man of God should accept the care of the aforesaid place in order that he might order regularly the monks in it serving God. Thus did the servant of God come to the place committed to him. Immediately certain clerks followed him from Glastonbury; namely Osgar, Foldbricht, Fridegar; also Ordbricht of Winchester, and Eadric of London. He placed them under him as his band of disciples. In a short time he assembled to himself a flock of monks, and the king commanded that he be appointed abbot. The king gave the royal estate which he had possessed in Abingdon, just as the king's charter following attests. This estate is a hundred hides, with the best buildings and provision for the abbot and brothers for daily food. He helped them
much with money from the royal treasury. But his mother arranged more abundantly the comfort of tributes for them. As the Lord collected grace for himself from those serving, so the aforesaid monastery, which before was most poor, now seemed to hasten to wealth, and thus culminating to meet with prosperous successes in order that the sentence of the Lord's promise is plainly seen to be filled, by which it is said, "Seek first the kingdom of God and His justice, and all things will be increased for you." [Matthew vi. 33]

The tenor of the king's charter is this.

[89] [THE KING'S CHARTER.]

[In 955 Eadred granted to abbot Ethelwold the vill Abingdon with its rural appendages, which belonged to the monastery in ancient times [i.e., when the invaders overran England]. All these possessions were restored to the perpetual right of the abbey.]

[90] ABOUT THE MONK AETHELSTAN.

Aethelstan the monk at the bidding of the abbot had undertaken the task to provide the nourishment of those [monks] working. On one of the days, when he was thus engaged, the ecclesiastic Ethelwold, who would be the mirror of Christ, died. Aethelstan was by chance preparing victuals in the kitchen, and he cooked alone. Discerning which was the cleanest of the utensils, true pavement of the house, he with a cheerful countenance tended the fire himself, with firewood, trying to satisfy his devotion with pious desire.
Having reached a boil, the pot was now sending out steam from the boiled meats, and it said [to Athelstan]: "From the depth of the kettle withdraw the hot bit with [your] bare hand." Delaying not at all, for he was indeed a man of great simplicity, he stretched out his arm into the boiling [water], just as if it were tepid, wishing to do as he was ordered. The abbot marvelled at his devotion, and he asked that it might remain unknown by the living. Afterwards on account of the merit of his life he accepted the bishop's seat at Winchester, with his vocation arriving from this life, he was carried to and buried at Abingdon, in the year from the Incarnation of Christ 980 [sic-984].

[91] ABOUT THE BOY AEDMER.

There was a boy in the same monastery of the pure innocence of zeal, by name AEdmer, whom the abbot fostered with the pious zeal of love on account of the charm of his manners. Having arrived at the end AEdmer was led to the presence of the queen of heaven, where he was enclosed by the greatest frequency of angels of a very wonderful, shining clarity. Afterwards he returned to his abbot and the brothers. [The queen of heaven] agreeably asked him whether he wished to cling to the world still. Of more beatitude than enjoyment, exulting, he answered, "Nowhere, O Mistress of all, is there such sweetness, such goodness as is evident [when one is] with you. For that reason, if it is pleasing to the excellence of your pity, henceforth [I wish to remain] with you so that I may undertake to serve as
I greatly wish." And she: "By your vow you will do so from today." And with these and other heavenly little beginners of such a Mistress he was instructed with oracles. He was sent back for a little while in order to relate these things about heaven to his cohabitators. After he spoke with them, his spirit, it is lawful believe, was then conveyed to the court of the mother of God by a company of angels.

[92] ABOUT OSGAR THE MONK.

The holy father [Ethelwold] by no means having reckoned better than others the manner of religion to follow at Abingdon, namely that of Fleury, a monastery decorated with the relics of holy Benedict. He arranged for Osgar, one of his monks, to be instructed there. Having returned with certain fellow soldiers [Osgar] imparted benignly through instruction what things he had learned. Indeed when the manner of a more strict life and the sanctity of Ethelwold had been heard about in many parts of England, many men of God assembled and were received at Abingdon, with a different manner and with the legend [book of the saint] about to be celebrated having been established. Desiring them to raise a shout of joy to God in church with harmonious voice, from the monastery Corbie, which is situated in France, the ecclesiastical discipline by the most celebrated one with a tempest summoned the most clever men, whom in reading and in hymning of his they imitate.

[93] ABOUT THE HYDROMEL [TYPE OF MEAD].
Of the virtues of this kind of men [i.e., monks] in common opinion, when opportunity was helping the king approach the church, to commend himself to the father and to the servants of God living therein with prayers, he was accustomed to be fed with them and by their service. Once, by a certain chance, a miracle happened, so that while feasting together from one dish they had prepared for the sufficiency of the cupbearer, but only by the measure of one palm was the drink emptied, although the multitude partook because of the royal presence or banquet.

[94] ABOUT QUEEN EADGIFU.

The king's mother Eadgifu cherished the abbot and monks with the greatest love, and at this time she poured out possessions of her faculties for them. With a solicitous reproof [she urged] her son greatly to favor [Abingdon], so that in the beginning of the establishing of the monastery he measured by hand the proper foundations of the making of the work. Finally she gave to them exceedingly well with royal liberality. By the grace of God they came to know, along with the modern inhabitants, the benevolent one [Eadgifu], since the king and his mother, as well as many noblemen, rejoiced to fill this place with gifts and to bestow lands upon it. Then in that place the abbot procured, partly by reason, partly for a given price, the possessions belonging to the monastery. Before a few years [had passed] you might see the whole monastery there honorably erected and plentifully enriched.
[95] HOW KING EADRED GAVE STANMORE TO WULFRIC.

King Eadred gave Stanmore to his thegn Wulfric, with all things which are recognized to belong to the place, more in great things than in moderate. Fields, pastures, woods, freely and eternally he may have as long as he lives, and after the common passing over which, certain and uncertain, is manifest for all puny men, he may leave it in perpetuity to whatever heir of succession he wishes. Thus the king's charter attests, whence the aforesaid Wulfric with the consent and will of the king made heir of the same vill this most holy house of Abingdon. This is the subscription of the king's charter confirming this gift.

[96] CHARTER OF KING EADRED ABOUT STANMORE.

[In 948 Eadred gave freely to his thegn Wulfric ten hides of land at Stanmore in perpetual possession. He may leave the land in eternal inheritance to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all secular burden except military service, common labor, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[97] HOW KING EADRED GAVE WITTENHAM TO AETHELWULF.

In a similar manner king Eadred gave to Aethelwulf the nobleman Wittenham of ten hides. Aethelwulf with the king's consent bestowed the aforesaid vill with the same tenor by which the king had granted it to God, Saint Mary, and this house of Abingdon, in free and perpetual alms. This is the king's charter confirming this gift.
[98] CHARTER OF THE KING ABOUT WITTENHAM.

[Eadred gave to his worthy nobleman AEthelwulf ten hides at Wittenham in eternal inheritance, with all rights belonging to the land, fields, meadows, pastures, and fisheries. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all royal and secular service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[99] ABOUT DENCHWORTH.

Similarly he granted to the soldier [knight] Wulfric Denchworth of five hides. Wulfric with the king's consent bestowed the aforesaid vill, in the same manner in which the king had granted it to him, to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks in free and perpetual alms. This is the king's charter confirming this gift.

[100] CHARTER ABOUT DENCHWORTH.

[In 947 Eadred gave in perpetual liberty ten hides of Denchworth to Wulfric. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may by free from all secular service except military service, repair of bridges and fortifications.]

[101] EADRED GAVE BALKING TO HIS THEGN CUTHRED.

King Eadred gave to Cuthred his thegn Balking of five hides. Cuthred with the king's consent bestowed the aforesaid vill, in the same manner in which the king had granted it to him, to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks in free and perpetual alms. This is the king's
charter confirming this gift. 111

[102] CHARTER ABOUT BALKING.

In 948 Eadred gave to his thegn Cuthred in perpetual inheritance five hides in Balking. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all secular service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[103] EADRED GAVE WASHINGTON [SUSS.] TO EDRIC.

King Eadred granted to ealdorman Edric Washington of twenty hides. Edric with the king's consent bestowed the aforesaid vill, in the same manner in which the king had granted it to him, upon God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks in free and perpetual alms. This is the king's charter confirming this gift. 112

[104] CHARTER ABOUT WASHINGTON.

In 947 Eadred gave to ealdorman Edric twenty hides at Washington with all rights, fields, pastures, and woods, in eternal inheritance. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all secular burden except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[105] HOW KING EADRED GAVE WELFORD TO WULFRIC.

In similar fashion king Eadred gave to his thegn Wulfric Welford of thirteen [eighteen] hides of land. Wulfric with the king's consent conferred the aforesaid vill, in the same manner in which the king had granted it to him, to God,
Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks in free and perpetual alms. This is the king's charter confirming this gift.  

[106] CHARTER OF THE KING ABOUT WELFORD.  

Eadred in 949 gave to his thegn Wulfric eighteen hides of land at Welford in perpetual inheritance. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all secular burden except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]  

[107] HOW KING EADRED GAVE ESCESBURH.  

In similar fashion king Eadred granted to Elfsi his thegn and to his wife Eadgifu, Escesburh of thirty-three hides. Elfsi with the king's consent conferred the aforesaid vill, in the same manner in which the king had granted it to him, to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks in free and perpetual alms. This is the king's charter confirming this gift.  

[108] CHARTER OF KING EADRED ABOUT ESCESBURH.  

Eadred in 953 granted to his thegn AEelfsige and his wife Eadgifu thirty-three hides of land at Escesburh in free and perpetual alms. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death.]  

[109] HOW CHIEVELEY WAS GIVEN TO WULFRIC.  

King Eadred gave to his thegn Wulfric Chieveley of twenty-five measures of land. Wulfric with the king's consent conferred the same vill, in the same manner in which the king had granted it to him, to God, Saint Mary, this
house of Abingdon, and its monks in free and perpetual alms. 115

[110] CHARTER OF KING EADRED ABOUT CHIEVELEY.

[In 951 Eadred granted to his thegn Wulfric twenty-five
hides of land at Chieveley, with pastures, meadows, and
woods in eternal possession. He may leave the land to
whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free
from all secular duty except common labor, military service,
repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[111] HOW CURRIDGE WAS GIVEN TO KING EADRED'S THEGN.

King Eadred gave to his thegn Alfric Curridge of five
hides. Alfric with the king's consent conferred the same
vill, in the same manner in which the king had granted it to
him, to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its
monks in free and perpetual alms. This is the king's char-
ter confirming this gift.

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[112] CHARTER OF THE KING ABOUT CURRIDGE.

[In 953 Eadred gave to his thegn Alfric five hides of
land at Curridge in eternal possession. He may leave the
land to whomever he wishes after his death.]

[113] HOW KING EADRED GAVE COMPTON [BEAUCHAMP] TO HIS
THEGN AELFHEAH.

In similar fashion king Eadred granted to his thegn
AElfheah Compton [Beauchamp] near Ashdown of eight hides.
AElfheah with the king's consent conferred the aforesaid
vill, in the same manner in which the king had granted it to
him, to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its
monks in free and perpetual alms. This the king's charter confirming this gift.

[114] CHARTER OF KING EADRED ABOUT COMPTON [BEAUCHAMP].

[In 955 Eadred gave to his thegn AElfheah eight hides of land at Compton [Beauchamp] near Ashdown hill. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death.]

[115] HOW KING EADRED GAVE BOXFORD TO HIS THEGN WULFRIC.

In similar fashion king Eadred gave to his thegn Wulfric Boxford of ten hides. Wulfric with the king's consent conferred the aforesaid vill, in the same manner in which the king had granted it to him, to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks in free and perpetual alms. This is the king's charter confirming this gift.

[116] CHARTER OF KING EADRED ABOUT BOXFORD.

[In 958 Eadred gave to this thegn Wulfric ten hides of land at Boxford in perpetual possession. After his death he may leave the land to whomever he wishes. The land may be free from all secular burden except military service, common work, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[117] HOW KING EADRED GAVE BARKHAM TO HIS THEGN AELFWINE.

King Eadred granted to his thegn AElfwine three hides at Barkham. AElfwine with the king's consent conferred the aforesaid vill, in the same manner in which the king had granted it to him, to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks in free and perpetual alms. This is the
king's charter confirming this gift.

[118] CHARTER OF KING EADRED ABOUT BARKHAM.

In 952 Eadred gave to his vassal [vasallus] AElfwine three hides of land at Barkham in perpetual inheritance, with all rights belonging to the land. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[119] HOW KING EADRED GAVE WEONFELD TO HIS THEGN ALFGAR.

King Eadred gave to his thegn and knight Alfgar, Weonfeld of three hides. Alfgar with the king's consent conferred the aforesaid vill, in the same manner in which the king had granted it to him, to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks in free and perpetual alms. This is the king's charter confirming this gift.

[120] CHARTER OF KING EADRED ABOUT WEONFELDE.

In 955 Eadred granted to his thegn and knight Alfgar three hides of land at Weonfelde with all rights, fields, pastures, meadows, and woods, belonging to that land, in perpetual inheritance. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all secular burden except military service, common work, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[121] ABOUT THE DEATH OF KING EADRED.

King Eadred was snatched by deadly death and fell onto the couch of illness, which beforehand he had forsaken, and, with the world's just Judge disposing, he breathed out the
most new soul. A voice from heaven, having slipped away to relate the beatitude of his end to the blessed abbot Dunstan, journeying to Glastonbury, who immediately hastened that he might console [address] the congregation more maturely. It became known how humanely it happened about him, saying, "King Eadred has fallen asleep in the Lord." O how happy the life of the king which is commended by such a happy attestation.

[122] ABOUT KING EDWIG.

Edwig, son of the king's brother Edmund, succeeded king Eadred in the reign. In his presence the venerable man abbot Ethelwold of Abingdon, whom we have mentioned before, found such favor, more effective than affective, that the renowned king offered assent to his every petition, much to the advancement of the house of Abingdon. Of his favor the venerable man Ethelwold was made not unmindful, since soon after the beginning of his reign he sought a privilege from the king, archbishops, and bishops of all England, the liberty of the Abingdon monastery, as mentioned above about the possessions belonging to the same monastery, to be strengthened and confirmed by them. The archbishops, bishops, and abbots, under penalty of anathema, firmly inhibited any mortal to seek anything contrary to the liberty of the privilege, or by any other kind of malice to act against the monastery. This is the tenor of the privilege.

[123] PRIVILEGE OF KING EDWIG ABOUT THE VILL OF ABINGDON, AND ABOUT ELECTING THE ABBOT BY HIS OWN
CONGREGATION.

[In 959 king Edwig granted a privilege to the church of Abingdon, so that the whole congregation elected the abbot after Ethelwold's death, according to the rule of St. Benedict. He also confirmed all the abbey's lands. Given on the sixteenth of the kalends of June [17 May].]

[124] CHARTER OF KING EDWIG ABOUT ABINGDON.

[In 955 Edwig granted to abbot Ethelwold the [vill] of Abingdon free from all secular burden, except for military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[125] HOW THE KING GAVE THE CHURCH HINKSEY.

Just so in the same year king Edwig gave to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks Hinksey, Seofecanwyrthe, and Witham. His charter confirmed it. The tenor of his charter is this.

[126] CHARTER OF KING EDWIG ABOUT HINKSEY.

[In 955[?] Edwig gave to abbot Ethelwold twenty hides of land at Hinksey, Seofecanwyrthe, and Witham, perpetually, with all rights, fields, pastures, meadows, and woods. The land may be free from all secular service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[127] ABOUT THE GROVE WHICH KING EDWIG GAVE TO THE CHURCH OF ABINGDON.

In the first year of his reign king Edwig gave to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks a certain grove at Hawkridge for the building of the church of Saint
Mary of Abingdon, at the petition of AEthelwold abbot of the same house. His charter confirmed it. The tenor of his charter is this.

[128] CHARTER OF KING EDWIG ABOUT HAWKRIDGE.

[In 956 Edwig gave to abbot AEthelwold the grove at Hawkridge of sixty hides in eternal possession for building the holy church of the mother of God. The land may be free from all secular service except military service, repair of bridges and fortifications.]

[129] HOW KING EDWIG GAVE GINGE TO THE CHURCH.

In the second year of his reign [956] king Edwig gave to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks Ginge. He confirmed it with his charter. The tenor of the charter is this.

[130] CHARTER OF KING EDWIG ABOUT GINGE.

[In 956 Edwig gave to Abingdon ten hides of land at Ginge in perpetual right, for the use of the monks living by the rule. The land may be free from all secular service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[131] HOW WEST HENDRED WAS GIVEN.

In the same year [956] king Edwig gave to his thegn Brihtric ten manses in West Hendred. Brihtric with the king's consent gave them in free and perpetual alms to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and the monks in the same house serving God. This is the king's charter confirming this gift.
[132] CHARTER [ABOUT THE GIFT OF WEST HENDRED].

[In 955 Edwig gave to his thegn Brihtric ten hides of land at West Hendred in perpetual inheritance, with all rights belonging to that land. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all secular burden except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[133] HOW KING EDWIG GAVE TADMARTON TO BIRHTNOOTH.

King Edwig in the same year [956] granted to his thegn Birhtnooth nine hides in Tadmarton [Ox.]. He with the king's consent gave the land to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks in free and perpetual alms. This is the king's charter confirming this gift.

[134] CHARTER OF KING EDWIG ABOUT TADMARTON.

[In 956 Edwig gave to his thegn Birhtnooth and his heirs nine hides of land at Tadmarton in perpetual inheritance. The land may be free from all secular duty, except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[135] ABOUT FIVE HIDES IN TADMARTON.

In the same year king Edwig gave to his thegn Brihtric five hides in the same Tadmarton. He with the king's consent gave them to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks in free and perpetual alms. This is the king's charter confirming this gift.

[136] CHARTER OF KING EDWIG ABOUT FIVE HIDES IN TADMARTON.
[In 956 Edwig gave to his thegn Brihtric five hides of land at Tadmarton, with all rights belonging to that land, in perpetual inheritance. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all secular service except military service, repair of bridges and fortifications.]

[137] HOW KING EDWIG GAVE FIVE HIDES IN TADMARTON TO BEORHTNOOTH.

In the same year king Edwig gave to the nobleman Beorhtnooth five manses in the same Tadmarton. He with the king's consent gave the land to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks in free and perpetual alms. This is the king's charter confirming this gift.

[138] CHARTER OF KING EDWIG ABOUT FIVE HIDES IN TADMARTON.

[In 956 Edwig gave to the nobleman Beorhtnooth five hides of land at Tadmarton in perpetual possession, with all rights belonging to that land, fields, pastures, and meadows. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all secular service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[139] HOW KING EDWIG GAVE CUDDESDON [OX.] TO HIS EARL AELPHHERE.

In the same year king Edwig gave to earl AELfhhere Cuddesdon of twenty hides. He with the king's consent granted the land to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon,
and its monks in free and perpetual alms. This is the
king's charter confirming this gift.

[140] CHARTER OF KING EDWIG ABOUT CUDDESDON.

[In 956 Edwig gave twenty hides of land at Cuddesdon to
earl AElfhere in eternal inheritance, with all rights pert-
taining to the land, fields, pastures, meadows, and woods.
He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death.
The land may be free from all service except common labor,
military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[141] HOW KING EDWIG GAVE TWENTY HIDES OF HANNEY TO
AEFRIC.

In the same year the king gave to AEfric his parent
Hanney of twenty hides. He with the king's consent gave the
land in free and perpetual alms to God, Saint Mary, this
house of Abingdon, and its monks. This is the king's
charter confirming this gift.

[142] CHARTER OF KING EDWIG ABOUT HANNEY.

[In 956 Edwig gave to AEfric, his adoptive parent,
twenty hides of land at Hanney, in eternal inheritance, with
all rights pertaining to that land, fields, meadows,
pastures, fisheries, and others. He may leave the land to
whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free
from all service except military service, repair of bridges
and fortifications.]

[143] HOW KING EDWIG GAVE TWENTY-TWO HIDES AT WELFORD TO
EADRIC.
King Edwig gave twenty-two hides at Welford in the same manner to his thegn Eadric. He with the king's consent gave the land in free and perpetual alms to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks. This is the king's charter confirming this gift.

[144] CHARTER OF KING EDWIG OF TWENTY-TWO HIDES AT WELFORD.

[In 956 Edwig gave twenty-two hides at Welford to his thegn Eadric in eternal inheritance, with all rights to that land, meadows, fields, pastures, and woods. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from service except for common work, military service, repair of bridges and fortifications.]

[145] HOW KING EADIWG GAVE TWENTY-FIVE HIDES AT BENHAM TO AEELFSIGE.

King Edwig gave to his thegn AEelfsiged twenty-five hides at Benham. He with the king's consent gave the land in free and perpetual alms to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks. This is the king's charter confirming this gift.

[146] CHARTER OF KING EDWIG ABOUT BENHAM.

[In 956 Edwig gave twenty-five hides of land at Benham to his thegn AEelfsiged in eternal inheritance, with all rights pertaining to that land, meadows, pastures, woods, and hunting rights. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after death. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of fortifications and
bridges.]

[147] HOW KING EDWIG GAVE FIFTEEN HIDES AT MILTON TO AELFWINE.

King Edwig gave to his thegn AElfwine twenty-five hides at Milton. He with the king's consent gave the land in free and perpetual alms to God, Saint Mary, this house of and its monks. This is the king's charter confirming this gift. 135

[148] CHARTER OF KING EDWIG ABOUT MILTON.

[In 956 Edwig gave fifteen hides at Milton to his most intimate thegn AElfwine in eternal inheritance, with all rights pertaining to that land. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of bridges and fortifications.]

[149] HOW KING EDWIG GAVE KENNINGTON TO BRIHTHELM.

King [Edwig] gave Kennington to the priest Brihthelm. He with the king's consent gave the land in free and perpetual alms to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks. This is the king's charter confirming this gift. 136

[150] [THE KING'S CHARTER.]

[In 956 Edwig gave to the priest Brihthelm land at Kennington [number of hides unspecified] in eternal inheritance, with all rights belonging to that land. He may leave it to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all royal payment, except military service,
repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[151] [UNTITLED SECTION.]

King Edwig gave twenty-five hides at Bayworth to his thane AElfric. He with the king's consent gave the land in free and perpetual alms to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks. This is the king's charter confirming this gift. 137

[152] CHARTER OF KING EDWIG ABOUT BAYWORTH.

[In 956 Edwig gave twenty-five hides of land at Bayworth to his thane AElfric in eternal inheritance, with all rights pertaining to that land, pastures, fields, meadows, and woods. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all secular service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[153] HOW KING EDWIG GAVE SIXTEEN HIDES AT PYRFORD [SURREY] TO EADRIC.

King Edwig gave to his thane Eadric sixteen hides at Pyrford. He with the king's consent gave the land in free and perpetual alms to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks. This is the king's charter confirming this gift. 138

[154] CHARTER OF KING EDWIG ABOUT PYRFORD.

[In 956 Edwig gave sixteen hides of land at Pyrford to his dear thane Eadric in eternal inheritance, with all rights belonging to that land, fields, pastures, meadows, and woods. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes]
after death. The land may be free from all secular service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[155] HOW KING EDWIG GAVE WORMLEIGHTON [WARW.] TO AEELFHERE.

King Edwig gave Wormleighton to the witan-member AEElfhere. He with the king's consent gave the land in free and perpetual alms to God, Saint Mary, this house of and its monks. This is the king's charter confirming this gift.

[156] CHARTER OF KING EDWIG ABOUT WORMLEIGHTON.

[In 956 Edwig gave ten hides of land at Wormleighton to his earl and witan-member AEElfhere in eternal inheritance, with all rights pertaining to that land. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all service except common labor, military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[157] HOW KING EDWIG GAVE ANNINGTON [SUSS.] TO EDMUND.

King [Edwig] gave Annington to his witan-member Edmund. He with the king's consent gave the land in free and perpetual alms to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks. This is the king's charter confirming this gift.

[158] CHARTER OF KING EDWIG ABOUT ANNINGTON.

[In 956 Edwig gave sixteen hides of land at Annington to the witan member and nobleman Edmund in eternal inheritance, with all rights pertaining to that land, fields, pastures, meadows, and woods. He may leave the land to whomever he
wishes after his death. The land may be free from all
service except military service, repair of bridges and for-
tifications.]

[159] HOW KING EDWIG GAVE PADWORTH TO EADRIC.

King Edwig gave Padworth to Eadric. He with the king's
consent gave the land in free and perpetual alms to God,
Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks. This is
the king's charter confirming this gift.  

[160] CHARTER OF KING EDWIG ABOUT PADWORTH.

[In 956 Edwig gave five hides of land at Padworth to his
man Eadric in eternal inheritance, with fields, meadows, and
woods. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after
his death. The land may be immune from service except
military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[161] HOW KING EDWIG GAVE FIFIELD TO AETHELNOTH.

King Edwig gave Fifield to Aethelnoth. He with the
king's consent gave the land in free and perpetual alms to
God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks.
This is the king's charter confirming this gift.  

[162] CHARTER OF KING EDWIG ABOUT FIFIELD.

[In 956 Edwig gave thirteen hides of land at Fifield to
his thegn Aethelnoth in eternal inheritance, with all rights
belonging to that land, fields, pastures, and meadows. He
may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death.
The land may be free from all secular burden except military
service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[163] HOW KING EDWIG GAVE FIVE HIDES AT STOWE TO
BRIHTHELM.

In the same year king Edwig gave five hides at Stowe to his kinsman Brihthelm. He with the king's consent gave the land to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks under the condition which is stated above. [No charter appended here.]

[164] HOW KING EDWIG GAVE CHARLTON TO WULFRIC.

King Edwig gave Charlton to his thegn Wulfric. He with the king's consent gave the land in free and perpetual alms to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks. This is the king's charter confirming this gift.

[165] CHARTER OF KING EDWIG.

[In 956 Edwig gave five hides of land at Charlton to his thegn Wulfric in eternal inheritance. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from service except military service, repair of bridges and fortifications.]

[166] HOW KING EDWIG GAVE TWENTY HIDES TO AEFLRIC.

King Edwig gave twenty hides to his relative AEflric. He with the king's consent gave the land in free and perpetual alms to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks. This is the king's charter confirming this gift.

[167] CHARTER OF KING EDWIG ABOUT TWENTY HIDES.

[In 956 Edwig gave twenty hides of land at Hanney to his adoptive parent AEflric in eternal inheritance, with all rights pertaining to that land, fields, meadows, pastures,
and fisheries. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]  

[168] HOW KING EDWIG GAVE BUCKLAND TO AELFHAEAH.

In the third year of his reign king Edwig gave Buckland to the ealdorman AElfhheah. He with the king's consent gave the land in free and perpetual alms to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks. This is the king's charter confirming this gift.

[169] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR [SIG-EDWIG] ABOUT BUCKLAND.

[In 957 Edwig gave ten hides of land at Buckland to the ealdorman AElfhheah in eternal inheritance, with all rights pertaining to that land, fields, pastures, and meadows. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]  

[170] IN WHICH YEAR KING EDWIG GAVE LONGWORTH TO EA DRIC.

In the fourth year of his reign king Edwig gave thirty hides at Longworth to his thegn Eadric. He with the king's consent gave the land in free and perpetual alms to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks. This is the king's charter confirming this gift.

[171] CHARTER OF KING EDWIG ABOUT LONGWORTH.

[In 958 Edwig gave thirty [or 20?] hides of land at Longworth to his thegn Eadric in eternal inheritance, with all rights pertaining to that land, fields, pastures,
meadows, and woods. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[172] KING EDWIG GAVE TEN HIDES OF DRAYTON TO AETHELWOLD.

In the same year [958] king Edwig gave ten hides of land at Drayton to his thegn AEthelwold. He with the king's consent gave the land in free and perpetual alms to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks. This is the king's charter confirming this gift.

[173] CHARTER OF KING EDWIG ABOUT DRAYTON.

[In 958 Edwig gave ten hides of land at Drayton to his thegn AEthelwold in eternal inheritance, with all rights pertaining to that land, fields, pastures, meadows, and woods. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[174] KING EDWIG GAVE FOUR HIDES AT AESCMERE TO CYNLAF THE HUNTER.

On the same day king Edwig gave four hides of land at AESCMERE to his hunter Cynlaf. He with the king's consent gave the land to this house of Abingdon, by the witness of the aforementioned witnesses [to the previous charter].

[175] HOW KING EDWIG GAVE TWO HIDES TO CENRIC.

In the same year [958] king Eadwig gave two hides at
Cern to his cupbearer Cenric. He with the king's consent gave the land to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks in free and perpetual alms. This is the king's charter confirming this gift.

[176] CHARTER OF KING EDWIG ABOUT CERN.

[In 958 Eadwig gave two hides of land at Cern to his steward Cenric in eternal inheritance, with all rights pertaining to that land. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all secular burden except military service, common labor, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[177] HOW KING EDWIG GAVE DENCHWORTH TO WULFRIC.

In the same year [958] king Edwig gave ten hides at Denchworth to his thegn Wulfric. He with the king's consent gave the land in free and perpetual alms to God, Saint Mary, this house of Abingdon, and its monks. This is the king's charter confirming this gift.

[178] CHARTER OF KING EDWIG ABOUT DENCHWORTH.

[In 958 Edwig gave five [ten?] hides at Denchworth to his thegn Wulfric in eternal inheritance, with all rights pertaining to that land, fields, pastures, meadows, and woods. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all service except common labor, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[179] ABOUT THE DEATH OF KING EDWIG.

When king Edwig yielded to fate without children, with divine clemency disposing, his uterine brother the illus-
trious king Edgar succeeded him in the kingdom. King Edgar, now conveyed to the seat of power, possessed the sceptre-bearing power. He attempted zealously to become an old man with his deeds by the mediation of a burden, so that in himself more equally the concupiscence of kisses and the pride of life seemed inwardly to be annulled. It is recognized that vigorous age, pleasing form, preeminent dignity, and supply of riches are accustomed quite often to soften good morals and to extirpate the shame of [one's] heart. On account of the love of transitory things in the manner of flowing water, indeed in everything and through everything with divine commands having been complied with, he was nevertheless satisfied to employ all his hidden gold, and whatever else God might compassionately impart to him for the increase of honesty and dignity, to His honor and the well-being of his kingdom. And also from a new custom, the new knight become king, Edgar, distinguished with the gifts of nature and of grace, like a soldier [disputant] armed against Diabolical single combat in this lamentably enclosed valley manfully sustained nor succumbed, because he who conferred triumph to weak David over robust Goliath has become Promoter and Protector to him. What more? king Edgar, fitly instructed by the blessed Dunstan, as well as by saint Ethelwold and other wise Englishmen, oppressed the wicked, confuted the rebels, loved to the very marrow the just and modest, renovated God's destroyed churches and
honorably enriched them, and ordered nearly forty monasteries to be built for the clerics ejected from their communities, and collected troops of monks and nuns. The king, proceeding from virtue to virtue, became so much that among the English he is not less praiseworthy than Romulus among the Romans, Cyrus among the Persians, Alexander among the Macedonians, Artaxerxes among the Parthians [sic-Persians], and Charlemagne among the French.

[180] ABOUT THE PRIVILEGE AND ChARTERS OF KING EDGAR.

We have deemed it necessary to mention the munificent liberalities of this king to this most holy house of Abingdon, as well as his granting of liberties of possessions belonging to the same abbey and confirmed by his authority. [We have] placed his privilege first. Then are placed his charters, by which he confirmed subsequent possessions to this house. Third [are placed] the charters of his men, who with his consent conferred charters, [in turn] confirmed by his charters, upon this house, and from that time to the present day [these charters] remain unshaken, and by the grace of God they will remain robust forever. Fourth we add more of his charters than of theirs, once confirming our possessions. It is recognized at present that these possessions yield the least in our rights, notwithstanding [by no means] it stood by the king and his, rather, their charters of the same possessions may remain strong forever, if the cunning of an ancient enemy and the blind cupidity of men, and, above all, the royal power might
permit. The tenor of king Edgar's privilege is this.

[181] PRIVILEGE OF KING EDGAR.

In 958 Edgar restored to Abingdon church ten hides at Ginge, fifteen hides at Goosey, thirty hides at Longworth, and five hides at Ermundsele, for the use of the monks living at Abingdon. He granted also that the Abingdon monks may choose their abbot themselves, according to the rule of St. Benedict. The land may be free from all service, as granted by Edgar's predecessors.]

[182] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT MARCHAM.

In 965 Edgar gave to Abingdon fifty hides of land at Marcham in eternal possession. The land may be free from all service, except military service, repair of bridges and fortifications.]

[183] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT CUMNOR.

In 968 Edgar gave to Abingdon thirty hides of land at Cumnor, with all rights pertaining to that land, meadows, pastures, and woods, in eternal inheritance. The land may be free from all secular service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.

[184] HOW WYTHAM, SEACOURT, HINKSEY, EATON WERE PARTS OF CUMNOR.

Wytham, Seacourt, Hinksey, and Eaton were parts of Cumnor at the time of Edgar king of England, having twenty-five hides. Hinksey is now part of Barton. Wytham and Seacourt [have been] given to knights, and Eaton wholly taken away.
[185] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT TWENTY HIDES IN
156
DRAYTON.

[In 960 Edgar gave to Abingdon twenty hides of land at
Drayton, free from all service, except military service,
repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[186] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT HANNEY OF TWENTY
157
HIDES.

[In 968 Edgar gave to Abingdon twenty hides of land at
Hanney for the monks, with all rights pertaining to that
land in eternal inheritance. The land may be free from all
earthly service except military service, repair of bridges
and fortifications.]

[187] ABOUT OARE.

The same king gave ten hides at Oare in similar fashion
to the church of Abingdon in the same year and granted them
with these conditions.

[188] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT TEN HIDES AT OARE.

[In 968 Edgar gave to Abingdon ten hides of land at Oare
for the use of the monks, with all rights, in eternal inhe-
ritance. The land may be free from all service except
military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[189] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT BEEDON.

[In 965 Edgar gave to Abingdon five hides of land at
Beedon for the use of the monks. The land may be free from
all service except military service, repair of bridges and
fortifications.]

[190] ABOUT DENCHWORTH.
The king gave two hides of land at Denchworth to Abingdon in the same year [965] at Christmas, and his advisors favored it.

[191] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT DENCHWORTH.

[In 965 Edgar gave to Abingdon two hides of land at Denchworth for the use of the monks. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of bridges and fortifications.]

[192] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT TEN HIDES AT SPARSHOLT.

[In 963 Edgar gave to his chamberlain AEthelsige ten hides of land at Sparsholt, one hide and twelve fields at Balking, and one mill and twelve fields at Hirdegrave in eternal inheritance, with all rights pertaining to that land. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[193] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT EASTON.

[In 964 Edgar gave to his queen AElfthrythe the ten hides of land at Easton in eternal inheritance, with all rights pertaining to that land. She may leave the land to whomever she wishes after her death.]

[194] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT AESKbury.

[In 960 Edgar restored land [of unknown number of hides] to his thegn Wulfriç in eternal liberty. Wulfriç gave the king one hundred and twenty mancuses of gold for land at
Æscesburht, Denchworth, Garford, Chieveley, Stanmer [Suss.], Chaddleworth, Boxford, Benham, Worting [Hants.], Tichborne [Hants.], Stedham, Tillingdon, Patching, Poyning, and Newtimber [all Sussex]. After his death he may leave the lands to whomever he wishes.]

[195] [UNTITLED SECTION.]

The same king granted to his thegn Wulfstan ten hides at Whistley with the condition that he might leave the land to whatever heir he wished after his death. He thence had liberty of gift by royal authority. He made this church of Abingdon his heir after the end of his life, with the aforesaid ones consenting, in the year from the Lord's Incarnation 968.

[196] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT WHISTLEY.

[In 968 Edgar granted ten hides at Whistley to his thegn Wulfstan in perpetual inheritance, with all rights pertaining to that land. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of bridges and fortifications.]

[197] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT LINSLADE [BUCKS.].

[In 966 Edgar gave to his wife Ælfgifu ten hides of land at Linslade in eternal inheritance with all rights pertaining to that land. She may leave the land to whomever she wishes after her death. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]
[198] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT HAMSTEDE.

[In 961 Edgar granted three hides of land at Hamsted to his thane Eadric in eternal inheritance, with all rights pertaining to that land. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[199] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT SEVEN HIDES AT KINGSTON.

[In 970 Edgar gave seven hides of land at Kingston to his deacon [diaconus] Brihteah in eternal possession, with all rights belonging to that land. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of bridges and fortifications.]

[200] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT COLD BRAYFIELD [BUCKS.].

[In 967 Edgar granted land [number of hides unspecified] to the earl Beorhtnoth in eternal inheritance. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[201] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT HOCANEDISCE.

[In 963 Edgar granted five hides of land at Hocanedisce to his thane Wulfnoth in eternal inheritance, with all rights pertaining to that land. He may leave the land to]
whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of bridges and fortifications.]

[202] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT ARDINGTON.

[In 961 Edgar gave nine hides of land at Ardington to his thegn AElfric in eternal inheritance, with all rights belonging to that land. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[203] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT MOREDON [WILTS.].

[In 962 Edgar gave twenty hides of land at Moredon to his thegn Eadwine in eternal inheritance, with all rights belonging to that land. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of bridges and fortifications.]

[204] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT DUCKLINGTOWN [OX.].

[In 958 Edgar granted forty hides at Ducklington to his thegn Eanulf in eternal inheritance. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[205] ABOUT BOXFORD.

The same king granted to another of his thegns called AElfwine, ten hides at Boxford by the aforesaid condition,
and thus it arrived to the right of this church, in the same year, as is said, with those witnesses attesting.

[206] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT BOXFORD.

[In 968 Edgar gave ten hides of land at Boxford to his thegn AElfwine in eternal inheritance. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of bridges and fortifications.]

[207] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT BEDWYN.

[In 968 Edgar gave seventy-two hides of land at Bedwyn [Wilts.] to abbot Ethelwold and the church of Abingdon in eternal inheritance, with all rights belonging to that land. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[208] ABOUT HURSTBOURNE [HANTS.].

The king granted fifty hides at Hurstbourne to that abbot [Ethelwold], with thirteen praediiis situated at the city of Winchester, pertaining to the aforesaid estate Hurstbourne.

[In 961 Edgar granted to Abingdon fifty hides of land at Hurstbourne in eternal inheritance, with all rights pertaining to that land. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[209] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT SOUTHAMPTON.

[In 962 Edgar gave to Abingdon land in various places in
eternal inheritance.]

[210] ABOUT FIFIELD.

The king granted twenty-five hides at Fifield to abbot Osgar. This was constituted in the year from the nativity of Christ 968, with the aforesaid conditions and the bishops and others as sound witnesses. This has been granted. 177

[211] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT FIFIELD.

[In 968 Edgar gave twenty-five hides of land at Fifield to Abingdon for the use of the monks in eternal inheritance, with all rights belonging to that land. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of bridges and fortifications.]

[212] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT EAST HALE [SUSS.]. 178

[In 963 Edgar gave four hides of land at East Hale to Abingdon for the use of the monks. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of bridges and fortifications.]

In the same year and in this gift the king gave to the church four hides at West Hendred whose boundaries are not contained in one block, but are scattered about mixed with other smallholdings.

[213] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT THREE HIDES IN WEST HENDRED. 179

[In 962 Edgar gave three hides of land at West Hendred to Abingdon in eternal inheritance, with all rights pertaining to that land. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of fortifications
and bridges.]

[214] ABOUT TEN HIDES AT WEST HENDRED.

Afterwards when the venerable abbot Ethelwold had been constituted on the episcopal throne, king Edgar did not fail to expend the work of his munificence around this place. In the following year, which was at the nativity of Christ 964, we have listed thus the king's written testament.

[215] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT TEN HIDES IN WEST HENDRED.

[In 964 Edgar gave ten hides of land at West Hendred to Abingdon for the use of the monks in eternal inheritance, with all rights belonging to that land. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges].

[216] [UNTITLED SECTION].

In the same year, and with the same witnesses, the king granted twenty hides at Burbage [Wilts.] to this church.

[217] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT BURBAGE.

[In 961 Edgar gave twenty hides of land at Burbage to Abingdon in eternal inheritance, with all rights belonging to that land. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges].

[218] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT WASHINGTON.

[In 963 Edgar granted twenty-four hides of land at Washington to Ethelwold abbot of Abingdon in eternal inheritance. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after
his death. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.] [219] CHARTER OF KING EDGAR ABOUT RINGWOOD [HANTS.].

[In 961 Edgar gave twenty-two hides of land to Abingdon for the use of the monks, with all rights pertaining to that land, in eternal inheritance. The land may be free from all service except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[220] ABOUT SAINT ETHELWOLD.

Now it remains that we mention the venerable man Ethelwold, most holy abbot of this house at the time of king Edgar, and the manner in which he ruled most charmingly this house and its ample possessions, [bestowed by] Edgar, most illustrious king of the English. He was a prudent and vigilant dispenser of our Lord Jesus Christ, in terms of the observance of the [rules of the] order, and institutions absolutely necessary to the order, and likewise customs worthy in all memory.

In the beginning blessed Ethelwold (while king Edgar reigned) built an honorable temple in honor of the holy mother of God and the ever-Virgin Mary in this place, and equally dedicated to the vow. Once it was completed, holy Ethelwold then collected several brothers there. With their common consent and equal will, he sent a certain one of his monks, Osgar, across the sea to the monastery of Fleury because [it followed] the rule of St. Benedict, under which the brothers of that house happily served God in a worthy
manner. Diligently holy Ethelwold considered that prophecy by which is said, "Lord, love the beauty of your house," [Ps. xxv. 8] (so that it is said about the house outside to the present), and as long as he was able he suitably enriched that house with the most precious ornaments. He gave, as we accept from the witness of ancient books, one golden chalice of immense weight for the honor and reverence of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. He gave also three decorated crosses of pure gold and silver, which in the time of the wars of king Stephen were broken into pieces, with the monks who witnessed this having entered upon the way of all flesh. He adorned the church with texts more of pure silver than of pure gold, and [adorned] with very precious stones, censers and cruets, cast basins and candelabra fashioned from silver, and many other goods, more than suitable for the monks' uses at the altar. With the most pious king Edgar of worthy memory aiding him, abbot Ethelwold made a silver table (worth the price of three hundred pounds) whose artificial form exceeded the material, and which remained uninjured and unbroken to the time of abbot Vincent. In the meantime the man of God, like a strong woman, made a corporal cloth [coverlet], sold [it?], and surrendered it to Chanaanæus [?], while through holy conversation and devotion he proffered the example of good deeds to his disciples, about good with things having been changed into better. He made also two bells with his own
hands, as it is said. He placed them in this house with two other larger ones, which are said to have been made by holy Dunstan with his own hands. The venerable man Ethelwold made a certain wheel filled with bells, which they call silver, on account of gilded plates of his, which on feast days he ordered turned in order to elicit greater devotion. The above-listed ornaments were, with the addition of other goods, in this church up to the advent of the Normans in England. At that time there were in this house certain monks and sacristans from the community of Jumieges, who fraudulently carried away with them into Normandy very many ornaments [which had been] acquired laboriously and brought to this house by the blessed Ethelwold. [The ornaments were] more golden than silver, with inwardly polished silver on the aforesaid wheel. Even more diligently did the venerable man Ethelwold attend that genuine [remark] which said, "They may live of the altar who serve the altar," [1 Cor. ix. 13], and likewise that Gospel, "The worker is worthy of his mercy," [Luke x. 7]. Every day at the hours established for his sons working in the Lord's vineyard he ordered a corrody [daily food allowance] of this kind under a certain stipulation. Among the monks of Abingdon dining at table, some received bread assigned to them from the pure enjoyment equal to five marks in weight; whence according to him, "The bread of Abingdon equal to weigh five marks."

Along with the bread he established a bit of cheese
increased by such and so much size every day, so that within five days the Abingdon weight, which then was evident from twenty parts (as we accept from the testimony of the ancients) was expended inwardly. Moreover, he established for the monks of that house serving God and Saint Mary forever, on a certain day two kinds of legumes before the regular allowance \textit{[generale]}, and pottage after the regular allowance, indeed one regular allowance and one pittance he established for them, by which they were able to eat at repast without surfeit. In albs, he established one pittance more than in other days. In caps [hoods] two pittances besides the regular allowance. In special festivals, three pittances besides the regular; and in the same days a meat pie, and also a supper with offering. Truly at the time of Lent, in place of cheese, he established for several brothers one large eel daily with the regular allowance. For the aged he established at the brothers' supper sour milk in the most beautiful glasses, which vulgarly are called "Creches," from the day which is called "Hoke Day" [Hock Day], up to the feast of St. Michael [29 Sept.], every day; truly from the feast of St. Michael to the feast of St. Martin [11 Nov.] sweet milk the second day. A vessel called a "Creche" contains seven inches, from bottom to top of one [side] up the depth of the other side. He constituted a cake for five days of Easter week, and in Pentecost week five days, and on the day of St. Mark the Evangelist
[25 April], three days of Rogation, and the day of the Lord's ascension [Thursday after Rogation Sunday, which is the fifth Sunday after Easter].

To the measure of the monks' drink the venerable manEthelwold adjudged a certain regulation, other than what seemed logical, and established no further deficiency. He established therefore a certain large [communion] cup, a flask and a half, namely two caritates [monastic allowance] and to it more fully, containing in itself fully; which cup the old men called the Bowl of Ethelwold. With the measure two jugs on the day of the monks were filled, namely at prandium [late breakfast] and at supper. On festival days he established for them, either in albs or in caps, hydromel [mead], namely at breakfast among six brothers a sixth part, and at supper a sixth part among twelve brothers. On special days, which we observe [as] principal ones, namely Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, the Assumption of St. Mary, and her Nativity, on the feast of All Saints, he established wine for them equal to the measure [of] mead which they had earlier at supper. This and similar to these more abundantly and circumspectly he established, so that not only the monks are sustained as far as the right of victuals, indeed also paupers are refreshed more readily.

Moreover the venerable man, seeing that in the greatest part the truth has been diminished by the sons of men, and greater and greater diminished in future, fearing that for himself and his [brothers] the customs assigned to the
inanteis through process of time either deteriorated, or changed into worse, or indeed annulled within, he made as he was able, and firmly prohibited under penalty of anathema, lest any one of his successors presume to change or vary them into worse, unless by strong zeal of charity enraged he decided to augment the same customs from good into better. Indeed he prayed for that house, before he was called to the bishopric of Winchester, a prayer. The tenor of his prayer is this.

[221] PRAYER OF SAINT ETHELWOLD.

God eternal, before whose gaze the angels attend, and by whose will the universe is ruled, I seek, Lord, [that you] protect that place which has been built in your name and in that of Blessed Mary, and by the virtue of your Name may strength recede from the enemies and phantasmic shades and an assault of crowds, striking of lightning, peal of thunder, calamity of tempests, and every spirit of hurricanes. Moreover I seek, Lord, that fire not consume that house, nor inimical man destroy it from pride; but You, most tender God, conserve and govern it, and multiply the fruit so that the fulness may grow fertile, so that all living in it with voice and heart may sing hymns to You and with agreeable melody praise your Name, and may your benediction descend upon them and upon the house—may it always remain, through our Lord.

[222] SAINT ETHELWOLD IS MADE BISHOP BY KING EDGAR.
Meanwhile, since the life of this man of God, abbot Ethelwold, acceptable to God, was shown to be praiseworthy to the men of those days, he was chosen bishop of the city of Winchester by king Edgar, in the year from the Lord's Incarnation 963. Osgar, a monk of Abingdon, was chosen as abbot in his place. Although in having been made bishop he ascended the patriarchate, nevertheless he did not relax himself at all in the yoke of monastic discipline. Thus the clerics, who at that time should have been living canonically together in the church of that see were, however, indifferent to the rigor of the religion of their superior. They preferred to leave the place rather than live more strictly. With the advice and consent of the king and holy Dunstan (then archbishop), he expelled the clerks and introduced there monks from Abingdon, who served God there zealously by the rule until today. He did likewise with the church in the same city where the abbey is. For in it he instituted monks and abbot first. And without doubt he built coenobitic monasteries near the East Angles on the island of Ely, also in the place called Burch, and a third at Thorney. From the college of Abingdonians he chose the monks to assume the worship and foundation [of them all]. That cultivator of piety and justice planted a very fertile vine [at Abingdon], which through many places had so many progeny. But because he had been unable to have the Abingdon church dedicated before accepting the episcopate, after his consecration he consecrated [the church] with holy Dun-
stan and several of his fellow bishops in honor of the mother of God, on the fifth day of the kalends of January [28 Dec. 965].

[223] ABOUT THE DEATH OF KING EDGAR.

When Edgar, most illustrious king of the English, happily entered upon the way of all flesh (to whose soul God be propitiated), his son Edward, a man of worthy memory, succeeded him. That man through process of time, more by gravity of manners than by sanctity of life, prevailed so that before humanity [i.e., death] befell him, he was deemed by all to have been placed on earth to live an angelic life. While he reigned he granted seven hides of Kingston to the church of Abingdon, and he confirmed the concession with these charters.

[224] CHARTER OF ST. EDWARD THE MARTYR ABOUT SEVEN HIDES IN KINGSTON.

[In 976 [sic] Edward granted seven hides at Kingston to Abingdon for the use of its monks, in eternal inheritance. The land may be free from all secular service, except military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.]

[225] CHARTER OF KING EDWARD ABOUT THIRTEEN HIDES IN KINGSTON.

[In 976 [sic] Edward granted thirteen hides at Kingston to his faithful bishop AElfstan in eternal inheritance. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land may be free from all secular service except
military service, repair of fortifications and bridges.)

[226] HOW ABBOT OS GAR BOUGHT TWENTY HIDES IN KINGSTON.

Alfheah the ealdorman made the ealdorman AElfh here his heir of twenty hides at Kingston. Abbot Osgar then asked AElfh here the ealdorman to permit the land to be bought at a price. The ealdorman assented, and the abbot gave him one hundred mancuses of gold. It befell at that time around Easter a council was held at the place called AEthelwaraborh. This [sale] was reported to those witan members present, namely bishop Ethelwold, bishop Athelstan, abbot Athelgar, Eadwine, and Alfric surnamed Child, the other Alfric son of Siraus, and Brihtric his brother, with many others. That was done in the witness of many. The aforementioned ealdorman received the division of that charter for proof.

[227] ABOUT BISHOP SIDEMANN.

In the third year of this king, with a council constituted at Kirklington at Eastertime, Sidemann, one of those present, and bishop of Devonshire, was seized by sudden illness and died there. His body, by command of the king and archbishop Dunstan, was carried to Abingdon, to be entombed fitly there in the chapel of St. Paul the Apostle.

[228] [UNTITLED SECTION].

When Edward king of the English was translated to heaven through martyrdom [979] by the guile of his stepmother AElfrthirthe, his brother Ethelred, son of Edgar and AElfrthirthe, was consecrated in the summit of the kingdom by
the holy archbishops Dunstan and Oswald and ten bishops at Kingston. Ethelred, when he received the power of governing and commanding, committed himself to the advice of vicious men and did many things for pleasure. Up to this point he was unsafe to the church of Abingdon because of the advice of vicious men. Whatever his father had devoutly conferred upon Abingdon from his own demesne possessions, Ethelred irreverently restored to his [own] rights. While these things happened in the kingdom, the very necessary defender of the churches, the most holy bishop Ethelwold, was taken from the world. The lord Osgar of pious memory, [who had been] substituted as abbot in his place, was also allotted the end of life. In misfortune of this kind Abingdon was left without any defense.

[229] ABOUT ABBOT EDWIN.

There was then a certain very powerful major regiae domus, Edric, son of AElfhere ealdorman of the Mercians, who had a brother named Edwin, in the institution of monks. This man demanded as a price from the king that his brother become the abbot of Abingdon. Through him the abbey's supply of things was removed, it grew tepid from within and without by rumor of proclaiming favor. Also nevertheless about these things the claims of God were long since absent. Not long after the man had attained the monastic summit, he incurred the royal offense and was expelled from the country into Dacia[?]. Soon returning he brought the Danes with
him, who for a long time devastated the country. With these universal calamities the Abingdon community, a short time before very wealthy, now incurred loss of many of its possessions.

[230] ABOUT THE DEATH OF ABBOT EDWIN.

But he who had extended a hand to the apostle Peter wavering among the marine waters, deemed it worthy to lighten the burdens of His church. Nearly six years had passed with the aforesaid adverse attacks, before Edwin ruler of the abbey died. The lord Wulfgar was substituted [in his place]. He was a man manifest with the greatest probity and necessary to the imminent cause of the time to the restoration of the church's liberty. The king's spirit, thus far obstinate against this community, was changed for the better. He began to love and venerate the abbot for the goodness which he had come to know in him, and to subject himself to his warnings. The Abingdon house was thus again venerated and cherished by all. Those who were near the king daily reminded him about the honor of the same house. By frequent warning to fear God and to venerate the church the king was changed, so that he acknowledged that he had erred gravely in taking back these things. Then he provided that the church's possessions which to this point had been held back would be restored by condign payment. He also produced a charter of liberty concerning this, in which he interdicted with perpetual anathema every simoniacal follower to be found around this place, more [applicable to]
those living than [to] his predecessors governing in the past.

[231] ABOUT THE PRIVILEGE OF KING ETHELRED. 193

[Ethelred apologized for the acts he committed against the community of Abingdon in his youthful ignorance. He returned to the house all its former liberties. All the monastery's lands may be free from all secular service. Given in 993.]

[232] A SECOND CHARTER OF RESTITUTION.

Our Lord Jesus Christ reigning for ever, and guiding the kingdoms of all ages with the empire of his great government. I, Ethelred, by his saving grace king of the English, in the midst of the various vicissitudes of this fleeting age, called to mind how in the time of my boyhood an act was done on my behalf, when my father, King Edgar, going the way of the whole universe, departed to the Lord old and full of days; namely that all the leading men of both orders unanimously chose my brother Edward to guide the government of the kingdom, and gave over to me for my use the lands belonging to the kings' sons. Some of which lands, in truth, my father, while he reigned, had granted for the redemption of his soul to the omnipotent Christ and his Mother St. Mary, to the monastery which is called Abingdon: i.e. Bedwyn, with all things belonging to it, Hurstbourne, with all its appurtenances, Burbage and all renders belonging to it. These lands were at once withdrawn
by force, by the decree and order of all the leading men, from the aforesaid holy monastery, and, by the order of these same, placed under my power. Whether they did this thing justly or unjustly, they themselves may know. Then, when my brother left this miserable world and received the reward of everlasting life predestined to him by God, I, by Christ's consent, received the control both of the royal lands and at the same time those belonging to kings' sons. Now, however, because it seems to me very grievous to incur and bear the curse of my father, by retaining this offering which he made to God for the redemption of his soul, and because the grace of God has deigned to bring me to an age of understanding, and has granted me through the decrees of my leading men an abundant and copious share of lands, I therefore determine both to honour the aforesaid holy monastery with a suitable gift out of my own inheritance, and to enrich it with an opportune bestowal of possessions; first for the love of Almighty God and of his blessed Mother, that she may deign to be a faithful intercessor for me to our Lord God; then for the love of my father's soul and for the eternal redemption of my own soul, and also for the sake of my children, who intend to take to themselves and subject to their own control the same aforesaid lands. Truly, the names of the lands which I concede with willing mind to the aforesaid monastery are these: one, namely, is at Farnborough, a second at Wormleighton, the third at Cerney.
These portions of land AElfric, surnamed "Child", forcibly withdrew from a certain widow called Eadflaed, but later, when in his office of ealdorman he was convicted of crime against me and against all my people, these portion which I assigned to my control, when all my leading men assembled together to a synodal council at Cirencester, and expelled the same AElfric, guilty of high treason, as a fugitive from this country; and all with unanimous consent decreed that I ought by right to possess all things possessed by him. Then with merciful kindness I allowed the aforesaid widow to possess her inheritance, for the love of my leading men who were her advocates to me, and she finally in her last words when dying left back to me the possession of the same lands, with kind and willing heart, as a perpetual inheritance. And the estate at Perry, which also I concede to that aforesaid monastery, is well known to be one of the lands which AEthelweard, Ceolflaed's son, gave for me to possess eternally, to obtain my friendship. It is well known to all people far and wide how he and his brother committed a crime against me, and how both incurred my hostility which their crimes demanded.

This deed of the aforesaid lands was made at the admonition of my uncle Ordwulf and of AEthelmaer, closely tied to me by kinship, and of my beloved thegn Wulfgeat, and also of my abbot, Wulfgar, friendly to me with complete devotion, who reminded me with frequent suggestion, along
with the persuasion of the other loyal men, that I should take care to renew and increase in some part the inheritance of God Almighty; which also I have done for the love of Christ, who raised me to my kingdom, and of those who exhort me with friendly assiduity for my necessary and eternal safety; and because of the humble and friendly obedience which the aforesaid abbot is wont loyally and joyfully to show me.

Also, I make known before all this favour from my goodwill, that I grant that the lands of the same possessions, in every province to which they belong, with all things appertaining to them, whether in the town-properties of the estates, or in tribute, or in toll, or in whatever service it is customary to exact in diverse ways on each estate, are to be free with full liberty from every yoke of earthly servitude, exactly as my father granted that portion of the above-mentioned lands was to be free from all servitude of worldly things, except three, namely fixed military service, the restoration of bridges and fortresses.

This I enjoin with the authority of the Holy Trinity and the Indivisible Unity and of the Blessed Mary, Ever-Virgin, that no man shall presume to change this donation for any reason, or to bring forward a title-deed or the writing of a cyrograph against the document of my donation; but all those old deeds, since the above-mentioned crimes necessitated it, are to be reckoned invalid for ever after, and reduced to nothing and exposed to the contempt of all, are to be
trampled under foot; and the decrees of this privilege are
to be strengthened with firm and unshakeable solidity. If
anyone, indeed, by the instigation of the devil, shall
presume to violate these decisions, corroborated by the
divine authority as well as by mine, whether it be my son,
or ealdorman, or bishop, or thegn, or of whatever dignity he
be, may Almighty God or his Mother and Ever-Virgin Mary, and
all the holy strength of the heavenly hosts praising the
divine majesty with unceasing voice, despise him in this
life, and destroy him, despised, in the future world without
end, unless he shall make amends with fitting compensation
before his death for what he offended against God and St.
Mary. Amen.

The deed of this privilege is to be kept continuously in
the aforesaid monastery, that this liberty for the title-
deeds of all the possessions of the aforesaid lands which I
have granted with kind and willing heart to the same
monastery to the Almighty God and his holy Mother Mary, and,
being granted, have committed with eternal stability, may be
eternal. [Given in 993.]

[233] CHARTER OF KING ETHELRED ABOUT ARNCOT [OX.].

[In 983 Ethelred granted two hides at Arncot to Christ
and his mother Mary in eternal inheritance for the use of
the monks.]

[234] ABOUT SOUTH CERNEY [GLOUC.].

Moreover, in singular fashion he established a testament
of this kind about South Cerney of his authority.  

CHARTER OF KING ETHELRED ABOUT SOUTH CERNEY.

[In 999 Ethelred granted to Abingdon fifteen hides at South Cerney for the use of the monks, with all rights, namely, meadows, pastures, and courses of water. Given in eternal inheritance, free from all secular service, except military service, repair of bridges and fortresses.]

[235] CHARTER OF KING ETHELRED ABOUT MOREDON.

[In 1008 Ethelred granted to Abingdon twenty hides of land at Moredon free from all royal and secular burden, except military service, repair of bridges and fortresses.]

[236] [UNTITLED SECTION.]

These are the lands which king Ethelred gave to his servants, and they with the king's consent gave them to the Abingdon church.

[237] GIFT OF THE FOREST OF LOFRIC.

[In 982 [sic] Ethelred granted to his thegn Leofric a forest of two hides in perpetual inheritance for his lifetime. After his death he could leave the land immune from service to whatever heir he wished. The land was free from all secular service, except military service, repair of bridges and fortresses.]

[238] CHARTER OF KING ETHELRED ABOUT CHARLTON.

[In 982 Ethelred gave to his thegn AElfgar five hides at Charlton for his lifetime in eternal inheritance. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after death. The land is free from all service except military service, repair of
bridges and fortresses.]

[239] CHARTER OF KING ETHELRED ABOUT TWO HIDES IN DRAYTON AND ONE IN SUTTON.

[In 983 Ethelred gave to his thegn Wulfgar three hides at Drayton and one-and-a-half hides at Sutton in perpetual inheritance. After his death he may leave the land to whomever he wishes. The land is free from all secular service, except military, repair of bridges and fortresses.]

[240] CHARTER OF KING ETHELRED ABOUT TWO MANSSES IN DUMBLETON.

[In 995 Ethelred gave to his thegn Wulfric two-and-a-half manses at Dumbleton in perpetual inheritance. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land is free from all secular service except military service, and repair of bridges and fortresses.]

[241] CHARTER OF KING ETHELRED ABOUT OSANLEIA.

[In 984 Ethelred gave to his thegn AElfheah two hides at Osanleia perpetually. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land is free from all service except military service, repair of bridges and fortresses.]

[242] CHARTER OF KING ETHELRED ABOUT ARDLEY [OX.].

[In 995 Ethelred gave to his miles Athelwig five hides at Ardley in perpetual inheritance. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land is free from all servile yoke, except military service, repair of bridges and fortresses.]
[243] CHARTER OF KING ETHELRED.

[In 984 Etheled gave to his thegn Bryhtric eight manses of land near the river Kennet freely for life. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after death. The land is free from all secular burden except military service, repair of bridges and fortresses.]

[244] CHARTER OF KING ETHELRED ABOUT WOOTTON.

[In 985 Etheled gave to his thegn Leofwin ten hides at Wootton in perpetual inheritance. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after death. The land is free from all secular burden except military service, repair of bridges and fortresses.]

[245] CHARTER OF KING ETHELRED ABOUT BYNSINGTUN.

[In 996 Etheled gave to his brothers Eadric, Eadwig, and Ealdred, two hides at Bynsingtun, for life, freely. They may leave the land to whomever they wish after death. The land is free from all secular service except military service, repair of bridges and fortresses.]

[246] CHARTER OF KING ETHELRED ABOUT THREE HIDES IN DRAYTON AND TWO IN SUTTON.

[In 1000 Etheled gave to abbot Wulfgar and the Abingdon monastery three hides at Drayton and two hides at Sutton, with one mill, fields, pastures, and meadows in perpetual right of inheritance. The land is free from service except military service, repair of bridges and fortresses.]

[247] CHARTER OF KING ETHELRED ABOUT LITTLE HASELEY.

[In 1002 Etheled gave to his thegn Godwin, for thirty
mancuses of pure gold, ten hides at Little Haseley [Ox.] with all things pertaining to it, fields, pastures, meadows, and courses of waters. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after death. The land is free from secular burden except military service, repair of bridges and fortresses.]

[248] WHO FOUNDED THE ABBEY OF BURTON.

In these days [ca. 1002] a certain thegn of Ethelred king of the English, called Wulfric Spot [d. 1010], built the abbey called Burton. He gave it all his paternal inheritance, appraised at seven hundred pounds. That his gift might be fixed, he gave king Ethelred three hundred mancuses of gold for his confirmation, and to each bishop five mancuses, and to the two archbishops ten mancuses. As mentioned above, to Alfric archbishop of Canterbury [he gave] the vill Dumbleton, taken away unjustly from Abingdon by his predecessors. To each abbey [he gave] a pound of gold and to each abbess five mancuses.

[249] CHARTER OF KING ETHELRED ABOUT DUMBLETON.

[In 1002 Ethelred gave to archbishop Alfric twenty-four hides at Dumbleton (in three places) for life, with all things pertaining to that land, fields, forests, meadows, pastures, and wooded boundaries. The land is free from all secular service except military service, repair of bridges and fortresses.]

[250] [UNTITLED SECTION.]

The king's gift of Dumbleton to the archbishop
proceeded. He [the archbishop], when he had come to the end of his life, made his heir the church of Abingdon, where he had lived as a monk, by exerting his authority, lest anyone presume to invalidate his testament.

[251] TESTAMENT OF ARCHBISHOP AELFRIC.

Here is made note how archbishop AElfric established the will of his possessions in the end. First to Christ Church Canterbury he conferred land at Westwell, Bourne, and Risborough. To his lord his best ship, with the sailing tackle belonging to it; and sixty helmets with as [much] knight[ly] equipment. Since it belong to his own demesne, he granted to the house of St. Albans land at Kingsbury, and he in commutation received Radulfinga. To the Abingdon church, land at Dumbleton, where a certain AElfnoth had granted to hold three hides as much as his days, and afterwards he returned it with the remaining land to the power of the Abingdon church; in addition ten oxen with two men. Also to a certain man by name Ceolweard land which he had bought at Wallingford, so that as long as he lived he might possess it, and after his death the church of Cholsey would possess lordship of that land. To the church of St. Alban land at Tew and Osney, with land of London, which he had bought. All which things a certain Ceolric was then holding, but according which to the archbishop he had in agreement that after the death of that man [Ceolric] it would return to the aforesaid church of the martyr [St. Alban's]. Indeed he assigned all his books to that place,
and he ordered that from his own expenses whatever had been accepted as a loan from another would be restored, and others expended in his funeral obsequies. To the people of Kent he ordered given one ship, and another to the people of Wiltshire. All the relics which were seen [to be] his he asked the lord bishop Wulfstan and abbot Leofric, that by their providence, by which they might better advise, might divide. To his sisters and their children he conferred land of Fiddington and Newton; and land which was of AElfheah son of Esne he restored to these to whom properly head belonged to have. To the lord archbishop Wulfstan he gave one reliquary, with one ring and a codex of the Psalter; but also to bishop AElfheah he gave one cross in his memory. He pardoned the debts which were owed to him by many.

Truly if anyone, according to the custom of the country of England, became a slave at the time of his power, this was relaxed by [Aelfric's] command, with liberty given to the [former slave]. If any man is accused of violating these terms, may he thence have contest with God. AMEN.

[252] CHARTER OF KING ETHELRED ABOUT WALTHAM.

[In 1007 Ethelred gave to his reeve Alfgar eight hides at Waltham (St. Lawrence) for life. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land is free from all service except military service, repair of bridges and fortresses.]

[253] CHARTER OF KING ETHELRED ABOUT WHITCHURCH.
[In 1012 Ethelred gave to his thegn Leofric ten hides at Whitchurch in Oxfordshire on the Thames. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land is free from service except military service, repair of bridges and fortresses.]

[254] CHARTER OF KING ETHELRED ABOUT CHILTON.

[In 1015 Ethelred gave to his bishop Brihtwold five [?] hides at Chilton freely for life. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after death. The land is free from service except military service, repair of bridges and fortresses.]

[255] ABOUT ALFGIFA, WHO RETURNED CHALGROVE AND BULTESWURTHE.

In these times a certain matron named Alfgiva granted to Abingdon land at Chalgrove and Bultesworth. These were the witnesses of this concession: archbishop Oswald, bishop AElfeah, bishop Aeswig, bishop Athelsige, and bishop Odulf. Also [present were] the ealdorman Turhed and many of the leading men. The king favored it, and abbot Edwin presided therein.

[255] ABOUT AELFLAED, WHO RETURNED WINKFIELD.

Another noble matron named Eadflaed granted to Abingdon land of Winkfield, Wicham and Hisdesduna, with a shrine for saints' relics, a text of the Gospels decorated with gold and silver, a golden chalice, and a priesly vestment.

[257] ABOUT EDWIG, WHO RETURNED BEEDON.

A prince of the West Saxons named Edwig was buried at
Abingdon when he died. By grant of his will, lands of Beedon and Hardwell were left to Abingdon.

[258] ABOUT THE PROPHECY OF SAINT DUNSTAN.

At the time of Ethelred, as I have already said, blessed Dunstan, when he had placed the diadem on his head, a sudden change was made in the kingdom. In a short time six archbishops, namely Dunstan, Lyfing, Alfgar, Sigeric, Alfric, and Alpheah had accepted the archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury, then ceded to fate, by chance deprived of this light, lest the pious mercies of pious fathers in future see to raise up degenerate sons. Not only this. Indeed the greater ones by birth and the more powerful in dignity, whatever their status, more men than women of all England, were not spared unexpected dread and destruction. A barbaric race (namely Danes), are attributed to have arrived in England by naval vehicle with their king Swein, who exercised ferocity everywhere throughout the land. They spared no one because of dignity, age, sex or condition. At the same time as their depopulation and revilement, the English people perceived themselves as little able to resist, some on account of the fear of death, some for the duties of service. Several treacherously took themselves to the king of the Danes. Thus the kingdom was desolated, weakly divided among itself. What more? King Ethelred seeing himself alienated more from their fidelity than from their fellowship, sought Normandy with his wife and children
with hastening step. Swein reigned in England for only a few days, because he was deprived by divine judgment equally of life and kingdom. After his death Ethelred king of the English swiftly returned from transmarine parts, and, with none contradicting, he possessed the kingdom he had earlier had.

King Ethelred had married the daughter of Richard count of the Normans, by name Emma, whom the English have named Elfgifu. She bore Edward, a man of great piety, and other children. The queen's younger brother was called Richard, to whom was born Robert, father of William, who afterwards aggressively usurped the kingdom of England for himself.

[259] ABOUT THE DEATH OF KING ETHELRED, AND ABOUT THE REIGN OF KING EDMUND, HIS SON.

Meanwhile, the Danes of the dead Swein conspired as confederates with the English against their genuine lord. They submitted themselves to Cnut, son of the same king, and gave faith to him, which he promptly accepted; they answered by proceeding [to England]. While they conspired the king was seized by illness, and after a reign of thirty-six years, confused by various dangerous events, he died. With no delay his son Edmund was crowned by those who adhered to the country. He tried to cast the minds of many he knew well to bring aid [against] the forces of Cnut in order that the dominance of a barbaric race could be repelled by his vigorous hand. Therefore with a multitude gathered with
him, in the same year he brought battle five times to his adversaries. Nevertheless he was hard put to prevail over them. On the contrary it befell that they increased, and then they went decreased; a great supply of noblemen on both sides were cut down. Wherefore the armies of each prince decided that it was of equal import that peace be agreed upon by sacramental oath and faith on both sides, lest a very great shedding of their blood appear to continue by choice. The matter having been deliberated constantly, it was thus arranged, with the kings mutually reconciled, Edmund to rule the West Saxons, and Cnut the Mercian people.

With these things accomplished, after the course of not more than six months had passed, during which he had assumed the management of the reign, Edmund died. Cnut then acquired the monarchy of all Britain, and of both Denmark and Norway. With God's compassion protecting them on this side, and abbot Wulfgar's vigilant industry on that side, the Abingdon community [although they dissented] remained immune from the devastation of the Danes, while on the right and left an incursion of men demolished everything in that place [i.e., England], so that the country would be more benevolent. With the greatest price Cnut permitted them to redeem their tenants.

[260] ABOUT THE DEATH OF ABBOT WULFGAR.

Around the same time [1016] the lord Wulfgar

"The pastor died; in weeping he had a funeral
Who piously had performed and whom the devoted flock loved."

Ethelwin succeeded him in the pastoral office. He was an acknowledged defender of equity, and of the greatest familiarity with Cnut, having performed a daring deed round about. The king guarded the demesne of Abingdon, carefully conferring his veneration upon that place. At this time was proclaimed the famous charge by which he [Cnut] caused a coffin to be decorated fitly in honor of the martyr and deacon Vincent of the Spanish, in order that his relics be placed in it for the high veneration of all seeking divine suffrage. The tops of it are engraved, and its form is:

This coffin king Cnut and queen Emma
Commanded wrought; two hundred and ten
Mancuses cooked by fire in the crucible,
And also two pounds of gold with great weight."

These lines are on the upper part. This writing is contained on the lower part.

"This has been accomplished at the time of the lord father Ethelwin for the honor of the holy martyr Vincent."

The two-named queen herself, namely Elfgifu-Emma, who had first been joined in marriage to king Ethelred, then married Cnut [after he was] confirmed in the kingdom. He sired Harthecnut upon her. King Cnut added to his pious benefice; the praiseworthy man also gave two seals of a heavy [metal?]. Abbot Ethelwin produced another reliquary
in the shape of the one made for the king, with almost equal magnitude, where he himself placed the exquisite relics of the saint.

[261] ABOUT ABBOT SIWARD.

When Ethelwin was departing from life, he accepted as his successor Siward, a monk of the monastery of Glastonbury, supported very much more by the vigor of secular than of ecclesiastical things. Mention of him is contained in a certain charter of the king.

[262] CHARTER OF KING CNUT ABOUT MYTON [WARW.].

[In 1034 Cnut gave to Abingdon three hides at Myton freely in eternal liberty, with all things pertaining to the land, fields, meadows, pastures, and water courses. The land is free from all service except military service, repair of bridges and fortresses.]

[263] CHARTER OF KING CNUT ABOUT LYFORD.

[In 1032 Cnut gave to Abingdon two hides at Lyford in eternal inheritance for the use of the monks. The land is free from all service except military service, repair of bridges and fortresses.]

[264] TESTAMENT OF ETHELWARD.

In those days a very powerful man named Ethelward came to the most strange end of life and granted eight and a half hides at Samford, as well as three shrines with one large crystal, to this monastery.

[265] [UNTITLED SECTION.]
At the time of this king [Cnut] the relics of St. Edward king and martyr were brought to Abingdon. While the bearer deliberated whether to return them back afterwards, not far from the church, with God's assent he continued his journey with lone footstep, and thus he progressed. The sacred pledges were brought back to the church and therein are hitherto preserved.

King Cnut imperially ruled Denmark, Norway and England with just and vigorous hand, having sought the suffrages of the highest Apostles Peter and Paul at the Roman arches. He died that day [1035] in peace, having subjected the nations to the law in the controversies of cases, guided by the advice of older and prudent men.

[266] HOW ABBOT SIWARD WISHED TO REBUILD THE CHURCH OF ST. ETHELWOLD.

On a certain day while he was walking about in his accustomed manner in the abbey's court, abbot Siward raised his eyes to the church and buildings which his blessed predecessor Ethelwold had rebuilt. He proposed in his mind to tear down the church and the buildings, to make them better and to rebuild them more fully. Although he had conceived this in his mind, he nevertheless saw that he was not able, nor did he wish, to tear down work of this kind or to build another, without the king's favor and permission. He approached the king for advice and to seek from him permission to carry out more properly business of this kind. With no delay, what he sought from the king he obtained
fitly without repulse. When he had deliberated over this unfinished business, heeding diligently the sanctity of the life of the venerable Ethelwold, his predecessor, who had begun and finished the work, Siward feared to tear it all down. [He was] very fearful that he would incur offense over such a deed of the most glorious confessor.

What more? On the advice of his brothers, he proclaimed several fast days, and they all implored divine clemency, and above all the patronage of holy Ethelwold, in order that by divine providence it might be made known to them which would be preferable: to let the old [monastery] remain or to construct a new monastery. After several days it happened that, while the venerable abbot Siward rested on his couch, holy Ethelwold appeared to him in his dreams, saying, "You have been pondering what to do about my church, whether or not to destroy my buildings and then to rebuild them well new. For that reason I came to you to advise what may be done more suitably in executing such business. It is not of your time to tear down this my work, or to build another. In order that you hold faith more strongly to my words, attend more diligently: a certain one from transmarine parts will come to be father and pastor of this place, who will tear down the work and begin a new one; but he will not finish the work. After him will come two others, likewise to be pastors of this place, who will be employed in many good acts, more in buildings than
in others, suitable to this place. When they have departed into fate, there will be no one for a long period of time as pastor and abbot in this place who will be likewise zealous to amplify this place with goods. In most strange days there will be a certain future abbot of this house, who will be embraced in this place in Christ's flesh by such affection, so that accumulating goods to goods, destroying buildings and rebuilding them better, ornamenting the church, preserving order, diminishing nothing of its customary rights, rather augmenting them, fearing God, prevailing in morals, very celebrated in sanctity of life, pious father and worthy to be called father, he will be ready to expect the peace of eternity in the peace of the heart."

Having heard these things, Siward awakened from sleep and began to give thanks to God. He desisted from his proposal, and the money which he had collected to begin the work he diligently set aside for paupers.

[267] ABOUT THE DEATH OF KING CNUT.

With king Cnut dead, and also his son Harold, borne by his concubine, his son Harthecnut [born] from Emma, once queen of king Ethelred, reigned. He at the urging of abbot Siward gave Farnborough to this house and confirmed it with his charter. The tenor of his charter is this.

[268] CHARTER OF HARTHECNUT ABOUT FARNBOROUGH.

[In 1042 Harthecnut gave to Abingdon ten hides at Farnborough for the use of the brothers. The land is free from all service except military service, repair of bridges and
fortresses.]

[269] ABOUT THE DEATH OF KING HARTHECNUT.

King Harthecnut exacted an almost insupportable tax everywhere on the peoples of England. By reason of his excessive hate [toward Harold], who had ruled the kingdom before him, he ordered Harold's carcass submerged in a ditch in a place of the most profound filth. Reviled in the mouth of every man, the king's cruel act was soon reproached. And it happened. He revelled joyously in the reign, [but] unexpectedly he fell to the ground and expired, without proclaiming a word or [willing] one of his possessions to anyone. With these things having been brought about, Edward, son of king Ethelred, was received by all with joy in the lordship; favor was dispensed, and the diadem was placed upon him.

His most holy brother Edward, son of Ethelred, once king of the English, and Emma, succeeded king Harthecnut as king of the English. With Edsige archbishop of Canterbury, Lyfing bishop of Worcester, and earl Godwin, whose daughter he received as queen, supporting him, he was carried to London in the kingship. On the first day of Easter [3 April 1043] he was anointed king at Winchester by AEElfric archbishop of York and Edsige archbishop of Canterbury, and all the other primates of England. The benefice which he conferred upon the house of Abingdon we will make note of below.
[270] ABOUT ST. EDWARD THE KING.

In the second year of the reign of king Edward, Edsige archbishop of Canterbury, with earl Godwin mediating, asked king Edward that he, because of his own [Edsige's] imbecility, might cede the labor of the bishopric to another. He chose Siward abbot of Abingdon, a discreet and religious man, consecrated as bishop of Rochester, to be substituted in his place. When this was done, Athelstan was appointed keeper of the aforesaid monastery by Siward.

[271] CHARTER OF KING EDWARD ABOUT EIGHT HIDES NEAR KENNET.

[In 1050 Edward gave to Abingdon eight hides near the river Kennet freely for the use of the monks. The land is free from all secular service except military service, repair of bridges and fortresses.]

[272] GIFT OF CHILTON.

[In 1052 Edward gave to Abingdon five hides at Chilton freely for the use of the monks. The land is free from all secular service except military service, repair of bridges and fortresses.]

[273] ABOUT THE DISPUTE OVER LECKHAMPSTEAD.

A question concerning a certain vill called Leckhampstead was then moved at Abingdon. A certain rich man named Brihtwine said that, by gift of Siward, he had accepted the vill to be possessed in his hereditary right, since the archbishop could dispose what he chose. But he imposed it falsely. For at the time of king Cnut his father Brihtmund
by agreement of the Abingdon monastery had acquired the same vill to be enjoyed for the life of three men (namely himself, and two whom Brihtmund would name). When this time had evolved, it would be restored freely into the monks' hands. When that man [Brihtmund] died, secondary permission of enjoying the land was transferred to his wife. Third, to their son Brihtnoth. After his death Siward wished to assign the land to the monks' use (since now it was free of the number of three lives). The aforesaid Brihtwine brother of Brihtnoth with a court of certain nobles came to Abingdon to request from the abbot that as long as he lived he might hold that land. For a long time it was asked and was finally obtained. When the abbot had directed the other restraints, whatever beforehand had been agreed that man was satisfied to pervert, by protesting [to] himself and his men the hereditary right granted of that land. Bishop Siward, directing letters about this to earl Godwin, showed himself falsely prosecuted, writing thus:

[274] RESPONSE OF BISHOP SIWARD ABOUT LECKHAMPSTEAD.

"Siward bishop, to earl Godwin, bishop Hermann, Kineward, and all other noblemen of Berkshire, greeting. I have heard that Brihtwine appropriated the land of Leckhampstead wholly to himself, but he did it unjustly. For, with my permission, it was possessed with the condition that after his death it would return freely into the monks' hands. This by agreement was arranged in the presence of
many illustrious men, on the day on which his dead brother Brihtnoth was buried at Abingdon, who third from the father (for his mother [was] in the middle between him and his father), died in possession of the same land. They at the time of king Cnut had been made possessors for the duration of three mens' lives; then it was to have been granted [back] to the Abingdon monks. This I swear by all means to be had otherwise, by the faith which I owe interposed to God and my lord king. If anyone discredits the things [said] thus far, by the judgment which your censure defines by law, in truth I will obtain what I have protested."

Although these things were offered in testimony by the bishop, that man was nevertheless so skillful in ability that his lordship could not be driven forth at the time of abbot Ordric (who will be mentioned below).

[275] ABOUT THE VILL LEWKNOR.

A certain matron, by name AELfgiva, a most noble lady of the royal stock and a kinswoman of Edith queen of king Edward, had from her dowry a vill Lewknor in which she lived frequently. She, having accomplished the course of the present life, approached the end. Because in external things she held her kinswoman more dearly, she chose her before others, albeit she was absent, and left to her the vill Lewknor. When she had drawn a lot for the end of life, the reeve of her house began to exercise lordship in the vill, as if it had been given to him. Since she was absent, the queen was ignorant that this had been given to
her. The aforesaid reeve afflicted those subjected to him not moderately, being heavy and onerous to them in all things. He plundered their possessions, and the avaricious exactor threatened them to the furthest limit. He bore much malice toward a certain Eadwin surnamed Rainer. As much as he held them all in hate, he vexed Edwin before other labors. Edwin, provoked by such evil deeds, and bearing gravely the injuries thrust upon him, determined to send forth the inhumane yoke of such a vile man from his neck and [those of his] neighbors. Coming to the aforenamed queen, he explained the man’s tyranny and his grave oppression of their goods. He told her the manner in which the vill had been given to her by her dead kinswoman, and he inquired why she had not provided better for them. The queen said she did not know the vill had been given to her, and she claimed that no one up to that time had announced this to her. Edwin said, "I, by whatever manner you command, will prove the vill to be yours, and that he [the reeve] holds it unjustly." The aforesaid reeve, finally called, came to court. Overcome by the manifest truth that Edwin claimed, he was able to deny very little. Afterwards he bestowed the vill upon the queen, as though he had been invited; for what he had committed, he incurred also her compassion.

With these things done, it happened that king Edward with his mother and wife came for favor of lodging at Abingdon. When they had examined all the brothers' offices,
they found in refectory the boy monks, as is the manner of boys, choosing the brothers' supply before refection, on account of the infirmity of age. They came closer and examined nothing except the bread placed before them. The queen asked courteously why they ate so much at the table and had nothing except bread for eating. They responded that they scarcely ever had anything else, and the queen was moved to pity for their scarcity of food. She called to the king, who was present, and she sought steadfastly that he grant some rent to the boys (so that thereafter it might be better for them), because they themselves (as thus I shall say), came to their banquet. The king, however, said with humor that it would freely be given to them, if he had either land or possession chosen in ready [money]. "I," said the queen, "acquired recently one vill called Lewknor. This, if it please you, I grant them by perpetual gift for the honor of Holy Mary." He answered that this was greatly pleasing to him, so the vill of Lewknor was assigned under effect of the boys' matutinal refection in the [demesne] of Abingdon abbey by perpetual gift by king Edward and queen Edith.

We have found moreover that a certain most noble man of the Danes called Novitovi, gave this vill in ancient times with its members (that is, Hachamstede and others) to this church when he died. Afterwards, through the adversities which are accustomed to arise against the church, it was alienated at the time from the church's demesne, and (as we
have said above) in the succeeding time was again recovered, by all means given again and confirmed by the king's mouth. All prior objection incurred will cease and, God willing, of the ultimate perdition, when the reckoning is manifest of the second return.

[276] ABOUT THE DEATH OF BISHOP SIWARD.

Having spent many years in the bishopric, the reverend bishop Siward, oppressed by time's warning of feebleness that he was useless to the episcopal dignity, withdrew there and was honorably commended to the sepulchre. He left behind to the ones living there in future a great monument, because by his gift the monks had in demesne the vill Wytham, situated in the neighborhood of the town Wallingford. Also prepared was his chapel, in which were contained the shrine of his holy relics, two codices of the evangelists, fitly prepared—not with greatness but with age—of gold and silver, a chalice praiseworthy of the greatest work, an ivory and decorated comb, an alb, a pall, a stole with maniple and chasuble of white color, a single translucent of fringed pall, and many others, of which brevity we have passed by with effort.

[277] ABOUT THE DEATH OF ABBOT ATHELSTAN.

In the year preceding the transit of the lord Siward the lord abbot Athelstan of pious memory died. He was an especial cultivator of alms and piety. This was proved when a great famine threatened the area. During this time a
sester of grain sold for five shillings. In the nearby regions, no one attended more diligently those searching for a contribution of alms than abbot Athelstan.

[278] ABOUT ABBOT SPEARHAVOC.

With such fathers at rest, as we believe, having accomplished these things, the king constituted as abbot of Abingdon a certain monk of the church of St. Edward king and martyr, most skilled in the art of the goldsmith, by name Spearhavoc. Through him Stigand bishop of the city Winchester, then waging care of the archbishopric of Canterbury (for thence with the governor dead the place remained vacant in rule), like a skilled advocate, wrested away the land called South Cerney, situated in Gloucestershire, to be commended to him at the determined time. At the time of retribution by mercy of his prior right or restitution, Easton, a certain vill bordering upon Lewknor, he joined by perpetual gift to the Abingdon church. Nor did he return also the thing commended [i.e., South Cerney] (which he had sought and already possessed), nor did he pay the remuneration of the thing thus commended.

Without doubt king William the elder, triumphant in England, detained Stigand in capture to be given death. Spearhavoc, promoted by the king in the bishopric of the city of London in the year of the aforesaid agreement [1051], had by the king's assignment received the supply of gold and gems for the imperial crown. On this side and out of the bishop's money he crammed many purses, and secretly
departing from England he did not appear further. An exit of this kind was borne by claim of God, since by Spear-havoc's machination the church was diminished in its increases. According to the aforesaid decision under the presence and witness of king Edward it was decided thus about the manor.

[279] ABOUT BISHOP RALPH.

The king then sent a certain aged Ralph to be put in place of the abbot. He had governed for a long time a bishopric near the Norwegian people, and preferring to act as an individual [citizen] for a bundle [i.e., task] of this kind he came to the king himself, his kinsman (as it was reported). He was received by the king. So, more in respect for God than for him [the king], the monks received him and treated him honorably, seeing that he was mature now with the greatest old age. Withdrawing, he thought the monks would rather choose a successor themselves. This was submitted to the king. The submission owed by the brothers to the man's reverence was suitably weighed [by the king]. The royal promise by no means deceived them in posterity.

[280] ABOUT ABBOT ORDRIC.

Since the aforesaid aged man died without two whole years having passed, Ordric, a man of middle age and gracious affability, a monk of Abingdon church, was accepted as their abbot with the great joy of all and with the king's approval. Because he was chosen not remarkably, he held to
be unalterable by his edict the many things necessary to the church's liberty. Other abbots, successors after him, sought to possess investiture of the abbey after his example. Things of this kind have a method.

[281] CHARTER OF KING EDWARD.

Edward the king greets his bishops, his abbots, and his earls and thegns, who are in those shires [sheriff's districts] within which abbot Ordric has lands. I declare to you that I have permitted to him at the monastery of St. Mary (1) sac and (2) soc (3) toll and (4) team (5) infangentheof, in the burg and outside the burg, (6) housebreach (7) peacebreach, (8) assault; throughout all his land.

And I do not wish to permit any man to take away from him any of these things which I have granted him to have.

[282] CHARTER OF KING EDWARD ABOUT THE HUNDRED OF HORMER.

Edward the king greets Hermann the bishop, and earl Harold, and Godric, and all his thegns of Berkshire, amicably.

And I declare to you that abbot Ordric and all the congregation of Abingdon monastery by my grant and gift freely may have and possess the hundred of Hormer in their own power in the eternal world, and that no sheriff or reeve may have there any appropriation or plea, without the abbot's own command and grant.

[283] ABOUT FOUR HIDES OF SANFORD[-ON-THAMES].
In 1050 Edward granted to earl Godwin four hides at Sanford perpetually, with all things belonging to the land, fields, pastures, and meadows. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes, in eternal inheritance, after his death. The land is free from all secular service except military service, repair of bridges and fortresses.

[284] ABOUT THE DEATH OF EARL GODWIN.

When earl Godwin died, his son Harold succeeded him. At his suggestion, with abbot Ordric agreeing, Edward king of the English granted to the Abingdon church four hides at Sanford across the river Thames and confirmed it with his charter. This was thus inscribed.

[285] CHARTER OF FOUR HIDES OF SANFORD-ON-THEAMES.

[In 1054 Edward gave to Abingdon four hides at Sanford-on-Thames freely for the use of the monks. The land is free from all secular burden except military service, repair of bridges and fortresses.]

[286] KING EDWARD GAVE LEVERTON.

The same king under the same abbot gave away in gift eight hides at the river Kennet a portion of land called Leverton, which king Ethelred had given to his thegn Brihtric.

[287] CHARTER OF KING EDWARD.

[In 1050 Edward gave to Abingdon eight hides near the river Kennet for the use of the monks. The land is free from all secular service except military service, repair of
bridges and fortresses.]

[288] [UNTITLED SECTION about island of Andresey.]

At the same time a wealthy priest named Blacheman, with the permission of the abbot and monks, built a church for the veneration of the Apostle Andrew on an island situated to the west of the monastery. With cloistered bricks and rooves of lead [he built] on the right and left sides [buildings] in the shape of monks' dwelling-places, along with houses for eating and cooking food, for resting, together with others well-constructed and necessary for the conversion of men, adorned with pictures and engravings inside and outside, delightful to the sight. The name Andresey was given to this island from the name Andrew. Having prepared such a house there, he presented himself privately to the monks, where by display of gold and silver, and by the profuseness of an eloquent mouth, he induced them with this procession of his emolument, so that he became possessor of the aforesaid lands, Dry Sandford, Chilton, and Leverton. Afterwards we will tell of another [incident] which came about because of the houses built on this island. Meanwhile we [shall] proceed with the events of this time.

Brihtwine (whom we mentioned in the discussion of the lord bishop Siward) possessed the land of Leckhampstead hitherto without the monks' permission. He caused himself to be much discussed, because he had with him a Landbook (that is, a book describing the land). He who held in his hand writing of this kind was able to determine more
confidently who held land by that [book] everywhere. Because of this the abbot first attempted with prudent argument to have the same writing restored to him. This was afterwards done by earl Harold. By his grace the abbot profited in this. It was decreed in a consistory of the elders, by carefully weighed reckoning, to whom the aforesaid land belonged from the diverse inferences of those discussing [i.e., witnessing]. Therefore on the appointed day it was decided. The advocates who had been delegated to dispense just law in that place decided the abbot's case the more just, having acknowledged the charge of other disputations. The land was then freely restored to the abbot and monks. Not much later, the parish bishop Hermann dedicated the church constructed then at the entrance of the cemetery. Among other things he, by virtue of his episcopal office, excluded from the community of Christianity and cast down with perpetual anathema all who in any manner might attempt withdrawal of the aforesaid land from the provision of the monks living at Abingdon from that time forward. Future generations may see what was then heeded.

[289] CHARTER OF TEN HIDES OF LECKHAMPTONSTAD.248

[In 958? Eadwig gave to his thegn Eadric ten hides at Leckhampstead freely for life, with all things pertaining to the land, fields, pastures, meadows, and forests. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land is free from all secular service except military
service, repair of bridges and fortresses. He gave also a
mill, near the water courses at Lambourn in perpetual gift.]

[290] [UNTITLED SECTION about Eadric.]

This same Eadric [when he] died left behind his charter
with this land to Abingdon. This charter, along with the
land, abbot Ordric took away from the aforesaid Brihtwine.

[291] [UNTITLED SECTION about Sparsholt and Whitchurch.]

There was among the English a custom that monks who
wished could retain monies and patrimonies, and they could
dispense the enjoyment however they pleased. In Abingdon
there were two such men, called Leofric and Godric Cild.
Godric obtained by patrimonial right Sparsholt, near the
place which vulgarly is called the Hill of the White Horse.
Leofric obtained Whitchurch, a manor situated upon the river
Thames. Sparsholt until today remains in the church's fee.
Wigod lord of the Wallingford townsmen possesses the other
[Whitchurch]. The monks wished to bring the land back to
themselves. It happened that one was inferior to the other.
According to the custom of the people, Wigod was gently
flattered by a learned brother, and the lord abbot Athelhelm
obtained the lordship of this place.

[292] CHARTER OF SPARSHOLT OF TEN HIDES.

[In 963 Edgar gave to his chamberlain Athelsige ten
hides at Sparsholt, one hide in Balking, plus twelve fields,
and one mill in Hyrdegrave, along with twelve fields which
belonged to the mill. These were given in perpetual inheri-
tance. He may leave these gifts to whomever he wishes after
his death. The gifts are free from all royal service except military service, repair of bridges and fortresses.]

[293] CHARTER OF WHITCHURCH.

[In July 1012 Ethelred gave to his thegn Leofric ten hides at Whitchurch in Oxfordshire, as long as Leofric was sound of vow [compoen voti]. The land was given freely, for his life. He may leave the land to whomever he wishes after his death. The land is free from all secular service except military service, repair of bridges and fortresses.]

[294] [UNTITLED SECTION about diversion of the Thames.]

The river Thames flows by the Abingdon monastery on its southern part, and on this side and that the passage of ships is conducted. At the time of abbot Ordric, beyond the area of the church (on that side called Bertun by the inhabitants) next to the lane Adtropa, a hollow canal was extended, which caused not a little difficulty for those rowing through that place. The canal was much needed, since the earth was lower than the canal. Because their ships frequently passed through here, the citizens of the city Oxford argued that the river's course should be diverted through the church's meadow which lay open to the south, and that in future, each of their ships would pay one hundred herring to the monks' cellarer as custom. This vow became deed, as it was agreed, and the aforesaid responsibility has been required continuously to this day.

At the same time, while the nocturnal office of the day
of the Lord's Nativity is solemnly celebrated by the brothers, a certain crippled man was suddenly divinely cured in the the presence of the many there.

Moreover the custom in those days was not wont to be equal to the future damage, since anyone offering a supply of gold or silver received by purchase a portion of land of three or four hides, or a whole vill, in diverse places of the abbey. This was concealed with a certain adornment, in order that permission for possessing the land would be extended for the life of three or two men. Because this was done, it happened that not long after the kingdom of the English was transferred to the Normans, these same places were each distributed to the soldiers. And these things were marvelled at by some. For after the excesses and lasting misfortunes, with quiet having been granted in their area, the troubles forgotten, anyone could zealously attempt illicit deeds of daring.

[295] ABOUT THE DEATH OF KING EDWARD.

So many strange things were defiling the kingdom in those days, when the birthday of Christ approached. On this occasion the dedication of the church built at Westminster by the king himself in the name of the Holy Apostle Peter was celebrated. But, lo, in the feast of the week, when all were together celebrating with joy, the king was seized by illness, and in the vigil of Epiphany he spent his last day. Earl Harold, son of earl Godwin, succeeded him as king.

[296] ABOUT ABBOT ORDRIC.
After he had honorably governed the house committed to him, abbot Ordric wasted by a long illness, was allotted his final day around the solemn day of St. Vincent the martyr [22 Jan.]. He returned to the Apostles, to whom he proceeded by grace of devotion. Thus two were substituted, namely earl Harold as king of the English; and Ealdred, earlier administering the provostship of exterior things for Abingdon, as the monks' abbot.

In the next Easter feast [16 April 1066], however, an unaccustomed constellation, which they call a comet, appeared for one whole week, [a sign that] heralded a certain great and unexpected reign in future. But opinion deceived. For when the month of September approached, the king of Norway, called by the same name as the king of England, namely Harold, landed in England, reckoning to lay claim to the kingdom for himself on account of [England's] wealth. Earl Tostig, brother of our king Harold, supported him. The king of the English engaged them in battle beyond the city York, and he killed them both and their auxiliaries in battle.

With Harold's victory scarcely concluded, duke William of the Normans threatened to bring at Hastings a pitched battle, unless Harold fitly withdrew from the kingdom, as Harold learned from the messenger. William alleged that he had the more just claim to reign in England, and that the dead king Edward had left the kingdom to him because of
consanguinity, under Harold's own witness and grant. Harold paid little attention to the messenger, and faithful to his many men, less than prudently he [waged] an assault suitable to the duke. He felt superior to the man he reckoned inferior by insipid deed, and thus falling in battle, he, more than all his companions with him, was ruined.

[297] [UNTITLED SECTION.]

Thus William obtained the crown of England. While certain ones responded with the fidelity of subjection, others withdrew to seek foreign seats in other kingdoms. Abbot Ealdred, yielding to the decisions of leading men, paid the oaths of fidelity to the king. And since a number of the leading men did the contrary, the mother of the destroyed king abandoned England, with herself in his county, with many others, among them the priest Blachemann. This priest, as we have recorded in the chronicles of abbot Ordric, having become a man of the church, had held from it Dry Sandford, Chilton, and Leverton. With him, as I said, withdrawing from England, whatever of his had been in the king's hand, as namely of a fugitive, has been taken back. The abbot thus obtained restitution of the aforesaid lands from the king with great labor.

As the abbot had explained about these lands, he might also have explained about others, which had also by chance been transferred to an alien right from the church's demesne, if for his misfortune he had not incurred the king's indignation. (We shall inform about this later.) A
certain wealthy man named Turkill, under the witness and advice of earl Harold, had done homage to the Abingdon church and to abbot Ordric for himself and his land called Kingston. This was freely allowed so that, in that time, he might do this, in order that the lordship of the aforesaid vill might belong to this church by perpetual right. Since this man had fallen in the aforementioned battle, Henry de Ferrars usurped his land, and the abbot was too weak to withstand the investiture of his lordship [of land] which the church had had a long time before the battle was waged. This was likewise done about land called Fyfield. For one Godric, a sheriff, had accepted the same land to be held from the church by the condition that it be possessed by hereditary right for the life of three men. And if he by chance should happen to incur offense, the church would nevertheless incur no loss. This man also fell in battle, and the same Henry de Ferrars added this vill with the other to his power.

Through these days the church suffered much from injuries of this kind from foreign parts, and also losses of the church's ornaments within the sanctuary. Without doubt by the queen's command William ordered their most precious ornament brought to him. The abbot, with the brothers advising, decided to send the queen one of the more choice ornaments. As these things were exhibited, he rejected them and demanded more ornate ones. They on all sides felt
oppressed by a strange fear of the new princes [i.e., whom they had to serve more carefully, and as a vow to those ruling, [the convent] bestowed upon the queen at court a chasuble wonderfully sewn with a gold fringe throughout, with a choral hood of the very best [quality], also an alb with a stole, a text of the Gospels, a praiseworthy work encircled with gold and individual gems.

[298] ABOUT THE CAPTURE OF ABBOT EALDRED.

Meanwhile many endeavors began to be plotted in the English kingdom, by those troubled by finding it now necessary to bear the lordship of transmarine men, since they had been unaccustomed to it. A part of these [men] hid themselves in the wooded places of the island, where they lived violently in the manner of pirates, slaughtering the ones who opposed them. The other part enticed the people of the Danes to land in England. They, when they had approached England by choice to seek so much booty, consumed certain things with fire and submitted [the people] to capture. They did no combat hand to hand, nor in their strength did they subdue the kingdom; rather they returned to their own land with the business unfinished.

Such things were attempted, and when men of diverse station and dignity intermingled, the bishop of Durham, AEgelwine, was among those found, seized, and sent to Abingdon. He lived there in captivity to the day of his death. But [some] men of Abingdon abbey, although they ought to have favored the part of king William, instead,
having been changed in spirit and by advice, armed themselves, by which [action] they decided to live as the king's enemies, and thus they pursued their course. Surrounded and captured on the journey, they were incarcerated and wretchedly afflicted. The king's enmity was focused on their lord, abbot Ealdred, also called Brichwin (for indeed he was two-named). So great [was the king's enmity] that without delay by his command, Ealdred was placed in arrest at the castle of Wallingford. After some time, however, having been led away from the aforesaid place, he was committed to the hand of bishop Walkelin of Winchester, with whom he remained as long as he lived.

At that time, because of the uncertain state of the kingdom, many men deposited their [movable] goods in the Abingdon monastery, lest their houses, devoid of protection, be seized by plunderers. That which had been announced by carrying the things taken away by the official courtiers and in turn transmitted to that place [Abingdon], and whatever of this kind is procured, is snatched away. And above this, many of the more precious things found within the monks' enclosures, namely a supply of diverse kinds of gold and silver, clothes, books, and vessels, reckoned for the church's uses and honor, were indiscriminately withdrawn. There was no reverence paid to sight of the holy doors, no compassion to the desolate brothers. Outside through the vills, because they denied respect to anyone, there was
considerable devastation far and wide. This is not easily said because publication or reckoning of the abbey's things was lost at that time. Frogerus, then sheriff of Berkshire, was commanded to bring forth execution of these deeds. But the universal vengeance of God the Ruling One afterwards constrained his immoderate progress as a powerful man over oppressed men, so that the law by which he was made tyrannical took away his [power] by royal justice, and in the view of all he was beset by want and stupidity as long as he lived. His attendant misfortunes followed a broad form. Because the place was consigned to the protection of the Queen of heaven and of the saints, and consecrated in the memory of those who both founded and inhabited it; thus it ought to be revered rather than plundered.

As it has truly been indicated above, the lord abbot Ealdred was detained in arrest by order of king William, so Athelhelm was directed to be put in the abbot's place. [Athelhelm] was a monk from the monastery of Jumieges, situated in Normandy. The king sent letters about him to the nobles of the kingdom.

[299] [UNTITLED SECTION.]

Up to this point, as long as we were well able, we have remarked in these two preceding books about the lands and possessions which ancient kings and queens, and likewise their men, more of the time of the English than of the Danes, had given in free and perpetual alms to God and Holy Mary, to this house of Abingdon, and to the monks in the
same place serving God forever, and had firmly confirmed such gifts with their charters, with God assenting. We have studiously placed the separate charters of each of the kings ruling successively, and also of all other things conferring their benefices to this house, in suitable places. Because if any mortal marvels at the aforesaid lands and possessions, first given, then taken away, and now possessed, once again recovered, let him read the books in order, and anything which he may find contrary there, he ought justly to lead his spirit into uncertainty.

THE THIRD BOOK BEGINS.

[300] [UNTITLED SECTION.]

In the two [above-said] volumes, as succinctly as we have been able, we sufficiently accomplished, by the ability of our knowledge and for our men, [a list] of the benefices given to this most holy house by the ancient kings of the English and likewise by their men and firmly confirmed by the charters of these same men. Now it remains that we make known, to those present and future desiring to know these same things, the liberties, and likewise the benefices of each king in succession, given to, and gratefully received by, this most holy house after the advent of the Normans.

[301] ABOUT THE MILL OF CUDDESDON.

Near the vill Cuddesdon, which adjoins lands belonging to the bishopric of Lincoln, a dispute arose over the sluice of the mill which belonged to Cuthesdun. The men of the
bishopric wished to destroy the sluice. The abbot did not wish this. Peter, a chaplain of the king, was the man chosen to observe the bishopric, as the bishop was dead. (He was afterwards bishop of Chester). He surrounded the mill with a multitude of armed men, and abbot Ealdred came, attended by a troop of devoted laymen and monks who had with them the relics of holy Vincent the martyr. They all convened at the place on this side and that side of the mill, assuming the status of haranguers on a portion of the land. Some of them sat upon horses and talked; others stood on the ground before the feet of the rest, and all together they had much confidence in the saint (whose pious relics were present). O the confidence of God and his saints, ever ready to assist those confiding in Him. The event proceeded with the examination of the witnesses present. The abbot swore upon the relics which he had brought that his part should go more rightly, and he knelt and stretched his right hand upwards. Then, behold, on the side of the contradictors the firm earth began to shake violently, and the hard earth was softened to such a degree that the horses' feet were enveloped in the softness. Furthermore a very strong whirlwind blew forth into the air, casting away the spears from the hands of those holding them. Beating among themselves with force, they broke in pieces with a wonderful sight. Wherefore those now amazed and afraid for their life shouted, and they promised never to renew beyond the present discussion the case for which they had entered into con-
flict, if they might be allowed safely to turn the compassion of the saint toward them. Thus the uprightness of the church of Saint Vincent the martyr was made manifest in a public place. From that time the reverence of his veneration was more celebrated at the Abingdon monastery.
NOTES TO TEXT I

1 According to the Abingdon chronicler, Cissa was a predecessor of Cadwalla, but there is no other record of his name, unless it is he mentioned in the witness lists of two spurious seventh-century charters. See Stenton, "Early History," p. 17. Cissa was most likely one of the obscure sub-reguli of seventh-century Wessex.

2 A leaf of the manuscript is missing here. The author had apparently, after an introduction, begun a section on the early history of Britain, where the manuscript again picks up.

3 Lucius was an historical figure of the second century A.D., but the Abingdon chronicler has probably taken his information directly from Bede, who was mistaken in associating Lucius with Britain. See Godfrey, Anglo-Saxon Church, p. 10.

4 Eleutherius was believed to have been pope in the late second century. The chronicler again follows Bede.

5 Three British bishops are known to have attended the Council of Arles in 314. They were from London, York, and possibly Lincoln or Caerleon. See Godfrey, Anglo-Saxon Church, p. 13. The actual Catholic hierarchy of Roman Britain is unknown.

6 From all indications the Christian church survived in Britain until the invasions of the fifth and sixth centuries, nearly two centuries after Diocletian's death. See ibid., pp. 32-33.

7 Little is known of monasticism in Roman Britain, although it flourished late in the period in Ireland and northern Britain due to the energy of the Celtic church. See ibid., pp. 42-49.

8 It seems more likely that it came from "AEbbe's dun," or AEbbe's hill. AEbbe is a woman's name. Ekwall, Dictionary of English Place-Names, p. 1.

9 The chronicler here is probably indulging in the old pun "angle/angel."

10 According to Bede, the Britons granted the Saxons land in return for their continued defense against the Scots
and Picts. They finally allied with the Picts and turned against the Britons.

11 Blank space in the manuscript.

12 This begins a section on Cadwalla, king of Wessex, 685-688.

13 Pope from 687 to 710.

14 Copied from Bede, with minor changes.

15 The exact site of this town is unknown, but it was probably near the site where the monastery was actually founded. See P. H. Ditchfield, "The History of Abingdon," The Journal of the British Archaeological Association, n.s., XII (June 1906), 73. The chronicler here wishes again to emphasize Abingdon's early origin, should the need arise to defend it, hence the mention of a "precedent in the court" immediately following.

16 E.g., the cross discussed in the section immediately following.

17 The chronicler here confuses Constantine the Great with Constantine III, who in 411 attempted to usurp the imperial throne. He was captured in Gaul and executed in Ravenna. Helena was mother of Constantine the Great.

18 The location of Heleneestow is unknown, and also uncertain is whether the nunnery ever existed.

19 779; Offa defeated Cynewulf at Bensington and reasserted his authority in the area across the Thames from Abingdon. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, p. 209.

20 There is no record of the nunnery's temporary establishment at Wytham.

21 Ine ruled Wessex from 688 to 726.

22 i.e., the Benedictine Rule, which at the time of this grant was probably not yet widely known in England. The chronicler is likely using this as an opportunity to assert Abingdon's right to a free abbatial election, a right ignored by twelfth-century English kings.

23 Ethelred ruled Mercia from 674 to 704. There are several Cuthreds mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; one ruled as king of Wessex from 740 to 756. Since the charter mentions a second "Ine king of the Saxons," the chronicler seems confused here.
Later known as Basildon [Berkshire].

Apparently the two were West Saxon noblemen.

Hedda was bishop of Winchester 676-705; Aldhelm abbot of Malmesbury and bishop of Sherborne, 705-709, Wintra, abbot of Tisbury, fl. 709.

King of Mercia 716?-757.

Bishop of Winchester, 705-744. Since Daniel was Hedda's successor, this is another mark against the charter.

See Chapter One.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Aethelheard ruled Wessex 726?-740.

All three were kings of Wessex: Cuthred 740-756; Sigebert 756-757; Cynewulf 757-786.

The battle between Cynewulf and Cyneheard is related in a famous passage of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 755,

Beorhtric ruled Wessex 786-802.

Egfrith actually ruled only from July to December 796.

Coenwulf ruled 796?-821.

This privilege is not recorded, since it was a product of the chronicler's fancy, as were the speeches of the sisters, which are careful to mention the specific rights with which the land was given.

The chronicler is emphasizing the abbey's traditional freedom in filling its own vacancies.

Rethun [Hraethun] was abbot of an unnamed house from 814 until his election as bishop of Leicester in 834 [d. 836]. Stenton, "Early History," pp. 27-28, believes he may very well have been abbot of Abingdon.

The chronicler has likely confused this with the action of Aethelheard of Canterbury who in 803 did secure privileges from Pope Leo III for all the churches in his province. See Stenton, "Early History," pp. 27-28.
Sawyer, A-S Charters, #166; spurious.

Ibid., #183; spurious.

This section and the charter following refer to land on the river Meon. Hemele exchanged this for land at Hurstbourne, Hants. See Sawyer, A-S Charters, #268-269. The two charters are considered possibly authentic.

Kenelm is not recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The entries for 821 list Ceolwulf as Coenwulf's successor. He ruled Wessex 821-823.


Ibid., #1271.

Ibid.

Egbert ruled Wessex 802-839. In 829 Egbert was able to claim authority over Mercia and overlordship of the Northumbrians. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, p. 232.

Sawyer, A-S Charters, #278; post-Conquest forgery.

Aethelwulf ruled Wessex 839-855.

Sawyer, A-S Charters, #317, records this gift in 856 to Ealdred, minister.

Ibid., #302. This, along with associated charters #304, 305, 308, is considered doubtful.

The monasteries of Lindisfarne and Jarrow were sacked by the Danes in 793 and 794 respectively. The first Danish raiders to reach southern England visited Sheppey in 835, and there is record of at least twelve separate raids on different parts of the country over the next thirty years. See Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, p. 243.

Athelbald ruled Wessex 855-860.

Sawyer, A-S Charters, #93; dubious.

Ethelbert ruled Wessex 860-866.

Ethelred ruled Wessex 866-871.

Sawyer, A-S Charters, #335; doubtful.

The bishop Sivard associated with Abingdon served as its abbot prior to his elevation to the see of Canterbury in
1044. He was not the same Seward who was bishop of Rochester 1058-1075. There is no explanation in the chronicle how Seward came to possess the land.

61 Ethelswith, wife of king Burgred of Mercia (ruled 852-874), was the sister of kings Ethelred and Alfred of Wessex.

62 Sawyer, A-S Charters, #1201; authentic.

63 Bishop of Winchester c. 865-c. 875.

64 Sawyer, A-S Charters, #224; partly authentic, but tampered with.

65 Beginning in 865, the Danish raids took on a new character, since at this point the Danes were no longer content with mere plundering raids. They were now prepared to spend years in robbing England of its riches, bringing a great army which first attacked Wessex in 870. It was the task of Alfred of Wessex and his successors to drive back the Danes, which they accomplished successfully by the end of the ninth century. See Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, p. 246 passim.

66 Probably in the early 870s.

67 This seems to indicate that common life of some sort resumed at Abingdon after the Danes had moved on.

68 Alfred succeeded Ethelred in April 871. As mentioned previously, the Abingdon chronicler's opinion of Alfred is not the usual one expressed by medieval Englishmen.

69 Sawyer, A-S Charters, #355; authentic.

70 Edward, known as "the Elder," ruled Wessex 899-925, and exercised authority over most of England by the time he died.

71 Sawyer, A-S Charters, #999; the chronicler here mistakenly interpolates a charter of Edward the Confessor (1042-1066). The charter is considered authentic.

72 Ibid., #369; authentic.

73 Athelstan ruled England 925-939.

74 There is not much evidence elsewhere about the existence of an "abbot Cynath" except for the witness lists of two charters. Stenton was inclined, on this evidence and the Abingdon tradition, to accept Cynath as an abbot of Abingdon during Athelstan's reign. The evidence is not
conclusive, however. Stenton, "Early History," pp. 33-34.

Sawyer, A-S Charters, #404; spurious, but perhaps based on a genuine text.

Ibid., #409; modified version of an authentic charter.

Ibid., #410; spurious.

Ibid., #408; spurious.

Ibid., #1208; possibly authentic.

Ibid., #413; possibly authentic.

Ibid., #1604; an incomplete text.

Ibid., #411; possibly authentic.

Ibid., #396; authentic.

Ibid., #448; authentic; Sawyer considers Eadwulfu a nun.

The meeting took place in 926, and a marriage was arranged between Hugh and Eadhild, Athelstan's sister. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, p. 345.

Edmund ruled England 939-946.

The exact nature and status of the community at Abingdon at this time is uncertain.

Bishop of Winchester 934-951.

Thus there is no explanation of why the king (presumably Edmund) despoiled the abbey of its lands. If it were fully functioning this act seems out of character for Edmund; it is more likely that the house by this time had already declined severely.

Sawyer, A-S Charters, #460; no comment listed.

No date is recorded to tell us just when the abbey took possession but it was most likely after the refoundation in 954.

This seems to be the Abingdon chronicler's invention, since this is not included in Sawyer, A-S Charters.

Sawyer, A-S Charters, #471; authentic.
Ibid., #461; no comment listed.

Ibid., #480; authentic (Stenton).

Ibid., #491; no comment listed.

Ibid., #494; no comment listed.

Ibid., #496; probably genuine.

Ibid., #482; authentic.

Ibid., #500; authentic.

Edmund died in 946.

Eadred ruled England 946-955.


Eadred gave Abingdon to Ethelwold to keep him from leaving England.

Sawyer, *A-S Charters*, #567; spurious.

I.e., Ethelwold, who died in 984.


Sawyer, *A-S Charters*, #542; possibly authentic.

Ibid., #335; this charter is mistakenly assigned to Eadred, but was actually given in 862 by Ethelred of Wessex; possibly authentic.

Ibid., #529; possibly authentic.

Ibid., #539; the Abingdon chronicler here confused Eadred with Ethelred of Wessex; the form of the charter is ninth-century.

Ibid., #525; no comment listed.

Ibid., #552; possibly genuine.

Ibid., #561; possibly genuine.
Ibid., #558; genuine.

Ibid., #560; no comment listed.

Ibid., #564; no comment listed.

Ibid., #577; no comment listed.

Ibid., #559; no comment listed.

Ibid., #578; no comment listed.

Edwig succeeded in 955 and ruled until 959.

Sawyer, A-S Charters, #658; doubtful.

Ibid., #605; no comment listed.

Ibid., #663; no comment listed.

Ibid., #607; spurious.

Ibid., #583; spurious.

Ibid., #581; no comment listed.

Ibid., #617; no comment listed.

Ibid., #618; contemporary.

Ibid., #611; no comment listed.

Ibid., #587; possibly authentic.

Ibid., #597; no comment listed.

Ibid., #622; no comment listed.

Ibid., #591; no comment listed.

Ibid., #594; doubtful.

Ibid., #614; no comment listed.

Ibid., #590; no comment listed.

Ibid., #621; no comment listed.

Ibid., #588; no comment listed.

Ibid., #624; authentic.
Ibid., #620; no comment listed.
Ibid., #603; no comment listed.
Ibid., #615; authentic.
Ibid., #634; no comment listed.
The chronicler here has repeated the material in sections 141 and 142 of the text.
Sawyer, A-S Charters, #639; no comment listed.
Ibid., #654; no comment listed.
Ibid., #650; no comment listed.
There is no charter listed in ibid.
Ibid., #651; possibly authentic; the estate is possibly in Berkshire near Pusey.
Ibid., #657; no comment listed.
Edgar ruled England 969-975.
Sawyer, A-S Charters, #673; dubious.
Ibid., #734; no comment listed.
Ibid., #757; suspicious.
Ibid., #682; no comment listed.
Ibid., #759; suspicious.
Ibid., #760; suspicious.
Ibid., #732; no comment listed.
Ibid., #733; no comment listed.
Ibid., #713; no comment listed.
Ibid., #725; disagreement over an estate; granted; more likely Aston Upthorpe, Berkshire; otherwise, no comment listed.
Ibid., #687; authentic.
Ibid., #769; no comment listed.
Ibid., #737; no comment listed.
166
Ibid., #698; no comment listed.
167
Ibid., #778; no comment listed.
168
Ibid., #750; possible.
169
Ibid., #722; no comment listed.
170
Ibid., #691; authentic.
171
Ibid., #705; authentic.
172
Ibid., #678; no comment listed.
173
Ibid., #761; no comment listed.
174
Ibid., #756; authentic.
175
Ibid., #689; authentic.
176
Ibid., #701; authentic.
177
Ibid., #758; suspicious.
178
Ibid., #708; no comment listed.
179
Ibid., #700; opinion divided.
180
Ibid., #724; suspicious.
181
Ibid., #688; authentic.
182
Ibid., #714; no comment listed.
183
Ibid., #690; authentic.
184
185
For the expulsion, see Godfrey, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, pp. 302-303. Some clerks were married; others apparently were drunks and gluttons; see also Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, #235.
186
Edward ruled England 975-979.
187
Sawyer, *A-S Charters*, #829; no comment listed.
188
Ibid., #828; no comment listed.
189
Sidemann was bishop of Crediton (in Devonshire) 973-977.
Ethelred, who ruled 979-1016, and his mother Aelfthrythe were popularly believed responsible for the murder of Edward "the Martyr," although no one is certain of the truth.

d. 983; according to William G. Searle, Anglo-Saxon Bishops, Kings, and Nobles: The Succession of the Bishops and the Pedigrees of the Kings and Nobles (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899), Edwin was Aelfhere's son.

d. 990.

Sawyer, A-S Charters, #876; opinion varies; probably authentic.

The text here is taken from Whitelock, English Historical Documents, #123.

Sawyer, A-S Charters, #843; no comment listed.

Ibid., #896; authentic.

Ibid., #918; authentic.

Ibid., #833; a charter of Ethelred, dated 962; possibly a mistake for Edgar; no comment listed.

Ibid., #839; no comment listed.

Ibid., #851; no comment listed.

Ibid., #886; authentic.

Ibid., #852; authentic.

Ibid., #883; no comment listed.

Ibid., #855; no comment listed.

Ibid., #858; no comment listed.

Ibid., #887; no comment listed.

Ibid., #897; date impossible.

Ibid., #902; no comment listed.

Ibid., #901; authentic.

See Whitelock, English Historical Documents, #126.

Sawyer, A-S Charters, #915; dispute over location.
Ibid., #927; no comment listed.

Ibid., #934; no comment listed.

This is not recorded in A-S Charters, but the witness list would place it no later than 990, when Edwin died; Oswald was archbishop of York 972-992; Aeswig, bishop of Dorchester, 977-1002; Aethelsige I, bishop of Sherborne, 978-991; bishop Aelfheah, several possibilities. Searle, Anglo-Saxon Bishops, pp. 224-246.

Not in A-S Charters.

Abingdon had already received the land at Beedon from Edgar in 965.

Dunstan (d. 988), Aethelgar (d. 990), Sigeric (d. 994), AElfred (d. 1005), Aelfheah (d. 1012), and Lyfing (d. 1013?).

Swein, son of Harold, king of Denmark, first raided England in 994, but Ethelred was able to buy off the Danes. Swein continued to harry Ethelred for the next two decades. In 1013 Ethelred was forced to leave England, and Swein ruled until his own death on February 3, 1014. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, pp. 378-386.

Ethelred married Emma of Normandy in 1002.

Cnut had begun to harry England before Ethelred's death on April 23, 1016. Ethelred's son Edmund had been leading the English army against Cnut. After a great battle at Ashingdon in Essex, Cnut and Edmund agreed to a division of the country which gave Wessex to Edmund and England north of the Thames to Cnut. This uneasy settlement ended with Edmund's death on November 30, 1016. Cnut became king of all England; he died in 1035. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, pp. 390-402.

Emma married Cnut in 1017.

Sawyer, A-S Charters, #973; no comment listed.

ibid., #964; no comment listed.

Edward (ruled 975-979), popularly supposed to have been murdered by Ethelred's treachery.

The chronicler presumably means Faritius, under whom the church's nave was rebuilt.

Harold ruled from 1035 to 1040; Harthacnut ruled
from 1040 to 1042.

227
Sawyer, A-S Charters, #993; dubious.

228
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle sub anno 1040.

229
Edward the Confessor ruled England 1042-1066.

230
Edsige (1038-1050); Lyfing, bishop of Worcester
1038-1046).

231
Aelfric, archbishop of York 1041-1051.

232
Siward, who served as bishop of Rochester, 1058-
1071, was not the same Siward who served as archbishop of
Canterbury 1044-1048 and who had been abbot of Abingdon.

233
Sawyer, A-S Charters, #1020; opinion divided.

234
Ibid., #1023; dubious.

235
Land of this type was known as laenland and was
granted as a loan or gift for one or more lives, usually
three. The grantee may or may not be bound to perform
certain services in return for the loan. A rent could be
imposed, or the loan given in return for a lump sum.
Holdsworth, History of English Law, II, 70.

236
Women had the power of free disposal of property
which was theirs by right. In this case the property
belonged to Aelfgiva from her dowry, which she probably
reclaimed upon her husband's death. Pollock and Maitland,
History of English Law, II, 374-375.

237
There is no other record of the first gift, and
there is no surviving royal charter of the second.

238
Siward died in 1048, having withdrawn from
Canterbury to die at Abingdon.

239
Athelstan died in 1048, the same year as Siward.

240
Spearhavoc was a monk of Bury St. Edmunds.

241
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle sub anno 1051; called Rudolf.

242
Sawyer, A-S Charters, #1065; spurious but may be
based on an authentic writ. Dated between 1052 and 1066.

243
Ibid., #1066; spurious, but may be based on an
authentic writ. Dated 1053-1055 or 1058-1066.

244
Ibid., #1022; dubious.
Ibid., #1025; opinion divided.
246
Ibid., #1020; opinion divided; repeat of section 271 in text.
247
A landbook is a charter.
248
Sawyer, A-S Charters, @665; adaptation of #491; dated 955-959.
249
Ibid., #713; repeat of charter in section 192 of text.
250
Ibid., #927; no comment listed.
251
Edward died in January of 1066 and was succeeded by Harold Godwineson.
252
253
254
These events took place in 1069; in the summer of 1070 William and Swein Estrithson, the Danish leader, made a treaty. There was a revolt in 1071 of English noblemen; this appears to be the point at which abbot Ealdred incurred William's hatred.
SECOND BOOK OF THE HISTORY OF THIS CHURCH OF ABINGDON
ABOUT THE TIMES OF ABBOT ATELHELM OF THIS CHURCH.

[302] CHARTER OF KING WILLIAM FOR THIS CHURCH.

William, king of England, to archbishop Lanfranc, Robert
doilly, Roger of Pistri, and to all his other vassals of
the whole kingdom of England, greeting.

May you know that I have granted to Saint Mary of
Abingdon and to Athelhelm abbot of the same place all
customary rights of their lands, whatever appertains to the
aforesaid church, wherever it has them, in the burg or
outside the burg, according to what abbot Athelhelm will
demonstrate that, by writ or by charter, the church of Saint
Mary of Abingdon and his [Athelhelm's] predecessor, had
according to the customary rights given by King Edward.

[303] ABOUT THE READING ALOUD OF THE CHARTER IN THE
COUNTY.

The recitation of the aforesaid charters was offered in
the county of Berkshire, and reported very favorably both
for the abbot himself and for the church. Without doubt the
royal officials in those days inflicted many injuries by use
of many men upon the remaining possessions of the houses of
the church. First they violated these, now those, customary
rights. This was a grave violation to be suffered by [the
church]. But the aforesaid royal demonstrations had been
ordered—demonstrations in which the rights of the church
according to king Edward's charter and by the county's
testimony was then publicly discussed in the same county.
The officials supported the decision against themselves, however convenient [it was] to the church. This was greatly satisfying to the lord abbot Athelhelm. Two monks of this house brought very much aid to him [Athelhelm]. The two were full brothers; the older by birth was called Sacolus, the younger Godric. With them was Alfwine the priest, who governed the church of the royal vill of Sutton in this vicinity. Through these men, who displayed such eloquence in their memory of worldly and past events, others easily approved the decisions which they [the three men] decreed unalterable. But [there were] also many other advocates of the English, during the time [the three men] spent at the abbey, and their conference was opposed by no wise man. With these men defending the commonweal of the church, [the church's] contradictors lost eloquence.

2

[304] [CHARTER OF KING WILLIAM ABOUT TOLLS.]

William, king of the English, to his sheriffs and minor officials, greeting.

May you know that I wish and decree that all things which the officials of the monks of Abingdon buy for [the monks'] victuals in cities and burgs, and in all markets, may be wholly quit from all toll and custom. I forbid, as you esteem me, that anyone henceforth do injury to them [the monastic officials] therein.

With Eudo the steward as witness, at Brill [Bucks.].

[305] [ABOUT THE KNIGHTS OF THAT CHURCH.]
In the beginning of their [Sacolus, Godric, and Alfwine] arrival into the abbey, it happened [that] it was enclosed in the hands of armed soldiers. This was indeed necessary, since much news of the plots against the king and his kingdom from day to day sprang forth in every direction, with the conspirators all assembled in England to defend themselves. Then in Wallingford, Oxford, Windsor, and other places, they gathered, having agreed upon a castle for saving the kingdom. From this castle near Windsor a guard of soldiers [was sent] to the abbey, having been ordered by royal command. Because of such an event the soldiers from overseas who came to England were received with excellent favor.

In such wise with the affairs of the kingdom in tumult, the lord abbot Athelhelm safely protected the place entrusted to him with the secure hand of soldiers. At first he made use of stipendiaries in this endeavor. After these assaults were calmed, since it was written in the annals by the king's edict how many soldiers might be demanded from bishops and abbots for defending the realm should the need arise, the abbot assigned [to the soldiers] manors from possessions then belonging to the church [of Abingdon]. In each case it was done in return for the stipulated service from the manor thus given. These lands had been held by those called Thanes who had fallen in the battle of Hastings. It is superfluous to examine thoroughly by whom the same possessions were first divided for the use of the
knights themselves. Since already much time has passed by (because time aids divine judgment), Who alone weighed carefully the action of each one, by which intention they did it, and which he thence knew ought to be judged rightly. With these [men] dead, we desist from uttering anything of [their] chicanery. For the truth we are able to publish only one, because there was very little there of those possessions, which in sole and proper use of the servants of God, and for the acceptance and obsequies of pilgrims, was not delegated to those who had distributed the church's possessions. Henceforth he who has been abused in respect of either some familial or secular favor by the donation, may see whether his consideration may be had more rightly before God, than by giving to the church what seems proper to him. For the benefits are accustomed almost to be commuted for the reason of better things. Therefore what has been said about these matters is sufficient: wherefore the stylus is turned toward imperfect history.

[306] These are the military tenants of Abingdon:—

Gueres of Palences, 4 knights for Dry Sandford and Leverton 7 hides, in Chilton 5 hides, in Denton 2 hides, in Wadley 1 hide, in Bayworth and Sunningwell 4 hides.

Reginald of Saint Helens, 3 knights for 5 hides in Garsington, and for 4 hides in Frilford, and 3 hides in Lyford, and 2 hides in West Hendred.

Askell, 2 knights for Seacourt, and 5 hides in Bayworth,
and 1 hide in Marcham.

Warin, 4 hides in Sugworth for the service for half a knight.

Hubert, 1 knight for 5 hides in Wytham.

Reinbald, a knight and a half for 2 hides in Sunningwell, and in Kennington 3 hides, in Garford 2 hides, in Boxford 2 hides, in Cumnor 2 hides, and land of Blackegrave, and in Frilford, 1 hide, which Bernerus gave to Turstin of Saint Helens, in Worth 1 hide.

Reinbald, 1 knight for Tubney.

Aschetellus, 2 knights for Leia and Chesterton.

Herbert, son of Herbert, 1 knight for Leckhampstead of 10 hides.

Walter de Rivera, 2 knights and a half for Beedon.

For Bradley, half a knight.

Walter Giffard, 1 knight for Lyford of 7 hides.

Hugh of Buckland, 1 knight for Buckland of 10 hides.

Gilbert of Colombieres, 2 knights for Hardwell and 7 hides in Uffington.

Gilbert, 1 knight for two hides in Pusey and 2 in Draycott Moor, and 1 hide in East Lockinge.

Baldwin of Colombieres, 1 knight for Fawler.

Raerius de Aure, 1 knight for Sudcote.

Henry son of Owen, 1 knight for 3 hides in Abingdon and 2 hides in Hulde.

Gilbert Marescal, 7 hides and a half in Garsington; and Sueting, grandfather of Matthie, in Wadley 1 hide and a half
for the service of one knight.

These are the names of ones who hold small parts which belong to the lord abbot's chamber:

Walter of Garsington, half a knight.
Benedict of Weston, half a knight.
Peter of Albury [Oxon.?), the fifth part of one knight.
Peter of Goosey, the fifth part of one knight.
John son of Robert, near Hanney the fifth part of one knight.
Robert Frankolanus of East Lockinge, the fifth part of one knight.
The Daughters of William Grim, near Marcham and near Westwike the fifth part of one knight.
Land which was of Geoffrey of Dry Sandford, the sixth part of one knight.
Richard Gernun of Wadley, the sixth part of one knight.
Land which was of William Chaumum, near Wytham, the fourth part of one knight.
William of Sutton, the fifth part of one knight, at the time of this abbot.

Just so John son of Robert, near Abingdon the sixth part of one knight.

But those two, William and John, give scutage, and do not do guard duty.

William de Wanci, in Kennington the fifth part of one knight.
[307] ABOUT THE ABINGDON MEN-AT-ARMS, WHO WERE CAPTURED AT SEA.

At the time of abbot Athelhelm, the same men-at-arms of Abingdon who, sent to Normandy on the king's business, while they were rowing in the middle of the sea, were seized by pirates, robbed, and indeed some had their hands cut off. With such misfortunes they returned scarcely alive, having been permitted to depart for home. One of them, Hermer by name, had not yet been assigned a portion of any land, because after his mutilation he was considered less important by the abbot. Hermer went to the king, displayed what he had steadfastly borne, [and] so that he might live in the future, he complained that he had been wholly neglected. The compassionate king ordered that the abbot ought to provide the man [Hermer] with some kind of land in some place, where as long as he lived he might be sustained. The abbot obeyed the royal commands and assigned to Hermer possession of mensal lands called Denchworth. Thus that private man procured some of the demesne, not working for preparedness for military service as long as he lived. By this event the abbey's demesne was diminished near Uffington.

In Wytham from the land of the villeins, accustomed to obedience to the court of Cumnor, a portion of 5 hides was distributed by the abbot to a certain knight Hubert.

[308] ABOUT FOUR HIDES OF WINKFIELD.

By the king's decision, four hides were removed from the
vill Winkfield, near Windsor, in order to extend the forest there. This assault on the abbey was very harmful because the former living places of men now became the lairs of wild animals. Moreover, the Mayor of a town located in the neighborhood of the river Thames took possession of [the forest] for himself. [This forest] contained two woods (one called Jerdelea, the other Bacsceat) belonging to that vill Winkfield. He [the mayor] was called Walter son of Oterus. It profited no one to oppose his power, because he was chief and defender of that castle, and of the forests planted everywhere through the county of Berkshire, and the soldiers who observed the watches of the town were in his power. For these reasons he retained what he had assembled for himself.

[309] ABOUT TADMARTON.

5 Robert d'Oilly, a very rich man, keeper of the castle of the city Oxford, because of the nearness of the monastery and of the castle visited the abbot frequently. Because of [Robert's] flattering speech (whose endeavor was preferably to augment secular things rather than monastic possessions) the oppressed abbot rashly gave the vill Tadmarton [Oxon.] to the same castellan. But after performing the deed, with many words frequently on this side and that, the same man [Robert] refused to be removed until the king's decision over the investiture of that land. Therefore with the land restored to the abbot, the spirit of the castellan thus far bore the matter in such unreconciled fashion that he might
not have been recalled to peace by any persuasion if it had not been resolved that the abbot would pay him ten pounds by gift every year. The abbot with the advice of his [monks] was impelled to submit to this remedy for pacification, and as long as he lived, the sum thereafter was conveyed to Robert d'Oilly.

[310] ABOUT ONE HIDE IN CHESTERTON AND TWO IN HILL.

6 A certain Thorkill, very much celebrated among the English, dwelling in the Arden regions, since he sometimes enjoyed the familiarity of the abbot and brothers, granted lands in two places from his patrimony to the church of Abingdon. One of these places is named Chesterton, the other Hill. His son Siward, when he grew up, confirmed the parental grant. About this [grant] a decree of the king confirmed:---

[311] CHARTER OF THE KING ABOUT THE SAME LAND.

William, king of the English, to archbishop Lanfranc, Robert d'Oilly, and to all his barons and vassals, French and English, in the county of Warwickshire, greeting.

May you know that I firmly and in perpetuity have granted to abbot Athelhelm and to the church of Abingdon that they shall have in lordship without any challenge one hide in Chesterton and two in Hill, just as Thorkill of Arden gave [them] in alms to the same church.

[312] ABOUT NEWNHAM [MURREN].

Unlike what happened to the [foregoing] advantage of the church, however, was this which came after. For another of
the nobles, Leowine, removed a certain vill Newnham of his patrimony, situated across the river Thames, from the possession of the monastery of Abingdon although he had received its price from the abbot. In this withdrawal there was also taken a large cup of distinguished work of silver and gold, belonging to Siward the bishop and at that time abbot of this place. Once the vessel was restored, the other withdrawal was soon approved. While this was happening, the king carried on in Normandy. Odo, his brother, bishop of Bayeux, governed the kingdom of England for him as the kings's deputy. The abbot paid Odo the sum of the chosen object, and [the abbot] preserved that which [i.e., the land] Odo permitted him. But since soon so much hate and discord prevailed between the king and the bishop, the king placed Odo under arrest, with the approval of archbishop Lanfranc. All who reckoned to be aided by Odo's power merited the displeasure rather than the favor of the king. At this point, when he learned about the transaction (of which this is the mention) carried out by the grant of that bishop, he accepted the act indignantly, so that he gave the same ravaged land to another abbot. The abbot was thus forced to endure this damage.

[313] ABOUT THE DEPARTURE OF THE ABBOT TO SCOTLAND.

At this time King Malcolm of Scotland declined to be subject to king William. Wherefore, with an army assembled, the king dispatched his oldest son Robert by ship
to Scotland as his regent, with whom also [went] many nobles of England. One of them was abbot Athelhelm. [William] enjoined peace upon them, as well as the presenting of arms; if [Malcolm] obeyed he would be promised peace by them; otherwise, arms. But the king of the Lothians chose to join battle and resist them, rather than to agree. When the kingdom of Scotland had been subjected to the kingdom of England, he [Malcolm] granted hostages. With an agreement concluded, the cheerful son of the king returned with the army to his father, by whom Robert and his companions with him were given booty for their deeds, as was suitable [to] the dignity of them all.

The army was then directed to Wales, where almost all the soldiers of this church were commanded to proceed, while the abbot [of Abingdon] remained behind in his house. This journey had been undertaken because of the king's vow, and he himself went to Normandy [when it was completed].

[314] ABOUT THE REEVE OF SUTTON.

Meanwhile a certain reeve, called Alfsige, of the royal vill Sutton, of the neighborhood of this church, frequently attacked the abbey's men cruelly contrary to the ancient customs of the church, in flat and wooded land, fenced by the hand of rustics. He was disturbing men and animals here and there by demanding summages [carrying of goods by horseback for the lord's use] from them for royal purposes. He ordered as much as he wanted cut from the woods Bagley and Cumnor. Thus far the abbot had controlled his daring deeds
with firm hand, so that from the time of that man [the reeve] thereafter another such transgressor did not come. First, when by a certain chance the same bovine reeve attempted to carry lead, excellent for royal use, away from the church into the king's court at Sutton, he destroyed the lead with the staff which the abbot was holding against him, not without the disgrace of being cut off [from communion], and led the oxen back. Second, when he advanced from the wood of Bagley with loaded wagons, the abbot seized the same burdens and collected the reeve fleeing by horse near the mill by the Ock river bridge. For fear of the abbot the reeve had shunned the bridge and crossed until he was wet up to the neck. But since he who had been cut down by the abbot was a man of the queen, who at this time was established at Windsor, he then moved a complaint on account of an injury inflicted by the abbot. The queen instead of the king, who was spending time in Normandy, gave justice in the matters being appealed. Not at all dismayed, however, the abbot forestalled the royal examination, and [the payment of] money released whatever [offense] had been committed upon the king's official. Afterwards the queen investigated the tyrannical sending away of the reeve forever. For in that royal meeting, both by the reckoning and by the witness of many wise men, it was pleaded at length that the Abingdon church ought not at all to suffer exactions of such kind, without receiving some external liberty [in return].
Therefore the liberty having been proclaimed, today constantly celebrated it is freely defended.

[315] ABOUT THE COMING OF THE DANES.

Thereafter rumor was prevalent that the Danes had prepared a ship which might attack England. Wherefore provision was ordered administered for the men-at-arms, whom they called solidarios [i.e., hired men], who were assembled from everywhere by bishops and abbots for a long time, until the truth of the rumor was revealed by a true sign. Almost a whole year, however, was spent in this expectation, and since with no dependable certainty was an army of the Danes known to be near, the hired men-at-arms, having been recompensed, were then by the royal offering permitted to return to their homes.

[316] ABOUT THE DEATH OF ABBOT ATHHELHELM.

Since the reasons for strife and disquietude throughout the kingdom of England had been overcome, the quiet of peace emerged. The abbot removed his mind from foreign business and directed it to ecclesiastical pursuits, now tending to the matter of letters, now overseeing the morals of religion. It contented him also to arrange skilfully to provide for embellishing the church with ornaments. Afterwards [he wanted] to renovate the church from the foundations. Expenses having been prepared, renovation would follow copiously enough. While he thus pursued exercises of this kind, he was prematurely snatched away by an unexpected death on the fourth day of the Ides of the month September.
[10 Sept 1084].

[317] ABOUT HENRY SON OF THE KING.

With the festival of Easter of the same year [1084] arriving, Henry the son of the king—then indeed a young man, with his brothers established in Normandy with their father—as the king himself had ordered remained some days with these celebrations of Abingdon. The lord Osmund, bishop of Salisbury, and Milo of Wallingford, surnamed Crispin, were with him. Robert d'Oilly did not perform many royal duties, except for attending the meals of the "familia" of this monastery. This solemnity was celebrated in the year 1084 from the Incarnation of the Lord, seventh of the indiction.

[318] HOW ROBERT D'OILLY RETURNED TADMARTON TO THE CHURCH OF ABINGDON.

In the time of the two kings, namely William, who had subdued the English, and his son William, there was a certain constable of Oxford, called Robert d'Oilly, in whose custody at that time the shire was. The sitting of court was overseen by him by the king's order. This Robert was exceedingly wealthy; he spared neither wealthy nor pauper from demands for money, and he augmented [his] wealth from them. Just as he who understands from a little verse about similar things, said: "Love of money grows as much as money grows."

He molested the churches everywhere because of his greed
and especially the abbey of Abingdon, having withdrawn possessions from it and burdening it frequently by [unfriendly] appointments, so much so as to place it in the pity of the king. Among other evil deeds, he withdrew from the monastery, with the king's consent, a certain meadow situated outside the walls of Oxford and assigned it for the use of the soldiers of the castle. The Abingdon brothers were greater afflicted by this loss than by [his] other evil deeds. At the time they gathered before the altar of Holy Mary, which Holy Dunstan the archbishop and Holy Athelwold the bishop had dedicated, and prostrated themselves, beseeching with tears Robert d'Oilly, plunderer of the monastery, either to provide compensation for the land, or to be penitent [for his deed].

Meanwhile, while through the days and nights the monks invoked the Blessed Mary, Robert himself fell into a heavy illness, in which he labored impenitent many days, until he seemed [in his sleep] on a certain night to set foot in the palace of a certain great king, and thence to attend this multitude of great men. In their midst a certain exceedingly glorious, brilliant [one] sat upon a throne in female habit, and before her stood two brothers from the congregation of the aforesaid monastery, whose names Robert knew. When these two had seen him enter the palace, they knelt before that Lady, saying with a great sigh, "Behold, Lady, that is he who usurps the possessions of your church, and the meadow about which we make a claim; he recently
withdrew it from your monastery. She, aroused against Robert, ordered him to proceed outdoors to lead to the meadow which he had withdrawn from the monastery, where he was to be tortured. At her command two youths from those standing around arose, led him into the aforesaid field, and there made him sit. Immediately two very unseemly boys gathered there, carrying hay from the meadow above their shoulders, jeering, and saying together, "Behold, our most beloved one, we play with him." Then setting down the faggots from their shoulders, from above they urinated [upon the hay] which had been set afire underneath, and thus they smoked him. They made torches from that hay and threw [them] into his face. They inflamed his beard. He was placed in much distress and began to shout, having been detained by sleep thus far: "Holy Mary, be kind to me, for I die." His wife, however, was resting next to his bed, and she woke him, saying, "Master, awake; indeed you sleep heavily." And he, awakened from sleep, said: "Truly, heavily," because he was in the midst of demons. She responded, saying: "The Lord protects you from all evil." Then he related his dream to his wife, and she [answered], "The Lord scourges all of the sons whom he receives." [Hebr. xii. 6] After a few days, with his wife urging him, he sailed to Abingdon, and there before the altar, in the presence of abbot Rainald and all the congregation of the brothers and their friends standing around, he returned
Tadmarton worth ten pounds (which he had demanded in that place continually as a gift of abbot Athelhelm), remitting it wholly. He asserted strongly that after him they [the monks] would be possessors of his worldly goods lest thence they bewail anything further of an exaction. At the same time also he committed a sum greater than one hundred pounds for the emendation of his past deeds and for aiding also the rebuilding of the monastery, which recently abbot Rainald had begun to expand. Upon the altar he presented [all this] to those present, who thus far have directed it to the renovation of the monastery, so that they could hasten to build it without penury that whole year.

After he had seen the aforesaid vision, however, tortured by evil cohorts by the command of the Mother of God, he was caring enough not only to erect the church of Holy Mary of Abingdon, but indeed the other destroyed parish churches as well, which were inside the walls of Oxford and outside. These he repaired at his expense. For just as before that vision he was the plunderer of churches and paupers, afterwards he became the repairer of churches, the receiver of paupers, and the achiever of many good works. Among other [good works], he built the large bridge at the northern quarter of Oxford. He died in the month of September in the chapter-house of Abingdon and merited burial in the north part of the church. His wife rests buried on his left side.

[319] ABOUT ABBOT RAINALD.
The festival of Pentecost having concluded [May 19], on the birth days of the Holy Martyrs Gervasius and Prothasius [June 19] the direction of Abingdon was given by the king [William I] to Rainald, a former chaplain of the king, who was then a monk of the monastery of Jumieges. This was done at Rouen [1084]. Rainald was entrusted to Walkelin bishop of Winchester and proceeded there that Walkelin might conduct Rainald to Abingdon; there in the ecclesiastical manner Walkelin assigned the flock of the Lord into Rainald's care. What was commanded has been done, and on the fifteenth day of the kalends of August [18 July] in the year of the first cycle of the sun, in the well-provided abbey Rainald received an abundance of victuals. About [the time of] the celebration of the Assumption of Holy Mary [15 Aug.], our Lady and Queen of heaven, the abbot was consecrated by Osmund bishop of Salisbury at his ecclesiastical seat.

[320] ABOUT THE ABBOT'S RESIDENCE AT LONDON.

In the second year [of Rainald's rule] a certain house situated on the road above the river Thames, along which one proceeds from Westminster to the city of London, was given to the church of Abingdon by Gilbert of Gant. Its chapel is consecrated to the memory of the Holy Innocents. This chapel stands before the walls of the same house. This man made this gift at the time of Athelhelm, predecessor of the present abbot, but upon Athelhelm's death, Gilbert resumed it for himself. But now repenting, after having been placed
under the eternal penalty of anathema for retaining possession of the church, he faithfully restored the house to the abbey. To which return these witnesses were present:

Rodulf, steward of the same Gilbert; and Robert of Candos, with Robert of Armenteres; Ermerus of Ridie, with Robert, son of Osbern; Radulf, and brother of that Hameric, nephews of Robert; and many others.

[321] ABOUT THE DEATH OF KING WILLIAM THE ELDER.

In the fourth year of Rainald's coming into the abbey, the king fell ill near the castle of Mantes, and on the fifth of the Ides of the month of September [9 Sept.] he spent his final day, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1087, tenth of the indiction. His son William succeeded to his place and was crowned near Westminster around the festival of Saint Michael [29 Sept.].

[322] CONFIRMATION OF THE CHARTER OF KING EDWARD, AND ABOUT THE HUNDRED OF HORMER.

William, king of England, to his sheriffs, in whose districts the abbey of Abingdon holds lands, greeting.

I command that all the land of the abbey of Abingdon thus well and fully hold its sake and soke, and all its customs, just as better and more fully it had at the time of king Edward and my father; and I forbid anyone thence do it injury.

With witness Eudo the steward, by Radulf of Languetot, near Legam.

And similarly the hundred of Hormer, just as the abbey
had it at that time, [let it hold it now], with the aforesaid witnesses.

[323] ABOUT THE DUCT OF WATER NEAR BOTLEY.

In the second year of the reign of this king [1089], the city Rochester was besieged by the same [William II], and Odo bishop of Bayeux, the king's paternal uncle, held against him. At this time the men of Seacourt by unlawful daring broke a duct of water, which vulgarly they call Lacche, near Botley. At this time Anskill [their leader] was defeated, but the same incident was placed in question afterwards in the abbot's presence—-that which was broken ought not now be sanctioned without public reckoning. But Anskill concluded this matter with the abbot [by the payment of] ten shillings, which he might render by paying the sum of two ounces of silver each year from the mill of that place.

[324] ABOUT THE CHAPEL NEAR WHISTLEY.

In the vill called Whistley, there had been lacking a church in the time of the original abbot Athelhelm [d. 1084], for Whistley belongs to the parish priest of Sonning. But in that place at winter it was very difficult for the villeins to cross the fords to congregate at Sonning to hear the ecclesiastical offices. Afterwards the same abbot lodged by chance in those parts, and [when he saw that] the place lacked the celebration of masses, [he caused] a wooden chapel to be built there. This was dedicated by the hand of
bishop Osmund [of Salisbury] in memory of Saint Nicholas. When abbot Rainald governed the abbey, the cleric of the church of Sonning complained about the injustice which the bishops had allowed [to be inflicted] upon his customs, namely in the case of the chapel of Whistley. Wherefore the same chapel was prohibited to be provided with the services of the church by the bishop. In the next Lent approaching, the bishop came to Abingdon, where the abbot accomplished the [following] with the bishop about the chapel:--

[325] CHIROGRAPH ABOUT THE SAME CHAPEL.

This is the agreement had between bishop Osmund [of Salisbury] and abbot Rainald of Abingdon over the church of Whistley, which abbot Athelhelm had built and had dedicated by the same bishop. The abbot of Abingdon will have in the same church his cleric, performing the duties of the offices of God, receiving and reserving to his use for serving the church all oblations which are presented to the church by anyone. In return the abbot will give the bishop every year a half mark of silver at the festival of All Saints [1 Nov.]. The church of Sonning will have not less than all the customary rights from the vill of Whistley which it had in the days of king Edward.

This agreement was made in the second year of the reign of William the younger, on the day before the Ides of March [14 Mar. 1089], when the bishop himself was at Abingdon in Lent. There are these witnesses to this agreement:
On the part of the bishop: Robert archdeacon; Heldebrand brother of Raimbald; Richard of Bury;

On the part of the abbot: Walter, monk of Jumieges; Ordric, monk of Abingdon; Walter Rufus; William of Aula.

[326] ABOUT SHIPPON.

The little village contiguous to the burg of Abingdon is called Shippon. At the time of king Edward, a certain constable, by name Eadnoth, held this from the abbey. Afterwards earl Hugh of Chester acquired the lands of this man. When he learned that the aforesaid little village belonged to the right of this abbey, by admonition of abbot Rainald and with the advice of his barons, in the third year of the reign of the aforesaid king William the younger and on the day before the kalends of April [31 Mar. 1090], the earl placed himself in the sanctuary of that church and presided over a total convent of brothers therein, [inquiring about] whatever belonged to him in that place. He presented [his rights] to God and His Mother, submitting by hand his knife to the altar, so that it may stand in perpetual agreement with the following words. With that earl were present Engenulf and William, each a nephew of the earl, as well as Godard of Boiaville, with Engerard and many others.

As it has been said, the matter was determined, with the first inquiry [about what land belonged to him] originating with the same earl, he then directed letters to the abbot, whose text was of this kind:—
[327] CHARTER ABOUT SHIPPON.

Hugh earl of Chester to the worthy abbot Rainald, his dearest friend, greeting.

I commit to you the land for which you petitioned me. I have named [it] with my wife and my barons, and I have decided that I will grant it to God and holy church, the pastoral care of which has been imposed upon you. Such I have done because you gave me thirty pounds of pennies of your money, and so that I may be your brother, and so that my wife, and my father and my mother, [may be] in your prayers, and that we may all be written in the Book of Commemoration, and that such an obsequy may be done for us, as for example ought to be done for one brother of the church, wherever we die. Therefore whatever has been demanded for that land, nothing has been left behind. Money has been given, and other contests wholly ended.

[328] ABOUT CHESTERTON AND HILL.

In supplement of the earldom of earl Henry of Warwick, the patrimony of the lands of Thorkill of Arden nearby was given to the earl in the beginning of the reign of king William the younger. The earl of the land, since he had been given [homage] by the aforesaid man Thorkill in the days of Athelhelm, abbot of the church, brought word to abbot Rainald, saying that the other possessions of that man which the church held were now his by right. In order that the abbot might make the earl more favorable to the church,
and to gain confirmation of the gift of Thorkill [to the church], he offered the earl a mark of gold. The earl accepted the mark willingly, in the sanctuary of this church and in the presence of the monks in assembly, also in the presence of these his barons, demanded by his authority, and he himself confirmed; Richard son of Osbern; Turstin of Mundford; Herlewin the priest; William Sorel; Richard the chaplain; Godric the negotiator; and many others.

[329] ABOUT BERNERUS.

Because he needed to borrow money, namely the sum of thirty pounds, abbot Athelhelm placed in pledge to Robert of Pirronis a quantity of land which Robert wished to have. Not long after [this transaction] the abbot died. When Rainald had succeeded him in the pastoral care, the aforesaid Robert soon died also. The abbot went to Walke-lin, bishop of Winchester, who ordered Bernerus, nephew of the dead man, substituted in Robert's place. When Rainald came to the abbey, he accomplished these things. The abbot, however, not having received his loan, since Robert was dead, returned to the place where he observed Bernerus' authority, which disturbed him, yet he still loved Bernerus. Although Rainald opposed him entirely by means of claims, nevertheless Bernerus returned a response to them. Bernerus approved some of the claims and rejected others, for without [paying] heriot he would not be permitted [to receive his uncle's possessions], [Bernerus claimed he could not pay heriot] unless he received three hides, which he had of the
vill Culham. If Rainald would abjure these things, he could retain the others. Since the bishop, whose presence would protect Bernerus, would see that it was carried out, Bernerus accepted. Indeed the abbot was helpless [in the face of] a man like Bernerus [who was] unwilling to be released. Thus the abbot assented when Bernerus pledged his faith that neither he nor any other man would break the agreement. These decisions and deeds took place in the abbot's house in Winchester, situated outside the southern gate of the city. Among those present were: Richerus of Andelei; Ranulf of Bayeux; Robert of Fleury; Geoffrey the constable; Droard; Robert of the vill Ermenolda; and many others.

[330] ABOUT THREE HIDES NEAR CULHAM.

After two years had passed the same Bernerus forgot his solemn promise. Bishop Osmund [of Salisbury] and abbot Rainald met near Appleford, and the abbot bewailed the decision which was injurious to him, since he now lacked a portion of land. The abbot expressed the opinion that he ought with suitable witnesses to move a case against Bernerus and not extend the complaint to the bishop. Therefore it was completely deliberated and decided that nothing of the case would thereafter be moved [again], but that land would be considered part of the demesne rights of the monks forever, and they well deserved it. They had had that land thus far freely from ancient times, so that no one of
the inhabitants in that place should be oppressed in any-
thing by burden of any sheriff [reeve] or royal official,
neither in county nor hundred. Rather it should be sub-
jected to the care of the abbot alone, who would handle the
cases by events. Thenceforward Bernerus honored the service
customarily from the portion remaining to him of a knight
and a half. These witnesses were present: Robert de Rosel;
Robert nephew of Godmund; Ranulf Flambard and his brother
Osbern; and many others.

[331] [UNTITLED SECTION.]
A certain knight Walter, surnamed Rivers, who held a
plot of land called Beedon, died at this time. He left
behind a very small son of the same name. For this reason
the boy's paternal uncle Joscelin, seeking to acquire Bee-
don, began to prove [his rights] in the king's court, then
established near Bekcley [Ox.?] But abbot Rainald, holding
the boy by the hand, arguing against Joscelin, frustrated
Joscelin in his endeavor. When this controversy ceased,
Joscelin begged that he be permitted possession until the
boy were of greater age. In the meantime he would not give
security against his malice in seeking the land; and
furthermore he sent three men-at-arms (who were expelled) to
do service in his place in the accustomed manner. What he
sought was done for him, since he would serve wholly him-
self, and so he promised faith to the abbot. But neverthe-
less the same boy [Joscelin's nephew], when he grew up,
would not admit that this had been suitable [i.e., licit] in
the public reckoning, until first diverse questions had been had.

[332] ABOUT THE REBUILDING OF THE CHURCH.

Meanwhile, while good fortune continued, the abbot arranged to enlarge the oratory of the old church. Once the foundation of the work was established, they prepared to connect the eastern part to the old tower. Because they were new at such work, they prepared the connecting work. The portico had been supported by the destroyed work, and everywhere the foundation of the tower had been bored out and destroyed. This was done in the year from the Word Incarnate 1091, fourteenth of the indiction, on the Friday of the fourth week of Lent. The brothers were keeping nocturnal vigils, and after the response of the third lesson ended in the place where the chapter was held, this same tower gave way and fell down. For when they [the monks] were assembled in the church to celebrate the same vigils, they were inspired by divine guidance to depart from the convent in time, and to move the next chapter to the tower; but it disappeared, suddenly falling to ruin, and spattered a very thick cloud of fragments of mortar. The cloud was so thick that the glowing lights where the brothers were singing psalms were extinguished. With the noise and the cloud those present were confused and awaited nothing less than death. Everyone was prostrate upon the ground, but the cloud gradually disappeared. When the lamps were relit and
the servants were asleep in certain places, the head [of the
tower] fell down almost above the huge stones. Nevertheless
no one was injured. The monks then were recollected into
one [body], and the beginning office of matins was
accomplished in the cloister. Then they found they could
not freely work upon anything else. They were withdrawn
from the beginning work on the oratory, and after the
Paschal festival they were compelled to begin on the tower.
This was the reason why the building of the monastery had to
be renovated. It had formerly been built by the holy father
and bishop Ethelwold.

[333] ABOUT ROBERT D'OILLY.

While the work was being accomplished, Robert d'Oilly
fell ill, suffering for a whole year. He had directed the
renovation of the church to this point, and all that year
he bore the expense so that the monks suffered no scarcity.
He returned ten pounds (which he had required continually as
a gift of abbot Athelhelm) remitting this amount wholly. He
swore that after him his heirs could not challenge such
exactions. At the same time he committed the sum of more
than a hundred pounds for the salvation of his ancestors.

But nothing had been done about the meadow situated
outside the wall of the city of Oxford. This meadow had
been conferred to him a short time ago. Nothing was done
either about three hides, one of which was near Dry Sandford
beyond the Thames, and two were in Arncot. Abbot Athelhelm
had received them, and they were granted by Roger d'Ivry.
Robert [d'Oilly] built the bridge of Oxford. He died in September and was buried in this church.

The abbot, however, thought that the work needed great expenditures. Everywhere, in bishoprics and monasteries, there was a great spate of building. The abbot endeavored to gain the aid of every one of the neighbors for work of this kind. The abbey's law was felt by the inhabitants of the abbey's possessions, so that any one of them who contrived to obtain a thing from envy or cupidicity was expelled from his holding by the reeve. Likewise other people were inconvenienced. Since anyone who had sons, a wife, and fruitful fields fulfilled completely the customs [of the abbey] from his demesne without hindrance, and when he rested at the deserved end [i.e., died], neither his sons nor his wife were recompensed by grace. Rather they were ejected, and a stranger was introduced, having given money for the dead man's possessions. In these days a tithe of the harvests, as ordered by law, was rarely given to the abbey itself, but instead either forty bundles from the hidage, which by vulgar [usage] they call Garbas, or the tenth acre of his cultivation was put forth. From the different villages the abbot summoned the inhabitants, and with a sympathetic manner he proposed the accustomed burden of servility gravely to them. Then he promised the remedy of liberty, provided that they gave the right tithes of harvests to help in the work of restoring the church. Those
chosen ones complied with such promises; anyone while he reaped gave the requested tithe. Therefore the abbot's affability overcame much from this time with the works being done for the oratory.

[334] ABOUT THE CHURCH OF SUTTON.

The church of the royal vill Sutton through these days remained subject to the sole lordship of the king. King William the younger himself had granted this to the Abingdon church, having been petitioned by abbot Rainald. He then directed these letters to the county [of] Berkshire:--

[335] CHARTER ABOUT THE SAME CHURCH.

William, king of the English, to Gilbert of Brittevilla and all his vassals, French and English, of Berkshire, greeting.

May you know that I have given to the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon, and to abbot Rainald and his monks, the church of Sutton, with lands, and tithes, and customary rights, just as the aforesaid had them better at the time of my father.

With witnesses: Robert son of Hamo, Robert the chancellor, and Drcus the hunter.

Thus it was granted, and the sum of twenty pounds of the public coin was exchanged in the royal treasury. Not long after this the king sent other letters to the abbot, ordering that the cleric of the church at Sutton, Alwine by name, be treated honorably by him, while he served properly under the king. It was indeed instituted especially by the
laws of the country, and, besides the rights of his church, he had held from the abbey one hide in the same vill continually to that time. For these reasons Alwine was agreeably sustained by the mandate.

[336] CHIROGRAPH OF THE CHURCH OF SUTTON.

At the time of Edward, most noble king of the English, and of his ancestors, the abbot of the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon had two portions of a tithe of a certain vill of the king. This vill is called Sutton; he held also one hide of land in the same vill, which a priest of the same vill held under the abbot. The abbot of Abingdon possessed all these things similarly in the days of king William, successor of Edward. King William the younger, however, son of king William the elder, when after the death of his father he had succeeded to the rule, gave to the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon, abbot Rainald, and all the brothers in the same place serving God, the aforesaid church of the vill Sutton, with all things which appertained to the same church. In those days a certain priest called Alwine was holding the same church from the king. The king granted that as long as he lived Alwine might hold that church of the abbot and brothers of the house of Abingdon, in the same manner by which he had held it from him before that time. The king ordered that after his [Alwine's] death it might return to the community of the abbot and the brothers. When the king had ordered these things, the aforesaid priest came to abbot Rainald and inquired from him and from the brothers
whether, just as the king had ordered, he might be able to hold his church from them. After this, however, the same priest asked abbot Rainald and the brothers that they might grant the church he was holding from them to his son, then a boy, in order that the son might have it as long as he lived. Abbot Rainald and all the brothers freely gave approval to this petition because Alfwine had been faithful to them. They ordered him to come into the chapter with his son, and there they granted him all which he was seeking; namely, that just as before he had held the aforesaid church itself, with all things pertaining to it, and whatever other [rights], from the abbot and brothers of Abingdon, thus the boy as long as he lived might have all the same rights, except the chapel of Milton and the things which belonged to it, which the same priest handed over into the hand of the abbot for the grant made to his son of the church at Sutton and other things pertaining to it. The priest also gave five pounds of pennies to the abbot, with which he redeemed from pledge a certain silver vessel pledged for a hundred shillings. Because the end of his [the priest's] life had not been announced, the abbot made such an agreement with the priest; namely, that if the boy died before his father, the father could have the church as long as he lived. If the boy outlived the father, he might have the church from his father, just as is written above. After the death of the boy, the church would be in the hands of the abbot and
the brothers, and they would decide how to dispose of that church.

These things have been done in the presence of these witnesses: on the part of abbot Rainald, the whole convent; of the laymen, Richard son of Rainfrid, and many others.

On the part of the priest Alfwine, Siward his nephew, with many others.

[337] ABOUT HALF A HIDE NEAR WINKFIELD.

With construction furthering the work, the church was renovated. Asked by the abbot, bishop Osmund [of Salisbury] came to Abingdon to dedicate the altar in honor of the Apostles Peter and Paul, on the Sunday of the fourth week of Lent. When behold among the sacred objects of the episcopal blessings, deputies having been sent from Walter son of Oter are present in the presence of the same bishop and the abbot, witnessing that the half-hide near Winkfield, possessed by him for a long time, now left to the church and the abbot, he promised thereafter on an old relic that he never [would] wish to introduce himself and his heirs thence, and for that reason he restored it free to them perpetually.

[338] ABOUT WINKFIELD.

Because of the king's foresters, however, the vill Winkfield became very unsafe. When the vill was transferred from the king to the abbot, their molestation was confined by mandate of this kind, with the same Walter writing in such wise:—
ABOUT THE FOREST NEAR WINKFIELD.

William, king of the English, to Walter son of Oter, greeting.

I send word to you and command that you permit the abbot of Abingdon to have his land and his forest wholly free, beyond the wooded forest, and also whatever pastures of his men he may have in the aforesaid forest. See [to it] lest you do injury further about this forest or the land.

ABOUT THE CHURCH OF KINGSTON.

The churches of Longworth in the vill of Kingston at time of king Edward were diocesan. While Osmund was bishop of Salisbury, Athelhelm and Radulf surnamed Bagpuize, lords of the same place, built a chapel there. They had Osmund dedicate it, along with a cemetery. They promised that they would diminish all complaint thenceforward [against] the rector of the house of Abingdon and the brothers, moreover to the cleric of their church of Longworth, so that except with united concord it might be proclaimed to them. Afterwards they sought out Abingdon, and they promised two "oras" in separate years, that is 32 pennies, that they will expend for the uses of the monks, and that the sum will be returned at Pentecost. They also assigned two acres, two pigs, and two cheeses yearly for the priest of Longworth. From all this examined reckoning of that tract of land, they decided that one would pay half, the other the remainder. This matter was dealt with in the
days of abbot Rainald and endured the accomplishments of his successor Faritius. Accordingly when Radulf Bagpuize died, his son Henry succeeded as heir of his possessions, but not of his morals. The son neglected to preserve the vow by which his father had obliged him to regard ecclesiastical unity. But after a little time Henry died, and his brother Robert succeeded him. He feared to suffer his brother's fate and ran to the abbey, where he interceded for the burial of his brother. He promised that as long as he lived he would not fail to fulfil his father's agreement. This occurred in the thirteenth year of king Henry [1113], in Lent, in the presence of Nigel d'Oilly, Richard of Ledecumbe, and many others.

[341] ABOUT THE CHURCH OF PEASEMORE.

In Peasemore there was a chapel with cemetery dedicated by bishop Osmund who stipulated that the church, situated near Chieveley, should not be robbed of any of its customary rights. From ancient times Peasemore belonged to the right of the church of Chieveley. But when the dedication had been performed, Richard, then lord of Chieveley, thought fit not to pay attention to the mandates to himself. Richard held out obstinately from the time the chapel had been dedicated under the rule of abbot Rainald to the rule of abbot Faritius in the fifth year of king Henry [1105], but then he changed his mind. He was brought to the presence of the abbot and the monks, where he repented of his tenacity. He pledged such penance, that he might thereafter pay each
year two shillings to the altar of the church of Abingdon, and two acres of grain-rent to the cleric who serves the church of Chieveley. One acre would be sown with wheat, the other with oats. The reason that this deliberation was so long delayed and exhibited in this manner was twofold: first, because the authority of the see of Salisbury sanctioned the request that that chapel be suspended from the divine office, until Richard reconciled himself to the mother church; second, because Richard now endured the downfall of a weak life, broken by the feebleness of age. Richard's son Felix at the appointed time agreed to the decision in the presence of these witnesses: Geoffrey, son of Hamo, Bernerus, Raimbald, and many others.

[342] ABOUT THE TITHE OF WEST LOCKINGE.

When abbot Rainald was alive, one Hubert, a knight of Henry de Ferrars, made a gift to this church of tithes from his vill Lockinge. These tithes were those of the fruits of the earth, lambs, cheeses, calves, and little pigs. His son Robert confirmed this after Hubert's death, with his aforesaid lord Henry [de Ferrars] agreeing. Robert came to Abingdon, where for the well-being of his father and his family he bestowed the aforesaid tithe perpetually. His own brothers Hubert and Stephen applauded this gift. His friends witnessed this: Quirio de Moenias and his brother Hugh, and Robert son of Addulf of Betretuna.

[343] ABOUT THE TITHE OF HILDESLEIA.
Seswal also gave a tithe, that of his vill Hildeslea, of cheeses and of the fleece of his sheep. His son and heir Froger confirmed it devoutly after him. Both tithes [West Lockinge and Hildeslea] were assigned especially by Rainald that day to the lights and officials of the altar of Holy Mary. They have been expended hitherto in this.

[344] ABOUT THE TITHE OF HENDRED.

A third tithe was given by Robert, surnamed Marmion, and by his son Helto, from their vill Hendred, of all fruits of their profit. But also after them Radulf, surnamed Rosel, granted the same. His charter, which was then transmitted by his men to Abingdon. It had this content:—

[345] CHARTER OF THE SAME TITHE OF HENDRED.

I Radulf, surnamed Rosel, [do] grant, wish, and command my servants that they pay tithe on my fields of Hendred at the door of my grain, [any] which is held in the same place, and [that] they deliver the tithe itself rightly and faithfully for the serving of Holy Mary.

We have recounted these things so that it may be known how he (who from the beginning contributed it to God) owes the same tithe to be paid by his contract. This was contributed for receiving and divine service under paupers' alms. Wherefore they (who had granted the tithes) may see whether their tithes could have been better arranged. The part of God alone and the part of the ones in need have been assigned by rights. For that reason the ones who formerly
possessed the disposition of the tithes may now strive eagerly rather to augment the things given to God than to diminish [them]. The Distributor of all things can increase many times over the benefices granted by them, and He recompenses those who diminish with their own diminution.

[346] ABOUT THE SAME TITHE.

At the time there was a certain man of the Danes who possessed seven hides in Hendred. Because of the vicinity of Abingdon and his love for the Holy Virgin Mary and the other Saints who are worshipped honorably therein, he gave the tithe from his demesne to the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon for paupers' alms. This is a tithe of four hides. Helto Marmion gave this land to God and Saint Stephen Cadomi. This tithe from the aforesaid demesne endured to the present time.

[347] ABOUT GARSINGTON.

By gift of abbot Athelhelm, Gilbert, surnamed Latemer, (that is, Interpres [Negotiator]), had seven and a half hides near Garsington. This man had no sons but possessed three daughters. He bestowed them upon husbands and gave them just as much of Garsington as the place would allow. The first of their husbands was called Radulf Percehai, another Picot, the third William. When abbot Rainald governed the abbey, Radulf, one of the aforesaid husbands, died, and his father-in-law Gilbert finally followed to this [end]. When Gilbert was dead, Picot and William, with Gilbert's widowed daughter, approached the abbot for the
portions of the lands with which the women had been given in marriage. They wanted to be allowed to enjoy the land thoroughly by hereditary right. The abbot, when he answered their request, misunderstood what they requested (since Gilbert while he lived had not told the abbot anything about these arrangements). For that reason the abbot did not want to satisfy their request. They urged and begged him that as long as they lived they might at all events enjoy thoroughly what they sought. The abbot was finally more kindly disposed because of their entreaties, so he accepted Picot as his man in homage, with the condition that Picot thereafter owe the service of one knight to the church, to be maintained by him, William, and Radulf's widow, who would contribute their power to that one knight from their portions. According to this agreement, if one of them died, either man or woman, their progeny might lay claim to no portion of the aforesaid land for their own in posterity. They offered consent to these propositions by faith and corporal oath. The agreement was constituted in the presence of these witnesses: Rainald of Saint Helens; Geoffrey, son of Roger the priest; and many others.

[348] ABOUT DUMBLETON.

Abbot Rainald had a nephew named Robert, learned in studies. Since Rainald had procured no hereditary vassorial land-grant for him, he decided to give his nephew the vill called Dumbleton. Soon after, however, Rainald regretted
very much that he had done so. The one who had given the land to the monastery was thus far ignorant of Rainald's grant. After the deed had been recited in Rainald's presence, it was demonstrated that the land should not be transferred from the right of the monks. Archbishop AElfric, a priest devoted to God, did not approve. Rainald pondered this vehement forbidding, then summoned his nephew and begged him to have pity upon the house, because Rainald had unadvisedly given him the vill. Otherwise both of them might be subject to the maledictions of men of authority such as the archbishop. The abbot, however, spent much time in vain supplication since he was able to win his nephew's assent in nothing. Finally he approached the king with offerings of prayers, as well as with money, to such a degree that the same land was returned to the church's liberty by royal decree. The sum of money was computed at fifty pounds of the coin of the realm, along with two horses suitable for royal use. But afterwards Robert offered seventy pounds to the king so that he might recover the land withdrawn from him. The abbot, compelled by Robert's action, added to his previous sum twenty pounds. Robert did not wish to be deflected from his intention, until he was assaulted by paralysis, a grave molestation. He was afflicted to such a degree that he was deprived of all bodily movement and was indeed stripped of the office of language. In this uncomfortable detention he reflected upon himself, by the methods with which he was capable, and he sought
devotedly the indulgence of the brothers of Abingdon. The brothers devotedly indulged his commissions and received him into the fold of the monastery. They gave him the sacred habit, returning thanks to God. As long as he lived after these events he served Him with sincere will. From that time Dumbleton remained free in the brothers' demesne.

[349] ABOUT ANSKILL KNIGHT OF THIS CHURCH.

Anskill was one of the noblemen of this house at the time. To his right belonged Seacourt, Sparsholt, part of Bayworth, and one hide near Marcham. The king's anger was kindled against him by the accusations of his enemies. The king ordered him restrained in prison custody, to be weakened with fetters. Anskill died after a few days due to the unaccustomed rigor of his treatment. The king gave the vill Sparsholt to his treasurer Turstin. As long as he lived, Turstin, and finally his son Hugh, held constantly to the rule of abbot Faritus, doing all kinds of service to the church. But the king might have removed the portion of land remaining to him if abbot Rainald had not paid him sixty pounds so that Turstin's land [of Sparsholt] would not be alienated from the abbey's right. After these things were done, Anskill's widow was excluded from the house, and Anskill's son William was completely denied his paternal inheritance. Then Anskill's widow conceived a child by Henry, the king's [William II's] brother. She frequently begged him to win favor for her son from the king. Henry's
son by her was named Richard. For this reason, Henry, then a count, saw that his son received Bayworth, which thereafter he possessed securely. Anskill's son William married the sister of Simon the king's bursar. She was also the granddaughter of abbot Rainald. William then received freely Seacourt, suitable to his hereditary right, and a hide of Marcham. Simon the bursar procured the liberty for him. All these things happened over an extended period.

[350] ABOUT RAIMBALD THE KNIGHT.

Another knight called Raimbalb, abbot Rainald's son-in-law, was attacked vehemently by the king [evidently William II] who threatened to throw him into lasting imprisonment unless he paid the king five hundred pounds as he was ordered [1095]. Raimbalb then consulted those who could give security for him to the king. Raimbalb became frightened before the king's threats, and even more so by stronger ones which followed. The men whom Raimbalb had approached to give security for him feared some injury from him, so Raimbalb reassured them that there was no need to mistrust him. He intended them no injury, so they should not abandon him. The abbot and Raimbalb's other friends submitted a pledge for him to the king. The abbot pledged three hundred hides, and the friends two hundred. While they returned home from the king, Raimbalb hastily journeyed to the port Dover, and with no one aware of it, he crossed the sea, approached the count of Flanders, and committed himself to the count's protection. This action resulted in
a great loss for Raimbald's friends, since the king required from them the total pledged for Raimbald, without any remission. By this act the king reduced most of them to supreme penury. The men of the abbey were almost destroyed—to such a degree that the abbey has complained about that misfortune to this day.

Moreover, in the following year [1096], the king [William II] levied a tax of four shillings per hide, which bore excessively heavily upon all the villeins. This increased the evil already existent throughout England. When it seemed that the country would be consumed by misery, the evil exhausted itself. [no explanation here] The monks had had to destroy [i.e., melt down] most of the monastery's silver altar vessels; this was done before the monastery doors. The herds had also been abducted before the eyes of the abbot and the monks, by the force of royal officials. They were all withdrawn by the officials at will.

[351] ABOUT LECKHAMPSTEAD.

Since the abbey had suffered such losses, the abbot submitted his hand to the possessions which Raimbald had held, sending men by his own authority. These possessions were: ten hides in Leckhampstead, one hide in Tubney, two hides in Frilford, one hide in Hanney, with one mill near Marcham rentable for twelve shillings. Raimbald had held nothing which he had not received as a gift of abbot Rainald. The more preferable possessions he held with the
brothers' permission, and the vill Leckhampstead by command. In these days Raimbald had restored Leckhampstead to the brothers when they threatened him with a public malediction. They now wanted to eliminate Raimbald from all rights in their demesne. Rannulf [Flambard], then a chaplain of the kingdom of England, afterwards bishop of Durham, took part in this restitution. In his presence abbot Rainald, clothed with a holy vestment, performed an anathema and ordered the circumstance which had been written in the holy text of the Gospels to be committed to the memory of posterity. The form of the anathema follows.

[352] EXCOMMUNICATION OF LECKHAMPSTEAD.

I Rainald abbot, and all the convent of the Abingdon church, by the authority of God the Almighty Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, the most holy Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and all the Saints of God, do excommunicate, anathematize, and sequester all from the doors of the church of Saint Mary, either men or women, who concur in a deed or plan to extract the vill called Leckhampstead from the demesne of our church by some contrivance or pact. May anyone who does this be perpetually damned along with Judas betrayer of the Lord, Pilate, and Herod, unless he repents and does penance.

After such deliberation, the exactors of the royal money began to threaten the abbey's possessions, demanding the abovesaid debt with difficulty. Alarmed by this disturbance and not having [the money for the debt], Rainald satisfied
those acting [against him] by leasing the aforesaid land Leckhampstead to a certain Hugh De Dun for twenty pounds for the above-mentioned term of days. Therefore with this [land] lent in pledge, [the agreement] endured continually until the death of the abbot himself. Finally the count of Flanders was driven to England for a conference with the king and was honored very much by him. Having brought Raimbald [the knight] with him, he softened the offense of the same king to such a degree that the king ordered the things held by [Raimbald] restored to him. Therefore they were all restored except Leckhampstead, which was subject as security for that which was owed. Therefore, having related here all this about this man and about the aforesaid land, let this be enough.

[353] ABOUT WILLIAM, SON OF ABBOT RAINALD.

Before Rainald had accepted the habit of holy religion, a son was born to him. His name was William, and he was entrusted to the schools to be educated in letters. When Rainald had accepted the honor of the abbey, he gave his son the church of Marcham after obtaining permission from the convent. This church was given with all things which the cleric Aelfric had held there before, and which belonged to that church. Other things had been added to them, which we shall discuss in the following section.

[354] HOW THE KING LOVED THE ABBOT.

King William the younger in the beginning of his reign
had cherished the abbot with honor. When he was established in his reign, he took the treasure of his dead father, which had been concealed at Winchester, to be distributed for the uses of either churches or paupers. He extended this treasure devotedly with trusting hope to perform good deeds to commend himself. From this sharing of the treasure he gave to the Abingdon house these things, namely the best Gospel text, with a portable golden vessel of holy water, a shaggy choir-cope, and an ivory casket prepared in the style of a ship. The monuments of the charters witness his affection for the abbot with indications of his favor. He transmitted these charters to Peter sheriff of Oxford for the sake of those living under his hand who might bear injury to the abbot.

[355] ABOUT THE CUSTOMS OF THIS CHURCH.

William, king of the English, to Peter of Oxford, greeting.

May you know that I desire and command that abbot Rainald of Abingdon and the monks of his church thus well, honorably, and peacefully have and hold all their customary rights everywhere in all things, just as better they had at the time of king Edward and the time of my father. No man may do them further injury. As witness Rannulf the chaplain.

Make to the aforesaid abbot full restitution from Radwig, your reeve, and from all your officials who did injury to his monks.
Earlier at the instigation of certain men hostile to the abbot, the king's spirit had changed his mind against the abbot, so that favor was replaced with hate. This enmity did not cease until the end of the king's life. The degree of this house's losses has not been exaggerated. The abbey's surviving possessions were ruined by past evils, and no relief was granted to the wretched, poor men of the church who lost their possessions. I saw the pair of perpetrators of these inflicted damages sustain misfortune at some time past. Since they have exhausted the private monies and demesnes of their comrades they have been less apt to offer friendship to this church.

[356] ABOUT THE DEATH OF ABBOT RAINALD.

Meanwhile the king went to Normandy where the abbot (who was with him) incurred an illness and died in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1097. At this time an unspeakable custom was established in England, whereby if a person of the prelacy withdrew from the life of the church, his ecclesiastical honor was absorbed by the royal fisc. As was done with others, thus was it done with the church of Abingdon.

[357] ABOUT MOTBERT PRIOR OF THIS CHURCH.

After the death of abbot Rainald the house of Abingdon paid rent to the royal fisc for four and a half years. During this time Motbert, a monk of this church, directed the care of things. He did not advance this church, but
rather the royal purse.

Because of this it has been insinuated that Hugh de Dun paid the king for the land Leckhampstead, which at the time had been lent to him [by the abbey], so that he could use it freely for the accepted price and as a gift to his offspring. Supported by the strength of Robert the elder, count of Meulan, Hugh placed the land in pledge at twenty pounds, just like a rent to the king. Hugh gave this sum to the king, whereby he received the land by royal decree, and Hugh had thereafter whatever profits he could get while he held the land. Afterwards Motbert assigned it to Herbert, the king's chamberlain and bursar, with commendatory assignment in order to procure the sitting of the court of this place.

In similar fashion he committed to Hugh of Buckland three hides near Hanney with the same purpose, because, as sheriff of Berkshire, Hugh of Buckland might be constituted by the king as justiciar of the public court [and therefore favorable to Hugh de Dun's case].

One day while king William was hunting, one of his knights, as if shooting an arrow at a stag, pierced the king through the heart. Sinking to the ground the king soon expired, and his brother Henry, the youngest by birth, obtained the rights of the kingdom. His brother Robert, the oldest by birth, had not yet returned from Jerusalem where he had gone [on crusade].

[358] ABOUT KING HENRY.
Motbert the monk approached king Henry when he was newly crowned. Henry sent him by favor to rule the monastery of Milton which was vacant of a pastor. But not long after, detained by the bed of infirmity, Motbert died.

[359] ABOUT THE WORTHY FARITIUS, ABBOT OF THIS CHURCH, WHO RECALLED THE WITHDRAWN POSSESSIONS AND ACCUMULATED ALL FOUND WITH WISDOM.

In the year 1100, with the aforesaid Henry reigning, in November, the fourth month of his rule, on the day of the celebration of All Saints, the king by the hand of Robert bishop of Lincoln, directed the lord Faritius, a monk of Malmesbury, to Abingdon. Henry ordered the monks to give their obedience to Faritius, who would be more useful to them than anyone else. This estimate [of his worth] may be accepted as given, as long as any monument of this church lasts.

Faritius was by birth Tuscan, a citizen of the town of Arezzo. He was a most excellent physician. He was so skillful that the king believed Faritius's remedies alone could heal him. He was also gifted with secular prudence, which at this time was very necessary for the rule of a church. He was very cautious and exceedingly learned of letters with special training. Indeed the queen and many persons nobly born believed in the efficacy of this man's healing. He was of such affability and urbanity that his eloquence did not seem overbearing to his hearers. He
easily accomplished every duty, wonderfully patient of cold and of heat, studious of sobriety from boyhood to the end of his life. All through life he was praiseworthy of memory and perspicacious. He was honored by many who tried to reward his kindnesses with riches, and he was surrounded by many parents who preferred his attendance [upon sick children], but he refuted all praises, since he was directed by the sole discipline of prudence. He met circumspectly many men (more ecclesiastical than secular) who were of greater stature than he or any countryman. They all assembled around him as if in admiration of the multitude of his noble manners and sayings. In the king's presence Faritius soon introduced the earnestness of honesty. Thus it was not difficult for the king to obtain what he sought Faritius to do for him. These possessions which by the universal grace of God he had collected he devoted wholly and faithfully to the promotion of the church which he had been sent to rule. Neither did any of the prelates from the time of the holy father Ethelwold, or of the most zealous abbot Wulfgar, preside as superintendent to it inwardly or outwardly around the uses [rights to usage] of this house, nor did he grow useless in these things as long as he lived.

Within this monastery he contributed himself with zeal. He rebuilt from the foundations almost all the dwellings of the brothers, which either were too deteriorated or too small. He preserved the ones of ample proportion and good quality. He augmented the sanctuary of the oratory which he
tended most attentively. Reverently given by him, the image of the Holy Mother of God attests this. The oratory is distinguished by a hollow place which contains the relics of the Saints, consecrated by the lord Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury. Faritius gave also a copy of the Gospels wreathed around with the best golden work, a vessel of pure silver, another fashioned from silver, and many gilded vessels placed upon the altar. He gave many palls of silk, some to decorate the church for processions, the others suitable for use by priests, deacons, and precentors. He sought also the pious patronage of our holy father Ethelwold through his shoulder blade and arm. With many prayers abbot Faritius sought and obtained Ethelwold's relics which were transferred from their old into a new reliquary by the venerable bishop William of Winchester, surnamed Giffard. This translation was done solemnly in the presence of bishops, abbots, and nobles of the realm. The relics were conveyed to Abingdon with great rejoicing. Faritius obtained also the hip, part of the head, one tooth, and one shoulder bone of St. Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury, whom the eminently excellent teacher of the English Bede commends in his history of the English people. Such pledges of this Saint seized the marvelling abbot when he put aside his worldly dress in the dorter [i.e., at bedtime], that he was able to advance in his relations with the brothers there at the time of his appointment. To beseech them for fraternal
largess, Faritius carried to them part of the arm of Saint John Chrysostom.

Since indeed he had that most holy arm, it is but a brief task to recount the [relic's] worth. The Byzantine emperor Alexius [Comnenus] directed letters and gifts to king Henry and queen Matilda in England during this time. With the legation was Wulfric, by birth an Englishman, a native of the city of Lincoln. He had been deemed fit to be the director of such an entourage, and he performed his duties with great pomp. Wulfric had a great daring of familiarity in the presence of the emperor, and he sought the aforesaid relics of Blessed John so that he might exalt his country. Accepting them, he came to Abingdon to commend himself to the prayers of the brothers. In their sanctuary he most devotedly laid the relic, along with the dust, brought in a wonderful manner from the tomb of Saint John the Evangelist, and part of the bones of abbots Macharius and Antony. The abbot accepted these relics and preserved them worthily in the accustomed manner.

[360] ABOUT A SHOULDER-BLADE OF SAINT WILFRID.

At the time of king Edward, the chaplain of a very rich Dane, having received the dignity of Housecarl, laid claim for himself to the aforesaid relic. By chance his lord was travelling to the York province, and when they wished to receive the grace of praying on the journey, they proceeded to a certain oratory at the hour of divine service. In this oratory Wilfrid's relics were served devotedly by the priest
of the place. Since by chance that priest was then away, the chaplain spoke to the sacristan of the place to inquire about the relics venerated therein and was thus informed. Then he demanded that the sacristan permit him to carry away these sacred things. There is some uncertainty about what became of these relics [at this point], because that chaplain's church was not in those parts. The heathens [i.e., Danes] had come forth across the neighboring sea not too long before in the beginning of the reign of [Edward's] father king Ethelred. Wherever they landed they plundered that place and destroyed the dwelling-places of men. It is true that, although the men of this age knew how to deceive [invaders about the location of] ecclesiastical sanctuaries, they disdained to deceive [the invaders] even for God. At the time of the rule of the lord Faritus the same chaplain was now very old, but to this point nevertheless safe [from detection]. He collected those same holy pledges for himself, swore faith to those present, and told the story. We have separated what ought to be believed as truth.

Thus we placed in shrines the hairs of Saint Mary Magdalen, small bits of the bones of the Holy Virgins and Martyrs, Margarets and Fides, wrapped in a purple pouch. On the solemn day of Saint Vincent [22 Jan.] before all his predecessors together he proclaimed magnificently, and he endeavored to commend himself with great devotion to the martyr. Wherefore in most of his negotiations, piously
invoking with prayer, he almost deserved to be consoled and aided. Those holy relics from the time of king Edgar had great veneration in this monastery; as we have heard from the mouth of men of those days it was exquisite. The brothers then living here served them with skilfull vigilance. The prophets were placed with him in order that they might serve as witness for protection [for the church] to all posterity. Faritus made war against the daily business of the abbot--except for business which promoted this church. The king was prepared to promote a person of such repute to the seat of the patriarchate itself, when the venerable archbishop Anselm had moved on from this life. But men of greater ecclesiastical position, although they respected the justice of Faritus' inflexible rule, nevertheless opposed his translation [to the see of Canterbury]. In the first year of Faritus' rule, the abbey throughout all its possessions was vacant of crops at the Easter festival. So that the same thing would not happen in future, Faritus industriously multiplied the crops everywhere in the abbey's lands, with the result that after three years the abbey had the harvest of almost two years in ease. This was certainly to be marvelled at, since very frequently many crowds of approaching guests, namely archbishops, bishops, and nobles of the kingdom, were received with his [the abbot's] whole "familia." Having freely gathered, they sometimes were nourished together for many days. Besides this, the number of the brothers within the cloisters was
increased to triple the daily sufficiency. Faritius procured this number. We saw him send forth more than sixty silk pallia [cloaks] to be distributed for various uses as ecclesiastical ornaments. He soon built the whole church itself, and he made all the holders of the offices twice greater than he found them.

Because we have already discussed how his endeavors affected things within the monastery, we shall turn our pen to external deeds. Although some may seem alien at first, nevertheless his management of the church's possessions accomplished them with discretion. Some possessions which had been withdrawn from less effective rulers of the house, and which had been utterly alienated from the abbey's right, he restored. Therefore the judgment of the first part [of his deeds] may begin with this one:—

[361] ABOUT THE ISLE OF ANDRESEY.

Situated in the southern quarter of the monastery's territory was an island called Andresey, from the name of the Apostle Andrew. Its church was therein and had been crowded together into a circle with many ornamented houses. In this place king William the elder, and his son king William the younger after the father, often chose to sojourn when they stopped in this shire, since they entertained guests there with not a little amusement. Clear water flowed around on one side, and on the other there was a view of the alluring enticement of green meadows. Here king
William the elder was accustomed to refresh himself with both purging of blood and receiving of the antidote. For this reason the royal power retained lordship of this holding.

When king Henry [I] had newly been chosen to the kingdom many men sought as gifts many things which pertained to the lordship of the kings his predecessors. With prudent counsel Henry distributed all the rights sought. To this point Henry pondered the lesser with the petitioners, but with progress of time he reached the greater, and several men tried to obtain Andresey from the king. Queen Matilda had the authority to issue a writ before certain men, and soon after she was burdened with her first offspring in the palace. Not much later physicians were summoned to care for her and to decree prognoses, lest she was excited [sic]. One of the first thus summoned was abbot Faritius, the second Grimbald, both of one people and tongue [i.e., both Italian]. For this reason they were obliged to love each other.

With such a companion the abbot on the same day in the queen's presence delivered a sermon for the rebuilding of the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon. Since great expense was necessary for such work, more in the construction of walls than of roofs, and to be able to entrust [it] strongly with the grace of God, he hoped that the queen with her liberality might undertake the process of the rebuilding. The queen inquired what she might fittingly do about the
aforesaid island situated at Abingdon, and the abbot answered that it would neither serve God in her possession, nor would her men use its rights, since from the beginning of its foundation it had been vacated by the inhabitants, unless it infrequently received as a guest the lord of England on a rare visit. On account of age and neglect, the walls were everywhere open with cracks. If it pleased her kindness, and for the protection and health of the king and herself, with God granting she might allow him to use whatever was suitable in the buildings of Andresey for building the church of the Holy Mother Mary, where the enjoyment of piety might thence be taken. After hearing such an appeal (since he was accustomed almost to allure souls), the queen disposed equally from the largess befitting her status. From her authority she granted Faritius the right to take the lead which covered the island's houses for use in building the church [at Abingdon]. She appointed letters to the sheriff of Berkshire concerning her largess, containing these things.

[362] [WRIT OF MATILDA.]

Matilda, queen of the English, to Hugh of Buckland, greeting.

Allow Faritius, abbot of Abingdon, to have the lead of the houses of Andresey for the use of his church at Abingdon. With witnesses Radulf de Tuin and Bernard the clerk, at Sutton.
Thereafter the abbot, seized with confidence of the goodness of God in spirit, solicited the queen with repeated prayers that he might obtain, with her permission, the stones and timber left behind on the island, in order to build a shrine to Saint Mary. She not only permitted him to have these things; with her intercession she also increased the authority and favor of the king, so that the abbey of Abingdon enjoyed perpetual lordship not only of the stones and timber, but also of the very island. Just how much she obtained for this monastery in Andresey may be weighed carefully, since two men, who had desired a long time ago to acquire the island, were arranging either to institute there an obstacle of defense, or to introduce persons of religion of either the first or second sex. This rumor was then strewn about through the mouths of many. Thereafter it may be seen with fraternal contemplation how much this congregation ought to be under obligation for these things, since the endeavors of those two men were annihilated. The description of the aforesaid things to the county of Berkshire was as follows.

[363] [WRIT OF MATILDA.]

Matilda, queen of the English, to Hugh of Buckland and all her vassals of Berkshire, French and English, greeting. May you know that I have given to Faritus, abbot of Abingdon, the houses and all buildings of the island of Saint Andrew for rebuilding the monastery of Saint Mary. I have also restored the island to the aforesaid monastery perpe-
tually, and all this my lord, king Henry, has granted to me and to the aforesaid abbot, who interceded with me.

With witnesses, Roger the chancellor and Grimbold the physician.

[364] WRIT OF HENRY I.

Henry, king of the English, to Hugh of Buckland, sheriff of Berkshire, and all his barons and vassals, French and English, of the same shire, greeting.

May you know that I have given to Saint Mary of Abingdon and abbot Faritus the chapel of Saint Andrew of the island, and all the houses of the same island, namely lead, stones, wood, and whatever buildings are found on the same island, to be used in the work of the church of Saint Mary of the same vill. The island itself I have restored to Saint Mary and the monks to be held in their perpetual lordship.

With witnesses Matilda the queen, my wife, Roger the chancellor, Herbert the chamberlain, Nigel d'Oilly, Urse de Abetot, and Radulf Basset; at Windsor.

[365] ABOUT THE CHURCH OF NEWNHAM [MURREN].

William de Curci, the king's steward, was accustomed to treat this abbot carefully with very much love. William's vill was Newnham [Murren], situated across the river Thames. It bordered upon the vill Culham, about which mention may be made in the deeds of the abbot. This same king's steward granted by perpetual gift a church of his own possession, with land of one hide, with tithes or church-scot, and with
his remaining rights, to abbot Faritius and the monks in Abingdon, except for two portions of his own tithe from the same vill. He announced the gift with his wife at the altar of Saint Mary and confirmed it in the presence of these witnesses: Serlo bishop of Sais, Nigel abbot of Burton, and many others.

[366] ABOUT THE TITHES OF THE SAME VILL.

Not long after, abbot Faritius and William had a discussion about the two portions of the tithe written about above, and about a certain fishery, which in English is named Sotiswere, in order that William might devote those things along with the earlier gift [of Newnham] to the church of Saint Mary and to abbot Faritius. Concerning these things also the abbot paid William twenty marks of silver so that William might request the grant to be confirmed with sealed letters of the king. The abbot asked also that William might grant this request to Abingdon, and that he present it upon the altar of Saint Mary on the feast day of Romanus of Rouen the archbishop [23 Oct.] in the presence of the whole convent of monks and some lay persons (William the king's chamberlain, Wine, and many others). William sent his steward Geoffrey, who seised the church and the abbot through William the cellarer. Seventeen acres of land belong to the aforesaid fishery. The abbot assigned the land with much discretion to the offices of the monastery. He decided to bestow two parts of the lord's tithe of the chapel of Newnham [Murren] with all its rights upon
the almoner and to bestow the fishery upon the cellarer.

[367] CONFIRMATION OF KING HENRY.


May you know that I grant to Saint Mary of Abingdon and the monks of that house the church of Newnham [Murren] to be held perpetually, both the land and all the tithe of the manor, and other things which pertain to the same church, and the fishery with all things pertaining to it, just as William de Curci, my steward, has given and granted to them.

With witnesses Rannulf bishop of Durham and Roger Bigod. By Geoffrey Peccatum at Cornbury, on the day of Saint Luke the Evangelist [18 Oct.].

[368] [UNTITLED SECTION.]

After William's death his son William confirmed his father's gift in such manner.

CHARTER OF WILLIAM DE CURCI THE YOUNGER ABOUT THE CHURCH OF NEHWAM [MURREN].

I William de Curci return to God, Saint Mary, and the church of Abingdon, the alms which my father gave to the aforesaid church, namely the church of Newnham [Murren], one hide of land, all the tithe of my demesne and the whole vill, one fishery with all things pertaining to it, right of pasture for three hundred sheep, eight oxen, ten cows in my demesne pasture, and one meadow called Cumed, where I have
augmented the alms of my father with the advice and will of my brother Robert and my knights. I wish also that the aforesaid church may hold these rights in peace and quiet, freely and honorably, and that no one may hereafter disturb them. May anyone who violates this return or gift by deed or advice sustain the abuse of God and his mother Mary. Those who witnessed this return or gift were:

Robert de Curci, Philip the steward, William of Easton, Hugh of Wales, Berenger, Robert the priest, Geoffrey the priest, William his nephew, Roger of Lillebonne, Richard son of Fulk, and Mainard of Newnham [Murren].

[369] ABOUT THE CHURCH OF KENSINGTON.

Geoffrey de Vere, son of Aubrey the elder and brother of Aubrey the younger, was the first of his brothers in birth. On that account he would be successor in the paternal inheritance. He was renowned more for the generosity of his [own] manners than for [that] of his parents. He consulted with abbot Faritius to be cured, for he was weighted down by serious illness. The abbot cared for him for three months, and he regained health from the vexation with which he was stricken. But because against death there is no remedy, another illness seized this man, drawing him to depart from life. With the knot of death approaching, the same ill man conferred upon the monastery of Abingdon from his patrimony the church of the vill Kensington in perpetual gift, with land of two hides divided into two hundred and forty acres, and as mentioned above the portion of a virgate. His father
Aubrey, his mother Beatrice, and his brothers granted the same. The king's authority has confirmed the gift with an edict of this kind.

[370] CHARTER OF THE KING ABOUT THE CHURCH OF KENSINGTON.

Henry, king of the English, to Maurice, bishop of London, Gilbert abbot of Westminster, Hugh of Buckland, and all his barons and officials, French and English, of London and Middlesex, greeting.

May you know that I have granted in the time of abbot Faritius to the church of Saint Mary in Abingdon the church of Kensington, whatever pertains to it, and land of two hides (two hundred and forty acres) in the vill itself between the church and the other land which Aubrey de Vere gave the aforesaid church for the soul of Geoffrey his dead son. The Abingdon church may hold the church with the aforesaid land in peace and quiet in perpetuity.

With witnesses queen Matilda, Eudo the steward, William de Curci, Nigel d'Oilly, Urso de Abetot, and Robert Malet; at Cornbury.

It should be noted, however, that in these royal letters mention of one virgate is absent. The reason for this was that when the above charter was composed this grant had not yet been bestowed. But not too long after the above charter was granted, the virgate was confirmed by royal attestation.

[371] ABOUT THE CHURCH OF COLNE.
The aforesaid Geoffrey when he departed from the world was buried in an honored place in this monastery. His parents chose the same place, and afterwards they commended themselves especially to God and to the kindnesses of the brothers of Abingdon. They were accustomed to dwell more frequently in Essex, which stands many miles distant from Abingdon. For that reason also they were often present there—as often as they desired, because the memory of Geoffrey's birth was contained there. They had substituted their younger son Aubrey as their heir, and with his consent, along with that of abbot Faritius and his convent, they chose to build for the monastery its own foundation [in Essex] named Colne. Colne would perpetually be subject to the Abingdon house in all things, and monks were then chosen to be sent there. Aubrey and Beatrice promised that they would contribute bountifully from their possessions toward the work of the monks, and there they would repose their descendants in body after death. The Abingdon brothers then confirmed the determined place with royal authority and [that] of bishop Maurice, in whose diocese that place was. The monks [or the de Veres?] asked them to come and dedicate the place for them. The king's charter extends proof of this matter. It was marked at the time with such points:—

[372] CHARTER OF THE KING ABOUT THE CHURCH OF COLNE.

By all the faithful of the church of God under my rule I wish note to be made, that I Henry, by the grace of God king
of the English, for the remission of my sins and the health of my soul, do grant to God and Saint Mary in Abingdon church and to Saint Andrew in the church of Colne, the things that as the daughter to the mother, as the member to the head, are subject and belong to the Abingdon church. I also authorize all those gifts which Aubrey de Vere, his wife Beatrice, their son Aubrey with his brothers, and their men have already made to the aforesaid church. These gifts are more in churches than in lands, men and tithes, mills, woods and meadows, pastures and produce. The names of these possessions are collected below, to remain in eternity. In Colne the church of Saint Andrew with the land of Rannulf the priest, with all things pertaining to the church, one hundred and twenty acres of the demesne, the tree-plantation beyond the water, with the fish-pond and the land which Serlo had, just as better and more fully he or any of his predecessors had, in pastures, forests, and fields; two forests, Dodepoliso and Northwood; land of Gode of rent of ten shillings; land of Eadwin of rent of five shillings; twenty acres of demesne which had been exchanged for land of Blachemann, and one man with five acres; land of AElmar Long; land of Wulfwin the forester; a mill, granges, and the church of Dovercourt, with thirty acres of land and all things pertaining to it; in the manors Hedingham, Belchamp, Lanreham, Aldham, Dovercourt, Bonecleida, (Beauchamp) Roding, two parts of the tithe of all things and one man with five acres; in Walda and Wadana half a tithe and one
man with five acres; in Hethingaham two mills which Aldow the miller was holding; ten shillings from the land of Athelelm of Burgata; half a tithe from Mibland of Colne, the third part of the tithe of Ranulf Magnus, the church of Campis, the church of Bonecleta, and the church of Beauchamps, with all things pertaining to them, and the forest of Litehaia with twenty acres of land.

This grant of gifts has been made by the most serene king of the English, Henry, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1111, fourth indiction, the eleventh year of his reign, in the presence of these witnesses: Robert bishop of Lincoln, John of Bayeux, Gilbert the chaplain, Geoffrey of Diva, Hamo the steward, Rannulf Meschinus, William Peverel of Nottingham, and Hugh of Buckland; at Reading.

[373] AGAIN, ABOUT COLNE.

At Colne in Lent, on the day of the feast of Saint Cuthbert [20 March] abbot Faritius accepted investiture, or seisin, by the hand of Picot, Aubrey's steward, of all the things noted in the king's charter. Aubrey, his wife Beatrice, Aubrey the younger, and the other sons granted it, along with all their knights who were present to witness this gift. They all saw and assented to it. These were their names: of the sons, Aubrey, Roger, Robert, and William; of the knights, Alfred the sheriff, Geoffrey son of Haimo, Haimo of Lamar, and many others.

Also, Athelelm of Burgate on this day in the presence of
all these witnesses offered himself by the abbot's hand at Colne to God and Saint Andrew, so that after his death he might be buried there. He provided from his land ten shillings, and he seised the monks at Colne with them. Thihel and William then granted it. Geoffrey of Ruelent was also present.

On behalf of the abbot were present Warenger the prior, Benedict, Robert, Godwin, and William, monks; the knights, Bernerus and Robert of Samford, Radulf chamberlain of the abbot, and Roger the clerk.

[374] ABOUT AUBREY DE VERE.

A few years after the abovementioned matters had been determined, Aubrey the elder, before the day of his death, received the habit of religion at Colne. There he was carried dead to the sepulchre. His youngest son William survived his father only a short time, and he was entombed there also. In William's memory his brother Aubrey the younger conferred land of two carrucates in Scaldewilla to God and Saint Andrew in perpetual gift. Abbot Faritius was present at the time. Since he was there, he carried out the funeral rites for the dead man. We have applied this epitaph upon their tombs:--

"They withdraw from life, having been cherished by prayers and souls,
Ignorant and knowing, Gentile and Israelite.
Every sex and age has these turning-points equally:
Lo the boy, lo the elder, one the father, the other
the son,
Law, fortune, land have come under one.
Not to all youth, whom it has swallowed, Athena,
Not to the old man of known men or works, have grown strong:
But faith has been strong, and the reward which we commemorate,
So that they be strong, be strong for all the world, we pray."

Since the neighbors [of Colne] frequented the place for the grace of the oration, they began to donate their benefices for the use of the inhabitants in respect of supernal rewards. We have named them below: Hubert of Monte Canesi gave one acre of meadow. The brothers Geoffrey and Robert, sons of Odelina, gave another acre of meadow. Walter Macerel bestowed the tithe of all his money from his vill Colne, which he held from the fee of Eustace, count of Boulogne, and a small meadow called Sunnul near the vill of Colne. Richard de Bury gave the whole tithe, more moveable than immoveable, from the same vill Bury. They all conferred these gifts upon God and Saint Andrew at Colne.

[375] ABOUT THE CHURCH OF EDWARDSTONE.

In the county of Suffolk there is a vill called Edwardstone, whose lord was Hubert of Monte Canesi. Persuaded by regard for abbot Faritius, he gave by perpetual right the church of the aforesaid vill with all things pertaining to
it to the Abingdon monastery. In the presence of God and upon the altar of Saint Mary in the Abingdon oratory, the abbot and brothers, and the witnesses, Aubrey de Vere the younger, Richard Bisceat, and many others, Hubert confirmed the gift in the fifteenth year of the reign of king Henry [1115]. He bestowed it with the condition that the church always be enjoyed by and serve the monastic consistory. By no license of his [Hubert's] lord will he make known or sustain anything in the same place with the chaplain, indeed with the same present lord or his family, unless that which he granted to the monks living in that place. Once this was conferred, royal letters were then directed to the county of Suffolk to confirm it. Their form was this:--

[376] LETTERS OF THE KING ABOUT THE EDWARDSTONE CHURCH.

Henry, king of the English, to Herbert bishop of Norwich, the sheriffs of Suffolk, Essex and other shires, and all his barons, French and English, greeting.

May you know that I grant to God and Saint Mary in Abingdon church, to abbot Faritius and all his successors, and to his monks, those alms which Hubert of Monte Canesi gave to the aforesaid church, namely the church of Edwardstone, with lands and tithes, and all things pertaining to it by right. I grant moreover two acres of land near the church, two parts of the tithe of all things of Staurestone and of Stanesteda, and the tithe of the rents of the mills and forests. Wheresoever their pigs have been in pannage
the demesne pigs of the abbot will be without pannage, except the hedge of Standstede, the tithe of the payment of the people of Stauretona, and whatever for the love of God he wishes to increase.

With witnesses Rannulf the chancellor, Grimbald the physician, Jurardus the archdeacon, Walter the archdeacon, William de Albini, Roger son of Richard, Nigel d'Oilly, Radulf Basset, and Geoffrey son of Pagan: at Woodstock.

The charter of this concession was transcribed in the year from the Incarnation 1115.

[377] At that time Ralf, archbishop of Canterbury, transmitted letters to the Norwich bishop about the same manor.

LETTERS OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

Brother Ralf, humble servant of the church of Canterbury, to his venerable lord and colleague Herbert, by the grace of God bishop of Norwich, greeting, friendship, and faithful prayers, for strength.

Because we are not unknowing of the renowned reverence of your holy prudence, and of the religiosity of the lord abbot of Abingdon, Faritius, and of that whole congregation committed to God, it is therefore no task to make [this religiosity] known to you. For them we wish to beg the goodness of your charity so that you may sustain with paternal care the gift in alms of a church by one of your parishioners to the brothers of Abingdon. By the grace of God
they are his friends and sons, and mine, and yours, so may you proffer them both advice and aid, amicably, accordingly as you are able and know [how]. May Almighty God preserve your holy paternity unimpaired in our memory for a long time for doing this. Farewell.

[378] ABOUT THE MILL CALLED HENORA.

At the exit of the burg Abingdon there is a bridge, by which one crosses the river Ock when it overflows. Near this bridge on the southern side is situated a mill called Henora by the inhabitants. At that time it belonged to the royal fisc. The miller of Henora submerged the meadows in the neighborhood which were of the right of the abbey. As long as he was able he blocked the conduit of water to keep the abbot's mill from grinding for a lower price. Because such insolence occurred frequently, the abbot acquired a remedy [unspecified]. Much future advancement for the house resulted from this useful and durable case. The industry of many men, especially that of Hugh of Buckland, solicited so much favor from the king that Hugh and the Abingdon church obtained the perpetual lordship of the mill Henora. This was pronounced frequently, and Hugh assigned that same mill to the alms of the monastery for the sustenance of paupers. The witnesses of this gift are the king's chief officials who have been directed to the county of Berkshire. The text is:

[379] CHARTER OF THE KING ABOUT THE MILL HENORA.
Henry, king of the English, to Roger bishop of Salisbury, Hugh of Buckland, and all his barons and vassals, French and English, of Berkshire, greeting.

May you know that I have given and granted perpetual possession to God and Saint Mary in Abingdon church, for the work of the church's alms and for the church itself, a certain mill called Henora, situated upon the river Ock, with all things pertaining to it, namely land, meadow, water, pastures, and with all its customary rights, just as I myself better, more freely, and more quietly held that mill at any time in my demesne.

With witnesses Roger bishop of Salisbury, Robert bishop of Lincoln, John bishop of Bath, William de Curci, William de Albini, cupbearer [butler], Nigel d'Oilly, Thomas of Saint John, Radulf Basset, Hugh of Buckland, Walter of Gloucester, and Geoffrey de Clinton: at Woodstock in the park. In the year in which the king gave his daughter to the Roman Emperor [1109].

[380] ABOUT THE MEADOW CALLED KINGSMEAD.

A certain meadow called Kingsmead is situated near the city Oxford. It belongs to the king, but it is very necessary to the men of the abbey's vill Hinksey. Their cattle are perceived [as] being in need of this pasture. These men applied many times to the king's reeve and to the procurator of that place to have Kingsmead. But enticed by private gifts from various persons the reeve scarcely heard their request, offering a deaf ear to the petitioners.
Abbot Faritius, for the alleviation of this penury of his men, as well as for the oppressive exaction of this reeve, sought remedy from the king. He was unable to appropriate Kingsmead completely for himself, but he at all events arranged that for twenty shillings a year (to be paid to the king), he could hold Kingsmead in perpetual fee farm, with the condition that no sheriff could impose upon them more fully the aforesaid tax, nor could anyone demand the customary rights from the abbey except by established agreement. The king's letters concerning this grant are directed to the county of Oxfordshire.

[381] CHARTER OF KING HENRY ABOUT KINGSMEAD.

Henry, king of the English, to Robert bishop of Lincoln, William sheriff of Oxfordshire, and to all his barons therein, French and English, greeting.

May you know that I have granted the meadow Kingsmead to the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon and to the monks of the same church. The men of Hinksey have been accustomed to have Kingsmead for farm in that place [sic] in perpetual holding, for twenty shillings per year. They may return no other customary right therein. It may be in their power so that they may do [with it] whatever they wish.

With witnesses Roger bishop of Salisbury, Robert bishop of Lincoln, Haimo the steward, William de Curci, William sheriff of Oxfordshire, Hoeldo the chaplain, Radulf Basset, and Alfred of Lincoln; at Westminster.
[382] ABOUT WOODMUNDSLEA.

In these days a certain noble knight holding a fee of 55 Nigel d'Oilly, Drocus by name, was seized by illness. He commended himself to this monastery and here assumed the habit of religion, which abbot Faritius bestowed upon him. As long as he survived he spent his time within the enclosures of the cloister. So that in posterity his memory might be held more specially among those of the other benefactors of the monastery, he endeavored to confer a benefice from his possessions. Therefore he gave for the brothers' uses one hide in Woodmunslea, of the vill Westuna. This gift was free and quit of any [and] all claims, gelds, or military exaction. It was assigned to the fee of the earl of Chester, from whom at that time Nigel d'Oilly held the same hide at the same time with several other possessions, and Drocus held it from Nigel. But when Drocus submitted to the monastic life, Roger son of Radulf married Drocus's daughter, so he was possessed of anything Drocus acquired while he performed military service in the world. Because Roger was insensitive by nature, he transferred the consent of Nigel d'Oilly to himself, in order that he might hold from the earl In Chief, as it is vulgarly said, having made himself the earl's man. Since the aforesaid land had been of Nigel's right, whatever Drocus arranged for it Nigel freely approved. In this manner he authorized it in his letters.

[383] CHARTER OF WOODMUNDSLEA.
I Nigel d'Oilly grant and authorize that God, Saint Mary, and the monks in Abingdon church may have in perpetuity one hide in Oxfordshire, in the place called Woodmundslea, which Drocus of Andelia granted to the same church with my permission. I grant it complete and quit, just as the same Drocus better at any time held of my brother Robert and me.

With witnesses Faritius the abbot, Roger of Canesi, Luuellus de Peri, and Aedric man of the same Drocus.

Afterwards the king, also agreeing, confirmed the same.

[384] CHARTER OF THE KING ABOUT THE SAME LAND.

Henry, king of the English, to Robert bishop of Lincoln, William sheriff of Oxfordshire, and to all his barons, French and English, greeting.

May you know that I have granted to God, to Saint Mary in Abingdon church, and to abbot Faritius one hide of land in Westuna, in the place called Woodmundslea, which Drocus of Andeleio gave the same church, and Nigel his lord granted. Thus free and quit I grant this land to the afore-said church, just as at any time better it was held of my father and brother.

With witnesses Matilda the queen, and Geoffrey Peccatum; at Aylesbury.

[385] Richard, earl of Chester, however, with his mother and the greater of his barons, was afterwards received by the Abingdon hospice in the vill. Abbot Faritius inter-
ceded, and the countess, the earl's mother, favored and provided for his petition that whatever was transacted about the land Woodmundslea the earl would proclaim well done. Thus he confirmed it with his signature. This signature was marked by his mother's seal since the earl had not yet been girded with the military belt [i.e., not yet of age]. The letters directed by maternal seal were hindered by no one. This matter, noted by him, was signed with the seal of the countess rather than with that of the earl. Its form was this:--

[386] CHARTER OF THE EARL OF CHESTER ABOUT THE SAME LAND.

Richard, earl of Chester, and Ermentrudis countess, his mother, to Nigel d'Oilly, Roger son of Radulf, and all the barons of Oxfordshire, greeting and friendship.

May you know that for the love of God, the soul of my father, and the remission of our sins, I have granted that hide, which Drocus of Andelia gave to Abingdon church in the place called Woodmundslea, to the same church. I authorize it to be held perpetually, complete and quit from all our service. Roger son of Radulf and his successors may be quit in our service, as much as pertains to that hide. We forbid that in any way Roger, or another for him, may disturb the ones living on that land.

This we have done with the witness of our barons, namely William son of Nigel, Hugh son of Norman, Richard Balaste,
William son of Anskitill, Richard son of Nigel, lord Geoffrey the chaplain, and others. This has been done in the sixth year of the reign of king Henry [1106] in the month of May, on the day of Pentecost [13 May].

[387] ABOUT THE CONFIRMATION OF THE SAME LAND.

The earl's grant was made known, and the king confirmed it with his decree and authority, as is to be seen in the charter, which contains the compilation of the things acquired by abbot Faritius. Not long after this, a payment called Geld was demanded of the county of Oxfordshire far and wide. This was a payment by the burgesses and villeins, to be collected by officials deputed to this business, from the inhabitants of Oxfordshire. When this did not happen, it came to the king's notice. By reckoning from ancient times and customary right, it was decided that Oxfordshire ought not be subject to an exaction of this kind. Therefore the king sent letters to the sheriff of the same county, containing this:--

[388] LETTERS OF THE KING.

Henry, king of the English, to William sheriff of Oxfordshire, greeting.

I command that the hide which Droclus of Andelia gave to Saint Mary of Abingdon be quit of this geld and all customary dues, just as it was better quit in the time of my father and my brother. You may require nothing else against it.

With witnesses Waldrio the chancellor and Grimbold the
physician: at Romsey.

[389] ABOUT THE SAME LAND.

At this point, for the surety of posterity, we have deemed it worthy to add a certain bit about Woodmunslea. Certain men of greedy mind endeavored to enjoy a portion of that land. One of them was a certain man named Benedict, skilful by nature, who was usually present when the earl's cases were to be deliberated. He promised the monks that he might arrange an end to the problem since they were in fear of losing Woodmunslea. But he began to plot so that first the unaccustomed dues would be demanded from the place, and when the dues demanded were not returned, everything [the monks had] obtained in that place would be taken away. This happened after the death of abbot Faritus [d. 1117].

Since such things were happening very often, one of those governing the welfare of the monastery was sent after consultation from the church to the earl's court. He carried with him a letter which protested the earl's authority over the whole privilege of exaction upon that land. The monks' legate, after making the journey, approached the court. He presented to the judge, in the presence of the noblemen, the monks' case of ownership of Woodmunslea. He recited the charter of liberty to the court. Benedict, whom we have mentioned above, awaited the end of the recitation, then answered. He asked that these same documents be given to him for a little while so that he could understand their
import. They were given to him, and he soon hid them in his purse. The letter-carrier saw this and was amazed that Benedict clung to the deed. When he asked for the letters to be returned, he received nothing but laughter. Those sitting nearby, to whom justice was pleasing, were not indignant at this act. The monks' business was spoiled, and the legate returned home with such loss, accomplished with labor and sadness. For a while God's pity seemed lacking, but shortly after this, this bad fortune turned into a prosperous one. Divine authority stripped Benedict of the earl's friendship, and the earl expelled him. Pressed down under the bundle of ruin Benedict was afflicted by the penalties of Divine revenge. The monks urged God with prayers and finally received the letters which a long time ago they had lost. Thereafter they took care against the deceits of a perjured man, and they took care not to send such a legate to a friend of such deceit.

[390] ABOUT THE LAND OF FENCOTT, ONE HIDE.

A certain noble matron called Adelina d'Ivry, living in Abingdon vill, was confined on a bed of incurable sickness a long time. She conferred perpetually one hide near Fencott for her eternal salvation, with all liberty and right which she possessed there when she granted it to the monastery. The land was suitable for the pasture of a herd. The day of this gift, according to those present, was the day when the memory of Saint Augustine the Carthaginian is celebrated [28 Aug.]. At the end of the year Adelina died
in the presence of the clergy and many other people. The dead corpse had not yet been exposed to the tomb when Adelina's daughter, named Adeliza, confirmed the maternal gift, conferring it upon Saint Mary devoutly in her church of Abingdon. This gift was made in the eleventh year of the reign of king Henry [1111]. The king confirmed this gift.

[391] CHARTER OF THE KING ABOUT FENCOTT.

Henry, king of the English, to Robert bishop of Lincoln, Thomas of Saint John, all his barons and vassals, French and English, of Oxfordshire, greeting.

May you know that I have granted to God and Saint Mary in Abingdon church one hide in Fencott, with meadows, pastures, and all things pertaining to it, which Adelina d'Ivry gave in alms to the same church. Adeliza her daughter authorized this gift. I wish and command that the church, in peace and quiet, freely possess that land, with all things pertaining to it, forever.


[392] ALSO ABOUT FENCOTT.

Henry, king of the English, to R. sheriff of Oxford and to Rainerus of Bath, greeting.

I command that Faritius abbot of Abingdon well and quietly may hold a hide of land at Fencott, which he held of
Adelina d'ivyry, with all things which pertain to it, just as better and more quietly he held it [before]. If therein he is disseised, resese him, then well and in peace may he hold it. If anything has been taken, then quickly in like fashion resese him. Therein do what justly ought to be done.

As witness Nigel de Albini: at Winchester.

[393] CHARTER OF NIGEL D'OILLY ABOUT THE LAND OF ABFIELD.

May it be known to all the lovers of Christ that I, Nigel d'Oilly, have returned to God and Saint Mary in Abingdon church the land of Abfield, which Algar was holding, quit from all complaint of my successors. The land is to be held in perpetual lordship. I have given it for the souls of my brothers, the remission of my sins, and the health of my wife Agnes and my sons and daughters. This I have done in my house at Stuntesfelda, in the presence of abbot Faritius, into whose hand I have returned this land, and in the presence of my wife and my son Robert. With their request and consent I have accomplished this in the presence of W. my chaplain, Manaserius Arsus, Radulf Basset, Roger son of Radulf, and Luvellus of Braio. By their testimony I have confirmed this gift.

May anyone who wishes to alter this not have part in the reign of Christ and of God. Amen.

[394] LETTERS OF THE KING ABOUT THE LAND OF ABFIELD.

Henry, king of England, to Robert bishop of Lincoln, to
W. sheriff of Oxford, and to his barons, French and English, of Oxfordshire, greeting.

May you know that I have granted to Saint Mary in Abingdon church for the use of the monks, land which Algar holds in the vill of Abfield, just as Nigel d'Oilly returned and authorized to the aforesaid church.

With witnesses, queen Matilda, Eudo the steward, William de Curci, Urso de Abetot, Robert Malet, and Aubrey de Vere: at Cornbury.


May you know that I have granted to the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon and to abbot Faritius, their houses of London in Westminster street. The houses are to be had perpetually, with all things pertaining to them, wholly quit from all things, just as once better and more quietly that church had them at the time of my father and brother. With witnesses Grimbald the physician and Nigel de Albini; at Windsor.

[396] ABOUT THE LAND WHICH THE KING GAVE TO ABBOT FARI-

TIUS AT LONDON.

Henry, king of England, to Richard bishop of London, to Hugh of Buckland, and to all his barons, French and
English, of London and Middlesex, greeting.

May you know that I have given to Saint Mary of Abingdon and abbot Faritius one manse of land, which was of Aldewin, in Suthestreata [in London], next to the house of the aforesaid abbot. I wish and command that well, quietly, and honorably he hold that land, just as more quietly he holds his other land there.

With witnesses Roger bishop of Salisbury, Gilbert de Aquila, Otuor son of the earl, Grimbald the physician, and Walter de Beauchamps; at Westminster.

[397] ABOUT THE SAME LAND.

Henry, king of England, to Hugh of Buckland, to all his officials of London, and to Reiner the reeve, greeting.

I wish and firmly command that Faritius abbot of Abingdon thus well and quietly hold the land which I have added to his house, just as I gave him by my writ.

With witnesses Robert bishop of Lincoln and John chaplain of Bayeux; at Reading.

[398] LETTERS OF THE KING ABOUT CERTAIN LAND IN OXFORD.

Henry, king of the English, to Robert bishop of Lincoln, Thomas of Saint John, Nigel d'Oilly, and all barons, French and English, of Oxfordshire, greeting.

May you know that I have granted an exchange of land of Oxford near the church of Saint Frideswith, made by Roger bishop of Salisbury and Faritius abbot of Abingdon. The aforesaid abbot and his church may hold and have that land which the aforesaid bishop exchanged with him free and quit
from all customary rights, with sac and soc, and toll and team, and infangentheof, just as the abbot himself better held the other land which he exchanged with the bishop.

With witness Robert bishop of Lincoln, Hervey bishop of Ely, Rannulf [Flambard] the chancellor, and Robert son of the king, and Rannulf Meschino; at Reading.

[399] ABOUT THE MEN OF WELGRAVE.


I command that you guard all the lands of the abbot of Abingdon which are around you. Do not allow anyone through you, or through another, to do any wrong in them. I wish and command that he well, quietly, and freely hold the aforesaid lands, just as they were unfettered, free, and quit when the manor of Wellgrave was in my hand. His men may be in peace, without challenge.

With witnesses Rannulf the chancellor and John of Bayeux; at Newbury.

[400] ABOUT THE LAND OF LANGLEY.

Henry, king of England, to W. of Monteficchet, greeting.

Permit the land of Langley to be in peace. Queen Matilda, my wife, gave this land in alms to Saint Mary of Abingdon. Just as better it was once in peace at the time of your predecessors, return whatever you have seized from this. If you do not do it, William of Buckland will have it
done, lest I hear thence a fuller claim for the lack of right and justice.

With witness Nigel de Albini; at Wallingford.

[401] TO ARED THE FALCONER.

Henry, king of England, to Ared the falconer and to all his foresters, greeting.

I wish and command that all trees and branches which have been given or sold to the men of abbot Faritius of Abingdon for their uses be free from all impediment and disturbance, so that they may conduct them in peace wherever they wish.

With witness Roger Bigod; at Winchester.

[402] LETTERS OF THE KING ABOUT THE CHURCH'S CARRIAGE.

Henry, king of England, to his barons, sheriff and reeves, greeting.

I forbid anyone to disturb in any fashion the carriage, by land or water, of Saint Mary of Abingdon, or anything else which may belong to the lordship of the abbot or his monks. Rather in peace may anyone go and return his goods, either victuals or anything else, which belong to the work of the church.

With witness William the chancellor; at London.

[403] ABOUT TOLL.

Henry, king of England, to all sheriffs, reeves, and his knights of all England and ports of the sea, greeting.

I command that all things which the reeves of the monks of Abingdon have purchased for the monks' victuals,
clothing, and appurtenances, in cities, burgs, and all other markets of England, be quit from toll, passage [transport], and all customary services. This applies to lands which the abbot's men have pledged faith to be their [the monks'] demesnes. No one may unjustly disturb them or their things above ten pounds of forfeiture.

With witnesses the chancellor and Milo of Gloucester; at Abingdon.

[404] AGAIN, ABOUT TOLL.

Henry, king of England, to Hugh of Buckland and the sheriffs and reeves of all England, greeting.

I order that all the proper possessions of the abbot and monks of Abingdon which their reeves have sold and purchased be quit of toll, customary service, and transport. This applies to all possessions which their men have pledged faith to belong to them. I forbid anyone to disturb them at the risk of ten pounds of forfeiture.

With witness the chancellor; at Marlborough.

[405] LETTERS OF THE KING TO THE REEVE OF HAMPTON.

Henry, king of England, to Warin reeve of Hampton and to his bailiffs, greeting.

I command that the victuals and livery of the abbot of Abingdon, and whatever his men have pledged faith to be their property, be quit from all toll, lastage, customary service, and transport. Anything taken above this should swiftly be returned.
With witness W. de Tanc'. By William de Calna; at Windsor.

[406] AGAIN, TO WARIN THE REEVE.

Henry, king of England, to Warin reeve of Hampton and to his bailiffs, greeting.

I command that swiftly you return whatever you have taken from the proper possessions of the abbot of Abingdon, of toll or custom. From now on take nothing of toll, custom, passage, his corrody [daily food allotment], or anything which his men have pledged faith to be their own.

With witness Thomas of Saint John; at Woodstock.


I command that you permit and cause [the church of] Saint Mary of Abingdon to have all customary rights in its men, according to the agreement which the brother of Anselm and groom of Anskitill made between them. These rights they had better and more fully at the time of my father and brother. No one may dare do injury to them about this.

With witness Urso de Abetot; at Wallingford.

[408] THAT NO ONE MAY BUILD IN THIS VILL.

Henry, king of England, to all his constables and vassals of the court, greeting.

I forbid anyone to build in the Abingdon vill, unless by permission of abbot Faritius.

With witness Grimbald the physician; at Oxford.
[409] THAT NO ONE MAY BUILD IN WADLEY.

Henry, king of England, to Nigel d'Oilly and to all his hunters and marshals of the court, greeting.

I forbid anyone to build in Wadley on the land of Saint Mary of Abingdon. I claim it quit of [right of] lodging for the souls of my father and mother.

With witnesses Grimball the physician and Ared the falconer; at Cornbury.

[410] ABOUT FUGITIVES OF THE CHURCH.

Henry, king of England, to his sheriffs and knights of all England, [in whose security] the fugitives of the abbey of Abingdon have come, greeting.

I command that fully and justly you cause Abingdon abbey to have all its fugitives, with all their money and chattels, wherever they have gone. I forbid anyone to detain them or their money unjustly at risk of ten pounds of forfeiture.

With witness the chancellor; at Woodstock.

[411] AGAIN, ABOUT FUGITIVES.


I command that justly and without delay you cause to be returned to the abbey of Abingdon all its fugitives, with all their money, wherever they are, lest I thence hear more fully a claim for the lack of right. This concerns
especially the man who is in the land of Robert de Ferrars, with all his money.

With witness Robert son of Richard; at Wallingford.

[412] ABOUT THE FUGITIVES OF WELFORD.

Henry, king of the English, to his sheriffs, knights, and vassals, French and English, of all England, greeting.

I command that without any delay you cause Faritius abbot of Abingdon to have all his men, with all their money, wherever they are, who have departed from his land of Welford on account of the harboring of my court, or on account of other things.

With witness Roger Piger and Ared the falconer; at Westminster.

[413] ABOUT THE WASTE LAND AT WELFORD.

Henry, king of England, to Roger bishop of Salisbury, to Hugh of Buckland, and to all knights and barons, French and English, of Berkshire, greeting.

May you know that I have granted to Faritius abbot of Abingdon the unoccupied land of Welford, that he may cultivate it, just as Drocus the hunter and Alfred of Lincoln instructed him.

With witnesses Alfred of Lincoln, Drocus the hunter, and Hugh of Falaise; at Westminster, in Christmas.

[414] ABOUT THE WASTE LAND AT WELFORD AND CHIEVELEY.

Henry, king of England, to Drocus the hunter, greeting.

Permit the monks of Abingdon to gain the land of Chieveley and Welford, such land as will not harm my forest,
and which is not of my forest.

With witness Alfred of Lincoln; at Westminster.

[415] ABOUT THE [FIRE]WOOD AT WELFORD.

Henry, king of England, to Hugh of Buckland and to his
knights of Berkshire, greeting.

I forbid anyone to take any of the [fire]wood of the
abbot of Abingdon which belongs to his manor of Welford,
unless by his license. Do not allow anyone to take
anything.

With witness the Chancellor; at Newbury.

[416] ABOUT THE LAND WHICH RANNULF THE BISHOP GAVE TO
ROBERT OF CALMONT.

Henry, king of England, to Hugh of Buckland, greeting.

I command that without delay you cause the church of
Saint Mary of Abingdon to have the land which Rannulf the
bishop [of Durham] gave to Robert of Calmont, if that land
belongs to the demesne of the aforesaid church. I do not
wish the church to lose anything which it ought to have.

With witness W. the chancellor and R. son of Hamo; at
Westminster.

[417] CONFIRMATION OF THE SAME CHURCH.

Henry, king of England, to Hugh of Buckland, to William
sheriff of Oxford, and to all his vassals of Berkshire and
Oxford, greeting.

I wish and grant that the church and monks of Abingdon
have and hold in lordship their land of Wytham, which Ran-
null bishop of Durham held, just as the aforesaid church and the aforesaid monks once better held and had. To them I have given the land of Stanton. No injury may be done to them about this.


[418] ABOUT THE MEN OF FARNHAM, WHO HAVE ACCEPTED THE ABBOT'S HAY.


I order you to do full service to the abbot of Abingdon for his hay which the men of Farnham took by force from his meadow.

With witness G[oeffrey] son of Pagan; at Woodstock.

[419] ABOUT ONE VIRGATE AT STANTON.


Choose on my behalf men of your counties, so that they, as they esteem me, may speak the truth wholly about three virgates of land, which Rualucus of Avranches reclaims. If these virgates belong to the manor of Stanton which I gave him, he may have them. Otherwise, the abbey of Abingdon may have them.

With witness Roger the chancellor. By . . . . gen [erasure] Basset; at Cambridge.

[420] ABOUT LAND WHICH RADULF OF CHAUMONT GAVE.

Henry, king of England, to Jordan of Sackville,
greeting.

I command you to make full right to abbot Faritius and the church of Abingdon for the land which you took away from them, which Radulf of Chaumont had given the church in alms. Unless you do it without delay, I will command Walter Giffard to do it. If he does not do it, Hugh of Buckland will, lest I hear a claim for the lack of right.

With witness Geoffrey de Mandeville; at Woodstock.

[421] AGAIN, ABOUT THE SAME LAND.

Henry, king of England, to Walter Giffard and his mother Agnes, greeting.

I command you to do full right for the land of Faritius abbot of Abingdon, which Radulf Chaumont placed at Abingdon by your concession, and with which the church was seised. Do so, lest I hear a claim for the lack of right.

With witness Rannulf the chancellor; at Windsor.

[422] ABOUT LANDS WHICH MOTBERT GAVE OR LENT.

Henry, king of England, to Hugh of Buckland, greeting.

I command you to go to Abingdon and reseise the church with all the lands which Motbert gave or lent, or brought from anyone and gave to another. Justly cause them to have the lands just as they held them from Herbert the chamberlain, Warin the bald, Turstin, Hugh, and all others, unless I hear more fully a claim for lack of right.

With witnesses William the chancellor and Roger the chaplain; at London.
[423] ABOUT THE DEMESNE LANDS OF THIS CHURCH.


May you know that I have granted and restored firmly in perpetuity to God, Saint Mary of Abingdon, abbot Faritius, and all his successors, all the demesne [lands], whoever holds them, wherever they are, in whatever manner they are held, just as the same church had on the day when my father king William gave the abbey of Abingdon to abbot Rainald.

With witnesses Matilda the queen, Roger bishop of Salisbury, Rainald the chancellor, and William Warelwast; at Westminster, in Christmas.

[424] CHARTER OF THE DEMESNE LANDS OF THIS CHURCH.


May you know that I have returned and granted firmly in perpetuity to God, to Saint Mary of Abingdon, to abbot Faritius and all his successors, all the demesne lands, whoever holds them, wherever they are, in whatever manner he holds them, just as the abbey had them on the day when my father king William gave Abingdon abbey to abbot Rainald. I wish and firmly command that he hold them honorably and in peace, and that no one be allowed to withdraw the demesne
lands from the monks' lordship.

With witnesses Matilda the queen and Roger bishop of Salisbury; at Westminster, at Christmas.

[425] CHARTER ABOUT WINKFIELD.

Henry, king of England, to Hugh of Buckland, to Godric, and his barons of Berkshire, French and English, greeting.

I wish and command that the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon may have and hold its land of Winkfield with all things pertaining to it, well, honorably, and in firm peace, just as better it held them at the time of my father and brother. I command that the claim which Godric the reeve of Windsor makes about the land, concerning the hedge, wholly and perpetually remain.

With witnesses Roger Bigod and Grimbold the physician; at Northampton.

[426] CHARTER ABOUT THE SALT AT WINKFIELD.

Henry, king of England, to Urso sheriff of Worcestershire, greeting.

I command you to permit the salt of the monks of Abingdon to be quit of all toll and customary dues. Command your officials of Worcestershire well lest they do wrong to the possessions of the aforesaid monks, and lest I hear a claim more fully [for lack of justice].

With witness Hugh of Buckland; at Sutton.

[427] CONFIRMATION CHARTER OF KING EDWARD.

Henry, king of England, to his sheriffs and vassals of
all England, greeting.

May you know that I have granted to Saint Mary of Abingdon all the customary rights of its lands and whatever belongs to the aforesaid church, wherever it has them, in the burg or outside the burg, accordingly as the monks of Abingdon have demonstrated, by writ or charter, that the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon had by gift of king Edward, and according to which my father and brother granted by their writs.

With witness Eudo the steward; at Westminster on my wedding feast.

[428] ABOUT THE CUSTOMARY RIGHTS OF THIS CHURCH.

Henry, king of England, to all his sheriffs and knights [in whose counties] the abbey of Abingdon has lands, greeting.

I command that all the land of the abbey of Abingdon fully and completely has its sac and soc, and all its customary rights, in the burg and outside the burg, just as better and more fully it had [them] at the time of king Edward and my father. In like fashion the abbey has the right to levy fines for theft, just as it had at that time. I forbid anyone to do injury to the abbey.

With witness Eudo the steward; at Westminster on my nuptials.

Just as my brother commanded by his writ. With witness by the same.

[429] ABOUT THE LAND OF PERCHEHAIA.
Henry, king of England, to Richard de Monte and to all his barons, French and English, of Oxfordshire, greeting.

May you know that I wish and order that abbot Faritius and the abbey of Abingdon, in peace and without the challenge of all men, may hold land in Garsington which Perchehaia was holding. They may hold the land just as the abbey held it at the time of my father and brother, and in my time.

With witness John bishop of Luxeuil and Gilbert son of Richard; at Windsor.

[430] ABOUT THE PRIEST THIEF.

Henry, king of England, to Hugh of Buckland, to Aubrey [de Vere], and to all his barons, French and English, of Berkshire, greeting.

May you know that I have granted to Faritius abbot of Saint Mary of Abingdon that he may do his justice about the priest thief, who is in his arrest in Abingdon. In similar fashion he may do his justice about his other thieves, with the county seeing.

With witness Roger Bigod. By Walter Hosatus; at Brill [Bucks.].

[431] TO THE SOLDIERS OF THIS CHURCH.

Henry, king of England, to all the barons of the abbey of Abingdon, greeting.

I wish and order firmly that you do my watch and ward of Windsor just as you were accustomed to do at the time of
abbot Rainald and my brother, and just as abbot Faritius commands it. Be obedient to him. It irks me much that you have not done his bidding about this, since you ought to do [it].

With witness Urso de Abetot; at Wallingford.

[432] THAT HUGH SON OF TURSTIN MAY DO WHAT PERTAINS TO HIS LAND.

Henry, king of England, to Faritius abbot of Abingdon, greeting.

If Hugh son of Turstin does not wish to do the service which belongs to you from his land, namely in performance of parks and bridges and all other things, then I command that you do justice, so that all things, which you ought to do, you do.

With witness the chancellor; at Pont de l'Arche.

[433] SO THAT HUGH SON OF TURSTIN PAYS GELD.

Henry, king of England, to Hugh son of Turstin, greeting.

I command you to pay geld to Faritius abbot of Abingdon, just as you ought to pay geld. From now on your land [may] be distrained for his lands upon pain of ten pounds of my forfeiture. Unless you do it swiftly, Aubrey of Berkshire may constrain you for your money so that you will swiftly do [so], and lest I hear more fully a claim, upon pain of ten pounds of forfeiture.

With witness Robert bishop of Lincoln; at Wolverhampton.

[434] ABOUT THE LAND OF ROBERT MALEDOCTUS.
Henry, king of England, to Robert Maledoctus, greeting.

I command you to do service to abbot Faritius for the land which you hold, just as your predecessors did at the time of abbot Athelhelm. Unless you do so, I will command the aforesaid abbot to do his will about his land which you hold.

With witness Richard de Redvers; at Beckley [Ox.?].

[435] ABOUT BEEDON.

Henry, king of England, to Joscelin de Rivera, greeting.

I command that you do such service of fealty to Faritius abbot of Abingdon [for the land] which you hold from him and his abbey, such as your brothers did to his predecessor A[thelhelm]. If you do not do it, the abbot may constrain you for your fee.


[436] ABOUT THE SLUICE WHICH THE MEN OF STANTON BROKE.


I command you to make plenary right to the abbot of Abingdon for his sluice which the men of Stanton broke, lest I hear more fully a claim for lack of right, on pain of ten pounds of forfeiture.

With witness Rannulf the chancellor; at Westminster.

[437] ABOUT THE MEN OF STANTON WHO BROKE THE ABBOT'S SLUICE.

Swiftly and without delay do full justice to abbot Faritius about the men of Stanton who broke his sluice, lest I hear more fully a claim for lack of right, on pain of ten pounds of forfeiture.

With witness Eudo the steward; at Cornbury.

[438] ABOUT THE LAND WHICH WILLIAM OF JUMIEGES HELD.

Henry, king of England, to Hugh of Buckland and to Aubrey, greeting.

May you know that I wish Faritius abbot of Abingdon to return to William of Jumieges all his money, namely in hard cash [annona sicca] and in cattle, which he bore to his land from other lands. About the demesnes and the corn-rents, and certain other things, he may do just service at the judgment of the county. About that land indeed the aforesaid abbot may do his will, just as I granted him by my writ. No one may be answerable about this.

With witness Wald' the chancellor; at Brantona.

[439] ABOUT THE LAND OF HILL.

Henry, king of England, to Henry earl of Warwick and to William sheriff, greeting.

If Joscelin has claimed something in the land of Saint Mary of Abingdon which he has at Hill, I order Joscelin to go into the abbot's court where the abbot may be present to receive the service. I forbid that the abbot answer Joscelin in another place.
With witness Wald' the chancellor and Grimbald the physician; at Westminster at Christmas.

[440] ABOUT FIVE HIDES AT LONGWORTH.

Henry, king of England, to Roger bishop of Salisbury, to Hugh of Buckland, and to all his vassals of Berkshire, greeting.

May you know that I have claimed wholly quit five hides of the monks' land at Longworth from all my customary [services], namely geld, assemblies, and others, for the work of the church's alms. No one may dare injure the aforesaid church or men living in it, in any manner about this. Whoever does so will be forfeited to me.

With witnesses Matilda the queen and Robert son of Haimo. By Reinerus of Kerisburg; at Ceat.

[441] ABOUT THE TITHE OF THE FOREST OF WINDSOR.

Henry, king of England, to William son of Walter, Drocus the hunter, to Richard servant, and to all the officials of the forest of Windsor, greeting.

May you know that I have granted to God and Saint Mary of Abingdon all the tithe of hunting which has been taken in the forest of Windsor.

With witnesses Robert bishop of Lincoln and Eudo the steward; at Brill.

[442] ABOUT THE MEN OF WHISTLEY.


I command you to hand over in peace the men of the abbot
of Abingdon, who are in Whistley, whom you question, because
72
I claim them quit.

With witness Roger Bigod; at Windsor.

[443] ABOUT THE CUSTOM OF SHIPS PASSING BY ON THE
THAMES.

Henry, king of England, to Roger bishop of Salisbury,
to Robert bishop of Lincoln, to Hugh of Buckland, to William
sheriff of Oxford, and to all his barons and knights of both
shires, greeting.

I wish and command that the church of Abingdon and [its]
monks may have their customary dues in ships passing by,
namely in accepting herring and holding markets, just as
once better and more fully they had at the time of king
73
Edward and my father and brother, and in my time.

With witness William bishop of Exeter, Eustace de
Britoil, and Patrick de Cadurcis, at Marlborough [Wilts].

[444] AGAIN, ABOUT THE CUSTOMARY DUES OF SHIPS.

Henry, king of England, to Hugh of Buckland and to
William sheriff of Oxford, greeting.

I command that you cause Faritius abbot of Abingdon and
the monks of Abingdon to have all the customary dues in all
things, which they ought to have, through the water of the
Thames, wherever they ought to have them. Do so lest by the
lack of your justice the church or the monks lose anything,
on pain of ten pounds of forfeiture.

With witness Roger Bigod. By Ared the falconer.

[445] ABOUT LAND BETWEEN HAMPSTEAD AND MERLAWE.
Abbot Faritius had frequently supplied Robert son of Haimo with the many kindnesses of a [medicinal] remedy. When Robert was approaching death, he summoned the abbot on account of the piety exhibited by those about to meet God. Also it should be recorded with regard to his very many acts, since piously we ought to publish the deeds of his charity to the Abingdon monastery. Robert bestowed warnings and a certain portion of land, in which most of an assart had been wasted, between Hampstead and Merlawe. He conferred this on the monastery, writing to all his men in this manner:—

[446] CHARTER ABOUT THE SAME LAND.

Robert, son of Haimo, to his knights and all his other sworn men of Merlawe, greeting.

May you know that I have given to Saint Mary and her monks of Abingdon land which the abbot and monks requested from me, land namely of Merlawe, just as Gilbert my steward delivered it to the monks, by the witness of Hubert of Saint Quentin, Robert Sor, and Roger son of Gotze. Farewell.

[447] The king also subscribed to this gift because he granted that land to Saint Mary of Abingdon, which Robert son of Haimo gave to the church. This land between Hampstead and Merlawe was given just as Gilbert Robert's steward, Hubert of Saint Quentin, and Robert Sor with many others devised, by witness of William bishop of Winchester, Eudo the steward, Haimo the steward, Roger Bigod, Roger son

[448] ABOUT THE LAND OF COLNBROOK WHICH MILO CRISPIN GAVE.

Milo Crispin, for the service which abbot Faritius had extended him in his infirmity, gave in alms to the church of Saint Mary and to the monks of Abingdon a certain house on the road to London at Colnbrook. In this house lived a certain man named Aeglward. With the house Milo gave half a hide of land with all meadows, pastures, and forests belonging to it. He sent to Abingdon his steward Gilbert Pipard with his chaplain Warin. By their hands he ordered his gift to be placed upon the altar of Saint Mary in the presence of the lord abbot and all the convent of the church, in the seventh year [1107] of king Henry.

[449] ABOUT THE LAND OF ROBERT SON OF HERVEUS.

While the king was spending time in Normandy, queen Matilda in August passed through Abingdon. The solemn feast day of the Assumption of the Queen of Heaven [15 Aug.] was approaching, so the queen turned aside her journey at Abingdon. Abbot Faritius celebrated the sacred mysteries [Eucharist] for the feast. Since the abbot had received her so affably and plentifully, displaying his humanity, queen Matilda upon the abbot's entreaty conferred to the perpetual lordship of Saint Mary of Abingdon, [the service of] Robert
son of Herveus, living in the vicinity of the causeway of Colnbrook, with all land which he was then holding. This man's lord granted it also. The lord had the same name, Robert, but a different surname, Gersone. His children Alured and Mathathia, along with his nephews Geoffrey, Fulk, and Pagan, implied that the grant pleased them greatly. A courtyard belonging to Robert Gersone pertains to this granted property. Rannulf, Robert's brother, dwelled here. The brothers had long been displaced from this manor. The queen's gift to the church had to be bestowed strongly. The queen's journey, which had been extended to London from Abingdon, seemed laborious to complete because of the abundance of the thousand [obstacles] placed in the path of those journeying. Certainly Robert lacked a manor suitable for lodging the queen on her journey. The aforesaid place [Colnbrook], however, standing fifteen miles from London, offered not the least opportunity of lodging, since that place consists of forests, meadows, and merchandise. The queen directed letters about this gift to the judges [exactors] of the public administration of Buckinghamshire.

[450] CHARTER OF THE QUEEN ABOUT THE SAME LAND.

Matilda, queen of the English, to Robert bishop of Lincoln, to Hugh of Buckland, and to all barons, French and English, of Buckinghamshire, greeting.

May you know that I have given and granted to God and the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon Robert son of Herveus, with all his lands in alms. Robert Gernun gave him to me.
I wish and command that the church of Abingdon well, honorably, and quietly hold that land, with meadow, pasture, forest, and all customary rights which pertain to that land, or just as better, more quietly, and more freely the aforesaid abbey holds its other lands. See to this lest I hear a claim more fully.

With witnesses Roger de Curcellis, Robert Malet, and Odo Moire; at London.

[451] CONFIRMATION OF KING HENRY ABOUT THE SAME THING.

Henry, king of England, to Robert bishop of Lincoln, to Hugh of Buckland, and to all barons, French and English, of Buckinghamshire, greeting.

May you know that I have granted to Saint Mary of Abingdon, to abbot Faritius, and to the monks of Abingdon abbey, to be possessed in perpetuity, the land of Robert son of Herveus of Wirretesberia, which Robert Gernun gave to queen Matilda, my wife. I command that well and honorably the abbey may hold that land, just as better it holds all its other land, with the same customary rights.

With witness Roger de Curcellis; at Saint Denis in Lyons.

[452] CHARTER ABOUT THE SAME LAND.


I command that you permit to be in peace Robert son of Herveus, with all his land and money, just as better and more freely he was holding it on the day on which you gave the land to the queen, and she gave the land in alms to the
church of Saint Mary of Abingdon. See [to it] lest I then hear a claim more fully.

With witnesses the queen and Robert count of Meulan; at Rockingham.

[453] ABOUT THE LAND WHICH HENRY DE ALBINI GAVE TO THIS CHURCH.

Henry de Albini gave to Saint Mary, in the presence of the lord abbot Faritius and all the convent of Abingdon, one hide and one virgate in Bedfordshire. This land is called Stratton, and Waldef held it from him. Henry gave it to be possessed freely, so that no one thenceforward did any service except that of royal geld, according to the worth of all the land. He made this gift in chapter, on the fifth day in Easter week, in the seventh year of the reign of king Henry [18 April, Thurs., 1107]. After this, in the same year on the day of the Apostles Philip and Jacob [1 May], having remained in that will up to this point, Henry increased the aforesaid gift by one virgate and a half, added to the place he had already given. Thus the gift has been made of one hide and half of a virgate. By the hand of his chaplain Gilbert, Henry transmitted the security of this later gift. It was to be placed on the altar in the sight of all the monks and many laypersons, namely Oinus, Rainbald, and Warin de Favarcis. All these things afterwards in the sight of his prudent men, Nigel de Wast and Arfast, and of abbot Faritius, the same Henry, confirmed in the abbot's chamber, in order that the witness might exist forever.
When Henry died, his son Robert in such fashion confirmed the same gift with his own charter.

[454] CHARTER OF ROBERT SON OF HENRY ABOUT THE SAME LAND.

May it be noted and resolved for all those present and future, clerics and laity, that I Robert de Albini have granted finally to God and to the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon the land which my father Henry had given freely to the same church. This consists of one hide and a half, and one virgate in Stratton. By this my writ I have confirmed the land perpetually free and quit from all request and service, and free from all things besides those which commonly the whole county has to do by the common summonses of the king.

With these witnesses: Radulf prior of the church of Cothes, Walter chamberlain of Abingdon, Cecilia my mother, Nigel my brother, Hugh the chaplain, Robert the chaplain, William son of Nigel, Henry de Broi, John de Charun, Robert of Cothes, Roger of Standene.

This grant and confirmation has been made on the fifth day of Easter, at Caen.

[455] CONFIRMATION OF KING HENRY OF THE SAME LAND.

Henry, king of England, to Robert bishop of Lincoln, to Hugh of Buckland, and to all his vassals, French and English, of Bedfordshire, greeting.

May you know that I have granted to the church of Saint
Mary of Abingdon the land which Henry de Albini gave to the aforesaid church, namely one hide of land at Holmum, half a virgate of land, and half a hide in Stratton of the hundred of Bicheleswatere.

With witnesses Robert bishop of Lincoln, Roger bishop of Salisbury, Haimo the steward, William de Albini, Nigel de Albini, and Grimbold the physician; at Westminster.

[456] ABOUT ONE HIDE AT DUMBLETON WHICH WILLIAM GAVE.

In the eighth year of the reign of king Henry [1108], with Faritius the abbot and all the monks sitting in chapter, William Guizenboeth gave to Saint Mary of Abingdon one hide quit from all challenge, which he had in the vill Dumbleton. This he gave by grant of his lord Robert count of Meulan, of whose fee he had held that hide.

[457] CHARTER OF THE COUNT OF MEULAN ABOUT THE SAME HIDE.

I Robert count of Meulan have been asked by William Guizenboeth, his friends, and my barons that I grant to God and Saint Mary in Abingdon church a certain hide of land in the vill Dumbleton in the hundred of Gretestan, which the same William before me and my barons had given to the aforesaid church to be had in alms perpetually. I have approved this freely and voluntarily granted it because it was of my fee, for the remission of my sins and the health of my soul.

This I have done in the presence of the witnesses written below: the same William, Richard the chaplain, Geoffrey the physician, Nigel d'Oilly, Robert son of Anske-
till, Geoffrey Ridel, Radulf the sheriff, Robert son of Ercenbald, Robert son of Roger, Rodulf de Furcis, Oggerus son of Rodulf, nephew of Nigel, Luuellus de Peri, William Niger, man of the same W. Guizenboeth, Roger Frangelupum and many others, Warin man of the abbot, Rainald, and Lambert.

All these things are done in my presence, by me, namely the count of Meulan. Before all the ones written above William Guizenboeth made that gift for himself, his son, his wife, and all his heirs. He promised that he would do the authority of all things.

[458] CHARTER OF THE KING ABOUT THE SAME HIDE.

Henry, king of England, to bishop Samson, to Walter the sheriff, and to all his barons, French and English, of Gloucestershire, greeting.

May you know that I have granted to God and Saint Mary of Abingdon church the hide of land in the vill Dumbleton in the hundred of Gretestan, which William Guizenboeth gave to the aforesaid church. This I grant perpetually, to be had firmly, freely, and in peace in all things, just as [the church] has other land in the same vill. With witnesses the count of Meulan, Otuer, Geoffrey son of Pagan, and Alured of Lincoln; at Winchester.

[459] ABOUT RADULF SON OF WALTER THE DIGGER.

Radulf son of Walter the digger held of the church and of abbot Faritius one hide in the vill Dumbleton, which William Guizenboeth once had handed over quit to the church
and the aforesaid abbot. Radulf decided to admit the crime of theft, because of which he lost his status as lawworthy. In the manner of English justice, he ought to have lost all his possessions together with his life. But he sought the mercy of king Henry, then in Normandy, and of the queen, who had remained in England. He came to Abingdon to seek in similar fashion the mercy of the lord abbot Faritius. For his goodness and because of his gift of horse, money, and wheat, the abbot granted him also the land which thus far he had had, which he discharged to the church. Also Radulf confirmed by sacramental oath upon the holy Gospels that never would he, or any heir of his make a challenge or request of [the gifts to the church]. These were present at his sacramental oath: Radulf the cellarer, who accepted that sacramental oath in place of the abbot, Hubert prior of Wallingford, Rainbald, William of Seacourt, with many others, in the thirteenth year of the reign of king Henry [1113].

[460] ABOUT THE HIDE WHICH WALTER THE DIGGER WAS HOLDING.

In the thirteenth year [1113] of the reign of king Henry Walter the digger with his wife released and claimed quit one hide near the vill Dumbleton, into the hand of abbot Faritius, more from themselves as well as from all their heirs. Indeed he had forfeited it for many reasons. Since he was not strong [enough] to clear himself, by every one, with the counsel of wise men, he discharged what he
held from the church and the aforesaid abbot. The abbot gave him thirty shillings and four measures of corn for this. This was done in the presence of these witnesses: Grimmund abbot of Winchcombe; Radulf Basset and Richard de Gray, neighbors of Abingdon; and Rainbald and Radulf the chamberlain, men of abbot Faritius.

[461] LETTERS OF THE KING ABOUT THE SAME LAND.


May you know that I grant to Saint Mary of Abingdon, abbot Faritius, and the monks, the land of Walter the digger which he has in the vill Dumbleton. They may have this land perpetually.

With witnesses Robert bishop of Lincoln, Rannulf bishop of Durham, Roger Bigod, David brother of the queen [king of Scotland], Nigel d'Oilly, Roger d'Oilly, William of Noctuna, and Drocus the hunter; at Cornbury.

[462] ABOUT LESEBOIMILNE.

William son of Aiulf and his wife Matilda, with their son Richard, in the Abingdon chapter, in the presence of abbot Faritius and the whole convent, granted to God and the Abingdon church by common consent the mill which in English is called Leseboiemilne, with all things belonging to it, in waters as well as in fields and pastures, and all buildings which they have in the burg, by perpetual and
hereditary right, to remain in the abovesaid church. These witnesses stood by: all the monks, Serlo the priest, and many others. In the seventh year of the reign of king Henry [1107].

[463] CHARTER OF THE KING ABOUT THE SAME MILL.

Henry, king of England, to Robert bishop of Lincoln, to Nigel d'Oilly, to Hugh of Buckland, to William sheriff of Oxford, and to all his barons and his vassals of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, greeting.

May you know that I have granted to God, to Saint Mary of Abingdon, and to the monks that mill called Boiemilne, with all things pertaining to it, in lands as well as in meadows and waters, and five buildings which are inside the burg, which William son of Aiulf and his wife gave to the abovesaid perpetually in alms. I grant also the land which Robert son of Haimo gave to the same church between Hampstead and Merlawe, just as Gilbert his steward, Herbert of Saint Quentin, and Robert Sor, with many others, distributed. In similar fashion I grant Alword of Sutton with all his land, which Milo Crispin and his wife gave, to the aforesaid church perpetually in alms. Likewise I grant the land of Robert son of Herveus of Writberia, which queen Matilda gave to the aforesaid church in alms, and which Robert Geron gave to her.

With witnesses William bishop of Winchester, Roger bishop of Salisbury, Eudo the steward, Raimer the steward, Roger Bigod, William de Curci, Nigel d'Oilly, and Roger son
of Richard; at Westminster in Pentecost.

[464] ABOUT TWO HIDES AT BENHAM.

Humphrey de Bohun, being present with abbot Faritius at his vill named Wochesi, claimed quit to the church of Abingdon and the aforesaid abbot two hides of Benham from all claim in perpetuity. He ordered Walter de Rivera, who had acknowledged and had held the same hides for himself before this time, thereafter to acknowledge that he held [them] from the church of Abingdon and its abbot. Walter might hold the land in perpetuity and do homage to the abbot, who was present. After a short time, the same Humphrey sent his chaplain Serlo, with William the monk, to seise the church and abbot of Abingdon with this grant. With these things accomplished, Walter de Rivera, about whom we have spoken above, came to Abingdon, and there did homage to abbot Faritius for the aforesaid land and acknowledged that he held of the church.

[465] CHARTER OF KING HENRY ABOUT THE SAME LAND.

Henry, king of England, to Roger bishop of Salisbury, to Hugh of Buckland, and to all his barons, French and English, of Berkshire, greeting.

May you know that I have granted to Saint Mary in Abingdon church, the abbot, and the monks two hides of land in Benham, which Walter son of Joscelin de la Rivera held from Humphrey de Bohun. Humphrey held this land, and in my presence he returned it to the aforesaid church to be
possessed perpetually. I wish and command that thus well and honorably the church hold that land just as better and more honorably it holds its other lands.

With witnesses Walter of Meduana, Wido of Clermont, Radulf of Todeneio, Drocus of Monceio, Luhello of Brielual, Richard of Merei, William de Albini, Robert of Dunestanvilla, Aret the falconer, and Patrick of Cadurcis; at Romsey, in the year when the king gave his daughter to the Emperor [1109].

[466] ABOUT TWO HIDES AT BROKESTAL.

Richard son of Reinfrid, upon reaching the day of his death, the day of Saint Leonard the confessor [6 Nov.], released to this church for his soul nineteen shillings' payment each year, beyond the six shillings which he had already given for the soul of his wife who had died earlier, and who was buried in this place.

After these things were done, abbot Faritius required Richard's son and heir to grant some portion of land to this church, to provide stable aims for what his [Hugh's] father had granted for his soul. This would be taken in full from the land which the abbot warned him to provide to the church. In the place called Brochestan he gave to Saint Mary land of two hides, which William Clemens was holding from him. William returned fifteen shillings from this land each year. This he did by consent of his lord Brientius and his lady Matilda, at Wottesduna, in the presence of these witnesses: Ruellent the steward, Gilbert Pipard, Radulf
Foliot, Hugh son of Milo, and many others.

[467] CHARTER OF KING HENRY ABOUT DIVERSE THINGS WHICH

ABBOT FARITIUS ACQUIRED.

Although all the kingdoms of the world are transitory, nevertheless eternal things are sought eagerly through them, if their riches are fitly managed and justly dispensed. Through fruitful commerce transitory things may be made permanent, and earthly things for heavenly ones may be commuted.

Wherefore I Henry, by the grace of God king of the English and duke of the Normans, among other things which (with God the author) for the well-being of my soul, and of my parents, wife, and children, in many places already I have done with the advice of my barons, these things which are read within, I granted to God and his holy Mother in Abingdon church by perpetual right to be permanent, namely five hides of land, quit from all gelds, payments, and all things pertaining to me in the manor of the same church, which is called Longworth, for the work of alms;

A certain mill of my own, with lands, waters, customary rights, and other things pertaining to it, called Henoura, placed upon the river Ock in the manor of Sutton;

Two hides of land in Benham, which Humphrey de Bohun in my presence and [that of] many of my barons returned and granted to the aforesaid church;

A certain meadow, Kingsmead, to be had in perpetual fee-
farm, for twenty shillings to be returned per year, which
before was returning as much as fifteen to my reeves;

The land which Algar holds in Abfield, which Nigel
d'Oilly returned to the same church to be had in demesne;

One hide in Weston in Woodmundslea, which Drocus of
Andeleia gave to the church, and earl Richard of Chester
made quit of all his service, for the soul of his father;

The church of Newnham [Murren] with the land belonging
to it, the tithe of the same vill, and one fishery, with the
things belonging to it, just as William de Curci gave the
aforesaid church in alms;

One hide in Fencott, with meadows, pastures, and all
things pertaining to it, just as Adelina d'Ivry gave the
church in alms, and [her] daughter Adeliza granted;

An assart which Robert son of Haimo gave to the church,
which is between Merlawe and Hampstead, just as it had been
assigned by the barons of Robert himself;

Land of Alward of Sutton, next to Colnbrook, which Milo
Crispin and his wife Matilda gave the church in alms;

The land of Robert son of Herveus, with the customary
rights by which he held it from Robert Geron his lord, who
gave it to queen Matilda, my wife, and she gave it to the
aforesaid church in alms;

One hide with half a virgate in the vill called Holm,
and half a hide in Stratton, just as Henry de Albini granted
to the church;

One hide in the vill Dumbleton, which William Guizen-
boeth gave the church, and count Robert of Meulan, out of whose fee it was, authorized before me; in the same vill half a hide, which I myself granted to church in alms;

In the vill Kensington the church, two hides of two hundred and forty acres, and one virgate, which Aubrey de Vere, his wife Beatrice, and their sons gave the church, for the soul of their son Geoffrey; and their houses which are in London, in Westminster street;

Land which Richard son of Reinfred gave the church, and William Clemens was holding from him, which Brientius and his wife Matilda granted to the church.

Sign of king Henry.+
Sign of queen Matilda.+
Sign of William son of the king.+
Sign of Radulf archbishop of Canterbury.+
Sign of Turstan archbishop of York.+
Sign of William bishop of Winchester.+
Sign of William bishop of Exeter.+
Sign of Theold bishop of Worcester.+
Sign of Roger abbot of Fecamps.+
Sign of Rannulf chancellor of king Henry.+

[468] ABOUT THE ABBOT'S RESIDENCE AT WINCHESTER.

In the fifteenth year of king Henry [1115], William bishop of Winchester dedicated a church at Clares. At the time he also granted to the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon, abbot Faritius, all his successors after him, and the
monks of the church, his residence outside the walls of the city Winchester. The house stands near the northern gate of Winchester. The house was given wholly quit from all tax and customary [dues] in perpetuity, except for the rent of twelve pence to be returned at the feast of Saint Michael [29 Sept.] to the bishop's official in Winchester. At this agreement was present the lord Geoffrey, prior of the monks of the bishopric [i.e., the monks of the cathedral chapter], along with his monk Antony. He countenanced the grants, as he had been commanded by the bishop. In chapter he ordered these things to be given and confirmed to the monks.

These witnesses were present: Henry archdeacon of the same bishop, Stephen the archdeacon, Richer and Alfric archdeacons, and many others.

[469] CHARTER ABOUT THE SAME RESIDENCE AT WINCHESTER.

Henry, king of England, to William de Pont de l'Arche, and to the reeve and collectors of Winchester, greeting.

I wish and command that the house of abbot Faritius of Abingdon, which he has in Winchester, may be quit from all gelds, scots, aids, and all things.

With witness Walter of Gloucester.

CHARTER ABOUT THE RESIDENCE AT WINDSOR.

Henry, king of England, to Walter, son of Walter of Windsor, greeting.

May you know that I grant to abbot Faritius and Abingdon church that land and house of Windsor which was [that] of Albert, just as Rainerius granted it to him.
With witness Roger Bigod; at London. 82

[470] ABOUT FIVE HIDES AT LONGWORTH.

Henry, king of England, to R. bishop, to Herbert the chamberlain, and to Hugh of Buckland, greeting.

May you know that I claim quit five hides of abbot Faritius of Abingdon, of alms of Longworth, of all things, and by name of that aid which [my] barons gave [to me]. This I say, just as I claimed them quit by my other writ for all time.

With witnesses Eudo the steward, Hamo the steward, William de Curci, and Nigel d'Oilly; at Cornbury.

[471] ABOUT BAGLEY.

Abbot Faritius obtained by royal decree the woods of Bagley and Cumnor, utterly quit from the pleas of the king's foresters. He obtained also the right to hunt goats.

[472] CHARTER ABOUT THE WOODS BAGLEY AND CUMNOR.

Henry, king of England, to Roger bishop of Salisbury, to Hugh of Buckland, and to all his barons, French and English, of Berkshire, greeting.

May you know that I grant to the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon, abbot Faritius, and the monks, to be had perpetually in their custody the woods of Cumnor and Bagley. They may accept all kids which they find there. They may not accept stags and does, unless by my permission. I will give no one permission for hunting there if not to them. All forfeitures of assarts I grant to them.
With witnesses Robert bishop of Lincoln, Rannulf bishop of Durham, Roger Bigod, Nigel d'Oilly, David brother of the queen [king of Scotland], Roger d'Oilly, Geoffrey Ridel, Drocus the hunter, and William of Noctuna; at Cornbury.

[473] ABOUT THE HUNDRED HORMER.

The counties of England everywhere are determined by 84 centenos, which we call "Hundreds." This church has possessed one hundred in Dry Sandford freely since ancient times. It may be obedient to no other, unless to the abbot. The king's men of Sutton near Abingdon always were hostile to this. Many times they tried to subject that hundred to their power, but the abbot prudently defended it constantly against them all with royal letters and other precautions.

[474] CHARTER OF THE KING ABOUT THE SAME HUNDRED.

Henry, king of England, to Roger bishop of Salisbury, Hugh of Buckland, and all his barons, French and English, of Berkshire, greeting.

May you know that I wish, grant, and command that the abbey of Abingdon, Faritus the abbot, and the monks have and hold forever firmly, honorably, and freely the hundred of Hormer, just as better they had and held in the time of king Edward, William my father, and William my brother.

With witnesses Robert son of Haimo and Roger Bigod; at Legam.

[475] CHARTER ABOUT THE HUNDRED HORMER.

Henry, king of England, to Hugh of Buckland, his justiciars, and all his barons, French and English, of Berkshire,
greeting.

I command that the abbot of Abingdon have his hundred of
Hermer well, in peace, and honorably, just as ever his
predecessors better had at the time of my father, my
brother, and in mine. This is the hundred where Osbert has
been challenged the tax of a mare.

With witness the chancellor; at Winchester.

[476] ABOUT LEWKNOR.

The men of the hundred Pyrton were endeavoring to take
over a manor of this church called Lewknor to their right. But the abbot in Winchester castle, in the presence of the
bishops Roger of Salisbury, Robert of Lincoln, and Richard
of London, and of many of the king's barons, claimed their
proclamation to be unjust. Wherefore he obtained by judg-
ment of the king's justiciars that that manor ought to owe
obedience to no other hundred in anything unless to his own.
The king was then in Normandy, but the queen was present,
and she confirmed it in such fashion with her seal.

[477] CHARTER OF THE QUEEN ABOUT LEWKNOR.

Matilda, queen of England, to Robert bishop of Lincoln,
to Thomas of Saint John, and to all barons, French and
English, of Oxfordshire, greeting.

May you know that abbot Faritius of Abingdon in the
court of my lordship and in my presence at Winchester, in
the treasury, before Roger bishop of Salisbury, Robert
bishop of Lincoln, Richard bishop of London, William de
Curci, Adam de Port, Turstin the chaplain, Walter of Gloucester, Herbert the chamberlain, William d'Oilly, Geoffrey son of Herbert, William de Enesi, Radulf Basset, Geoffrey de Mandeville, Geoffrey Ridel, Walter archdeacon of Oxford, and by the Book of the Treasury, deraigned that Lewknor his manor ought to do nothing wholly in the hundred of Pyrton. But all things which it ought to do, so much Lewknor should do in the hundred [of Lewknor], in which the church of Abingdon has seventeen hides.

With witnesses Roger bishop of Salisbury, William de Curci, and Adam de Port; at Winchester.

[478] ABOUT CULHAM.

In the tenth year of the reign of king Henry [1110], with the shire [court] sitting fully at Sutton, especially for the case which follows, the lord abbot Faritius: and the monks of Abingdon deraigned the land of Culham free and quit from all customary services, and of all men, for the work of Abingdon church, and especially of a certain violence, which men of the aforesaid manor Sutton inflicted upon that land, namely in accepting glebes of that land for the work of the king's mills and fisheries. Just as his predecessor abbot Athelhelm, at the time of king William the elder and Sheriff Froger, had quit the land of Culham from such violence, just so abbot Faritius, on that day and at that time, quit it from the abovesaid violence and all customary services. This was done in the presence of Hugh the sheriff, and other proven and wise men, sheriffs not only of Berk-
shire, but from seven other shires, and in the presence of many men of three shires attending there.

After that deraignment, since the [Sutton] mens' past daring had failed in the public gaze, they decided secretly to renew it. A certain messenger reported this to the abbot, who reported it to Hugh of Buckland, then ruling the sheriff's district of Berkshire. By Hugh's order the right of this injustice to the church and abbot was discharged by the hundred court of the vill Sutton (which belonged to the king).

There was at the time a miller of a mill situated on the river Thames at the eastern part of the king's vill Sutton. This miller Gamel in the nocturnal hours, from another part of the river pertaining to the vill Culham, used to convey away the peat [clay] which he had secretly dug up. He used it for rebuilding the mill, whose care he had. Having been accused, he was unable to deny his temerity in the hundred court. He was subjected to the right of law. The justiciars of the hundred decided that he owed the abbot and the church the compensation of five mancuses of shillings. This he paid. But since he displayed the same mancuses from the mill in the abbot's presence, the abbot accepted only one penny and returned the rest to him for clemency, before all the witnesses who were in the hundred court. The abbot ordered the aforesaid five pennies to be placed in the records of this church in order to preserve the memory of
this compensation.

[479] ABOUT THE ENCLOSURE AT CUDDESDON.

The men of Robert bishop of Lincoln of the vill Milton had broken for their meadows the enclosure of the abbey's mill at its vill Cuddesdon at two different times. But because it was contrary to the customary law, the bishop himself, through reckoning and for love of abbot Faritus and his church, made his men of Milton rebuild the enclosures which they had broken, in the year 1108.

[480] ABOUT THE CUSTOM ON SHIPS.

At the time of the lord abbot Ordric [1052-1065], it was the custom of this church to receive each year one hundred herring or their equal price from any ship of the city Oxford which crossed the water of the Thames near the Abingdon care, flowing away against the southern part [of the vill]. Rowers of ships who have not been interrogated may bring the herring to the cellarer from the Purification of Saint Mary [2 Feb.] until Easter. If any one of them has been discovered holding back this custom, the cellarer may by law detain such a ship, lest it pass through the water from the church before right is done.

The ships of Oxford endeavored to remove from the church this custom at the time of the lord abbot Faritus. He swiftly restrained them from this temerity with a just derangement, by despatching notice to king Henry. The king by his writ commanded his justiciars and the sheriffs of Berkshire and Oxfordshire to do right justice, lest the
church lack further its customary right of this kind. Thomas of Saint John and Richard de Monte were sheriffs of Oxfordshire. In Oxford, in the house of Harding the priest, a plea was heard over this matter. By common decree of the greater ones of the place it has been judged that Abingdon church may demand the just thing, and that it ought to be paid completely every year by each ship of the city. In the following year Radulf, the Abingdon cellarer, having gone to Oxford, asked which ships of Oxford had not yet abided by customary decree. Those not complying were summoned to appear before Radulf, who ordered their ships to return to the presence of Abingdon church. And so it was done, with those united [in agreement] who were present as witnesses. At this deraignment were present these men, Richard de Monte, then sheriff, Walter the archdeacon, and many others.

[481] ABOUT THE CHURCH OF PEASEMORE.

Richard and his son Philip of Peasemore have the church in the same vill, which they dedicated. They had its cemetery blessed by the lord bishop Osmund at the time of abbot Rainald. But the parish church of the same vill from ancient times belonged by right to the church of Chieveley. Although the prior of the chapter of Abingdon and the priest of Chieveley were absent, the dedication nevertheless was celebrated. After abbot Faritius' time, a question was moved. The father and son, who were the authors of this
deed, promised to return two shillings a year to the monks of Abingdon, and two acres to the church of Chieveley for correction.

[481] ABOUT THE CHURCH OF KINGSTON.

The church of Kingston is subject by ancient right to the parish church of Longworth. For that reason when the church of Kingston was dedicated with the cemetery by the lord bishop Osmund [of Salisbury], two of our monks, namely Alfric formerly prior, and Modbert, standing in the place of certain brothers there, challenged before the bishop the customary rights of the mother church at Longworth. At this time Rainald presided over the church as abbot. With a challenge of this kind having been put forward, the first elders of the aforesaid vill (namely Radulf de Bagpuize and Athelhelm) were asked how long annually each one had given sixteen pennies, that is, two oras, to Abingdon church at Pentecost, and one acre, one pig, and one cheese to the church of Longworth in similar fashion. Radulf died, and his son Henry, upon succeeding him, neglected to discharge completely the aforesaid agreement. Not long after this, Henry died unexpectedly, and his brother Robert was the heir of his possessions. During [one] Lent [in the reign of Henry I] he came to Abingdon when Faritius was abbot and promised in the presence of many witnesses that he would thereafter restore the aforesaid agreement.

[483] LETTERS OF THE BISHOP ABOUT THE CHURCH OF KINGSTON.
Roger bishop of Salisbury, to Athelhelm of Kingston and Robert de Bagpuize, greeting.

I command that you restore to the church of Abingdon the services which you owe from your church of Kingston. Unless you do this, Ilbert the dean may interdict the divine office at Kingston.

At Westminster.

[484] ABOUT A CERTAIN BURIAL.

It happened in these days that a priest of the manor Pusey buried illicitly a certain female parishioner of the church of Longworth at his church. But the abbot proposed a proclamation in the chapter of priests constituted at Abingdon, decreeing that her body already buried ought to be dug up by the priest of Pusey and carried back to be buried at the church of Longworth. The sacrament was performed by the same one [i.e., the priest of Pusey] who had performed it before. This was done in the fourteenth year of king Henry [1114].

[485] ABOUT WALKELIN VISDELOUP.

Walkelin, surnamed Visdeloup, holds land of the king near Boxford. The ecclesiastical rent of the land belongs to the parish [church], which is in the same place. Walkelin had withdrawn this revenue, but when he heard the abbot's just reckonings, he bestowed consent to their concession. All things which he had held back from God, Saint Mary, and the aforesaid abbot he claimed quit
forever. He granted that the church of Boxford have all its customary rights from that day in the time left, just as once it had better: namely of gelds, wax, unction and visitation of the infirm, burying the bodies of all the dead of its land, and other customary rights belonging to the church.
[486] ABOUT THE MILL OF LANGFORD.

A certain Ansfrida, who had been concubine to Henry before he became king, bore him a son, Richard. When she died, she was entombed with a celebrated interment by the [Abingdon] brothers. She was placed in the cloister before the host of the church, where the brothers enter and exit the church. Her son William, sired by her husband Anskill (who died before the birth of the king's son), for thirty shillings granted the mill of Langford, which had belonged to the basis of his right, to the proper use of the monks. The mill, placed at the Oxford bridge, thus far had belonged to Bayworth, with all things pertaining to it. So that [the grant] would stand firm in perpetuity, William placed the gift of the grant on the altar of Saint Mary.

With witnesses the lord abbot Faritus, all the convent, Fulk son of the king, Richard the pedagogue, and many others.

[487] [AFTER THE DEATH OF ABBOT FARITIUS.]

After the death of abbot Faritus the same William complained to the king, then in Normandy, about the above-said mill. William asserted that the church had the mill because of the force of the aforesaid abbot's power, rather than because of his own desire. By the king's mandate William was [re]seised. Afterwards, a delegation of monks [led] by Walter, chaplain of William of Buckland, [proved otherwise]. The king acknowledged the truth and ordered [William] to reseise the church. William afterwards recognized his injustice over Seacourt and corrected what
he had done. In chapter he claimed quit in perpetuity all challenge of the mill itself and confirmed it in the church upon the altar of the Lord. 94

[488] ABOUT THE LAND OF STOKE.

Geoffrey de Malchance, with his wife Ermentrude, in chapter in the presence of abbot Faritus and the whole convent, granted to this church in alms one hide in his vill Stoke, to be held freely in perpetuity from all commerce and his service, except only the king's geld, just as once he himself had more freely had it. From his meadow he granted four acres and the liberty to all the monks' herds going commonly in his pastures, and their pigs without pannage in his forest, as he wished for the monks themselves. He granted to their care, as much work as will be, of the forest itself. Not long after, when his son Gerard had come from beyond the sea, with Geoffrey and his wife Ermentrude present, Gerard accepted the monastic life. To his aforesaid gift Geoffrey added half a hide in the same vill. Gerard and his mother confirmed this in Geoffrey's presence. As mentioned above, for the love of his father he gave himself to this church, so that if he wished to become a monk, he would do so in no other place except this one. If by chance he died a layman, and this happened in England, he will have this [monastery as] burial-place. To the monastery will go the third part of all his money, which he then has in England. If he dies in Normandy, the third part of
his money nevertheless will go to the church in England. In the same agreement his mother agreed to everything, as did his men, Robert son of the aforesaid Geoffrey, his son William, his nephew Geoffrey, his nephew William, Warin his steward, Radulf of Munteneio, Turstin knight, who were present as witnesses.

[489] ABOUT SPARSHOLT.

Near the hill where one ascends the White Horse, from ancient times this church has possessed in demesne a manor called Uffington, to which belongs a vill of ten hides of the church's right, which they call Sparsholt. The knight Anskill was holding this for the service of one knight at the time of abbot Rainald. It happened that Anskill incurred the enmity of the abbot and of king William the younger, so that he was placed in royal arrest, where he died. The king soon lay violent hands on the church's possession and gave it to Turstin his bursar. Upon his death his son Hugh succeeded, with the king's permission, to the same manor. In this business the abbey was exceedingly offended, for no service was performed in regard of knights. When it was taxed by the royal rule to the value of a halfpenny per hide, the aforesaid Hugh did not wish to pay, and the men of Uffington assembled to release his geld. The venerable father Faritius, ruling the abbey afterwards, disclosed this injustice before the king, before the queen, and finally before the advisors of the realm, reporting it many times. By seeking he achieved reward for his labor.
With skillful industry he obtained for the church's liberty the land and Hugh's homage, with the ancient service and geld of his ten hides. For this he gave the king sixty pounds of silver. Therefore the king's letters have this [to say] about the matter:—

[490] CHARTER OF THE KING ABOUT SPARSHOLT.

I Henry, by the grace of God, king of the English, with the advice and consent of my wife Matilda and my barons, bishops as well as laymen, return, grant, and confirm in perpetuity to God, the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon, and the abbot and monks of the same community, ten hides in Sparsholt, which is also called Fawler. Hugh [son of] Turstin, bursar of my court, holds [this land] at present.

I wish and command that Hugh himself, and whoever after him will have the land, do homage and fealty to the church and the abbot. He may then do such service to the aforesaid church and abbot, such as was done by Anskill of the same church at the time of king William my father and at the time of Athelhelm abbot of the same house. This I do for the souls of my father, my mother, my brother king William, and of my soul, for the health of my wife queen Matilda and all the faithful dead of God. By my own hand I confirm and consign, with these witnesses having subscribed.

+I Henry king have signed this restoration and gift.
+I Rannulf, bishop of Durham, was present.
+I John, bishop of Bath, was present and confirmed.
+I Hervey, bishop of Bangor, was present.
+I Robert, bishop of Lincoln, was present and confirmed.
+I Roger, elected bishop of Salisbury, was present and confirmed.
+I William de Warelwast was present.
+I Waldric, chancellor of the king, was present and confirmed.
+I Grimbald physician was present.
We the stewards of king Henry, Eudo, Roger Bigod, Haimo, were present and granted. I Urso de Abetot was present.
+[+I Walter son of Richard was present.]
+I Roger d'Oilly, constable, was present.
This has been done in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1105, fourteenth indiction, truly in the fifth year of the most serene king Henry, in the court of the same king at Romsey.

[491] In the same year Hugh [FitzTurstin] came to Abingdon and did homage with fealty to the lord abbot Faritius and the church for the same land according to the condition that he do all the service which Turstin of Turbeville, and after him Anskill, did under abbot Athelhelm. With this agreement confirmed, Hugh requested the abbot and monks to grant indulgence to him and to his father's soul for what they had done a long time ago about this land. When the brothers had approved this request, Hugh accepted in his hands the text of the Gospels and promised that, for the
things granted to him, every year he, as well as all his descendants, would bring five shillings on the Nativity of Saint Mary to Abingdon to give to the monks. In testimony were present Richard son of Reinfred, Ared the king's falconer, and many others.

[492] ABOUT LAND OF LEIA, WHICH WILLIAM THE CHAMBERLAIN HOLDS.

There is near the burg of Abingdon a manor of one knight. The manor is called Leia. William of London, the king's chamberlain, was holding this, but he wished to perform no service or homage to the lord abbot Faritius, when he had first taken the abbey [to rule]. It happened in the meantime that king Henry directed a military force of all his kingdom against his brother Robert, count [sic, duke] of Normandy, who was coming against him into England with a military force. Then the abbot sought from William the representation of a knight but did not obtain it. The abbot prudently sustained this insolence and instead supplied another knight. The king joined his brother in a confirmation of peace, which was witnessed in the abbot's presence. The aforesaid possession had come to the knight at the time of king William the elder and abbot Athelhelm. In the presence of wise men this matter was discussed for a long time, and William denied nothing. He was immediately constrained to confess by true reckoning. By the law of the country he should have been deprived of the land which would be given to the one deserving it. By the intercession of
good men who had died, the abbot returned that land to him with the condition that William become his man, give ten pounds for correction, and do the service of one knight in every place where other men of the church do knight service. No one ever ought to sell that land, put it in pledge, or give it in fee or fee-farm. He owed pastures in that land to the abbot's men, who dwell around there on all sides, just as it was at the time of abbot Athelhelm. William ought to have those customary rights of the abbot for the pastures which his predecessors had at the time of abbot Athelhelm and his predecessors.

This was done in the presence of these witnesses: Nigel d'Oilly, Hugh of Buckland, William sheriff, Radulf Basset, and many others.

[493] ABOUT BEEDON.

On that day abbot Faritus deraigned against Joscelin de Rivera the service of one knight of Beedon. Joscelin said that he ought to do service for only two knights, for the fee which he held of the church. The abbot and his [monks] said he owed the service of three knights. At length Joscelin put in pledge both the service and right to the abbot, and signed it, and wholly confirmed that he ought to do, and would do, the service of three knights.

This was done in Abingdon chamber in the presence of abbot Faritus with the witness of many.

[494] ABOUT BRADLEY.
That day, on which he accepted the aforesaid plea [as] just, in the presence of the witnesses of that plea, William of Jumieges returned and claimed quit to abbot Faritius five hides of land which abbot Rainald had unjustly given him in the vill Chieveley, in the place called Bradley. All rights which belonged to that land he granted to the abbot.

[495] ABOUT ONE HIDE IN HANNEY.

In the same year Rainbald, knight of the abbot of Abingdon, returned to abbot Faritius one hide of land in Hanney which Thorold then had at interest for thirty-four 103 shillings; one mill near Marcham, which then was returning twelve shillings; and one meadow. He returned those things completely, freely, and always without any challenge, on the condition that he could hold the other things, which he was holding from the abbot, for the accustomed service. On that account he returned these things, because he had them and many others of the monks' demesne without the consent of the king and monks. The king restored all the demesne to the church and abbot, just as they had been at the time of abbot Athelhelm.

This return of Rainbald was done in the hand of Faritius 104 abbot of Abingdon, in the presence of Serlo of Gloucester and many other witnesses.

[496] ABOUT WILLIAM SON OF ABBOT RAINALD.

In the same year William son of abbot Rainald returned one hide in Appleford, another in Milton, and one dairy which is situated in the reeveship, to the aforesaid abbot
Faritius. Because these possessions had been judged to belong to the demesne, he claimed them quit to the abbot forever from all challenge. He served out the church of Marcham, as [did] his predecessor Alfric the priest, in the service of the abbot and monks. He made the church his heir so [that] he might serve by the same service through everything as long as he lived. After the end of his life he would owe no homage for it or for the land Garsington, which he was then holding. He could not endow his wife from these things in any manner. When he died, all things would be handed over quit and free to the church, abbot and monks. He gave his faith and provided pledges to the abbot. With years having passed, he came to Abingdon, forced by the infirmity from which he died. Here he accepted the monastic life and restored the church which he had held, and the land of Garsington, quit and free to the church, abbot Faritius and the monks.

[497] ABOUT ONE HIDE AT CHARNEY AND A HALF-HIDE AT MORE.

Turstin, son of Rainald of Saint Helen's, had held from Motbert the monk one hide at Charney and a half-hide at More which he claimed quit from all claim in future in the presence of abbot Faritius. Turstin requested the abbey to permit him to have its mill at Marcham. The abbot granted this to him on the condition that he maintain the mill, lest it suffer damage in that vill in anything.

[498] ABOUT LAND OF HANNEY.
Hugh of Buckland had undeservedly held from Motbert the monk for a long time land which Wulfwi Bulloksege once had accepted from the convent of Abingdon, in the vill called Hanney. Hugh restored Hanney to the liberty of the church, for he revered greatly the authority of abbot Faritius. Also a certain knight Osbern, who had done service to Hugh for the land thus far, became the man of the church and the abbot by the agreement of the service of one knight to each office of knights.

[499] ABOUT THE WOODS AT WINKFIELD.

Walter son of Oterus, castellan of Windsor, returned to abbot Faritius two woods, called Jerdelea and Bacsceat, at our vill Winkfield, which had belonged to Abingdon church. Hitherto Walter had held them from the predecessors of this abbot, namely Athelhelm and Rainald. He first returned this to abbot Faritius at the castle of Windsor. At the nativity of Saint Mary [8 Sept.] he sent his wife Beatrice, with their son William, to Abingdon, so that they of Abingdon might confirm what he had done at home. This has been done.

[500] ABOUT NIGEL D'OILLY.

Nigel d'Oilly was holding one meadow at Oxford, one hide in [Dry] Sandford, and another in Arncot of the fee of Abingdon. He had done no homage or service to the church for a long time, however, since abbot Faritius came to Abingdon. Wherefore the abbot deraigned against him, so that he might do homage to the church for these properties he was holding, and on the condition that he acknowledge in
perpetuity that he quit the things from the king's geld to
the abbot, just as he may serve anywhere from his
demesne. Whenever the abbot commands him, he will be pre-
sent to aid him and serve him in the sheriff's districts of
Berkshire and Oxfordshire. He will not be excused from
service to the church, unless an execution [of duty] for the
king detains him. If so, this will be made evident, and he
will send in obedience to the abbot one of his men in his
place. If it happens that some plea of the abbot's is to be
had in the king's court, Nigel will be present upon the
abbot's behalf, unless the plea is to be pled against the
king. When the abbot comes to court he will procure lodging
[for him]. If he cannot find suitable lodging, he will
yield his own to the abbot.

[501] ABOUT CERTAIN LANDS IN OXFORD.

In the same month in which the [above] case was
discussed, the abbot deraigned against Nigel d'Oilly a
certain small portion of land situated within the city
Oxford, in the street one travels from St. Michael's church
to the Castle. This land from ancient times belonged to the
manor of Tadmarton. This had earlier come into neglect, to
such an extent that Nigel exhibited no acknowledgement of
his lordship of it. Nigel submitted to the just reckoning
of the abbot, and after that time he accepted that he held
the land of the aforesaid church, and should then pay the
rent customary from ancient times, namely six pence. Nigel
every year at the nativity of Saint Mary returned six pence to that collector in the same vill, who collected the church's other rents in that place. This plea was heard about the same land in the presence of many witnesses.

[502] ABOUT WALTER GIFFARD.

Earl Walter the younger, surnamed Giffard, held a manor of seven hides, called Lyford. It is of the right of this church, but the earl was endeavoring to hold back the service owed. The industry of abbot Faritus prevailed so much in this case that the same earl in the presence of Roger [bishop] of Salisbury, Robert [bishop] of Lincoln, and many of the king's barons, became the man of the church and of the abbot. He did so on condition that he return the service of one knight entirely from that land, by which the other knights of the church may demonstrate service.

All these matters were deraigned by order of king Henry at Oxford, in the house of Thomas of Saint John, where the abbot then held his court, because Thomas was his man.

[503] ABOUT LECKHAMPSTEAD.

In such disputes [over land] no one opposed the abbot with impediments as much as Herebert, the king's chamberlain and bursar. Without doubt he possessed one hide in Farnborough through abbot Rainald and a portion of land in the manor Kingscumbe in the vill called Leckhampstead through Motbert the monk. He was not returning any service from them. Herebert wanted this father [Faritus] to confirm these gifts to him, so he appealed many times to the
queen, the nobles of the kingdom, then to the abbot and the monks. It would take a long time to tell how often that man has plotted against the church and the abbot because the abbot withstood his wish. For that reason these things have been omitted, since we have finally reached a compromise.

[504] ABOUT HEREBERT THE CHAMBERLAIN.

Herebert recognized the firmness of the abbot in defending the church's business, so he with his friends of the county came to Abingdon, where he restored freely to the abbot and the church the hide in Farnborough with Kinges-cumba, and also the service of one knight, to be owed from the land Leckhampstead from that time forward. For this grant he offered a mark of gold, just as he had promised. The abbot and monks became benevolent after such a gift. The abbot, with the advice of many wise men, assented to Herebert's reckoning. To Herebert, who would do homage to the church, the abbot granted the right to the enjoyment of the vill Leckhampstead.

[505] ABOUT WESTON.

Abbot Faritius granted to Robert son of William Maledoc-tus land of four hides in Weston, to be held in fee. Robert's father had held the land from Faritius's predecessor. Wherever the church of Abingdon had done knight's service for this land, Robert would do service for half a knight for the same church: namely, in custody of the castle, in expedition beyond and on this side of the
sea, in pennies to be given for the knight, in custody of the king, and with certain other services, just as other knights do for the church. He also did homage to the same abbot. This land formerly did the service of as much as three weeks [guard duty] per year.

[506] ABOUT ONE VIRGATE OF LAND IN DRAYTON.

In the twelfth year of king Henry [1112], Warin Mancus claimed quit [for himself as well as for his heirs] one virgate of land at Drayton and one manse of lodging in this vill to the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon. This was done in the presence of the lord abbot Faritius and many witnesses.

[507] CHIROGRAPH ABOUT CHESTERTON.

An exchange of lands (which can be read [about] within) was made by consent of all the monks and the good men of the church of Abingdon between the lord abbot Faritius and Anskitill, his man of Tadmarton. Anskitill, with his son Robert and his friends, came into the Abingdon chapter. In the presence of the whole convent, the knights and servants of the church, and many neighbors, Anskitill with his son returned to the abbot's hand whatever lands and houses of the church and verderers he possessed in Tadmarton by any manner. For himself and his heirs he claimed the land quit from challenge for all time. The abbot, with the consent of all the monks and the authority of the knights, gave him in exchange land of Chesterton, with all things pertaining to it, to be held in fee by hereditary right. Just as he had
had that [land] of Tadmarton in fee, he also had that of Chesterton. All the service he did to the Abingdon church for Tadmarton he would do for Chesterton. The land of Tadmarton owes to the king's geld for five hides; Chesterton owes for only one hide. Because it was burdensome for the abbot and monks to return so much geld, Anskitill (and his heirs after him) gave all the tithe of the corn of his demesne of Chesterton to the church of Abingdon for all time.

This was done in the fourth year of Henry [1104], by the grace of God most strenuous king of the English, in the days of the nones of March, in the chapter of Abingdon, in the presence of these witnesses; abbot Faritius, Warenger the prior, Alfric, the other Alfric, Halawin, Kitell, the other Kitell, Sagarus, Saricus, Robert the deacon, Rainald, Nicholas, the young men, Augustin, Milo, and William, the boys, and certain of the clergy, Robert the priest, husband of Lambert's sister, Robert priest of Marcham, other laymen, Anskitill, his son Robert, Asnger his man, and many others. So that this exchange will be firm for the work of Anskitill, it has been confirmed by two sealed writs of Henry earl of Warwick, to whose fee Chesterton belongs. One seal is in the treasury of Abingdon, and Anskitill has the other.

[508] CHARTER OF THE EARL OF WARWICK ABOUT THE SAME LAND.
Henry, by the grace of God earl of Warwick, to Faritius, abbot of Abingdon, and all his monks, greeting and friendship.

May you know that I have granted for the love of God, and your [love], that exchange which you have made with your man Anskitill of Chesterton, for his land of Tadmarton. The condition is that, just as he held that land of Tadmarton from you and served you, so he may hold from you and your successors that land of Chesterton, and may serve for all time the church of Abingdon.

This was done in the presence of these witnesses:

On behalf of the earl, Herlewin the priest, Uuih the chaplain, and Robert the steward; on behalf of the abbot, Alfric the monk, Bernerius, Rainald, Anskitill, and the other Rainald, knights.

This was done in the presence of the earl and the abbot in the vill Bragels, in the fourth year [1104] of Henry the most strenuous king of the English.

[509] ABOUT TURSTIN OF SAINT HELEN'S.

Abbot Faritius exchanged with Turstin of Saint Helen's for land extending on the left side of the bridge Yccheford to the church, with all things belonging to it. Abbot Faritius gave the land which belongs to the old weir, in the place which in English is called Helenestow.

[510] ABOUT BERNERUS THE KNIGHT.

With Bernerus, abbot Faritius exchanged land called Blachegrave (with the residence that had been that of
Geoffrey the mason) for land which is on the right side of those journeying toward Barton.

[511] ABOUT HENRY SON OF OWEN.

Abbot Faritius made Henry son of Owen heir of all things which had belonged to his father while he lived, with the condition that Henry do service of one knight for them. If the abbot wishes to withdraw from him the hide he has in the vill Drayton, which is of the demesne of the church, the abbot may give him an exchange for it.

[512] ABOUT GODRIC OF CHALGROVE.

Egilwin, son of Godric of Chalgrove, concealed from abbot Faritius how much land he had. He said that he had only twelve acres in field, just as the agreement had been made with him in the monks' chapter. But the abbot, having made an inquiry about this, came to hold that Egilwin held of him more than the aforesaid twelve acres of land. It was decided in the abbot's court that Egilwin owed a penalty for this. So Egilwin returns every year six sesters of honey, as earlier he returned only two, and he pays to the monks' use certain services just as he had earlier done.

[513] ABOUT ROGER MALEDOCTUS.

Roger Maledoctus and his wife Odelina came into the monks' chapter at Abingdon. For the remedy of their souls they gave to Saint Mary of Abingdon and this church land with houses which they have in Oxford. They made an arrangement for the end of their lives, so that when one of
them died, he [or she] would be brought here for burial. They gave one hundred shillings for their souls to the church. This agreement was made in the presence of the lord abbot Faritius, with the testimony of these laymen: Rainerus the physician, Turstin Basset, and many others.

[514] ABOUT ERMENOLD THE BURGESS.

Ermenold burgess of Oxford was holding of abbot Faritius a farm near the Oxford bridge for rent of forty shillings. It happened that he held back the rent one year. The abbot in the following year, at the time of harvest, ordered to be distrained whatever money could be found from that land. He ordered the land also to be prohibited. Ermenold sent Walter archdeacon of Oxford and Richard of Stanlache to the abbot, who received [Ermenold's] money in pledge, on the day appointed for pleading and quitting a pledge. Afterwards the day came, and neither pleader nor security was present to be quit. The abbot therefore made an inquiry about the aforesaid pledges which had been approved over this matter. Because [Walter and Richard] were familiar to the abbot in love, with their go-between mediating, the abbot allowed Ermenold to seek his mercy. Ermenold would grant to the abbot and the church of Abingdon whatever land he had by [the abbot's] procurement in the burg and outside the burg, or of his own placed in bail, even to the king, a baron, or a bishop. The church might hold all his land at the same time. The creditors of the land may receive it if they are able to quit their land from pledge to the abbot. Other-
wise, it belongs to the abbot and monks. The abbot granted that if Ermenold wished to become a monk, he could become a monk at Abingdon. If he preferred to live as a layman in the vill of Abingdon, convenient lodging would be procured for him, and the victuals of one monk and one servant given to him.

This was done in the house of the aforesaid Ermenold. His wife and his son William assented, in the presence of the aforesaid Walter, Richard of Stanlac, and many others.

But afterwards in Portmannimot [Portman-moot] it was also displayed and granted in the same manner and by the same agreement.

[515] ABOUT THE TITHE OF UFFINGTON.

In the beginning of the fifth year of the reign of king Henry [1105], William of Sulham gave to God, Saint Mary, abbot Faritius, and the monks of Abingdon the tithe of his vill called Bulehea, on the day of the Assumption [15 Aug.] of Saint Mary. On the same day he confirmed the gift of another tithe (which he had given earlier) of the vill Chilton. This belonged to the inheritance of Leodselina his step-daughter. The girl herself granted the gift in the presence of the monks. With William and her mother she placed the gift upon the altar, in the presence of these witnesses: the abbot and all the convent, John brother of William's wife, Humphrey, William's knight, and Hugh Conred.

[516] ABOUT A CERTAIN TITHE IN HANNEY.
Osbern, nephew of the monk Motbert (once prior of the abbey), promised that he would give every year to God, Saint Mary, and the monks in Abingdon his tithe of the land he held from Hugh of Buckland. This was once [land of] Bullok-sege's in the vill Hanney. The tithe was from the profit of his demesne ploughland from lambs and piglets.

[517] ABOUT THE TITHE OF TUROLD IN HANNEY.

Likewise Turold of the same vill gave to God and Saint Mary of Abingdon, in the presence of abbot Faritius and all the convent in chapter, the tithe of all his possessions, namely piglets, lambs, and wool. But he decreased the tithe of his ploughland by granting two parts of that tithing to this place, and the third part to the priest serving him. His wife Hugulina and their son William granted and confirmed this same gift. Turold gave this gift in the fifth year [1105] of king Henry.

[518] ABOUT THE TITHE OF UFFINGTON.

In the same year abbot Faritius came to his vill Uffington to determine the finished work of the church which he had begun there from the foundation of stone. His men of the same vill gathered together and offered, with common devotion, their tithe of the whole vill, to Saint Mary and the abbot in the Abingdon community, forever. The abbot from his own [resources] would construct their church more eagerly, and they would endeavor to be included in the fraternity of the house.

When the abbot heard this wish, he inquired whether the
tithe of the vill's church from ancient times had been given by those men. He did not wish to diminish service [owed] to anyone else by [accepting] their gift. This is said to be the custom of the vill -- from a single virgate twenty-four sheaves of corn are given to the church as tithe. The abbot knew this, and he decreed before the men that just as they had wished and offered, he would receive their tithe. The decision was agreed between the abbot and the church of the same vill, that at the time for the collecting of tithes, the abbot would send to Uffington whom he wished of his own men. He might receive from each one, according to the possession of each, the right tithe. After all that was collected, he could bestow however many maniples to the priest of that church from each virgate of the vill. He would give as much as we have written above was owed to him. He might serve the remainder of the tithing to the abbot.

Also present was Drocus, who was holding three hides from the fee of Robert of Britewilla in the same vill. From his tithe every year he promised he would give two shillings, as far as the tithe worth. With the abbot's assistance, he would quit from that place the things which had been given by the aforesaid lord; namely, by the canons of Saint George of the castle of Oxford. All these things were pledged in the abbot's hand, and he granted them all, on his part and [that] of the whole convent of Abingdon, with these witnesses present, Richard reeve of the same vill, Mantinus, and many others.
ABOUT THE TITHE OF WILLIAM OF WATCHFIELD.

William of Watchfield gave to Saint Mary and the monks of Abingdon the tithe from all his money, of three hides in Watchfield and two of Boxford, except one acre which belongs to the church of Boxford. He gave this gift in the presence of the lord abbot Faritius, in the seventh year of king Henry [1107].

ABOUT THE TITHE OF EATON.

Roger son of Alfred gave to God and this church the tithe from his vill Eaton, near Cumnor, from his demesne, and from his fisheries belonging to that place. He promised that, with Osmund and his other men of that vill, he would do [service], and they would grant the tithe to this church from their holdings in similar fashion. This was done in the presence of these witnesses, Warin chaplain of Milo, Wino, and many others.

ABOUT A CERTAIN TITHE AT WALLINGFORD.

At the feast of the Nativity of Saint Mary in the ninth year of king Henry [1109], in chapter before the whole convent, Wildred and Luured, men of the church of Wallingford, gave to the monks of this church their tithes from their herds and the cultivation of their fields.

ABOUT THE TITHE OF BROUGHTON.

A certain knight Radulf, in chapter before abbot Faritius and all the convent, gave the whole tithe of his vill Broughton to God and Saint Mary. He placed the gift
upon the altar of Saint Mary for confirmation. He promised
that he would request his lord, Robert of Insula (from whom
he was holding the land) to confirm it with his permission,
so the church could possess his tithe by gift more firmly in
posterity. This was done in the ninth year of king Henry
[1109]. These witnesses were present, Milo the priest,
Warin de Favarcis, Lambert, and many others.

[523] ABOUT A CERTAIN TITHE IN BENHAM.

Hugh, son of Witgar of Benham, and his wife received the
fraternity of this house at the Nativity of Saint Mary in
the tenth year of king Henry [1110]. They gave to God and
Saint Mary their tithe to be possessed forever. Hugh made
an agreement on behalf of himself and his wife that after
death they might rest there.

[524] ABOUT A CERTAIN TITHE IN WANTAGE.

A certain knight, Gilbert Basset, made one of his sons,
Robert, a monk in this Abingdon church. To him Gilbert gave
forever a certain tithe of land in the vill called Wantage,
for the use of paupers, one wey [weight] of cheese from his
farm, and the tithe of wool and lambs. He was accustomed to
give the tithe of chickens, which he had from his farming
at Bernecester.

[525] ABOUT THE WORKS OF ABBOT FARITIUS, AND ESPECIALLY
ABOUT THE CHURCH.

While erecting the great and most beautiful foundations
of the building of the monastery of Abingdon, the venerable
father Faritius visited the work in the accustomed manner.
Industriously he admonished the workers to favor the works. A certain brother fawningly said to him: "O, venerable father, how great are the foundations which you lay. Without doubt they finish the consummate work with the very greatest expense. If there was a plea to your loving paternity about our common bread, [to increase it to] forty pounds of a weighing balance, we would grant by unanimous will the fourth part to you for completing the work [on the church]."

Having heard this, the most gentle man dissembled to give an answer to the monk [who said these things]. On the following day, when the brothers were together in chapter in the accustomed manner, the abbot, not forgetful of what had been promised, requested the consent of the convent. With one voice the ones present joyfully acclaimed it worthy to be done. The kindly pastor, considering the most devoted spirit of the flock committed to him, always jocund, burst forth immediately in words of this kind: "O brothers and fellow soldiers most beloved in Christ, I swear to the Most High Witness, that I, as long as vital air seizes me, will never in any way violate the balance of your bread or any other of your customs. On the contrary, it is to my credit that I restored the things dispersed and conserved them carefully once they were restored. I shall add the weight of a half mark to the afore-said measure of bread, so that whatever remains after you dine will be reserved for the work of mercy to the desti-
tute." Lest one of the abbots succeeding him in future presume to violate this gift, he prohibited [such action] under the name of Almighty God and solemnly anathematized anyone infringing [the right] in convent.

After a time, the venerable father Faritius prevailed in the endeavors of good work for the church committed to him. By an impulse of the devil (who is ever emulous of all good things), the same agents, lying in wait for our father, namely William precentor of Abingdon, and Pondius, encouraged a general murmuring against the same venerable man in convent that he had appropriated bits of cheese (as they had seen), having changed and diminished the ordinance of our holy father Ethelwold. This was divulged to the king's notice as rumor increased.

The king, always a lover of peace, appointed Ralf archbishop of Canterbury, Roger bishop of Salisbury, and Hugh of Buckland to Abingdon to extinguish totally the brothers' disturbance. The venerable father [Faritius] received them honorably, and, in the presence of the whole congregation in chapter he addressed them thus: "Men, brothers, lords, I do not wish it concealed to your excellence that I never, after having accepted the burden of pastoral office, violated the ordinances of Saint Ethelwold, as has been charged. But also I have not diminished the ecclesiastical possessions, internal or external. In these things wholly by exertion of mind, after the office of the accepted rule, always I have maintained. The Lord did not
send me here that I should squander the things gathered, but that I should unite the things dispersed. This also I have done. The number of brothers I originally found in this house I increased by fifty-two brothers, except that I have ordered three poor pilgrims to be sustained in memory of our Redeemer every day, with the same bread and drink which the convent has, with bits of cheese, and two dishes of pottage [to be served] to the three brothers devoutly."

Then the archbishop [said]: "To all these things we proffer our consent, and we have decided they should be observed forever by posterity. Nevertheless, explain to us about the bits of cheese, over which a complaint has been moved, because it has been omitted by your spirit."

The abbot to these things [replied]: "Your sanctity may not be unknowing that the ordinance of Saint Ethelwold concerning these things is not sufficient, since through God's will the number of brothers has been multiplied, because [the number of] bits is the same as when [the number of] brothers was less. Nevertheless, if it pleases everyone, with you willing, that the weight, which formerly was distributed in ten days, now because of the increase of the congregation, will be assigned forever in five days, for the monks in refectory and also in the infirmary, and for the three forenamed paupers. Therefore the refectorer will on the fifth day accept the aforesaid weight by custom, for only those whom we have already named, and on every fifth
day, as it is said, he [will] distribute [the cheese]."

Then the archbishop [said]: "All these things we have decided worthy to be observed, if the table of the abbot, lodgings and brothers invites the ones who could not partake because of the aforesaid amount."

To which the abbot [answered]: "For my successors the abbots I have provided that they may possess forty-six weights for their table annually."

Then the archbishop and Roger of Salisbury, with all who were present, considering the providence of the abbot and at the same time his benevolence toward the convent, decided by their authority that all these things, as they stated above, should be observed firmly by posterity in perpetuity without diminution of any sort. By request of abbot Faritius and by unanimous assent of the whole convent, the venerable Ralf archbishop of Canterbury and Roger bishop of Salisbury, the aforesaid father [Faritius], adorned with the priestly stoles of the whole convent, with candles aflame, accomplished the condition of this ordinance by solemn anathema [upon] all violators or diminishers in posterity. Certain brothers of the order by voice acclaimed, "Let it be done, let it be done, let it be done."

These are the farms which ought to bring so many weights [of cheese]: of Sellingford, thirty weights; of Robert's farm, six weights; of Lockinge, ten weights; of Tropa, four weights; of two farms of Goossey, twenty-eight weights; of
the farm of Charney sixteen weights, and of Herbalduna, ten weights.

Sum of salted eels: of Culham, twenty eels; of Ascelin, twelve eels; of Alexander Blundel, eight; of Swinford, sixteen eels; of Whistley twenty-four eels; of Herwald, eight eels.

[526] ABOUT THE BUILDINGS OF ABBOT FARITIUS.

It should not to be consigned to oblivion that the renowned abbot Faritius caused to be built that part of the church called the nave, with two towers and the chapel of Saint Mary Magdalene, a monastic parlor [locutory] with a chapter, a dormitory with refectory, an abbot's chamber with chapel, and a cloister with kitchen, in his times. For all the buildings which the aforesaid abbot had built, the timber and building materials came from the region of Wales, with great cost and heavy labor. Indeed he had six cart-loads for this, and for some of those there were twelve oxen. It was a journey of six or seven weeks going and coming back, for it was necessary to pass near Salisbury.

[527] ABOUT THE WORKS OF ABBOT FARITIUS, AND ESPECIALLY ABOUT THE CHURCH.

These are the things which the lord [abbot] Faritius brought to the church: the church of Saint Martin of Oxford, the church of Marcham, the church of Uffington, the church of Wittenham, the church of Cuddesdon, the church of Newnham [Murren].

[528] ABOUT THE ORNAMENTS OF THE CHURCH.
These things he brought for the adornment of the church. Two brooches adorned with silver and stones. A little golden reliquary. One text. Five chalices. One paten without chalice, one silver and gilt flask. Three censers, one of silver and two of gilt copper. Two silver caskets. Two pairs of basins of silver, one small vessel in the manner of a paten, in which the hosts are borne in refectory for Holy Communion. An image of Saint Mary. Three chasubles. Three stoles without fanons, and one with fanon, adorned with gold fringe. Three albs of silk, with one great pall, and ten other albs striped, adorned by a pall. Four dalmatics. Three tunics. Twenty-nine caps. Of these sixteen have tassels, the rest are at this point without them. Two small palls before the altar and fourteen palls hanging for the church. Seven pieces of tapestry. Six tapets. Six dossals. Eleven bench coverings used in festivals for the choir, and one not to be used. Two pairs of candelabra of silver, and a large one of seven arms. Two great bells for summoning, and three smaller ones. A [pixidem] of silver, for the eucharist. He gave two large dossals which hang in the choir in the special festivals, one of the ten virgins, the other of the history of Job.

[529] ABOUT THE MONKS' CHAMBER.

To the administration of the chamber he added a vill called Chieveley, except for twenty-three shillings which belong to the provisions of the monks. From other rents
which he himself acquired, he gave sixty shillings. The aforesaid rents are returned from Fencott, that is, from the land of Adelina d'Ivry, thirty shillings, from the land of Henry de Albini twenty-five shillings, from that of Agelward of Colnbrook five shillings.

[530] ABOUT ALMS.

To the administration of alms he added six shillings, which are returned from the land of Alfric of Botley at Oxford outside the burg. The son of the same Alfric claimed this land quit to abbot Faritius and the church in perpetuity. He gave one mill called Henora, and two parts of the tithe of Newnham [Murren] from the demesne, and five hides at Worth, quit from all pledge or service, and land which Hugh son of Richard [gave] for the soul of his father, which returns fifteen shillings.

[531] ABOUT THE REFECTIONARY.

To the administration of the refectory, he gave the tithe of Chesterton, valued at eight shillings.

[532] FOR PARCHMENT.

For parchment to be used for the renovation of the church's books, he granted the tithe of Dumbleton, which is worth thirty shillings per year.

[533] ABOUT THE ANNIVERSARY OF ABBOT FARITIUS.

On the day in which the convent accepted the grant in the new chapter, when abbot Faritius returned twenty-seven shillings (which by his industry he had acquired in the city Oxford), he offered to the convent in largess of charity
fifteen shillings from land of Roger Maledoctus, nine shillings of Peter, sometime sheriff; and three shillings of Dermann. He ordered the cellarers that all the year, for the memory of this occasion, they serve the convent abundantly out of this donation. Thus for those present and future the execution of his labor became the recompense of brotherly largess. Because no one knows the end of his life, the same father, solicitous for himself, exhorted the brothers, that after his death on the day of his anniversary, this same charity should be observed. "Because you consider," he said, "on the anniversaries of my predecessors, for your rights and for their memory, nothing of this kind to have been delegated thus far. I entreat you just so to live mindful of me, when the appropriate time arrives."

[534] ABOUT THE HOUSE OF THE INFIRM.

Because the infirm brothers and the ones who have to have blood let were lacking in fire, the same abbot Faritius by consent of the whole chapter granted to them all the rents of the manors listed below which he had bought in Oxford. This was done so that the delivering of fire to the house of the infirm would be readily available. He granted this for the redemption of his soul and for compassion of the infirm, and he anathematized whoever might make this invalid.

These are those manors with rents.

The land of Wulfir the fisher, five shillings and
eight pennies.
The land of Ruald, five shillings and two pennies.
The land of Dermann the priest, seven shillings and two pennies.
The land of Colemann, eight shillings.
The land of Eadwin the moneyer, and of his brother, five shillings.

And thus foreign to God and deprived of His reign forever be the one who would bear away this benefit collected for the infirm.

[535] ABOUT EXCOMMUNICATION.

The venerable man abbot Faritius (about whom we have already said much) presided over this church by right of the abbot, and with his industry he decorated it with many and diverse things. When the brothers subject to him in Christ discerned these things, they placed before the eyes of the mind the carelessness of certain of his predecessors, along with the idlenesses of future pastors, because when he was gone, there might not be good ones, and they became greatly frightened. Repeatedly they begged him to hurl a most serious malediction upon those who by deed or advice would remove the things which he had procured for this church. He kindly embraced their prayers, and with the authority of the Holy and Individual Trinity, by invocation of the Blessed Mother of God, the ever-Virgin Mary, and all the elect of God, he excommunicated perpetually and sequestered from the fellowship of the faithful all who violently
or fraudulently or by whatever means would withdraw anything after his death, from the things which he or the ones loving him as long as he lived conferred upon that church, unless they repented with public satisfaction and restitution. These three conditions he excepted: redemption of prisoners, [redemption] of the lands of this church, and necessity of hunger. These things abbot Faritius did, and these things he ordered written, lest posterity excuse themselves through ignorance. He constrained by perpetual mal- diction those who arrogantly or fraudulently destroyed them.

[536] ABOUT THE RELICS OF THIS CHURCH.

The names of the saints' relics have been written in Abingdon church, to be examined by abbot Faritius of pious memory, one with the seniors of the same church under the year of the Incarnation of Christ 1116.

Of the handkerchief of our Lord, and of His cross. A piece of the nail of His crucifixion, from His table, and from His sepulchre.

OF THE APOSTLES.

Of the bones of Saint John the Baptist.

Of the beard of Saint Peter the Apostle.

Of his cross, and of his vestments, and similarly of the apostle Paul.

A bone and tooth of Saint Andrew the Apostle, and of his cross.

A bone of Saint Jacob, brother of the Lord, and of his
vestments.

A bone of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle.

OF THE MARTYRS.

A bone of Saint Stephen the first martyr, and of his stole and dalmatic, and of his hair, and of the stones with which he was stoned.

Of Saint Vincent an arm and a haunch, and part of a shoulder, and his rib.

Of Saint Laurence, deacon and martyr a finger, and part of his rib.

Of Saint Victor the martyr, his arm, and whole rib, and part of another rib, and many other bones.

A finger and tooth of Saint Sebastian the martyr.

Part of a smaller bone of the arm of Saint Dionysius, and his finger.

A tooth and finger of Saint George.

Of the head of Saint Pancras the martyr.

Of the arm of Saint Firminus the martyr.

A finger of Saint Ypolitus the martyr.

A tooth of Saint Eusebius the martyr, whose memorial is the nineteenth of the kalends of September [14 Aug.].

Bones of the Innocents.

Of the bloody shirt of Saint Edmund, king and martyr, which he had worn at the hour of his passion, and of the wood of his coffin, of his coffin-cushion, and of fragments of wood of the box when it was full.

Of Saint Edward many parts.
Of these holy martyrs: John and Paul, Tiburtius, Valerianus, Cosmo and Damian, Fabian, Simplicius, Nereus and Achilleus, Symphorianus, Ciriacus, Sixtus, bishop and martyr, Christopher, Boniface, Leodegar, and Eustace.

ABOUT SAINT CHAD. ABOUT CONFESSORS.

Of Saint Chad, bishop and confessor, the head, and jaw, and arm with other bones.

Of Saint Aldhelm, bishop and confessor, of his head, a tooth, part of a shoulder, and his whole haunch.

Of Saint Ethelwold, a whole shoulder, an arm, a finger, and his hair.

An arm of Saint John Chrysostom.

Of a rib and other bones of Saint Bertinus the abbot.

Of the beard of Saint Cuthbert.

Of the rib of Saint Audoenus.

Of these confessors, the bones:


The rib[s] of Saints Swithin, Birinus, Machutus, Sulpicius, Guthlac, Caurentius, Judocus, AEgidius, Leonard, Antony, Macharius, Columkilla.

A finger of Macloe the confessor.

ABOUT VIRGINS.

Of the hair of Saint Mary Magdalene.
Of the head of Saint Cecilia, and her finger.
Of the hair of Saint Lucy.
Two arms and a jaw with teeth of Saint Bathild.
Of the bones of those virgins, Agatha, Agnes, Margaret, Anastasia, Barbara, Genevieve, Eadburg, Gratiana; and of the vestments of Saint Brigid, Radegund, Juliana, Victoria.

[537] ABOUT THE DEATH OF THE LORD ABBOT FARITIUS OF PIOUS MEMORY.

The property of this church multiplied, augmented from day to day by the industry of this venerable man, the laudable abbot Faritius. He fell into illness, by which he was withdrawn from the light, and he quitted his labors with his blessed end in the seventeenth year of his rule, on the seventh of the kalends of March [23 Feb. 1117]. After his death, all things or rents of this church were soon described and were reckoned at three hundred pounds to the royal fisc every year. The relics were granted to the rights of the church. We were, however, without an abbot for four years, but we had all the abundance of food and clothing. A certain venerable man of ours, Warenger, presided over this church. He, from the time when abbot Rainald first died in office, governed us strenuously [as prior], and just as the most benign mother he always sincerely cherished us. He was indeed a true servant of God, filled with true charity.

[538] ABOUT THE TITHE OF SPARSHOLT.

In the second year [1119] after the death of the lord
abbot Faritius, Hugh, the king's bursar, granted in chapter to this church his tithing of all the money, of movable as well as of immovable goods, of the manor Sparsholt. He held this of the church. His wife Heloise consented in the presence of these witnesses, [P]oidras by his name, [A]nski-till his reeve of the aforesaid vill, and many others.

[539] ABOUT THE TITHE OF TWO HIDES IN SHILLINGFORD.

In the same year Radulf chamberlain of abbot Faritius granted to this church his tithing of all his money, namely of fields, herds, wool, cheeses, of two hides in Shillingford, which he held of the fee of Robert of Brittewella. The convent delegated it to the refectory, in order that works which were within the house itself would be done. This was done in the presence of these witnesses, Bernerus and Turstin, knights, and many others.

[540] ABOUT THE DEMESNE OF THIS CHURCH.

In the third year [1120] after the death of abbot Fari-
tius, when the abbey [lacked] the attention of an abbot, and royal consideration for acquiring one, the church's demesne was quit from the gelds which were demanded in the whole county. Despite this, in the county of Berkshire, more was demanded by the collectors than was owed of the geld apper-
taining to the church. This happened frequently. For this reason a claim was made to the royal justice, and it was decreed that anyone of the church in the aforesaid county pledge faith as to how many demesne hides he ought to quit
to the church. This should be done through bishop Roger of Salisbury, Robert bishop of Lincoln, Rannulf [bishop of Durham] the chancellor, who by his name aided much, and Radulf Basset. This happened when the county sat at Sutton. William of Buckland was sheriff there. This occurred on the next day of the moon after the festival of Saint Martin [Nov.]. With the whole county seeing, Roger of Hartevilla, man of the church, pledged faith for the church in the hand of the sheriff himself, for seven times twenty hides of the demesne of the abbey which ought in Berkshire be quit when taxed. The collector of the county then was Edwin priest of Cholsey, and Samuel his son. There were [from among] us Robert the sacristan, William Brito, the other William the monk, William of Seacourt, Turstin, Radulf the chamberlain, and many others.

[541] ABOUT THE CHURCH OF EDWARDSTONE.

In the fourth year [1121] after the death of abbot Faritius, Gilbert son of Hubert of Monte Canesi received in chapter the fraternity of the benefices of this church, and there granted and affirmed the gift of his father of the church Edwardstone, and [the gift] of the remaining things earlier granted by his father in the time of the lord abbot Faritius. Namely he affirmed them on the holy text of the Gospels as a pledge, by placing [the confirmation] in the hand of the prior Warenger, with the whole convent present, and the knights of this church, Bernerus and Warin.

[542] ABOUT ABBOT VINCENT [1121-1130].
After four years the king returned from Normandy where he had been occupied at such time for diverse reasons. He came to the town, vulgarly called Windsor, and soon certain of the brothers approached him, humbly asking that he consider, according to God, a pastor for the bereft church. Benignly consoling them, he ordered them to return home, commanding that in five days they be present with the prior in his presence at Winchester. They came on the appointed day, and in the presence of the king, they began to ask for the things which [they had] earlier [requested]. With the advice of his magnates, and in the presence of his bishops and barons, he bestowed these things in pastorage upon a certain man of good repute, by name Vincent, a monk from the church Jumieges. All who were present praised [this choice]. The brothers joyfully received him, since report of his goodness had earlier reached them many times. They guided him to the church committed to him, with Roger bishop of Salisbury and many other famous men accompanying them. Placed in the pastoral seat he governed wisely the house entrusted to him. He was indeed greatly benign and filled with the grace of piety. He had compassion for all, and he loved all with pious affection. [The king] sent such letters to the nobles of the whole of the kingdom of England.

[543] LETTERS OF THE KING FOR ABBOT VINCENT.

Henry, king of England, to all his archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, sheriffs, and to his vassals, French
and English, of all England, greeting.

May you know that I have given and granted to Vincent, abbot, the abbey of Abingdon, with all things belonging to the abbey. I wish and firmly command that well, in peace, quietly, honorably, and freely he hold it, with sake and soke, and toll and team, and infangentheof, in burg and outside burg. Truly I grant him the housebreach, peacebreach, and assault [foresteal] upon all the abbey's own land, just as any one of his predecessors once better, and more quietly, and more honorably, and more freely held, with all his other customary rights.

With witnesses Roger bishop of Salisbury, Rannulf the chancellor, John of Bayeux, and William de Pont de l'Arche; at Woodstock.

[544] ABOUT THE MARKET OF ABINGDON.

In the days of this father [Vincent] certain malicious persons went to the king and persuaded him with fawning that he [should] remove the hundred of Hormer from this church and at the same time should prohibit the market of this vill. They affirmed their lies that the abbot of this house had never had it [i.e., Hormer] in his proper power, nor had a market existed from ancient times in this vill. The king was moved by their fawnings, and he ordered his justiciars to hear the dispute. Before they could investigate the dispute just as it was, [they] placed the whole abbey in the forfeiture of the king. The most prudent man [Vincent] discerned this, and, as if throwing himself manfully to the
savage tempest, he approached the king, proffered the prival
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 privilege of king Edward, and asked that it be read to all
together. When the king ordered this done, Roger bishop of
Salisbury read it aloud. The king began to recall his soul
from indignation and spoke gently with the abbot. Sustained
by favor of the barons present (indeed he was loved by all
because he was munificent and liberal), he requested that
the king confirm it by his privilege and secure it with his
seal. He promised that he would give [the king] three
hundred marks of silver thereafter, just as before he was
allowed to have that [vill] quietly and without complaint in
his own power. The king assented to his prayers, and he
commanded that the things sought should be done without
delay. Concerning the market of the vill he ordered the
abbot's will likewise to be done, and he secured the things
which he had ordered to be written by his seal. Then abbot
Vincent stripped the table of Saint Ethelwold, fashioned of
gold and silver, on the inside, and from its price the abbot
gave the three hundred marks to the king in confirmation of
his liberty, lest if by chance, with time succeeding and the
malice of men growing, knights or men of the hundred and
market lay claim to the liberty, as if it were their own,
acquired by purchase.

[545] CHARTER OF KING HENRY ABOUT THE HUNDRED OF HORMER.

Henry, king of the English, to the bishop of Salisbury,
the sheriff, justiciars, and to all his barons and vassals,
French and English, of Berkshire, greeting.

May you know that I have granted to God, the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon, abbot Vincent, all the abbots his successors, and to the monks in the same place serving God, the hundred of Horner, to be held and had by them and all their successors by perpetual right, in their legitimate and most free power and justice, just as Edward king of the English gave and granted to the aforesaid church, and confirmed by his charter, which in my presence and that of my barons I attest has been read, just as my father king William granted and corroborated by his charter the gifts of king Edward. I wish and firmly order that the abbot and monks present and future hold the aforesaid in peace, freely and honorably, with all their customary rights and exemptions, with which better and more honorably they held it at the time of the aforesaid kings. No sheriff or his officials should thence introduce anything; rather, they have are to have and do their justice freely.


[546] ABOUT THE MARKET OF ABINGDON.

Henry, king of England, to the bishop of Salisbury, the sheriff, the justiciars, and all his barons and vassals of
Berkshire, greeting.

May you know that I have granted to the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon, abbot Vincent, and the monks the market of Abingdon, just as the aforesaid church, the abbots, and abbot Vincent himself, once better and more freely had it on the day on which I gave the abbey to the aforesaid Vincent. Well, in peace, honorably, and freely they may hold it.

With witnesses, Roger bishop of Salisbury, Geoffrey the chancellor, Geoffrey de Clinton, and William de Pont de l'Arche; at London.

[547] ABOUT THE ABBOT'S COURT AT OXFORD.

Henry, king of England, to Radulf Basset, greeting.

I command that you cause Vincent abbot of Abingdon to have his court in Oxford, thus well and fully just as once the church of Abingdon, or any one of his successors, better, more fully, and more honorably had it. His men may not pledge outside his court, unless the abbot first releases them from the right in his court, and just as you will have been able to inquire through law-worthy men of Oxford whom he ought to have in his court.

With witness the chancellor; at Woodstock.

[548] ABOUT THE CHURCH OF MARCHAM.

When the venerable abbot Faritus had migrated from this life, a life up to this point most worthy, this church (just as we mentioned above) was vacant of an abbot for four years. During this interval, Simon, the king's bursar,
advised the king in Normandy that the church and land [at Marcham] belonged to him by right. [Simon claimed this] because he was a kinsman of William, son of abbot Rainald, who held, by gift of his father, the church of Marcham and certain other possessions, through a life attendant to that church. Accepting the habit of a monk in this house, he [William] claimed all these things quit. Simon easily persuaded [the king], because the one who might resist was absent. With the king assenting, Simon was seised of the land with the church, and he held it until abbot Vincent succeeded as pastor of this house. Since he [Vincent] moved a claim before the king about that matter, [saying] that it was unjustly taken away, Simon considered how unjustly he had acquired it, and thus such an end finally occurred between the abbot and Simon.

[549] COPY OF THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE LORD ABBOT VINCENT AND SIMON THE KING'S BURSAR.

For fear and reverence of God, and of His Mother, our Lady Saint Mary, and for love and with the advice of abbot Vincent, and, so that the Abingdon convent would be more favorable to him, indeed for the well-being of his soul, by the reckoning of separate hours, and by prudence, more because others loved him in God and in the world, than because his own soul led to this, Simon claimed all things quit which he had held of the possessions of the church of Abingdon before the coming of Vincent to the abbey. Namely, the church of Marcham, together with the things belonging to
it; that is, two hides in the same vill, with one mill and one farm. At Garford one hide. Again at Milton one hide, and another at Appleford. Also a chapel in the aforesaid vill Milton, with half a hide belonging to the same church. The sacristan assumed the tithe of that half-hide and others because they belong to the church of Marcham and not to his chapel of Milton. All these things he claimed quit forever to the Abingdon church and to the monks there serving God, more by himself than by all his heirs, and belonging to him.

Thereafter the abbot wished to retain Simon as a good and prudent man in the service and love of the church, so he granted to him three and a half hides at Garsington to have and hold of the church in fee, for himself and his heirs after him. Simon had held this land formerly, with certain aforesaid and now remaining possessions of the church. Thus the owed and accustomed service was expended as gift for the church in future. Moreover, the abbot granted him, and his heirs after him, a manor called Tadmarton to be held of the church in fee-farm for fifteen pounds, to be returned every year to the church in the Nativity of the Lord, in Easter, in the kalends of August [I Aug.], on the day of Saint Peter ad Vincula, in these terms, one hundred shillings. So that suspicion of all plotting injurious to the church in future would be ended, Simon in the abbot's presence, with the whole convent and many laymen attending, made his oath upon the holy text of the holy Gospels, [that] he or his
heir never would seek any device of the same manor, or a rent to be imposed from it in that place, which would be in detriment to the church. In this grant there was also an arrangement by common decree, that if by chance Simon or after him his heirs withdrew the farm of this manor from rent, the church of Abingdon could reseise the same manor Tadmarton, without any contradiction, in its own demesne. Further, no one could make any answer about the aforesaid things left to the right of the church by the aforesaid man. When these things had been confirmed by the authority of the whole convent, Simon approached the church with the monks and laymen, and on the altar of Saint Mary he placed the pledge of all these things said and one that he would accomplish, and which would be accomplished by his heirs. For the aforesaid fees granted to him, he thereafter did homage with fealty to the abbot and church.

These laymen were present for testimony to all these deeds displayed.

On the part of abbot Vincent, his prior Warenger, the whole chapter, William of Seacourt, Bernerus with his son Hugh, and many others.

On the part of Simon, William of Amfrevilla, monk, William magister of Gloucester, Anskitill sheriff, Baldwin cleric, and many others.

Simon also arranged with this house in chapter, with the same witnesses present, that if his lord approved his desire to change the secular habit for the monastic while he lived
in England, or if without this exchange from this life he died in England, he would receive the monastic habit from no other than Abingdon, or if dying, he would be buried nowhere else, with all his movable wealth. Because if he departed life outside England, nevertheless he [would] cede the same whole portion of his goods to Abingdon.

[550] ABOUT A CERTAIN TITHE.

A certain knight Joscelin, enticed by the religion of this house, gave to God and Saint Mary in chapter, in the presence of the lord abbot Vincent and the whole convent, two parts of the tithe of all his rights in a certain possession called Grava, of grains as well as of herds, or of all things which he ought to tithe by right. After his death Radulf his son granted the tithe of grains which he could not bear away. Neither he nor his father ever affirmed that they granted [the tithe] of herds or of other things. Nevertheless, since the truth of the matter had been heard by many, [Radulf] at the time of abbot Walkelin [1158-1164] came into the brothers' chapter and granted devoutly the tithe of all things which his father and he had had. Because that tithe had been assigned to the use of infirm brothers, he confirmed it by his own hand perpetually upon the altar in the oratory of the infirm.

[551] ABOUT THE TITHE OF WINTERBOURNE.

Another knight, Norman, having in possession Winterbourne, offered his son Eudo to become a monk in this
Abingdon church at the time of abbot Vincent. That he might more easily obtain what he wished, he gave the tithe of his demesne of Winterbourne, which pleased the church. Along with his son, he granted it wholly by perpetual gift. Thus granted it was redacted under the hand of the sacristan.

[552] ABOUT HALF A HIDE AT MORE.
Likewise a knight of this church, Rainbald of Tubney, offered one of his sons, Adelelm, to wear the habit of a monk in this church. He easily obtained this, for he gave perpetually, along with his son, free from any challenge, a half hide of land in the place vulgarly called More. This was assigned by abbot Vincent to the sacristan's office.

[553] ABOUT RADULF BASSET.
Radulf, surnamed Basset, held the dignity of justice in all the kingdom of England. He loved with special affection this Abingdon church (as he proved by his works). He associated himself with the fraternity of the church, where he decided to assume the habit and to be buried after the transit of life. With the time of his course concluded while he was at Northampton, he began to be held back by sudden illness, and supposing that he would die, he chose to be dressed with the monks' habit. His request pleased the dignity of the church, since, just as he had formerly promised, he suffered himself to be borne only to Abingdon, or to be buried (if he died) only by his brothers at Abingdon. A division of all his things was solemnly accomplished, and he set apart a not moderate quantity of wealth to be borne
with him to Abingdon, and from his abounding riches he granted four hides of his right at Chaddleworth to belong perpetually to this church. He withdrew here from the present light with the greatest honor and the greatest devotion of the people at Abingdon. The whole convent, seeing their brother, the bestower of many benefices while he was able, received him gratefully and honorably in their chapter, and, as befit such a man, they buried him as he had ordered with complete service. The four hides of Chaddleworth were thus seised in the demesne of the Abingdon church and confirmed by all Radulf's sons together (indeed all were then present). These things were accomplished in the time of the lord abbot Vincent.

They continued in the days of his successor Ingulf.

[554] ABOUT THE ORNAMENTS OF ABBOT VINCENT.

In the days of his coming to the abbey Vincent gave a purple chasuble, which Robert the sacristan covered with gold, as is still evident. Thereafter he caused the greater tower of the church to be built, and he properly ornamented the monastery with a courtyard, necessary houses, a guest hall with chamber, granary, brewhouse, bakehouse, a double stable, almshouse, with three great towers. He also gave two bells, which are rung on private days on the hours.

Thus did the venerable and worthy to God abbot Vincent increase all the offices of the brothers, so that without murmur they were able to serve God. To the office of the
kitchen he gave all the rents of this vill [Chaddleworth?], and however much thereafter they might increase, he added five pounds from his purse. He assigned twenty shillings to diverse condiments. That vill was accustomed to return fifteen pounds at that time. To these things he added a mill placed upon the Ock, then returning twenty-five shillings. On the day of his anniversary every year he procured forty shillings for the food and drink of the brothers, out of these things which his own industry acquired for the church at Oxford. To the office of the cellarer he added twenty sesteres of honey for preparing mead, which his predecessors were accustomed to have for their own offices. To these he added also four pounds from the reeveship of Cuddesdon for buying wine, so the brothers could have charity in special festivals. To the office of the refectorer he gave twenty shillings from a certain hide of Milton, for selling flagons, cups, spoons, saltcellars, and candelabra, and whichever smaller items were necessary. To the office of the chamber he added four hides of Chaddleworth, which Radulf Basset gave to this church. To the office of the altar he gave the church of Wytham, returning four pounds. To the woodhouse he gave sixty shillings, for the rents of Cuddesdon, at Charney. He beautified the courtyard with honorable buildings and walls. For the [Abingdon] brother [who] professed to be withdrawing from this life, he donated the same victuals which those living and dining in refectory would receive, on the day of
his transit until the day's anniversary. These and many other benefices he donated to this church.

[555] ABOUT THE DEATH OF ABBOT VINCENT.

In the tenth year of his rule [1130], intent upon the good of his church through all things, a venerable man to be remembered for his merit to this church, he [Vincent] rested in the Lord. He left behind him an abundant house credited to him by posterity for all the good things [he had done].

[556] ABOUT ABBOT INGULF [1130-1158].

Ingulf, prior of the church of Winchester, succeeded him in the place of pastor. [He was] a man religious and especially instructed in the knowledge of letters. Accordingly as time allowed him, he ruled the church committed to him moderately, [although it was] subjected to diverse persecutions. These persecutions never were lacking after the death of king Henry. To confirm and advance him in the abbey, the same king directed such letters, armed with his seal, to the nobles of England.

[557] LETTERS OF KING HENRY.

Henry, king of England, to his archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, sheriffs, barons and all vassals, French and English, of all England, greeting.

May you know that I have granted and given to abbot Ingulf the abbey of Abingdon, with all things belonging to the abbey. I wish and firmly command that well, in peace, quietly, honorably, and freely he hold it, with sake, and
soke, and toll and team, and infangentheof, and peacebreach, and obstruction, and house-breach, and "flemenformthe", in burg and outside burg, in wood and field, in waters and on riverbanks, and at sowings, and in festival and without festival, and with all their other customary rights, just as once any one of his predecessors better, more quietly, more honorably, and more freely held it.

With witnesses Roger bishop of Salisbury, Henry bishop of Winchester, the chancellor, Nigel nephew of the bishop, William de Pont de l'Arche, Robert d'Oilly, and Warin the sheriff; at Winchester.

[558] ABOUT THE CHURCH OF ST. ALDATES.

There is in the city Oxford a certain monastery consecrated to the veneration of the bishop Saint Aldates. Two clerics of the same vill, brothers, Robert and Gilbert, halved all of its benefices equally with a certain priest Nicholas. It happened, however, that with God calling, the aforesaid two brothers accepted the monastic habit in this Abingdon community at the time of abbot Ingulf [1121-1130]. The part of the church which belonged to them, with land and buildings within the city, belonging to them by hereditary right, they delivered wholly to this church by perpetual gift. Nicholas, lord of the other part of the church, when he saw this, summoned the abbot and likewise the convent, requesting that they allow him to hold the brothers' part along with his as long as he lived. He would pay annually
the tax required (namely twenty shillings). He also imposed the condition that, when he wished to change habit, he would not do so unless he changed it in that church, or if [he were] in the [monk's] habit when he ended his life, the half part of the abovesaid church which was his would belong with the other part forever to Abingdon. With Nicholas asking, that church was placed in Roman privilege, which at that time was renewed. Having returned to his own [property], he paid two shillings a year in recognition of the aforenoted pact, beside the customary tax, while he lived.

With some time having passed, Nicholas, snatched up by a sudden sickness, felt himself detained by a lethal disease. Mindful of his own health, he sent a messenger to his brothers at Abingdon, seeking that he might wear the habit of religion before he died. They thought his death was not yet imminent, and for that reason they delayed to let him come for some little bit, and Nicholas lay in terror. The canons of Saint Frideswith, however, were standing by. Already thinking him dead, and desiring [his property] perhaps on account of his wealth, they supposed him ignorant and seized the property for their church by certain force and injury. Afterwards, though, he returned with a spirit recalled to him, and he was interrogated by Wigod abbot of Osney [Ox.] whether it pleased him to assume the habit or to die there [at St. Frideswith's]. He answered roundly that he would rather be exiled in a vile cavern than to be detained
there. He said for his well-being that he could not be
buried there, since in being buried there he might be proved
to cheat the faith he owed to his brothers [at Abingdon].
Rather he chose to be brought to the house which he would
inhabit either alive or dead. Detained nevertheless by
these who gaped at his goods, he began the end of the pre-
sent life and was buried there. The part of the church
which we have said was Nicholas's, and [which was] now ours
by right, they detain to this day, since prelates are negli-
gent about the defense of their things. They endeavored to
detain it perpetually. We have, nevertheless, yet reserved
the part still ours by the dignity of the benefice.

These things I have said for the reason that, whenever
[anything is] given by man to God, so much the more swiftly
is his just return received, just as an unjust withholding,
once discovered, has been noted.

[559] CHIROGRAPH OF A FARM AT OXFORD.

Brother Ingulf and the whole convent, to whom it has
been given by God, humble minister in Abingdon, to all his
successors, greeting in Christ.

May it be known to you all, that in full chapter we have
granted our farm which lies near the Oxford bridge to Nicho-
las the priest and Robert his nephew, to be possessed by
hereditary right, with the customary rights of the same
retained, and our farm conserved by us, namely of forty
shillings per year, under which [terms] Ermenold and
Godwin already earlier had held it. For this their inheri-
tance Nicholas and Robert did homage to us in full chapter. In this however we have sat at the same time, I brother Ingulf and the whole convent. With Nicholas and Robert were present William the dean, Roger son of Wiger, and many others. This pact has been recorded and confirmed in our chamber, before our barons and many neighbors, who had assembled with us in the Nativity of the most blessed Virgin Mary [8 Sept.], as is our custom.

[560] CHIROGRAPH OF CERTAIN LAND IN GARSINGTON.

I Adeliza and my son Hugh, with my lord Robert assenting, have granted and, by swearing, have confirmed the grant [of] the land of Garsington, which was [that] of Gilbert my grandfather, which he gave to William of Botendona, with his mother Agnes, free and quit from all challenge, to God, Saint Mary of Abingdon, and the lord abbot Ingulf. My mother had granted [this land] to abbot Faritius, so both I and my son Hugh have restored it.

To this grant witnesses were present on the part of both parties. On the part of the abbot, the lord abbot himself, Walter, [W]aleran, monks, and of the knights, Roger of Mollesford, with William his knight, and many others. On the part of Adeliza, Adeliza herself, Robert her man, Hugh her son, and many others.

[561] ABOUT KING STEPHEN.

In the sixth year of this abbot [Ingulf; 1135], king Henry departed from life in Normandy. His nephew Stephen
succeeded him in the kingdom. With war having risen between the king and the empress, daughter of the former king, the whole church of England was exceedingly vexed by diverse tribulations for many years. That church [i.e., the church as a whole] in that time incurred the loss of many of its possessions.

[562] CHARTER ABOUT THE HUNDRED [OF HORMER].

Stephen, king of England, to the bishop of Salisbury, his justices, sheriffs, and to all his barons and vassals, French and English, of Berkshire, greeting.

May you know that I have granted to God and the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon, abbot Ingulf, all the abbots his successors, and the monks in the same house serving God, the hundred of Hormer, to be held and had by them with perpetual right, and all their successors in their legitimate and most free power and justice, just as Edward king of the English gave and granted and confirmed by his charter, read as witness before me and my barons, and just as king William [I] my grandfather, and Henry my uncle, granted and corroborated the gifts of king Edward by their charters. I wish and firmly command that the abbot and monks, present and future, hold the aforesaid hundred in peace, quietly, honorably, and freely, with all their customary rights and immunities, with which better and more honorably they held it at the time of the aforesaid kings. No sheriff, or his officials may thence interfere with anything, but they themselves should have and do their justice freely.

[563] [UNTITLED WRIT.]

Stephen, king of England, to the bishop of Salisbury, to the justices, sheriffs, barons, knights, and to all his vassals of England, greeting.

May you know that I have granted and confirmed that gift which William [II] king of England, my uncle, made to the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon and the monks in the same house serving God, of the church of Sutton, with lands, tithes, other things, and customary rights, belonging to the same church. Wherefore I command that the aforesaid church and the monks may hold the church of Sutton, with all things belonging to it, well, in peace, freely, and quietly, just as they held it better at the time of my predecessors the kings of England, just as their charters attest.

With witnesses William Martel and Richard de Lucy; at Wareng' [Warrington?].

[564] [UNTITLED WRIT.]

Stephen, king of England, to the bishop of Lincoln, to the justices, sheriffs, barons, and knights, and to all his vassals, greeting.

May you know that I have granted and confirmed to the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon and the monks in the same house serving God, to hold and have in perpetual alms the
church of Newnham [Murren], with one hide of land, and with the whole tithe of the same manor, and with one fishery with all things pertaining to it, and with meadow and with pasture, just as William de Curci, steward, gave and granted it to them, and just as William de Curci, his son, returned it to them, and confirmed it by his charter, and just as the charter of king Henry attests. And I command that the aforesaid and the monks may hold all those tenures well, and in peace, and freely and quietly, just as better and more freely they hold the other alms belonging to their church. With witnesses William Martel, earl Aubrey, and Baldwin son of Gilbert; at Wareng [Warrington?], in siege.

[565] ABOUT THE ABINGDON MARKET.

Stephen, king of England, to the bishop of Salisbury, to the justices, sheriffs, and barons, and to all his knights and vassals, French and English, of Berkshire, greeting.

May you know that I have granted to God and the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon, abbot Ingulf, and the monks with him serving God there, a market in the vill of Abingdon on the day... [erasure in MS], just as the aforesaid church, and abbots, and abbot Vincent himself, once better or more freely held, and on the day in which king Henry gave and granted the abbey to him. I wish and firmly command that all men going to that place and tarrying in the same place, and thence returning, may fully have my firm peace, lest they be disturbed unjustly about these things, above ten
pounds of forfeiture.


[566] [ABOUT LANDS OF THIS CHURCH.]

Stephen, king of England, to his justices, sheriffs, barons, knights, and all his vassals, French and English, of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, greeting.

I command that the abbot and monks of Abingdon hold and have all the lands, and their men, and all their things, well, in peace, honorably, freely, and quietly, just as they held them on the day in which king Henry was alive and dead, and the day on which I was first crowned, lest this thence be placed in plea until I come into the shire; because I do not wish that they plead before me.

With witness Richard de Lucy; at London.

[567] THAT THE ABBOT MAY NOT PLEAD UNLESS BEFORE THE KING.

Stephen, king of England, to his justices and sheriffs, barons, knights, and all his vassals, French and English, of Oxford and Berkshire, greeting.

May you know that I warrant the abbot of Abingdon lest he himself or his men plead about any plea which belongs to my crown, unless before me, and when I will be at Oxford.

With witness William of Ypres; at London.

[568] AGAIN, ABOUT THE HUNDRED.

I command that you permit the abbot of Abingdon to hold his hundred, and all his tenures, well and in peace, just as better he held them at the time of king Henry, and just as the kings' charters attest, which thence he has, and with all his liberties.

With witness A. cleric; at St. Alban's.

[569] [UNTITLED WRIT.]

Stephen, king of England, to William Martel, and to all his vassals, French and English, greeting.

May you know that I have returned and granted to God, and to the abbey and monks of Abingdon, their land of Whistley and of Winkfield; and that land, and all their other lands, and all their things, are in my charge and protection. Wherefore I wish and command that they be well, and in peace, so no one does harm to them, nor may anyone thence seize them. Because I wish that all their things be thus well guarded just as my demesnes, in all things.

With witness Adam of Belnio; at Oxford.

[570] [UNTITLED WRIT.]

Stephen, king of England, to his justices, sheriffs, barons, and to all his knights and vassals of England and of the ports of the sea, greeting.

I command that all the corrody and all the things of the abbot and monks of Saint Mary of Abingdon, which their men pledged faith to be their own, may be quit of toll, pannage, and all custom, lest they be unjustly disturbed over these things, on pain of ten pounds of forfeiture.
With witnesses William of Ypres, and Richard de Lucy.

[571] [UNTITLED WRIT.]

Stephen, king of England, to the abbot of Abingdon, greeting.

I order and command that you do your guard-service at my castle of Windsor thus well and fully just as once better and more fully you did in the same place, and not elsewhere.

With witness William of Ypres; at Oxford.

[572] ABOUT WALTER SON OF HINGAM.

While king Stephen reigned, and while the lord abbot Ingulf governed this church, the aforesaid Simon [Henry I's bursar] gave his daughter in marriage to a certain knight, Walter son of Hingam. Simon bestowed upon him the vill Tadmarton, under the condition by which he himself had held it; that is, that he return fifteen pounds to the abbot every year. He held the vill, but he returned nothing for it. For this reason the abbot sent to the same vill a certain one of his monks to reseise it in his own hand. He assigned it as his due that he should obtain whatever small wealth which resulted from at the least the vill (for some time it was allowed to be considered as a rent with loss). But both, namely the vill and his accustomed rent, were lost at the same time. This having been done, however, Simon, Walter his son-in-law, and his sons, received it gravely, and caused around us much ill-will, and accordingly they were always strong adversaries.
[573] ABOUT THE SAME CHURCH.

In the year in which king Stephen and Henry duke of Normandy joined in alliance [1154], Turstin son of Simon suggested to the king that the abbot of Abingdon had for some time occupied by unjust and fraudulent invasion certain possessions of his hereditary right. Since gifts had been given him for the restitution of the same, the king commanded the abbot by his writ that, with all delay removed, whatever Turstin called his, he could seise. Having heard this, the abbot did not take the loss lightly, nor did he lightly consent. With his court assembled, [the king] stated the day on which deliberation would take place, and he decided how to answer this. When the stated day came, the abbot had not yet consented that Turstin should receive what he was seeking, just as at first, then at second, he spent the day consulting wiser men about such business. Considering his wealth dispersed against Turstin, he rejected the day, and because the abbot did not wish to satisfy the king's commands, the abbot declared falsely. As mentioned above (so that he would more swiftly become sound of vow), he enticed the king and the king's associates now with his gifts. The king, however, reckoning Turstin's case [to be] just, ordered his sheriff, at that time Henry of Oxford, with all scruple of uneasiness taken away, to decide the case according to royal law. The sheriff, perverted by love of money, plundered the just possessors and introduced Turstin into a thing not his, as if the king had ordered it
and the law had spoken. This he did unjustly, as he himself confessed afterwards. Turstin therefore was seised with the thing he sought, that is the church of Marcham, and three hides belonging to it, one in Milton, one also in Appleford, and acting against ecclesiastical right, he retained them. But God did not suffer the unjust [situation] to exist for long.

[574] [UNTITLED SECTION.]

In the same year in which he invaded the properties of the church, king Stephen died that day [1154], and Henry the younger succeeded him in the kingdom. The brothers of the congregation approached him, and they demonstrated how the case had been perversely transacted, begging that he apply an ear to their just complaint. The king acquiesced to the brothers, whose complaint he discerned as just. Having sent letters, he ordered that in the county Berkshire the case of both (namely the church of Abingdon and Turstin) be presented at court. Thus offered it was examined; thus examined it was determined either here or therein. But Turstin, conscious of his guilt, with the king's business having been delayed, first by infirmity, then by this, now by that, reason, for two years cautiously avoided the county. The abbot realized this, and he felt annoyed many times with this inane labor. The brothers being received with him, he approached the king, then delayed at Woodstock. Strenuously he demanded that, [the king being] merciful, he
should impose an end to their case and labor. The king assented to that. Having called his justices together, namely Gregory of London, and William son of John, Nigel of Brocco and other wise men of his court, he ordered that they decide the case of the abbot and Turstin, who were then present. He asserted that whatever they decided justly about this would be held resolutely. They, having considered the truth of the matter, understood that Turstin had unjustly held back the church's property, and that the abbot had moved a just complaint for such a loss. But although this was just, nevertheless they did not presume to deprive this man of the thing which he had invaded, without the sentence first having been heard from the mouth of the king. They said that certainly he would be able to exist more solidly because they have striven to confirm the authority proffered from the royal mouth. Meanwhile the aforesaid men reported to the king what had been done concerning the judgment committed to them, praying that he disclose his will to them. [Henry] commanded that not only what Turstin had unjustly acquired in the church's demesne should be returned, but also that the damage which he inflicted upon the church in the meantime should be restored. Having done this, if Turstin wished, he could hold the manor Tadmarton every year for fifteen pounds of the abbot, just as his father and he had done. Diligently assessing the damage, they reckoned it equal, if Turstin paid the abbot sixty marks for the loss of Tadmarton, and three marks for the
loss of the church of Marcham and five hides, which we have already mentioned, unless the abbot wished to spare Turstin in this. Turstin, realizing that it was imposed upon him to withdraw his men, made known that he could not pay what had been commanded. When this was reported to the king, he ordered that the abbot receive the vill, as well as the church and the aforesaid land, and answer to Turstin or his heirs nothing after that day. God willing, he thus returned in the original state whatever that defrauder had cheated from the possessions of the monastery.

[575] AGAIN, ABOUT THE SAME CHURCH.

At the time in which the aforesaid Turstin held the property, a certain one of the king's clerks (namely Radulf of Tamworth), was given the church of Marcham to be had without land. With [Turstin] dispossessed, it happened that [Radulf] did not hold the part unjustly though he had received it from him who had justly lost the whole. Seeking solace of his loss, however, or the method of recovering it, with royal letters frequently conveyed to [the king's] nobles, he met with the abbot and convent to ask that they grant to him to hold it anyhow, just as anyone else would pay the rent. Since they did not all consent, he conferred himself to the Pope. Supported by papal authority and letters, he approached Walkelin, Ingulf's successor, not to ask but almost [as if] to demand. He hoped to obtain from the second [i.e., Walkelin] what he was not able [to obtain]
from the first [i.e., Ingulf]. But the second had no more desire to do this than the first. He [Walkelin] therefore approached the king to make known what his clerk did to him fraudulently against the Abingdon church. The king was indignant with the clerk and ordered him if he wished to remain in his court, or indeed in the kingdom, he would strive to have peace with the Abingdon church. Having been restored by the king, and defended, thus ordained it lies upon the altar of Saint Mary until today.

[576] ABOUT RICHARD BASSET.

Richard Basset (son of Turstin, son of the aforesaid Radulf) succeeded as heir when his father died, and he moved a challenge about the aforesaid four hides, doing it with much objection and curiosity, so that he might attract them to himself (if he could in any way). The brothers recognized his cunning and went to king Henry the younger, reigning at that time. They requested that he cause them to hold with peace what he had justly given them. He assented benignly to their petition, and he directed to Richard a protection by such writ with his seal:--

[577] CHARTER OF KING HENRY THE YOUNGER.

Henry, king of England and duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to Richard Basset, greeting.

I command that my monks of Abingdon may hold in peace, freely, quietly, and justly the four hides of land of Chaddleworth, just as they held them in the time of king Henry my grandfather, and with the liberties of the same
with all their rights pertaining. I forbid anyone thence unjustly to place them in plea. If you do not do this, my justice may cause it to be done, lest I hear a claim for penury of full right or of firm justice.

With witness William, son of John; at Chivam.

[578] With this writ having been heard, Richard was not strong [enough] to contradict it in anything. Also he knew that he had moved a challenge, so he composed such a chirograph with the Abingdonians:

CHIROGRAPH ABOUT CHADDLEWORTH.

May it be known to all, more present than future, that I Richard Basset, son of Turstin Basset, have granted in perpetual alms, and have firmly confirmed in chapter, before all the convent, and have placed upon the altar by the sign of the knife with my own hands, to the Abingdon church the four hides of land of Chaddleworth, with the belongings in forest, in field, which my grandfather, Radulf Basset, and my father, Turstin Basset, gave to the aforesaid church to be held, free and discharged from all military service and exaction, except the common geld of the whole county. Nevertheless, if my other lands are quit, that may likewise be quit. Concerning the forest which belongs to the same land, when I am in that county, I retain to the hearth before me to be made and to my kitchen, both branches and poles for the folds and tallows to be made around my court, and trees for my mill of Lecedumba, if they are found in
that forest. All is taken in sight of the monks' forester, and just as he makes known, and my demesne pigs of Ledecumba may be quit of pannage, with the present witnesses having subscribed:

The whole convent; of laymen, Adam the sheriff, Jordan of Sandford, John of Saint Helen's, Geoffrey of Sunningwell, Henry of Pusey, Radulf Brito, Radulf Placitor, and many others.

With these things finished, Richard took with him the middle part of the chirograph, and he returned to his own property, having been made a friend.

[579] ABOUT THE ROMAN PRIVILEGE.

Seeing the letters of the king for the protection of the church which he presided over, abbot Ingulf thought the letters accomplished little, because with the division of the kingdom diverse nobles had obeyed diverse leaders, and what one confirmed another strove to make invalid. So he, for solace, had recourse to the head of the universal church, because he seemed to him most powerful (as he was). He then directed one of his clerks, known to the Roman church and skilled in speaking, Geoffrey Trenchebisa, to the Roman see, to beg the apostolic dignity that the church's property committed to him be confirmed by his authority and letters, and defended from incursion of the enemies, who were now threatening. Promoting this petition, the venerable pope Eugenius III, then presiding over the holy Roman church, directed letters to this church of Abingdon in
these words:—

[580] PRIVILEGE OF POPE EUGENIUS III.

Eugenius bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved sons Ingulf, abbot of the monastery of Saint Mary of Abingdon, and his brothers, present as well as future, having professed the regular life, forever.

The request of pious will in effect ought to be filled by the following, and in order that sincerity of devotion may laudably shine forth, and the requested right may indubitably receive men.

On account of these things, beloved sons in the Lord, we have clemently assented to your just requests, and the aforesaid church of the Holy Mother of God, which by divine consent you have been given, and we strengthen this with the privilege of the present writing; stating that whatever possessions, and whatever goods you at present possess justly and canonically, or in future by grant of popes, liberality of kings, largess of princes, oblation of the faithful, or by any other just means, with the Lord being present, you will have been able to accept, and they may endure firm and undiminished to you and your successors. In which matters we have led these things to be elicited by the proper words.

The very place in which your monastery has been founded, the hundred of Hormer, Abingdon, and the market, with all liberties and customary rights, just as the kings of England
granted them to you and confirmed by their charters, with Cumnor, and Barton and all appurtenances of the hundred, Marcham, Milton, Drayton, Shellingford, Watchfield, with all their appurtenances, the church of Saint Mary of Colne with its belongings, the church of Kensington and two hides, with the things which belong, the church of the Holy Innocents, and your residences which belong to the church at London on the road of Westminster, the church of Saint Martin and the church of Saint Aldates, and whatever of land and right you have at Oxford, the church of Newnham [Murren], the church of Sutton, Lockinge, Ginge, Farnborough, Wytham, Appleford with their appurtenances, Uffington, Goosey, Worth, Charney, Welford, Chieveley, Cuddesdon, Lewknor, Tadmarton, Beedon, Leckhampstead, Tubney, Lyford, Fawler, with all things which pertain to them. In Gloucestershire Dumbleton, and Cirne with appurtenances. In Chilton five hides. In Pusey two hides. In Denchworth seven hides. In Buckland five hides. In Chaddesworth four hides, which were of Radulf Basset. In Garsington nine hides. In Chesterton one hide. In Hill two hides. In Bereford five hides. In Arncot two hides. In Sutton one hide and the mill of Henoura. In Fencott one hide. In Benham two hides, of the gift of Humphrey de Bohun. In Newnham [Murren] one fishery with appurtenances. In Colnbrook whatever of land and right you have from the gift of Milo Crispin and Robert Gernon. In Dumbleton one hide from the gift of William Guizenboeth, and half a hide from the gift of king Henry. In Stretona one hide and three
virgates from the gift of Henry de Albini.

When you die, abbot of this house, or [when] whomever you choose as your successor [dies], no one in the same house by whatever cunning of theft or by violence may be appointed, unless the brothers by common consent, or on the part of more sound advice of the brothers, according to fear of God and the rule of Blessed Benedict, will canonically have provided him to be elected.

We forbid moreover that anyone after having made profession in the same house, without the permission of the abbot and his brothers, may dare to withdraw from the same monastery, truly no one may dare to retain the one withdrawing.

We have decided also that in your monastery, in which the brothers profess to live the regular life, no one may wholly be allowed, according to the rule of the Blessed Benedict, to change the order constituted in the same house; indeed no bishop in future times may dare to expel brothers of the same religion from your monastery, with the abbot and brothers unwilling.

Also we have granted the burial [ground] of your monastery to be free; that for your devotion and utmost desire, no one may oppose (you who will have resolved to be buried in that place), unless by chance you have been excom- municated.

Moreover, all the liberties and reasonable customary of rights of your monastery granted to you by the kings of
England and your bishops, and confirmed by your writings, just as thus far you have had and held in peace, we have confirmed to you forever.

We have decided therefore that no men may wholly be allowed by chance to disturb the aforesaid monastery, or to take away its possessions, or to retain the things taken away, to diminish, harrass them with whatever vexations; but all things may be preserved whole, their rights in all ways about to profit (you for whose governance and sustenance they have been granted), by the sound authority of the apostolic see and the canonical justice and reverence of the diocesan bishops.

If, in future, an ecclesiastical or secular person knows the page of this our constitution, yet tries to come at random against it, having been reprimanded for the second or third time, if he does not correct his offense with suitable satisfaction, may he be devoid of the dignity of his power and honor, and acknowledge the charge and himself by divine judgment existed from the iniquity he had perpetrated, and may he become alienated from the most holy Body and Blood of God and of our Lord, Redeemer Jesus Christ, and may he be subject to severe examination in utmost revenge. However to all the ones serving together in the same house their rights may be the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, in order that they may seize the fruit of good action and discover the rewards of eternal peace before the strict Judge. Amen. Amen. Amen.
[Papal seal affixed here]

+I Eugenius, bishop of the universal church, have subscribed. [Followed by list of signatories.]

Given at Viterbo, by the hand of Guido cardinal deacon of the holy Roman church, and chancellor, the tenth of the kalends of January [23 Dec.], ninth indiction, in the year 1146 of the Lord's Incarnation, truly the pontificate of the lord Eugenius III, the second year of the pope.

[581] AGAIN, ANOTHER PRIVILEGE OF THE SAME POPE EUGENIUS III ABOUT THE POSSESSIONS OF THIS CHURCH.

Eugenius bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved sons Ingulf abbot of the monastery of Saint Mary of Abingdon, and his brothers, present as well as future, to be governed regularly forever.

Whereas without the cultivation of true religion or charity, unity is unable to exist, nor may service agreeable to God be exhibited, it proceeds for apostolic authority to cherish religious persons, and to provide soundly for their quiet, with the Lord aiding.

On account of these things, beloved sons in the Lord, we have clemently assented to your just requests, and adhering to the footsteps of pope Innocent, our predecessor of happy memory, the aforesaid church, which you have been given by divine indulgence, we have accepted under our protection and that of Holy Peter, and we fortify it by privilege of the
present writing. Determining that whatever possessions, whatever goods, the same church at present possesses justly and canonically, or in future by grant of popes, by largess of kings or princes, by oblation of the faithful, or by other just means, with God well disposed, it was able to acquire, they may remain firm and undiminished to you and your successors. In which matters we have led these things to be elicited by the proper words.

From the returns of the altar, the church of Saint Martin, the church of Saint Aldates in Oxford, the church of Cumnor with its chapels, the church of Newnham [Murren], the church of Uffington, the church of Wyham, with the mill of the same vill, the church of Cuddesdon, the church of Wyham. Of the church of Kingston thirty-two pennies. Half the tithing of Marcham. The land which Walman held near the bridge of Oxford. Ten acres in Hamme. Three manses in Abingdon. Forty shillings [worth] of land near Culham. The tithing of wool and cheese in Heldesieia. Of the demesne; the tithing of the demesne in Winterbourn. The tithing of the demesne in West Lockinge. Two meadows near the park. One meadow in Newnham [Murren]. One manse in Oxford, from the gift of Ermenold. Three shillings [worth] of land near the bridge of the same city. Two oras in Drayton, and one virgate of land. In More eight shillings. In Winchester outside the south gate, half a mark. The tithing of Milton. Of the common; the frank hundred, namely Abingdon, Berton, Cumnor, with all their appurtenances, and Culham, with all
the liberty which thus far they are recognized to have. The church of Sutton, Marcham, Worth, Cerni, Goosey, Uffington, Shellingford, Watchfield, both Lockinges, Farnborough, Chieveley, Boxford, Wallingford, Wyham, with all their appurtenances, Drayton, Milton, Appleford, Witteham, Winkfield, Whistley, with their appurtenances.

In the bishopric of Lincoln whatever of lands and right you have in Oxford, Lewknor, Cuddesdon, with their appurtenances, Tadmarton, and land which you have in Hanweia near the land Northampton in Sitelhangar.

In the bishopric of Worcester, Charney and Dumbleton, with their appurtenances.

In the bishopric of Chester, Chesterton.

In the bishopric of London, the monastery called Coles.

In London one manse at the abbot's residence, with the church of Saint Mary which belongs. The church near London of Kensington. The tithing of all hunting of the forest of Windsor, which is taken in the royal stables.

In the parochial churches also which you hold, you are permitted to elect priests worthy to be presented to bishops, to whom, if they [the priests] be suitable, they [the bishops] commit the care of souls of the parish's bishop, so that priests of this kind of the people indeed may respond by the care to bishops, they exhibit the submission owed to you for temporal things.

When you die, abbot of this same place, or [when] whom-
ever you choose as your successor [dies], no one may be appointed there by whatever cunning of theft or by violence, unless the brothers by common consent, or on the part of sound advice, according to God and the rule of Blessed Benedict, have provided him to be elected.

We have decided therefore than no man may be wholly allowed to disturb at random the aforesaid monastery, or take away its possessions, or to hold the things taken away, to diminish, or harrass them with any vexations. But all their possessions may be preserved whole, about to profit in their rights in all ways, [you] for whose governance and sustenance they have been granted, by the sound authority of the apostolic see, and the canonical justice of the diocesan bishops.

If, in future, an ecclesiastical or secular person knows the page of this our constitution, yet tries to come at random against it, having been reprimanded for the second or third time, if he does not correct his offense with suitable satisfaction, may he be devoid of the dignity of his power and honor, and recognize the charge and himself by divine judgment to exist from iniquity having been perpetrated, and may he become alienated from the most holy Body and Blood of God and our Redeemer Lord Jesus Christ, and may he be subject to severe examination in utmost revenge. To all those together however serving justice in the same house, may be the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, in order that they may seize the fruit of good action, and discover the rewards of

[Papal seal affixed here]

I Eugenius, bishop of the universal church, have subscribed. [Followed by list of signatories.]

Given of the Seal, by the hand of Boso, scribe of the holy Roman church, the seventh of the ides of April [7 Apr.], fifteenth indiction, in the year 1152 of the Lord's Incarnation, truly the eighth year of the pontificate of the lord pope Eugenius III.

[582] LIKewise, Another Bull.

Eugenius bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the venerable brothers the bishops Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, Alexander of Lincoln, S. of Worcester, and Jocellinus of Salisbury, greeting and apostolic benediction.

We have received the grave complaint of the religious brothers of Abingdon that William Martel, Hugh de Bolebec, William of Bellocampo, John Marshall, and their men, and indeed many others of your parish, violently invaded their possessions, and seized and removed their goods, and demanded the undue workings of the castles from them. Because the duty of our office compels us to correct the invaders of ecclesiastical properties with the proper censure, through apostolic writings we, by commanding, order to what extent the aforesaid and others of your parishioners, who invade and plunder the goods of the monastery, and [who] disturb [it] with unjust exactions, you might recollect
strictly that they restore the things taken away to the same monastery and make satisfaction very worthily for the damages and inflicted injuries. Since they have been despisers, you may do canonical justice about them.

Given at Autisiodori, tenth of the kalends of August [23 July 1147].

[583] ABOUT THE TITHE IN HANNEY.

Rainald, formerly abbot of this Abingdon church, granted to a certain priest friendly to him to hold while he lived a certain tithe of Hanney, namely ten acres, so that without any challenge he [would] restore the same to this church before his death. The priest, who trusted in the favor of the abbot and corrupted by this, gave the aforesaid tithe, with his kinswoman, by right of dower to a certain knight called Roger. (This was done against the church's right.) This man, because he was experienced, demonstrated the services he could do for the abbot, to such extent that he retained, as a favor for himself, the tithe which he had received, which by right he should not have retained. He held it as long as he lived. When Roger drew near the end, Ingulf, then abbot of this church, when he learned how [Roger] received that tithe, seised it and held it for four years more or less. Presently, though, through the prayers of Robert, son of the aforesaid Roger, and of his friends, who were then powerful in war, and having been harrassed, he [Ingulf] feared that if he opposed their petition, he might incur their hate to the great damage of the church, so
he permitted Robert to hold the tithe at the time. Robert renounced his allegiance [i.e., to the church] so he could hold this himself for a long time, and then he sold it to others. But they who had been called to the buying, not wishing to act unadvisedly against the church, to whom the tithe belonged, refused to buy. When they defaulted, he [Robert] went to the sacristan of the church, Richard, who saw that opportune time had approached to restore the church's tithe which had been taken away for a long time. He showed Robert how he held it injuriously, adding prayers for its restitution, and so that he [Robert] might progress to the summit [i.e., accede to his wish], he gave him seven marks in good spirit. Having accepted them, Robert granted the aforesaid tithe perpetually upon the great altar, with his son (whom he had as heir) present to confirm the same, without any challenge in posterity. With witnesses Hugh son of Bernerus, John of Tubney, Robert of Wytham, Adam the sheriff, and several others, whom it is not needful to name.

Through this matter which we have already described, Richard [the sacristan] had made sure of the father, since he suspected that the son might act perversely in the future. So Richard gave the son the best venison zone [of Hanney] and twelve pennies; and in chapter before the convent upon the sacred relics he caused [the son] to swear that never for himself nor for another would he seek that which might make the concluded agreement less firm.
ABOUT HALF A HIDE IN BORSTALL.

The same Robert detained by force a half-hide of land in Borstall after his father's death. In this he was supported by the aid of certain of his friends. This abbot Vincent either gave or granted to his father Roger to hold while he lived, and not otherwise. Abbot Ingulf did not bear lightly the loss of the aforesaid land, and he called Robert forth to his court, to this end (although laboriously), because [Robert] with his heir claimed that half-hide wholly quit to the abbot and returned it by hand in hand. With the land recovered, the abbot gave it to the sacristan Richard, who kissed his hand. Lest at any time in future Robert bring [a claim] about this grave [matter], or move the perverse, Richard gave him twenty shillings, besides another fifty which he had lent him first upon the same land in the hope of recovering it. Thus it was done that Robert himself, with the whole convent present, confirmed that half-hide upon the great altār, without any counter-claim in future. Afterwards, nevertheless, Robert's wife claimed that this had been given to her in dower by king Henry the younger, who reigned after Stephen. She brought to abbot Ingulf a writ stating that upon this challenge right [i.e., justice] would examine abbot and woman. The writ was thoroughly examined, however, with the woman present, and, with the common consideration of the many wise men who had been called, it was displayed that nothing of the land belonged to her. When the woman re-
turned to her own home, this case was thus finished.

[585] THE TITHE IN WEST LOCKINGE.

The same Richard worked so that a certain knight, Giralmus de Curzun, granted to the altar of Saint Mary a tithe of thirty acres of West Lockinge, which his parents had first granted. He added the tithe of piglets or lambs, cheeses, and other things which are accustomed to be tithed, which the earlier ones [i.e., his parents] had given [only] minimally. The devoted man offered this gift upon the altar of Saint Mary, with a tithe of as much as three acres of the thirty reserved to the church of Wantage. Giralmus confirmed his gift in chapter before all the convent, with abbot Ingulf present, with witnesses Saricus the cook and many others. The sacristan then gave him [Giralmus] ten shillings in testimony for duty of charity.

Nevertheless this same Giralmus, perverted by I know not what cause, replaced the aforesaid tithe in the storehouse, but rebuked by Richard, he did penance and broke the bars of the storehouse with his own hand and restored the tithe to the church. He then confirmed it by swearing that nothing like what he had done would be done again.

After some time elapsed, Giralmus obtained from the sacristan a loan of [seven] shillings, to be returned without delay at the stated time. But when the set time approached, also another, and also the third, the sacristan was unable to acquire what he had lent. Moreover, Giralmus
had again replaced his tithe in the storehouse; so that, while he denied both, [he said that] if he returned one he would retain the other nevertheless. Richard contended with him with words and at length wrested this [compromise] from him, that if he were remitted from the six [sic--seven] shillings he had been lent, and he [in turn] granted the tithe which he had granted freely, [Giralmus] would give him three quarters of corn with deed of thanks, to grant the tithe perpetually without any reclaiming and would confirm it with witnesses. Richard consented to his petitions before these and many other witnesses and had the [petitions] confirmed; Peter de Vernun, Hugh son of Richard, Osmund de Grava, Simon of Charlton. This [conclusion] finally was had, and he accepted such an end.

[586] ABOUT A VIRGATE OF LAND IN DRAYTON.

A certain man, Radulf, was holding one virgate of land in Drayton, which to the altar of Saint Mary returned thirty-two pennies each year. Radulf gave this [virgate] to a certain Roger in dower with his daughter. When Roger died, his son Thomas, with his mother favoring it, was not able to pay completely his debt to the altar for many years, so he took himself to Richard the sacristan, seeking that he confer upon him anything concerning what he owed, in order that he grant him that virgate to be had wholly with good spirit. When he [Richard] had satisfied Thomas in pennies and other things, the aforesaid virgate was seised freely by Richard. It was recorded in the office of the sacristan.
[587] ABOUT A CERTAIN HOUSE.

By Richard's shrewd acquisition, a certain Robert, priest of Marcham, gave to God and the altar of Saint Mary a house he had acquired, free and wholly quit for himself. Because he was now laboring with the last sickness and was not able to go to that place, he commanded a certain Walter of Coleshulle, his kinsman, by his charge to offer the same house upon the great altar, with all the convent present, along with many clerks and laypersons. It was done as he wished, and after that, he departed from the present life. Afterwards, a certain William surnamed Pincun, because some part of the aforesaid house seemed to be built upon his land (for it was nearby), moved a challenge, and it frequently came into dispute. The sacristan avoided his importunity. But, with his incessant prayer and [that] of his many friends, he [Richard] granted William the same house for twelve pennies every year, so that William claimed quit the proposed house, and [Richard asked] if this happened, what else would be returned for it.

[588] ABOUT THE HOUSES OF SCALEGRAI IN THAT VILL.

With Richard [the sacristan] persuading him, a certain Scalegrai decided to make the church the heir of his houses. When his two kinsmen heard this (namely Robert of Lockinge and another Robert), they moved a hereditary challenge over those houses. This case was conducted in the common Hallimot to this end: each challenger, because he had
nothing of right there, vacant from his hope, withdrew because it was just. Scalegrai thus gave his houses voluntarily to this church. Because he had an extensive journey to pass, our sacristan freely granted him one mark for the journey. In such wise ended that case, with the houses received from him.

[589] JUST SO, ABOUT CERTAIN OTHER LAND.

A certain woman, Beliardis, wife of a certain Sturnell, provoked by Richard's zeal, decided to assign her houses to the altar of Saint Mary after the death of her man. But certain challengers, who thought they had some right themselves, mounted claims against this. The truth was investigated by wise men, who tried each case and saw that they brought forward an unjust challenge. After this, as was right, they were rejected. The woman now used her free power and granted her houses to the altar of Saint Mary with good spirit. Richard gave her fourteen shillings for this grant in hand, and he received the houses given in such wise by the woman. This was not overlooked by a certain transmarine canon, son of the aforesaid Sturnell, who arrived to move a challenge. But when he [saw] he could expect to accomplish nothing, he returned whence he had come, and he did not return further to move a challenge.

[590] ABOUT THE LAND OF ROGER HALIMAN.

Roger, a certain priest of Wallingford, whose surname was Haliman, had a son named Thomas, who accepted the habit of the monk at Abingdon. Roger gave his holdings of houses
belonging to his right to the altar of Saint Mary. But in war, when a force of knights stayed in the same castle, the [houses] were alienated for some time. With peace made under king Henry the younger, Richard the sacristan approached all the barons then congregated with Henry son of Gerold, a townsman of that castle. Before them he [Richard] accomplished that a knight, Richard, who was holding the same land, seised that church [with the houses] before them all. But because the same knight had built new houses upon said land, by the intervention of those gathered there, he [the sacristan] was reseised, in order to receive from [the knight], or anyone who remained there, six pennies annually, and for the other house, in which lived a certain Gerard Rufus, another six pennies.

[591] ABOUT CERTAIN LAND IN WALLINGFORD.

A certain man, AEIwine, of the same vill desired with his small son to become a monk in this church. He offered, among other things, his houses with land to the altar of Saint Mary. This was done during the war, just as many others had conferred the [right] of their possessions to the church. When the war ceased, the aforesaid houses had been destroyed, so the sacristan released the same land to a certain burgess for twelve pennies per year.

[592] OF THE FESTIVAL OF THE RELICS.

Many saints' relics are preserved in this church, but their memory was not celebrated here at that time. The
sacristan. Richard deliberated upon this, and with the consent of the abbot and the whole convent, he instituted on the day of March which first occurred after fifteen days of Easter, [a festival] on which the memory of all this church's relics would be held. He allocated for it the rent of forty shillings acquired by his own labor. Because of this, that day is always celebrated honorably, as is befitting, among the principal feast days.

[593] ABOUT ORGS.

The same Richard also contributed organs for the church at his own cost, and he assigned rent by which in future they could be repaired or held by hand. Likewise he was the first to have things in this church made fitly of iron. In the silver vessels or those of another metal, in candelabra, bells, or in many things belonging to the decoration of the church, there remains in this church a great memory of that man.

I have now explained these things about the dead man, and it should not be suspected that I wish anyone to fawn upon the ashes. From this let us pass on to other things.

[594] ABOUT SWINLEY.

At the time of abbot Ingulf, certain possessions of the church were taken away from beneath the gaze of justice since the abbot wished it, although it was unjust and to the church's damage. In the war certain land of the church called Swinley lay deserted, because the possessors of plundered possessions were not strong [enough] to hold the land
for fear. Seeing this, the White Monks of Stratford approached abbot Ingulf, and more by prayer than by price, they endeavored to obtain that he grant them the land, for which they would return six shillings per year. The abbot acquiesced to their words and gifts, with only some brothers consenting, whom the aforesaid monks had placated by gift, and [the abbot] bestowed upon them the land they sought and confirmed it with his letters and the church's seal, against the convent's will. He detained the church's seal under his own authority and confirmed with it what he wished. Wherefore after his death it happened that very many seals, unprofitably made by him, were broken. The monks [of Stratford] received the aforesaid land, and thus they detain and endeavor to detain it forever.

[595] ABOUT HACAMSTEDE.

A certain clerk of Lewknor, Anser, for a long time held the same vill of abbot Ingulf, and exhibited to him the services which he was able. Since he had come into the abbot's favor, more by prayer than by price, he obtained from him in fee and inheritance a certain section of Lewknor, called Hacamsteder, to be held for forty shillings, which formerly was accustomed to return fifty. This was done against the will and right of the convent and was confirmed by the abbot's letters and the church's seal which, as we have said, he had in his own hand.

[596] ABOUT CERTAIN LAND AT BARTON.
In similar fashion, by grant of this abbot, Hugh son of Bernerus, with consent of the convent obtained land on the right side of the courtyard from those travelling from Barton, which the venerable abbot Faritus exchanged with the aforesaid Bernerus for land called Blakegra, for . . . [text faulty] shillings per year, returning nineteen shillings, without other customary dues, and nine pennies.

Just so, by gift of this abbot, William surnamed Paulinus acquired nine acres of the demesne of Barton and detained it from the church. By such ways the church's possessions were weakened, until they were restored through a man given by God, wherefore they were again sustained.

[597] ABOUT MONEY WHICH THE KING RECEIVED IN THAT CHURCH.

Not only did that church suffer great loss at that time in exterior possessions, [it suffered loss also] in interior ones. Through the betrayal of certain of the abbot's friends, king Stephen had plundered for stipends for his army the large amount of money which the abbot had gathered, and whatever had been deposited in the church to be guarded. Afterwards, at the abbot's death, whatever gold and silver was discovered in the church in the saints' shrines or in vessels was withdrawn for the rents owed of it.

[598] ABOUT KING HENRY THE YOUNGER.

Meanwhile king Stephen died, in the nineteenth year of his reign [1154]. Henry the younger succeeded him in the kingdom, and the extraordinary war of all England ceased.
CHARTER ABOUT THE TITHE OF CHILTON.

May it be known to those present and future, by the witness of this deed signed by my seal, that I, Nicholas son of Turold of Easton, for the well-being of my soul and of [those of] my parents, and because it has been allowed to me to hold the cemetery of my chapel of Winterbourne from the church of Abingdon, I have granted firmly and to the end have given to the aforesaid church of Abingdon, to be had each year forever, the tithes of my land which I hold in demesne in the vill Chilton. Namely, in the cornfield [where one] enters the door of my barn, in cheeses, in fleeces and lambs, little pigs, and in all things which are accustomed to be tithed. As written above moreover I firmly have assigned the church of Chieveley each year [the tithes] of two acres from my demesne in Winterbourne, one of corn, the other of oats, or two shillings, the choice [of these] to be considered after the death of my clerk Heliás; and so because thereafter I may choose and place the person for serving the aforesaid chapel of Winterbourne, by sound oath of episcopal truth.

This gift was made on the day of Saint Laurentius, in the Abingdon chapter, in the second year of king Henry [1156], with those present, abbot Ingulf, prior Walter, and other brothers, with these witnesses subscribing: Roger archdeacon, master Rannulf, Heliás clerk of Chieveley, Richard brother of the same Nicholas, Hamo Perun, Richard of
Hundred, John of Tubney, Henry of Pusey.

With the abbot granting, the aforesaid tithe was consigned for the use of paupers and pilgrims, with Nicholas present to give thanks for the great work, because he had assigned his alms to such business.

[600] CHIROGRAPH ABOUT CERTAIN LAND IN OXFORD.

Those present and future, clerks and laymen, French and English, will know that I, Ingulf, by God's grace abbot of Abingdon, and our whole convent, have granted to Radulf Brito one tenement to be held of our hereditary right, situated outside the walls of Oxford, which Geoffrey son of Mildred held. It pertains to the altar of our church for twenty shillings, to be returned every year to our sacristan. Moreover, he will quit the same land against the king for sixteen pennies, according to the custom of the vill of Oxford; and so that well and freely Radulf himself and his heirs hold, just as anyone before him had held of us better and more freely the aforesaid land.

[601] TESTAMENT OF THE LORD ABBOT INGULF.

May it be known to those present and future that I Ingulf, abbot of Abingdon, have granted to our convent all the customary rights which it had in its separate [monastic] offices, just as better and more fully they had been established at the time of my predecessor, the lord abbot Vincent, and just as I found them. Namely, in cellar, in refectory, in alms, in "maundy," in sacristy, in the house of the infirm, in kitchen, in chamber, in the custom of
those serving, in court, in accepting guests, in wood [for fuel], and in the church's buildings. Moreover I grant forever, for the brothers' grease, Whistley and Winkfield, with all their rents, and by the present deed, under condition of anathema, by the power which I have, I confirm that none of my successors may diminish our abovesaid disposition in anything, or remove our gifts which we have given the church; namely, to the sacristy forty shillings, in Milton twenty shillings, and of the monastery of St. Aldates of Oxford twenty shillings, and in Watchfield the rent of a mill for celebrating the feast of Sts. Swithin and Ethelwold.

[602] ABOUT A CERTAIN PASTURE AT UFFINGTON.

At the time of abbot Ingulf a dispute arose between the granary keeper and the abbot himself about a certain pasture between Uffington and Wolverton, which is called Sumerlese. This case was discussed so very long, until the [possession of the] well-known pasture was settled by duel [judicial combat]. Through the victory of the abbot's champion, it was adjudged to this church, according to the custom of the kingdom.

[603] ABOUT THE ORNAMENTS OF ABBOT INGULF.

These are the ornaments which abbot Ingulf conferred upon the Abingdon church; namely, four better hoods, a most noble dalmatic, a pall with lions for the great altar, and a fifth hood which he conferred in oblation. He gave two cortinas [types of tapestry] which are called Gallic Dos-
sals, namely one about Christ's Incarnation, the other about the Apocalypse, which hang in the choir in special festivals. Besides these goods and very many others, which we hesitate not to conceal, he made an infirmary with two chapels, likewise a greater chamber which is called the prior's. It happened at the time of that abbot, with necessity assailing, that the paupers of Christ in those parts were put to the test by a most savage misfortune of famine. The aforesaid abbot was moved by piety and touched within by vehement sadness of heart over this situation, and he began to disburse whatever he could, except the things necessary for the victuals of his monks. What more? The abbot's wealth was running out, yet the pestilence of hunger was becoming stronger day by day, and an infinite multitude of paupers of that shire flocked to this abbey. When the abbot saw this whole group, he overflowed with the inward feelings of compassion, and he vehemently began to suffer greatly under the contrition of Joseph. While he deliberated what he could do more cautiously about a misfortune of this kind, with the consent and equal will of his brothers he stripped the coffin of St. Vincentius and delivered it for use of the poor.

It happened in these times, when the most pious king Stephen reigned, that a certain knight of this abbey, Richard of St. Helen's, with his sins demanding, gravely incurred the royal offense. Since he was to be disinherited by abbot Ingulf at the king's command, he prepared very
hastily, asking attentively that the abbot might readily proffer him advice and aid in such a matter. The abbot satisfied his petition properly, again stripping twelve coffins fashioned from pure gold and silver, deciding it more useful to exalt the gold and silver for the redemption of the knight and for ecclesiastical liberty in the royal fisc at the appointed time, than to lose the service of the same land inwardly and to sustain ignominious damage long since. Recalling to memory the renowned abbot Ingulf, and the manner in which he had stripped the coffins, and as if he had despoiled the relics of the saints concealed in them of their beauty, he wished to cover them once again equally with gold and silver, so he collected five hundred marks of silver and forty-nine of gold to do it. With the treasury collected, certain betrayers of his secret by advice approached the king and accused him over this money, as if he had acquired it illicitly. Having heard this, the king sent his messengers to decree his own rights in the treasury which the studious man of God had acquired, not without great labor, for the honor of the holy relics.

[604] ABOUT ABBOT WALKELIN.

Accordingly in the nineteenth [sic-twenty-ninth] year of his rule, the man devoted to God, old and full of days, the lord abbot Ingulf, incurred illness. Laboring in it for a long time, he had himself taken into the brothers' chapter, where, because of his illness, he had not been able to go.
There he absolved of their sins all subject to him, humbly asking what they had released for good and had they sinned in them. Making his final farewell and blessing them, after a few days he migrated from the world on the thirteenth of the kalends of October, namely in the fourth year of king Henry the younger [1158].

In his place as pastor the king substituted Walkelin, a monk of the church of Evesham, a man prudent and faithful concerning the possessions of the church committed to him, zealous also in recalling the losses through negligence of prior pastors. For this reason he was beloved very much by the king, who sent such writings about him to the nobles of England.

[605] LETTERS OF THE KING ABOUT THE SAME ABBOT.

Henry, king of England, and duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to his archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justiciars, sheriffs, knights, and to all his vassals, French and English, of all England, greeting.

May you know that I have granted and given to abbot Walkelin the abbey of Abingdon, with all things belonging to the abbey itself. I therefore wish and firmly command that the aforesaid abbot have and hold the aforesaid abbey with all its belongings well and in peace, freely, quietly, completely and wholly, and honorably, with sake and soke, toll and team, infangentheof, peace-breach, assault, hamsocn [house-breach], and fugitive-harboring, in burg and outside
burg, in wood and field, in meadows and mills, in waters and rivers, in roads and lanes, in festival and without festival, and with all other customary rights, just as once any one of his predecessors better and more freely, more quietly and honorably, held at the time of king Henry, my grandfather, and just as his charter attests.

With witnesses the bishop of Evreux, the bishop of Bayeux, and William de Caisneto; at Rouen.

[606] LETTERS OF KING HENRY THE YOUNGER ABOUT A HUNDRED.

Henry, king of England, and duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to the bishop of Salisbury, his barons, justices, sheriffs, knights, and all his vassals, French and English, of Berkshire, greeting.

May you know that I have granted to God, the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon, abbot Walkelin, all the abbots his successors, and to the monks in the same house serving God, the hundred of Horner to be held and had by perpetual right, to them and all their successors in their legitimate and most free power and justice, just as king Edward and king Henry my grandfather granted to the aforesaid church and confirmed by their charters. I wish and firmly command that the aforesaid abbot Walkelin and the monks of Abingdon hold the aforesaid hundred in peace and quiet, and honorably, with all their customary rights and exemptions with which better and more honorably they held [it] at the times of the aforesaid kings; namely, that no sheriff or his officials
thence interfere with anything, but they themselves freely have and do their justice, just as the charter of king Henry my grandfather attests.

With witnesses the bishop of Evreux, Philip bishop of Bayeux, and William de Caisneto; at Rouen.

[607] ABOUT THE MARKET OF ABINGDON.

Henry, king of England, and duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to the bishop of Salisbury, his barons, justices, sheriffs, knights, and to all his vassals of Berkshire, greeting.

May you know that I have granted to the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon, abbot Walkelin, and the monks in the same house serving God the market of Abingdon, just as the aforesaid church, and [Walkelin's] predecessors the abbots, once better and more freely had it, at the time of king Henry, my grandfather, and just as his charter attests. And they may hold the aforesaid market well and in peace, freely and quietly, wholly and honorably.

With witnesses the bishop of Evreux, Philip, bishop of Bayeux, and William de Caisneto; at Rouen.

[608] ABOUT TOLL.

Henry, king of England, and duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to the justices, sheriffs, knights, and all his bailiffs of all England and ports of the sea, greeting.

I command that the monks of Abingdon be quit from all toll, from transport, from pontage [bridge-toll], from
lastage, and from all customary dues through all my lands and ports of the sea, from all things which their men are able to declare on oath to be their own, just as the charter of king Henry my grandfather attests. I forbid any man to disturb them or their men, on pain of ten pounds of forfeiture.

With witnesses Arnulph bishop of Luxeuil, William de Caisneto, William of Hastings; at Rouen.

[609] ABOUT THE TITHE OF HUNTING OF THE FOREST OF WINDSOR.

Henry, king of England, and duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to the justices, sheriffs, foresters, and all his officials of the forest of Windsor, greeting.

May you know that I have granted and confirmed to God and to the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon the whole tithe of venison taken in the forest of Windsor, just as Henry, my grandfather, granted to them and confirmed by his charter.

With witnesses Rotroldus bishop of Evreux, Philip bishop of Bayeux, and William de Caisneto; at Rouen.

[610] ABOUT THE WOODS OF CUMNOR AND BAGLEY.

Henry, king of England, and duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to the bishop of Salisbury, his barons, justices, sheriffs, foresters, officials, and all his vassals, French and English, of Berkshire, greeting.

May you know that I have granted and confirmed to God,
the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon, the abbot, and the monks in the same house serving God, in perpetual alms, to be had in their custody, the forests of Cumnor and Bagley. They may accept all goats which they find there. They may not take stags and does, unless by my permission, and I will give no one permission to hunt there unless to them; and I pardon them for all forfeitures of assarts, just as King Henry my grandfather granted to them, and just as his charter to them attests.

With witnesses Rotroldus bishop of Evreux, Philip bishop of Bayeux, and William de Caisneto; at Rouen.

[611] ABOUT THE WARRENS OF THIS CHURCH.

Henry, king of England, and duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to his justices, sheriffs, foresters, and all his officials of England, greeting.

I grant that the abbot of Abingdon may have the warrens in all his lands, in which his predecessors had warrens, at the time of king Henry my grandfather. I forbid anyone to flee into them, or seize a hare, without his [the abbot's] permission, on pain of ten pounds of forfeiture.

With witnesses the bishop of Evreux and the bishop of Bayeux; at Rouen.

[612] CONFIRMATION OF THE POSSESSIONS OF THIS CHURCH.

Henry, king of England, and duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, knights, and all his vassals, French and English, of all England, greeting.
May you know that I have granted and with the present charter have confirmed to God, the church of Saint Mary of Abingdon, abbot Walkelin, all the abbots his successors, and the monks in the same house serving God the hundred of Horman, to be held and had by perpetual right in their legitimate and most free power and justice. Moreover I grant to them, to be had in their custody, the woods of Cumnor and of Bagley, and that they may take all goats which they find there, and they may not take stags and does unless with my permission, and I give no one permission for hunting there unless to them, and I pardon them all forfeitures of assarts. I grant to them indeed the whole tithe of venison taken in my forest of Windsor, and I grant to them to be had and held freely the market of Abingdon.

Wherefore I wish and firmly command that the aforesaid church, the abbots, and the monks have and hold all these aforementioned rights, well and in peace, freely and quietly, wholly and completely and honorably, with all liberties and their free customs, in all places and in all things, just as once better and more freely, more quietly and honorably, they had and held at the time of king Henry my grandfather, and just as he granted to them and confirmed by his charters.

With witnesses Rotrold bishop of Evreux, Philip bishop of Bayeux, William de Caisneto, William son of John, and Hubert de Vaus; at Rouen.
[613] HOW MANY PIGS THE ABBOT OUGHT TO HAVE IN KINGSFRITH.

Henry, king of England, and duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to Richard de Lucy and the foresters of Windsor, greeting.

I command that without delay you cause to be examined, by the oaths of law-worthy men of the hundred, how many pigs quit of pannage the abbot of Abingdon was accustomed to have in my forest called Kingsfrith, at the time of king Henry my grandfather. Just as it is examined, so may you cause Walkelin abbot of Abingdon, and the monks in the same house serving God, to have [them] justly.

With witness Manserus Biset, steward; at Rouen.

[614] THAT THE ABBOT OF ABINGDON MAY SEND HIS SENESCHAL, OR ANY OTHER OFFICIAL, TO ASSIZES AND PLEAS.

Henry, by the grace of god king of England, and duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to his justices, in whose bailiwicks the abbot of Abingdon has lands, greeting.

I permit the abbot of Abingdon to send his seneschal, or any other official, in his place to our assizes and to pleas. I therefore command you to receive his seneschal, or another, whom he sends to you in his place.

With witness Richard Brito, clerk; at Woodstock.

[615] [UNTITLED WRIT.]

Henry, king of England, and duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to H. of Oxford, sheriff, and to
his officials, greeting.

I command you that if the abbey of Abingdon has been unjustly disseised of the church of Marcham and its belongings, and of one and a half hides of land in Milton, and of one hide in Appleford, without delay thence you reseise the abbey, and cause it to hold in peace, just as better it held at the time of king Henry my grandfather. If you do not do so, my justice may do it.

With witness Warin son of Girold; at Woodstock.

[616] ABOUT THE SALT OF WICK.

Henry, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to his bailiffs of Wick, greeting.

I command that, without delay and justly, you return to my monks of Abingdon their salt, just as they were accustomed to have it at the time of king Henry my grandfather. If you do not do so, my sheriff of Worcestershire may do so, and henceforth I also may hear a claim for lack of justice.

With witness John of Oxford; at Woodstock.

[617] [UNTITLED WRIT.]


If the abbot of Abingdon unjustly and without judgment has been disseised of his land of Marcham, of Milton, and of Appleford, I then command that you without delay and justly reseise him; and that he hold it thus well, in peace, and
justly, just as the church of Abingdon better held it at the
time of king Henry my grandfather; and that the chattels,
which in that land have unjustly been borne away, you justly
cause to be returned. If you do not do so, my justice may
cause it to be done.

With witness count Reginald; at Windsor.

[618] [UNTITLED WRIT.]

Henry, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine,
and count of Anjou, to the sheriff of London, the sheriff of
Hampshire, and the sheriff of Gloucestershire, greeting.

I command that you permit the monks of Abingdon to sell
their mensal lands in your bailiwicks, and to carry to
Abingdon by [land] transit, or by whatever manner they wish,
what their men can swear by oath to be for the use of the
monks; and that they be not disturbed on account of the
prohibition which thence I made for this my army of Wales.

With witness John of Oxford; at Wirhala.

[619] A CHARTER OF THE KING ABOUT TOLL.

Henry, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine,
and count of Anjou, to the justices, sheriffs, and all his
officials of England, greeting.

I command that all things of the monks of Abingdon,
which their men have sworn on oath to be theirs, for their
food and clothing, may be quit of toll, transport [toll],
and all custom. No one may thence disturb them unjustly,
on pain of ten pounds of forfeiture.

With witness William son of John; at Woodstock.
[620] [UNTITLED WRIT.]

Henry, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to Ralph de Soissons, greeting.

If the monks of Abingdon are disseised unjustly and without judgment of the land of Nigel of Colnbrook which they claim, then I command that justly and without delay you thence reseise them, just as thence they had been seised at the time of king Henry my grandfather; and unless you do so, a justice or my sheriff may cause it to be done.

With witness William son of John; at Woodstock.

[621] [UNTITLED WRIT.]

Henry, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to Richard Basset, greeting.

I command that my monks of Abingdon hold in peace, freely, quietly, and justly four hides of land of Chaddleworth, just as they held them at the time of king Henry my grandfather, and with the same liberties, with all their belongings. I forbid anyone thence unjustly to place them in plea. Because if you do not do so, my justice may cause it to be done, lest thence I hear claim for lack of full right, or of firm justice.

With witness W. son of John; at Clivam.

[622] ABOUT PIGS IN KINGSFIRTH.

According to the king's command, it was examined by the oaths of law-worthy men of the hundred that the abbey of Abingdon was accustomed from ancient times to have in the
forest of Kingsfrith three hundred pigs without pannage, and had had [them] at the time of king Henry [I]. This was also granted and confirmed to abbot Walkelin and his successors by the king's command.

[623] ABOUT THE KNIGHTS OF THIS CHURCH.

Eleanor, queen of England, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, and countess of Anjou, to the knights and men who hold lands and tenures of the abbey of Abingdon, greeting.

I command that justly and without delay you do your service fully to Walkelin abbot of Abingdon, which your predecessors did to his predecessors, at the time of king Henry, grandfather of the lord king. If you do not do so, the king's justice and mine may cause it to be done.

With witness Joscelin de Balliol; at Winchester.

By the king's writ from across the sea.

[624] [UNTITLED SECTION.]

At the time when Turstin son of Simon was unjustly holding the land of the church of Marcham, as we have said above, he also seised the tithe of the same vill, which belonged not to that church, but [to the fund] to light the altar of this church. For this reason a certain one of the brothers was directed to the king across the sea, so that through his justice and authority, right could be restored to the church. This was done; the brother who had been sent returned with a writ transmitted from the king, which reported in these words:—

Henry, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine,
and count of Anjou, to his sheriff and his officials of Berkshire, greeting.

If the church of Abingdon had the tithe of Marcham for the light of the church, at the time of king Henry my grandfather, and in the year and on the day when he was alive and dead, and after, and thence was disseised unjustly and without judgment, then I command that without delay you reseise the church; and thus well, in peace, freely, justly, and quietly, you cause the church to hold just as better and more freely it held at the time of king Henry my grandfather. I command that when Turstin son of Simon returns to England, the abbot of Abingdon may have full right of the land which the aforesaid Turstin son of Simon holds of the abbey's fee. If the abbot has been able to deraign that Turstin has not freed himself of the aforesaid right in his court, the abbot thence may hold the right to it in his court.

With witness master John of Oxford; at Tours.

When the king's writ had been thoroughly examined in the full shire [court], and it was manifestly disclosed by witness of the whole shire that the aforesaid tithe belonged to the light of the altar of Saint Mary, and that Turstin held it unjustly, the sheriff on the king's behalf disseised him and restored it to the altar to which it belonged. In such manner, however, as the church deraigned the land before the king, we have recounted above in the deeds of the
venerable abbot Vincent.

[625] ABOUT THE MARKET OF ABINGDON.

In the early time of the coming of abbot Walkelin to this church, the Wallingford men with those of Oxford approached king Henry the younger, suggesting that the market of Abingdon was other than what it ought to be, rather than as it was at the time of king Henry his grandfather. Moreover they pursued many things through deceit of words and stratagems, so that they acquired the king's assent for forbidding the market. When the king chose to believe these men, he commanded the market to be forbidden in the meantime, except for the small sale goods accustomed to be sold there, until the king returned from transmarine regions, to which then he was hastening. Then he would examine them more fully about this case. Until the king crossed the sea, they abstained from forbidding the market although they had received the power. Afterwards, though, as if making free use of their malice, having taken up the king's constable of Wallingford, they approached Abingdon on the Lord's day and by the king's word commanded all who had brought their goods to the place to go away, and they inflicted force on the rustics. The Abingdon men, however, bore gravely the forbidding of their market and, assuming an unwonted boldness (after a long time), they drove away from the vill with dishonor all who had approached as adversaries. This resistance urged the adversaries more fully to evil, and not
expecting the king's return to the country, they went to where he was, and in such manner they disclosed what had befallen them (not without the king's great injury), adding over and above [this] many deceits. Wishing to satisfy their impotunity with the law's equity, he consigned them a certain writ and permitted them to return to their own country. Returning, they straightaway thought that the destruction of the Abingdon market was contained in letters, [so] they sought out England's justice, Robert earl of Leicester. Therefore it was read before the justice, with abbot Walkelin attending. The writ had a sense of this kind:

Henry, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to Robert earl of Leicester, greeting.

I command that, with the whole of Berkshire convoked, you cause to be elected twenty-four men of the elders who were alive at the time of king Henry my grandfather. If they are able to swear that in his days there was a full market in Abingdon, so it may also be now. If truly they neither saw, nor are able to swear, that it is right, it may be prohibited, lest I thence hear a claim more fully.

When this was thoroughly examined, they were confounded of the hope which they had carried, inasmuch as they were conscious of the truth. With the earl commanding, Adam the sheriff assembled the full shire at Farnborough and constituted the chosen men, who according to the king's command ought to swear. They asserted upon oath that they saw and
were present therein at a most full market of all sale goods.

When these things came to an end, and when the king returned to his own kingdom, the aforesaid quarrelers addressed him, saying that a false oath had been done, and--because certain of those who had sworn were of the abbey--it seemed useful to them to have offered that [decision], and not what the truth taught.

The king was moved some little bit by these words, and he commanded that the Wallingford men and all the county of Berkshire convene before his justices again at Oxford; and that the older men be chosen from either side, who, according to what seems true to them, should swear for the Abingdon market. Also, no one of the abbey should be of those swearing, lest they be suspected of wishing to perjure anything about the case. When the king commanded this, it was accomplished at Salisbury, with all his justices remaining for the hearing.

They assembled all together as the king had commanded. Those who swore were separated, and they confounded their case with diverse opinions. The Wallingford men swore that at the time of king Henry the elder nothing except bread or ale was sold in Abingdon. The Oxford men said (for they also swore) that they saw a more ample market therein with other goods, not indeed full, as in [the case of] transport ships and wagons. Those [men] of the shire asserted truly
that they saw a full market of all things. They deliberated much about the transport ships, running through the water of the Thames, for the abbot used his ship for the things which he wished. The earl of Leicester, however, who was present as justice [the abstract] and judge, seeing them vary their opinions, presumed to judge nothing about this. Having advanced to the king, he indicated to him what things had been done. So that the king might not doubt, being ignorant of the truth of this matter, the same earl attested that he saw, at the time of king Henry the elder, a full market. What is more, [this occurred] when he was a boy, reared at Abingdon at the time of king William. The king, enticed by the testimony of such a man, felt the truth [ought] to be believed more [from the testimony of only one], than through a dispute from the truth by many discordant ones.

While the king was at Reading, the aforesaid challengers approached him, saying that they could hold at the least their vills, if the market in Abingdon remained as it began. The perseverance of an evil mind made the king indignant, so he drove them forcefully away, and he commanded that from that day the market there would be the fullest, except with ships, with the abbot using his very much. Lest anyone endeavor to destroy what stood arranged at the time of king Henry his grandfather, he then confirmed it. Imposing a perpetual silence he interdicted the challengers. Before this matter arrived at this end, however, abbot Walkelin endured not a little labor.
[626] ABOUT A HUNDRED SHILLINGS GIVEN TO AN EVIL SHERIFF.

Abbot Ingulf, predecessor of this Walkelin, because he was of advanced age and days, and because the shire [court] had not been able to follow, was wont to give a hundred shillings every year to the sheriff of Berkshire, so that he would treat the abbey's men more gently and aid them in pleas and hundreds [hundred courts], if they held it necessary. After advance of time this turned into custom. The sheriff was receiving one hundred shillings from the abbey, as if they were his rent. Truly absolutely nothing was returned to those who gave them.

When notice of it came to abbot Walkelin, he lamented such damage to the church, and after the first year of his coming to the abbey, he delayed to give the shillings. Asked why he had not paid those hundred shillings, he answered, so that an evil right should not grow fixed against his church, since certainly in ancient times it was minimal. With the king commanding, the truth of the matter was inquired, whether it had been thus at the time of king Henry his grandfather. Since it was manifest through evidence that it was not so, the king forbade the shillings to be returned, or to be demanded by anyone in the future. Abbot Walkelin thus drew back to himself the hundred shillings, evilly lost every year, and assigned them to be used more profitably for the church's use.
[627] ABOUT A CERTAIN MILL.

At the time when sedition rose between king Stephen and duke Henry for obtaining the kingdom and they were raging on both sides [1153], William Boterel, constable of Wallingford, having received money from the lord abbot Ingulf, promised that he would defend the things of the Abingdon church from the army. Forgetful of his promise, he plundered whatever he was able to find in the vill Culham, which belongs to this monastery. Having heard of this, the abbot directed certain of the brothers to the constable, requesting supplicantly that he restore the booty, wondering how it ought to be protected, instead of which the vile thief had plundered it. Returning home, they reported nothing except the answer that he did not wish to return the booty. Abbot Ingulf, thus constrained, (with Theobald archbishop of Canterbury commanding, and Joscelin bishop of Salisbury) had recourse to the defense of the holy church and condemned William by bond of anathema. Having been condemned, however, he neglected to request indulgence for what had been committed, or absolution for the anathema continually to the day of his death. In the end, by the just judgment of God, he received a lethal wound in the aforenamed sedition, a wound which forthwith wrested speech away from him, and thereafter he returned, unable to be aided or harmed, and he then became desperate. Sympathetic to his wretchedness, his brother, Peter Boterel, approached the abbot as a suppliant to beg for his brother, that he
might procure indulgence for the dying man. Also he promised that he would return whatever had been plundered, so his brother William (whom we have said to be desperate) was absolved [to die]. After his death, Peter, having received letters from duke Henry, came to the abbot, begging that for love of the duke what he owed to the abbot might be pardoned. The abbot, fearing to contradict the duke's letters, acquiesced to the petition for the time being, although not with good heart.

After some time had passed, Peter changed in spirit, since it benefitted nothing for his dead brother, because such a grave loss without restitution could be emended by nothing but pardon alone. Coming therefore into the brothers' chapter, in the presence of abbot Walkelin and of the whole convent, he offered a certain mill of Bensingtuna near Wallingford, returning five shillings per year, in restitution of the aforesaid damage. The abbot rightfully decided to receive something or its equal, rather than to lose the whole part by negligence, and so he accepted the mill. Peter granted it, placing his hand upon the altar, and the abbot granted it for the needs of the infirm monks.

[628] ABOUT A CERTAIN RICHARD.

It happened that a certain Richard of Warwickshire came to Abingdon for certain business which he had with William of (Bessels) Leigh, a knight of this church. Without the consent of Abingdon, of whose fee William held the land and
from whom he ought to receive it, he was not able to complete his business. With abbot Walkelin sitting with the brothers in chapter, the aforesaid Richard, having received the brothers' fraternity, requested their assent in his business. So that they might more easily acquiesce, he placed twelve pennies upon the Analogue, and he promised that every year he and his heirs, or whoever in future would hold what he received from William, would give just as many for the house of the infirm, and he confirmed it perpetually.

[629] ABOUT ONE HIDE IN APPLEFORD.

A certain Pagan, a man of this church, had received in the vill Appleford one hide to be held for twenty shillings, to be returned every year to the monks' kitchen. But through much time, since the officials of his time countenanced it, he delayed paying the rent. Observing this, abbot Walkelin spent time frequently with the same Pagan so that he would restore to the church what he was unjustly removing annually. Although Pagan attended this gravely, nevertheless he was led by the persistence of this abbot, so that he came into the brothers' chapter with the son whom he had as his heir, and for that land, and other which he was holding in Stoke of the church, he confirmed such an agreement with the abbot and convent. For the past damage he placed himself in the abbot's pity. In such fashion, however, he had a chirograph:

[630] CHIROGRAPH.
May they know, fore the present as well as the future, that I Walkelin, by God's grace abbot of Abingdon, and the whole convent of this church have granted to Pagan of Appleford and his heirs, by hereditary right to be held of our church forever, his tenure of Appleford, and of Stoke, free of all encroachment, for twenty shillings every year to be returned to the church's cook, for all service, namely ten shillings at the feast of Saint Michael [29 Sept.], and ten shillings at the Annunciation of Saint Mary. And that this agreement may be had more firmly and stably, we have delivered wholly to the aforesaid Pagan a chirograph proved with our seals. Pagan himself and his son Robert, on their part, in the presence of the whole chapter, and of many clerks and laymen, swore that they themselves and their heirs without all deceit would observe the aforesaid agreement.

With these witnesses having subscribed, Clement the dean, Radulf of Saint Martin, Roger his son, Martin the priest, Helias the clerk, Adam the sheriff, Nicholas son of Turolf, John of Turbeville, Robert of Seacourt, William his son, John of Tubney, Richard his son, William of (Bessels) Leigh, Bomund de Bed', Ranulf de Morles, Henry of Lewknor, and many others.

[631] ABOUT GODFREY THE BISHOP.

When abbot Walkelin entered upon the way of all flesh [c. 1164], Godfrey bishop of Saint Asaph, whom Henry the Second constituted proctor of this house, bore the charge of
abbot in all things for nine and a half years, in internal affairs as well as external. The king's letters following present the testimony of the truth of his selection. Their tenor is this.

Henry, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to all clerks as well as laymen holding of Abingdon abbey, greeting.

I command that you obey Godfrey the bishop, to whom I have commended the abbey of Abingdon, just as to the abbot, of all things which belong to the abbey itself, and that you do him loyalty and service, thus fully and completely just as you were accustomed to do to his predecessors, and if you do not do it, our sheriffs in whose bailiwicks you are may compel you, until you do it.

With witness John dean of Salisbury; at Woodstock.

[632] ABOUT ABBOT ROGER.

When Godfrey withdrew from the abbey [c.1175], abbot Roger succeeded him. He ruled this house nine and a half years [til 1184]. Roger, as long as he lived, procured from the king himself letters about the fugitives of the house of Abingdon, [the letters] containing this form:--

[633] ABOUT FUGITIVES OF THIS CHURCH.

Henry, by the grace of God king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to all his justices, sheriffs and bailiffs of England, greeting.

I command that justly and without delay you cause Roger abbot of Abingdon to have all his neifs [female villeins]
and fugitives with their chattels, wherever they are found in your bailiwicks, unless they are in my demesne, who fled from their land, after the death of king Henry my grandfather. I prohibit anyone to detain them unjustly, on pain of my forfeiture.

With witness Humphrey de Bohun; at Oxford.

[634] CHARTER ABOUT FENCOTT.

Furthermore at the time of that abbot Roger there arose a controversy between William Turpin, king's chamberlain, and the house of Abingdon about one hide in Dumbleton, which William was claiming he held by writ of right, of the house of Abingdon. This controversy was for a long time discussed between the aforesaid Walter Turpin and the house of Abingdon. Finally it was settled in the king's court with this end and tenor, just as the following inscription of the charter of king Henry the Second attests:

Henry, by grace of God king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to all his archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, officials, and to his vassals, French and English, of all England, greeting.

May you know that I have granted, and have confirmed by the present charter, to William Turpin, my chamberlain, and to his heirs, the land of Fencott, which Roger abbot of Abingdon, by common assent of the whole convent of the abbey, in my presence granted to him [William] to be held,
for two shillings annually to be returned to the abbot's chamberlain at the feast of Saint Michael, for all service belonging to the church of Abingdon; so that the abbot will warrant that land to him. The aforesaid William Turpin claimed quit the whole land which he was claiming in Dumbleton to the church of Abingdon and will warrant that from all his kindred, and against all the progeny of Helias, through whom he himself was claiming. If he is not able to guarantee it (himself or his heirs), the church of Abingdon may receive its land of Fencott free and quit of William and his heirs, just as the chirograph thence made between them, and the charter of the abbot and convent attest.

Wherefore I wish and firmly command that the same William Turpin and his heirs have and hold the aforesaid land of Fencott in fee and inheritance, of the church of Abingdon, and of the abbot and his heirs, by the aforesaid service, well and in peace, freely and quietly, completely and fully, and honorably, in wood and field, in meadows and pastures, in waters and fisheries, in streets and paths, and in all other places and other things belonging to it, and with all liberties and their free customs, just as it had been granted and agreed before me.

With witnesses G. the elect, that is of Norwich, Adam of Saint Asaph, bishops, Richard de Lucy, William son of Ald', the steward, Radulf son of St', the chamberlain; at Winchester.

[635] [UNTITLED SECTION.]
When Roger abbot of Abingdon died, king Henry sent Thomas of Hurstbourne [?] the custody of the abbey, namely another Rabshakeh (Isaiah xxxvi. 4.), but not a Sennacherib by intention. After arriving he soon issued an edict that the whole place should be described, and they all went so that each could confess openly what belonged to him. The villeins filled the corners of the court and the crossroads of the vill, discussing and conferring what those who had already been questioned had answered [what belonged] to the new demesne. With the request made what each of the officials might seize, what might belong to each obedientiary, this description was made first with the aforesaid clerk of the abbey presiding.

[636] ABOUT THE CUSTOMS OF THE ABBEY.

Peter the porter has two corrodies, the bread of a monk, and two coronati [types of bread], and two dishes per day, and ale, one measure of the abbot's storehouse, and another from the cellar of the hall. His sciping is four acres in Milton, two acres in Wootton, in Garford two acres, of the fee of Geoffrey of Sunningwell, and he has the oblation of four pennies and a halfpenny at Christmas, he and his man, and in Easter, two pennies, and for puingu [?] which he was accustomed to have. The abbot's sciping, of Wytham eight acres.

The chaplain of Saint Nicholas, two coronati, and one dish, and an ale of the abbot's cellar.
The steward dines in hall, and will have twenty shillings for stipend of William of Cumba, and his priest dines in hall, and the steward has four pennies and a halfpenny in oblation at Christmas, and two pennies in Easter.

The larder has the bread of a monk, and one dish, and the ale of the hall. His sciping is four acres in Appleford for one year, and another, three acres of the tithe, and six skins of a sheep in the feast of Saint Martin, and a flawn of another cooked in the larder, and at Christmas [receives] three pennies of oblation, and in Easter two pennies.

The abbot's cook, two small breads, and for companagium [anything eaten with bread] three halfpennies, and ale in hall. His sciping two acres in Milton, and three halfpennies in oblation at Christmas, and one penny in Easter.

Bo. the monks' cook, two small breads, one dish, and ale of the hall. His sciping four acres in Watchfield, and in Christmas three halfpennies in oblation, and in Easter one penny.

William Albus five ambras [dry measures] of corn. His scippe two acres of the tithe in Sutton, and one ram or four pennies in Christmas.

Reginald Kiwel five ambras. His scippe an acre and a half in Drayton, in the cultivation of rustics, and one acre in Sutton of the tithe of Reg[inald] of Curten'. And in Christmas one ram or four pennies.

The door-keeper five ambras of corn. His scippe two acres in Barton, of the tithe, and in Christmas one ram or
four pennies.

A. scullion, five ambras. His scippe two acres in Sutton of the tithe of Reginald of Curt', and one ram or four pennies.

Ams, cook of the familia, two small breads, and ale from the hall, and companagium of the larder. His sep' four acres in Cuddesdon, and in Christmas three halfpennies of oblation, and one penny in Easter.

Richard of the infirmary. His sep' two acres in Barton, one ram or four pennies.

Geoffrey of the infirmary, three shillings from the abbot's chamber.

Reinbald twelve pennies.

Servant of the refectory five ambras. His sep' two acres in Sutton, in Christmas one ram or four pennies.

The same, [for] the servant of the cellar; and when he makes mead for the monks he will have bread and ale from the monks' cellar, and companagium from the larder.

Servant of the sacristy will have two breads in hall, and ale of the hall, and companagium from the larder.

The same for Adam.

Henry, five ambras, one ram or four pennies. His sep' two acres in Watchfield, of the tithe.

Gerin dines for four days, Christmas, Easter, and one day of Pentecost, in hall, and the day of the Nativity of Saint Mary.
The servant of the brewhouse will have two breads in hall, and *companagium* in larder. His *sep'* four acres in Watchfield of the tithe, in Christmas three halfpennies in oblation, and one penny in Easter.

Two other servants, Edward and H. dine on four days, Christmas, Easter, and one of Pentecost, in hall.

The servant of the garden, W., will have *sep'* in Wootton, two acres, and supply of alms.

W. Pucin has two breads, and ale in hall, and *companagium* in larder.

W. Sexi dines on four days, Christmas, Easter, and one of Pentecost.

The servant of the bakery, Martin, has two coronati loaves in bakery, and ale in hall, and *companagium* in larder. His *sep'* four acres in Wootton, half an acre in Kennington, and in Christmas three halfpennies, and in Easter one penny in oblation.

Martin has five serfs for his charge, they dine in hall just as the others above.

The heater of the oven has one loaf in the bakery, and five *ambras*, and one ram or four pennies. His *sep'* two acres in Culham.

The winnower seven *ambras*, and in Christmas one ram or four pennies.

The servant of the chamber, Robert the wood-splitter has two loaves, and ale in hall, and *companagium* in larder. His *sep'* two acres in Barton.
Robert the cordwainer, two loaves, and ale in hall, and *companagium* in larder. His *sep'* four acres in Marcham, and in Christmas one young pig.

T. son of Salomon has a *sep'* of two acres in Barton, and dines just as the others, and one ram in Christmas, or four pennies.

Pagan, five *ambras*, and one ram or four pennies, and he dines just as the others.

Roger son of Pag[an], Geoffrey, and Martin dine just as the others.

Randulf has five *ambras*, and one ram or four pennies, and in oblation three halfpennies in Christmas, and one penny in Easter.

Adam the tailor, five *ambras*, and one ram or four pennies, in Christmas, and the second mowing of the meadow of Brewerin. His *sep'* two acres in Garford.

The servant of the laundry, five *ambras*, and two rams in Christmas, oblation in Christmas, two pennies for two works to the officials and one in Easter. His *sep'* four acres of the tithe in Sutton.

The servants of alms dine in hall, just as the others.

The three servants of the yard will each have five *ambras*, and in Christmas each a ram, or four pennies. Their *sep'* ten acres, to be divided among them, namely four acres in Garford, four in Goossey, and two in Sutton.

The carpenter, Simon, has four and a half acres of the
the land of rustics in Drayton, by choice, and will have 139 corrody in court, when he works in the court, and one pig in Christmas.

Reginald will have one loaf in hall, for preparing the gutters. His sep' for one year, five acres, and for the other four acres and a half, and one pig in Christmas.

The almoner five ambras, and companagium from the larder. His sep' two acres in Barton. From one manor one penny of pannage at the Nativity of Saint Mary [8 Sept.].

The swineherd five ambras. His sep' two acres in Sutton of the tithe, and three halfpennies in Christmas, and in Easter one halfpenny, and in the summer one penny. And of all pigs which are raised in the court, the swineherd will have the enjoyment of the tail.

The hostler, loaf in hall and ale, and companagium in the larder. His sep' two acres in Sutton of the tithe, and oblation of three halfpennies in Christmas and one penny in Easter.

The cowherd will have a loaf, and ale in hall. His sep' one acre of the demesne of Culham.

Four serfs of the woodhouse dine in hall, just as the others.

The cooper, when he works, will have bread of the hall, and ale of the cellar, and oblation of one penny in Christmas, and a halfpenny in Easter.

The passarius [one who has charge of passage of a river] of Suuininches has two measures of corn and two cheeses for
passing the abbey if he comes. The watch-woman has corrody in hall, and oblation of one penny in Christmas, and a halfpenny in Easter, and clothes from the abbot.

The washerwoman has corrody in hall when she carries the clothes to be washed, and again when she brings them back.

Two millers dine hall, just as the others.

The keeper of the postern gate has corrody in hall, and oblation in Christmas of one penny and a halfpenny in Easter, and clothes from the abbot.

The servant of Barton has corrody in hall, and oblation of one halfpenny in Christmas, and a halfpenny in Easter.

The servant of Marcham the same.

The granary-keeper has corrody in hall.

The cupbearer has corrody.

The prior will have one man for corrody in hall, and a prebend for one horse.

The Chamberlain, Sacristan, Woodkeeper, Cook, Master of Works, just as much.

Two serfs of the laundry will have two corrodies in the hall, three times, when the monks bathe.

All these serfs, whom we have already named, dine in hall four days, in Christmas, and four in Easter, and one day of Pentecost, and will have livery in hall in the Nativity of Saint Mary [8 Sept.].

The park-keeper will have two men for corrody on the aforesaid days.
William de Tropa, one man.

Edulf, Ainulf, Walter of Hanney, each of them one man. They indeed will have a prebend of horses as they will have led forward or returned. Ten Ramers have corrody when they first bring cheese and when they finally return [home].

All those men will have livery on the Nativity of Saint Mary.

Thirteen fishermen, when they bring eels in Ash Wednesday, will each have two small loaves in the hall.

The plowmen, when they return from the road, will each have one small loaf at the hall. All serfs of the house will each have a single piece of meat on three weekdays before Ash Wednesday.

With the maintenance of the house of Abingdon accomplished by the aforesaid Thomas, he proceeded to London where he made known to the justiciar of the lord king, Rannulf de Glanville, the state of the house, and that the oats of the whole house of Abingdon were not sufficient for the horses alone of the monks per year. Not only this, but he said also that all Berkshire would not suffice to find cheese and milk for the monks. These things were heard by certain of our confreres, namely prior Nicholas, and Anchetill prior of Colne, and William the chamberlain with other monks, then present at the Exchequer. It was answered that the house of Abingdon is wealthy from good corn every day, and he who has corn is able to buy oats. Concerning the cheese and milk it was answered by the same brothers, that
the Farms from the time of Saint Ethelwold had provided for finding the stated cheese and milk. Lest in future this ordinance be called invalid, the Blessed Ethelwold had, with his fellow bishops of England, solemnly excommunicated all those through whom the aforesaid ordinance would be destroyed.

Then Rannulf de Glanville, justiciar of the lord king, commanded master Thomas of Hurstbourne [?] that no one, while he was procurator, might diminish to any extent the ancient customs of the house of Abingdon, and especially [customs] concerning cheese, milk, and oats. He feared that if he did otherwise, he would incur gravely the sentence of Blessed Ethelwold and his fellow bishops of England.

[637] ABOUT ABBOT ALFRED.

When Thomas was removed from the care of that house, king Henry gave the abbey of Abingdon to Alfred, prior of Rochester [c. 1184].

[638] ABOUT THE DEATH OF KING HENRY.

When the illustrious Henry, king of the English, died, the glorious count of Poitou, his son Richard, accepted the governance of the kingdom. King Richard, with leonine ferocity, more strenuously and more powerfully ruled the kingdom, so that his fame grew from day to day, so not only the Christian kings, but also the heathen ones, when they heard about him, generally feared him.

[639] ABOUT ABBOT HUGH.
In the same month in which the illustrious king Richard was crowned, abbot Alfred ceded to fate [1189], and Hugh, a man of good repute, succeeded him as abbot. In the same year in which he accepted the pastoral care, Hugh crossed the sea at Easter-time, and happily procured from the illustrious, beneficent king a privilege, comprehending and equally confirming all the liberties of the house of Abingdon. This is the tenor of that privilege:

[640] CHARTER WHICH THE LORD ABBOT HUGH OBTAINED FROM THE LORD KING RICHARD.

Richard, by the grace of God king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to his archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, and all his officials and vassals, of all England, greeting.

May you know that we have granted and confirmed by our present charter, to God, the church of Holy Mary of Abingdon, abbot Hugh, all his successors, and to the monks in the same house serving God, all the lands and possessions bestowed upon the same church, just as the charters of the kings our predecessors confirm to them, and the charters of other donors attest. We wish and firmly command that the aforesaid abbot Hugh, all his successors, and the monks of Abingdon have and hold in perpetual alms the hundred of Hormer, with all things which pertain to the hundred, in their legitimate and most free power and justice, namely, that no sheriff or his officials thence may invade, plead,
or demand anything, and they [the abbot and monks] may also have lands everywhere of the demesne of the abbot or of the monks, but they freely have and do their justice. Indeed we wish and firmly command that the abbot and monks of Abingdon have the lands of the aforesaid hundred of Hormer, and of all their demesne, in whatever county, of the hidage and of every gift of the sheriffs, and of all exaction and secular service they may be immune and quit forever. Moreover we wish that the same abbot Hugh and his successors and the monks have and hold by perpetual right in the aforesaid hundred, and in their whole abbey, and in all their appurtenances, well and in peace, freely and quietly, fully and completely, and honorably, sake and soke, toll and team, infangentheof, utfangentheof, peace-breach, forstall [assault], house-breach, and fleomenefremthe [harboring fugitives], in burg and outside burg, in wood and field, in meadows and mills, in waters and rivers, in roads and paths, in feast and without feast, with all their other customary rights.

We confirm to God and the church of Blessed Mary of Abingdon, the church of Colne with all appurtenances in free and perpetual alms; namely that the abbot and monks of Abingdon have the fullest power in the church of Colne, and in all its appurtenances, just as they have in their own demesne.

We confirm to them the church of Kensington, and the
church of Sutton, the church of Newnham [Murren], with all things which belong to the same churches in free and perpetual alms.

Moreover we grant and confirm to the abbot and monks of Abingdon, the woods of Cumnor and Bagley to be had in their free perpetual custody, and all goats which they can find there they may take. They may not take bucks and does unless by our permission. We pardon all forfeitures of assarts of Cumnor and of Bagley to them. We have granted them the market of Abingdon to be had and held freely and quietly, well and in peace, wholly and honorably.

We grant to them moreover the whole tithe of venison taken in our forest of Windsor.

We command that abbot Hugh, all his successors, and the monks, be quit of toll, passage and pontage, lastage, and all customary services through all our lands and seaports, for all things which their men are able to swear by oath to be theirs.

We grant that they have warrens, and take hares and wolves in all Berkshire, and in all their lands. We forbid anyone to flee in their lands, or take a hare, without our permission.

We grant moreover that they have their court in Oxford, and that their men of Oxford not plead outside their court, unless the abbot and monks first have defaulted from the right in their court.

We permit that the abbot send his seneschal, or any
other in his place, wherever to the assizes and pleas of the
king, and that he whom he sends in his place may be received
for himself.

We wish that they have their customs in passing ships,
namely in receiving herring, and making markets.

We forbid moreover anyone to disturb in any way the
carriage [of the goods] of Saint Mary of Abingdon, and also
to impede anything else which may be of the abbot's or
monks' demesne through land or through water. They may go
in peace and return more quietly, whoever will have con-
ducted their goods, or anything else which pertains to the
church's use.

We forbid anyone to detain villeins or fugitives of the
church of Abingdon, wherever they are found, unless in our
demesne.

With these witnesses, the lord Baldwin archbishop of
Canterbury, bishops Hugh of Durham, Hubert of Salisbury,
Hugh of Chester, Reginald of Bath, William earl of Arundel,
William of Humaz, Aubrey de Vere, Rannulf de Glanville, John
of Alescun, Wigan of Cheleburc.

Given by the hand of William de Longchamps, our chancel-
lor, bishop of Ely, in the first year of our reign, the
twenty-ninth day of March, at Gisors. [1190]
NOTES TO TEXT II

1  This can provisionally be assigned to 1071, when Athelhelm succeeded Ealdred as abbot.

2  Although the chronicler designates the post-1066 royal documents as charters, they are actually writs, through which the king instructed his subordinates to effect his commands.

3  After the Conquest, when William had reassigned lands to his supporters, the land was supposed to support the service of a certain number of knights, depending on the size of the estate. See Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, pp. 626-630; also Thomas K. Keefe, Feudal Assessments and the Political Community Under Henry II and His Sons (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

4  Portions of knights were not uncommon; the common equation by which knight service was figured with regard to the number of hides is uncertain.

5  D'Oilly, a Norman, was a royal constable. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, p. 633.

6  Thurkill of Arden was one of only two Englishmen holding an estate of large dimensions south of the Tees in 1086.

7  Abbot of Abingdon before 1044.

8  In other words, when Leowine gave back the cup, the abbey approved his forced possession of Newnham.

9  It is uncertain how Odo became involved, unless he was asked to give approval to the abbey's action. The passage is here oblique, but it seems that Odo was paid a certain sum by the abbot so that Abingdon would regain the land. When William became displeased with Odo, he disallowed the bishop's action and gave the land to another abbot. The same land was apparently granted back to the abbey by William de Curci during the reign of Henry I. See section 365 of the text.

10  These events took place in 1080.

11  Apparently the reeve used the abbot's staff to destroy the lead, not restrained even by the threat of

England's last threat of Danish invasion came in 1085, when Cnut, son of Swein Estrithson, reasserted the family claim to the kingship and threatened to invade. William hired mercenaries from France, Maine, and Brittany, but the attack never materialized. Cnut was murdered by his own subjects in 1086. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 417.

Robert d'Oilly was apparently overseeing some of the duties of sheriff, such as presiding at the shire court.

Walkelin was appointed bishop of Winchester in 1070 upon the removal of Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, who had retained his bishopric even after elevation to the archiepiscopal see.

William II Rufus ruled 1087-1100.

This was a symbolic gesture by which the seisin, or possession, of the land was conveyed from one party to another. Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, II, 76.

I.e., no one else could lay claim to this land.

See sections 310 and 311 of the text.

Heriot was a payment by the tenant to the lord upon inheritance. In this case, the heriot seems to indicate a relief, or a money payment. Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law* I, 307-316.

Apparently, Bernerus was refusing to pay the required relief on his uncle's possessions unless abbot Rainald agreed to release to him three hides of the vill Culham. Since bishop Walkelin of Winchester supported Bernerus, the abbot felt helpless to do other than agree to Bernerus' terms.

There is no exact indication of where this case was heard, but the outcome was that Bernerus had to perform his due knight service for the three hides at Culham (which he had previously ignored). Since Rannulf Flambard was present, it was most probably a royal court.

Apparently the junior Walter, upon coming of age, felt that his uncle had unjustly been allowed possession of the land, so he brought a claim in court to settle the
dispute; the outcome is not mentioned.
See section 318 of the text.

After the Norman Conquest there was a great spate of building and remodelling in English monasteries.
The exact portion is uncertain.

Though this was the period of Gregorian reform, when the married clergy were denounced and their children bastardized, the new edicts concerning clerical celibacy were difficult to enforce. Situations such as the son succeeding the father as priest were not unusual. Frank Barlow, *The English Church, 1066-1154* (New York: Longman, 1979), pp. 2, 11.

I.e., belonging to the bishopric, rather than to the abbey's right.

I.e., they granted the church at Longworth to Abingdon, claiming it free of all challenge in posterity.

Perhaps the tithe from two acres of grain.


The money from the sale of the tithes, perhaps in the Abingdon market, would pay the expenses for lighting the altar of Mary at Abingdon.

Apparently Gilbert held the land of the abbey, although the chronicler does not expressly say so.

*Maritagia*, or marriage portions, usually reverted to the donor when the donee died without issue, at least c. 1200. In this case, the abbot seems to be using his prerogative as Gilbert's lord to restrict the enjoyment of the *maritagium* to the lifetime of the donee. See Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, II, 15-16, 415.

The last mentioned donor of Dumbleton to Abingdon had been archbishop Aelfric of Canterbury (d. 1005). See section 251 of the text.

Just how the deceased archbishop disapproved is uncertain.

Henry was notorious for the number of bastards and

38 The term is not specified.

39 Hugh de Dun continued to hold the land until Motbert the prior later redeemed it. See section 357 of the text.

40 This was a not unusual practice under the Norman kings. See Barlow, English Church, 1066-1154, pp. 67-68.

41 Ibid. The average vacancy during William II's reign was two years.

42 Henry I ruled England 1100-1135.

43 This was actually the third month, since William II died in early August of 1100, and Henry was proclaimed king a few days later.

44 William Giffard was bishop of Winchester 1107-1129.

45 Emperor 1081-1118.

46 This was apparently because he was a foreigner--Italian. See Barlow, English Church, 1066-1154, p. 8.

47 I.e., conferred possession (or seisin) upon the church.

48 Aubrey the younger died in 1141; his father died sometime before the date of this writ, 1115.

49 I.e., Hubert [or his lord] will grant nothing except to the monks of Abingdon in that church.

50 Ralf d'Escures, son of a Norman baron, succeeded Anselm as archbishop of Canterbury in 1114. See Barlow, English Church, 1066-1154, p. 81.

51 Herbert Losinga, abbot of Ramsey, was in 1092 consecrated bishop of Thetford; he later moved his see to Norwich. See Ibid., p. 68.

52 Roger, a priest from the Avranchin in France, was consecrated bishop of Salisbury in 1107. See ibid., p. 79.

53 Robert Bloet (d. 1123), chancellor of William II, was appointed to the see of Lincoln in 1093, the same year Anselm was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. See ibid., pp. 70-71.
John Of Villula, a native of Tours, was in 1088 appointed bishop of Wells; he soon moved his see to Bath, which he had bought from William II. See ibid., p. 66.

Nigel was brother of Robert d'Oilly, mentioned above. See Frank Barlow, William Rufus (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p. 156.

Nigel had apparently held the land from the earl of Chester, and Drocus held it from Nigel. Roger wanted to hold it directly from the earl of Chester, but Drocus had granted a portion of the land to Abingdon. This portion is that concerned in the confirmations which follow. See sections 386 and 387 of the text, where both the king and the earl of Chester confirm Abingdon's right to the hide and forbid Roger to claim it.

The earl of Chester.

Possibly the widow of Roger d'Ivry, butler of William II. Barlow, William Rufus, p. 34.

Richard of Beaumais (I) was appointed to the see of London in 1108.

"Sac" and "soc," also "sake" and "soke," denote jurisdiction—the jurisdiction which any donee has over his lands. See Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, I, 579.

See ibid., pp. 578-579. "Toll" is sometimes the right to take toll, sometimes to be free of it, or the right to impose toll on one's villeins. "Team" apparently means the right to hold a court before which outsiders may be vouched as warrantors.

Infangentheof gave the power to hang a thief caught within one's own territory. Ibid., p. 577. Along with sac and soc and toll and team, infangentheof was a customary right usually given with the others.

I.e., Henry is prepared to hear another claim by the injured party [Abingdon] because justice has not been done.

This phrase occurs often in writs. The forfeit is the fine to be paid to the king if the instructions of the writ are not obeyed. See R. C. Van Caenegem, Royal Writs in England from the Conquest to Glanvill: Studies in the Early History of the Common Law (London: Selden Society, 1959), pp. 147-148, 179. Writs such as these were often issued to protect landholders from the loss of runaway serfs, a potentially serious loss.
See sections 357 and 358. Motbert was prior of Abingdon for four years.

William Warelwast was appointed bishop of Exeter in 1107. See Barlow, English Church, 1066-1154, p. 80.

With a few differences, this appears to be the same as the previous writ. There is no indication from the chronicle as to why there is a duplication; perhaps Stevenson copied one from each manuscript of the chronicle, not realizing their import is the same.

The king has apparently upheld Godric's claim—whatever it was—concerning the hedge.

"Percehaia" was the surname of the Radulf who married one of the daughters of Gilbert Latemer; see section 347 of the text. This probably means the widow of the deceased. See section 560 and n. 122 below.

The abbey had earlier had trouble with Joscelin over Beedon; see section 331 of the text.

I.e., the county (or shire) court will hear the case concerning the demesne lands and corn rents.

The abbot's men are not to be questioned by William, since the king has quit them from any obligation.

The abbey apparently had the right to levy tolls on certain ships which passed Abingdon on the Thames, namely ships carrying herring and those coming to the market at Abingdon.

An assart is any type of unused land, such as waste or forest land, which is cleared or prepared for cultivation.

Although the writ says that Matilda is granting the man Robert, it is in actuality the land which is transferred (as Henry's writ following attests), and Robert does his service to the person who has seisin of the land.

Once the abbey received seisin of the hide, the hide was apparently granted to Radulf.

Those guilty of manifest theft were put to death in summary fashion. See Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, II, 495.

The reason why Walter had to clear himself is uncertain, unless he perhaps had been implicated in his son's theft and was required to do so.
Samson was appointed to Worcester in 1096.

Apparantly the church sought reconfirmation of earlier royal writs; see sections 446, 447, and 448.

The chronicler does not explain why Faritus sought confirmation for grants which had already received royal approval, but perhaps two royal confirmations were more forceful than one in the abbot's view.

This writ echoes an earlier one, section 440, in which Henry released his right to claim geld from these hides at Longworth, as he does here.

I.e., if anyone abandons an assart in the forest, the abbey can claim the assart.

The hundred corresponded roughly to one hundred hides; most counties, except in the Danelaw, were divided into hundreds. The hundred of Hormer in Berkshire is where the abbey and the town of Abingdon are situated.

Perhaps Osbert owed this tax for some reason to the abbey.

In Domesday Book for Oxfordshire, Lewknor is listed in the hundred of Lewknor. The hundred of Pyrton lies just to the south, with the vill Lewknor on the southern end of Lewknor hundred.

The word "glebe" usually denotes the portion of land on a manor assigned to the village priest, but in this case the chronicler probably means tithes.

The mancus was roughly equivalent to the Roman solidus.

The phrase is non interrogati; just what the chronicler means is not clear.

Presumably over the right of Richard and Philip to have the church dedicated without the presence of Abingdon's prior and the priest of Chievedly.

See section 340 of the text. Seemingly the grants which the grantors had made to Abingdon were being received by the church at Longworth, rather than by the abbey.

The vill belonged to Abingdon, as likely did the church there.

Seacourt and Bayworth are both in Hormer hundred, but
on opposite sides; otherwise there is no reason why the
chronicler has switched the names.

94 The location of this particular "Stoke" I have as yet
been unable to identify.

95 Pannage was a rent paid (in pigs) for allowing pigs
to feed, usually in the forest. See Lennard, Rural England,
pp. 254-255.

96 Near Uffington, the White Horse was popularly thought
to have been cut into the turf to commemorate Alfred's
victory over the Danes at Ashdown, but in reality it is far
older. See Eleanor S. Duckett, Alfred the Great: The King
and His England (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,

97 See section 349 of the text.

98 I.e., to pay it for him. The "men" mentioned here
are probably the villeins on the land.

99 Later bishop of Ely.

100 Not the same Turstin who was Hugh's father.

101 Probably Bessels Leigh, in Marcham hundred,
Berkshire.

102 These events took place late in 1101 and into the
early part of 1102. Poole, Domesday Book to Magna Carta,
pp. 115-117.

103 This probably means that Rainbald had "farmed out"
the hide to Thorold for an annual rent of thirty-four
shillings.

104 Serlo of Avranches, and a monk of Mont St. Michel,
was bishop and abbot of Gloucester 1072-1104. See Barlow,
English Church, 1066-1154, p. 186.

105 Of Abingdon?

106 The church of Marcham was subject to the abbey.

107 So the abbey would not have to pay the geld owed on
the land; Nigel instead would pay it.

108 Barton is just to the east of Abingdon.

109 I.e., in cultivation.

110 I.e., if they are able to demonstrate that it owes
no service to the abbot.

Perhaps the village court.

The monks' allowance of bread had presumably remained unchanged from the days of Ethelwold, and the set amount now had to be divided among more monks than the abbey had housed over a century before.

The shire court was meeting.

These three all meant different types of one crime, breach of the peace. This allows the abbot to seek remedy at law for breach of peace anywhere in the abbey's land. See Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, II, 453, 454, 457.

See section 282 of the text.

Evidently the abbot held his court in Oxford, rather than in Abingdon.

This amounted to a renting of the land. Out of the revenue he gleaned from this manor, Simon paid the abbot fifteen pounds.

The right to punish those who harbor fugitives from the abbey's lands. See Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, II, 570.

Henry of Blois, brother of Stephen and also king Henry's nephew, was consecrated to Winchester in 1129.

The half of the church granted by the two brothers Robert and Gilbert the abbey still held.

Ermengold the burgess; see section 514 of the text.

See section 429 of the text; since Adelina mentions her grandfather "Gilbert," the mother she mentions who granted this land to Faritius must be the "Percehaia" of section 429.

Henry's daughter Matilda had been married to Henry V, the German Emperor. Her second husband was Geoffrey, count of Anjou and the father of her son Henry, who succeeded Stephen as king of England.

See sections 365, 367, and 368 of the text.

Perhaps to keep the abbot from pleading before Matilda, Stephen's rival for the throne.
A symbol of transfer of seisin.

The tithe belonged to Abingdon, and not to Roger.

Probably in the civil war between Stephen and Matilda.

Another symbol of transfer of seisin.

The village court.

Stratford Langthorne in Essex, a Cistercian, or "White Monk" foundation.

Either August 10 or February 3, depending upon which St. Laurentius is indicated.

Probably for the king's geld.

Participation by the clergy in such ceremonies was forbidden in 1215 by the Fourth Lateran Council.

This is a companion to the writ of section 615. All the land mentioned is in Berkshire, so the necessity of a writ to the sheriff of Oxfordshire is uncertain, unless the unnamed person who dispossessed the abbey was a man of Oxfordshire.

Lands which the abbey held in demesne, i.e., as chief tenant. This writ allowed the abbey to sell its seisin to another party.

Possibly the chronicler means "because the shire [court] was not able to oversee" the deeds of the sheriff.

The scoping (also scippe or sep', as it is abbreviated) was an allotment of property assigned to monks, usually monastic officials. The monk was completely in control of this revenue and had full responsibility and initiative with regard to the exploitation of the property, which he could administer directly or farm out. He could exchange it or (even though it was considered an abuse) mortgage it. Regarding the income, the monk was equally free to dispose of it in any way that enterprise might suggest within the sphere of his office. See Knowles, Monastic Order, pp. 433-439.

The daily allotment of food.

Richard succeeded his father in 1189 and ruled until his death in 1199.

Hugh was abbot of Abingdon from 1189 to 1221.
Victoria County History, Berkshire, II, 61.

The power to hang a thief wherever he was caught.


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