

# The *Codex Wintoniensis* and the King's *Haligdom*<sup>1</sup>

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THE *Codex Wintoniensis* is the name commonly given to a cartulary compiled at Winchester Cathedral Priory, otherwise known as the Old Minster, c. A.D. 1130 × 1150, during the episcopate of Henry de Blois.<sup>2</sup> Of the surviving English cartularies only three, all from Worcester, were written at an earlier date.<sup>3</sup> Apart from a few late insertions, the contents of the *Codex* are confined to copies of royal charters and other miscellaneous texts relating to lands and privileges, all purporting to have been drawn up before the Norman Conquest; the oldest document entered may be dated 685 × 687,<sup>4</sup> and the most recent 1053.<sup>5</sup>

In all there are 218 entries (a few being duplicated), making the *Codex* by far the most voluminous surviving source of pre-Conquest land charters, embracing as it does well over 10 per cent of the whole corpus. Four out of every five *Codex* entries withstand all modern tests of authenticity; of the remainder, many are basically genuine texts which have been subjected to minor interpolation or touching up at some stage in their transmission. The majority of the spurious charters entered in the *Codex* claim to have been drawn up at some date prior to the accession of King Athelstan in 924; half of the fifty-four charters bearing an earlier date are spurious, or modified in some way, but of the *Codex* texts assigned to the last one and a half centuries of the Anglo-Saxon state, nine out of every ten appear to be wholly authentic. This is a record as good as almost any to be found among surviving English cartularies, and better than most.

Moreover, sufficient Winchester charters survive in the original to establish

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations: DB = Domesday Book; CS = W. de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 3 vols., London, 1885-93; Davis = G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain*, London, 1958; ECEE = C. Hart, *The Early Charters of Eastern England*, Leicester, 1966; ECW = H. P. R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of Wessex*, Leicester, 1964; ECWM = H. P. R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands*, Leicester, 1961; H = F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, Manchester, 1952; Ha = F. E. Harmer, *Select English Historical Documents*, Cambridge, 1914; K = J. M. Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, 6 vols., London, 1839-48; R = A. J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, Cambridge, 2nd edn, 1956; W = D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, Cambridge, 1930; WCD = *Winchester Cathedral Documents*, ed. W. R. W. Stephens and F. T. Madge, Hants. Record Soc., Vol. II, 1897. Charters are quoted by their number in the respective editions.

<sup>2</sup> Davis, No. 1042.

<sup>3</sup> Davis, Nos. 1068-9.

<sup>4</sup> No. 97. Charters in the *Codex Wintoniensis* are quoted by the numbers assigned to them in Appendix II to this paper.

<sup>5</sup> No. 175.

beyond all doubt that the compilers of the *Codex* made careful and complete transcripts of the materials before them, whether the documents themselves were genuine or not.<sup>1</sup> Usually they transcribed the witness lists completely; their knowledge of Old English enabled them to make accurate renderings of the boundary clauses, and regularly they incorporated the endorsements on the original membranes in their introductory rubrics to the cartulary texts, a laudable custom found elsewhere only in the Wilton cartulary.

All this calls for emphasis because the *Codex Wintoniensis* has come in for more than its fair share of adverse criticism in the past, by an impressive collection of authorities. As long ago as 1871 the great William Stubbs condemned it as being "of the lowest possible character,"<sup>2</sup> a phrase repeated in 1897 by F. W. Maitland, who went on to claim it was "full of lies."<sup>3</sup> W. H. Stevenson in 1904 considered it a "suspicious source;"<sup>4</sup> in 1910 F. M. Stenton referred to "the fraudulent *Codex*;"<sup>5</sup> and as recently as 1955 Miss D. Whitelock described it as "a less reliable source" than "cartularies of good repute."<sup>6</sup> In the same year, F. M. Stenton returned to the attack by including Winchester Cathedral in a list of "centres of proved fabrication" from which "no document . . . should be accepted at its face value without close examination."<sup>7</sup>

It was left to H. P. R. Finberg to commence the process of rehabilitation, by pointing out in 1961 that while the *Codex* "does indeed contain several dubious charters, . . . against this must be set the fact that the compiler has preserved scores of precious and authentic documents."<sup>8</sup> Three years later he published his penetrating study of the Winchester Cathedral endowments, in which the majority of the suspicious charters entered in the *Codex* were shown to have been forged as a group within the half-century following the Benedictine reform of 964.<sup>9</sup> The forgeries, he maintained convincingly, were carried out not in order to acquire estates and liberties to which the monks were not entitled, but merely "to provide a background of precedent for the scheme of renewal and restitution" of the cathedral endowments carried out by King Edgar after the displacement of the Winchester clerks by a body of monks. Some of these properties had first come into the possession of the see before the advent of the solemn royal diploma in the second half of the seventh century; for others acquired in later years the original donation charters had been lost, or were in-

<sup>1</sup> The following *Codex* entries are copies of charters of which the originals or pseudo-originals still survive: Nos. 28, 41, 44, 110, 136, 138, 141-3, 150, 171, 191, 215. Of these, Nos. 44, 171, and 191 are known to have been at Winchester in 1640, along with many other *Codex* originals since lost.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, III, Oxford, 1871, p. 638.

<sup>3</sup> F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, Fontana edn, 1960, p. 387.

<sup>4</sup> W. H. Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, Oxford, 1959 reprint, p. lxxv, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> F. M. Stenton, *Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw*, Oxford, 1910, p. 79n.

<sup>6</sup> D. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, I, London, 1955, p. 338.

<sup>7</sup> F. M. Stenton, *The Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period*, Oxford, 1955, p. 11.

<sup>8</sup> ECWM, p. 21.

<sup>9</sup> ECW, ch. VII.

sufficiently explicit as to the privileges conveyed; the Benedictine reform supplied both the motive and the opportunity for the fabrication of fresh title deeds.

Finberg's essay was followed in 1965 by a paper by E. John, in which the diplomatic of several of the more important items of the *Codex* was studied in the context of the monastic revival.<sup>1</sup> This review upheld the authenticity of a number of charters previously suspect, among them those numbered 15–23 in the Appendix II to the present paper. It is not my purpose here to develop the study of the cathedral endowments initiated in these two essays by John and Finberg, except to put forward the suggestion—it is no more than that—that each of the estates “restored” by charters Nos. 15–23 represented in fact an individual prebend once held by a Winchester clerk of the unreformed foundation.<sup>2</sup>

Our indebtedness to Professor Finberg for fresh light on the *Codex* is not confined to his work on the cathedral endowments, for in 1961 he pointed out that several of the cartulary entries related to estates which were very unlikely ever to have been in the possession of the Old Minster.<sup>3</sup> He noted that of four charters entered on fols. 108<sup>v</sup>–111 relating to estates called *Wudetune*, only one concerned the priory estate at Wootton St Lawrence, Hants. Of the three others, two related to places of the same name in Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire. Similarly, he noted that of the six entries on fols. 72<sup>v</sup>–75 relating to places called *Eastun*, two only belonged to estates in Hampshire which may have belonged to the priory; the remainder were located as far apart as Shropshire and Berkshire. Finally he cited consecutive entries relating to places called *Heantun*, one being the Winchester estate at Hinton Ampner, Hants, and the other no less than Wolverhampton in Staffordshire. “It begins to look,” continued Finberg, “as if the Winchester scribes took the opportunity to copy out as many Old English charters as they could lay their hands on. And where, we may ask, did they find all these documents recording grants of land in distant shires, grants made by kings to laymen? Where, if not in the royal archives, which in their day, let us remember, were still housed at Winchester?”

Professor Finberg modestly claimed this discovery to be no more than a hypothesis, for others to test by more detailed examination of the contents of the *Codex*, a suggestion I found sufficiently attractive to cause me to attempt the present study. Let us now explore, in the light of Finberg's hypothesis, the charters entered in the *Codex*, as listed in the appendix to this paper.

<sup>1</sup> E. John, ‘The Church of Winchester and the Tenth Century Reformation’, *Bull. John Rylands Library*, 47, 1965, pp. 404–29.

<sup>2</sup> Professor M. Deansley has pointed out that a prebendal system was established at Christ Church, Canterbury, as early as 832.—*The Pre-Conquest Church in England*, London, 1961, p. 314.

<sup>3</sup> ECWM, pp. 21–2.

There can be no doubt that most of the charters were grouped according to the names of the places conveyed. Thus entries 28–34 relate to Ebbesborne, 35–9 to Alresford, 40–52 to Taunton and its members, 53–5 to Pitminster, 56–61 to places called *Clere*, 62–7 to places called *Meon(e)*, 68–70 to Poolhampton, and so on. No. 89 concerning an estate called *Risctun* was misread by the cartulary compiler as *Rimtun* and included therefore in the group 87–90, relating (apart from this entry) to the latter estate. One suspects that Nos. 164–5 relating to Enford, Wilts., (*Enedforda*) are grouped with Nos. 163 and 166 relating to Wroughton and Lydiard Millicent, Wilts., (*Ellendune*) because of a superficial similarity in the O.E. names.

Note that while the arrangement is topographical, it is not alphabetical; evidently the compilers thought that all the charters grouped under a single name referred to the same place. With these examples in mind, let us pass on now to consideration of the interesting groups of charters which relate in fact to *different* estates bearing the same name.

Nos. 71–3 and No. 75 concern places called *Mordune*. The last-mentioned text is the will of the ætheling Athelstan, by which Morden in Cambridgeshire was given to the Old Minster; the location is confirmed by the DB entry for this estate. Nos. 71–3, however, are royal grants to thegns of Moredon in Rodbourne Cheney, near Swindon, Wilts., which also became for a while a Winchester property;<sup>1</sup> at other times it was in the possession of Malmesbury<sup>2</sup> and Abingdon.<sup>3</sup>

Nos. 118–24 concern places named *Stoce*. The two first have been located at Longstock, Hants, the next at South Stoke, Sussex;<sup>4</sup> the next at Alverstoke, Hants; the next at Odstock, Wilts.; and the last at Stoke by Hurstbourne, Hants. (No. 123, the famous diploma of Hurstbourne Priors, was included in this group because of its relationship to this last charter, No. 124.<sup>5</sup>) Of these, only Stoke by Hurstbourne is known to have been at any time a Winchester property. Odstock was possibly included within the hundred of Downton (No. 29). All the remainder are royal landbooks issued to thegns.

Nos. 125–30 relate to places named *Eastun*. The first is Easton near Winchester, which was a cathedral property. No. 126 has not yet been located, but the occurrence of a *crundel* in the bounds points to somewhere in the West country. Nos. 127 and 128 concern Church Aston and Aston in Wellington respectively, both in Shropshire; the second of these two charters was issued at Glastonbury at the request of a monk who came, presumably, from that house. Next comes a diploma of Little Aston, Staffs. The group is then completed by a charter of another cathedral property named *Eastun*, comprising

<sup>1</sup> R LIII.      <sup>2</sup> CS 185.      <sup>3</sup> K 1305.

<sup>4</sup> This charter was issued to replace one that had been burnt.

<sup>5</sup> Discussed by H. P. R. Finberg in *Lucerna*, London, 1964, p. 141.

the eastern part of Avington, near Winchester. Apart from the two charters issued for Winchester cathedral estates, all the others in this group are royal landbooks to thegns; again, there is no evidence that Winchester ever possessed the estates concerned.

Nos. 139 and 140 are charters for places called *Heantune*. As we have seen already, the first of these is Wolverhampton in Staffordshire, the second Hinton Ampner in Hampshire, which came into the possession of the church of Winchester. Nos. 147-51 form a second group of related texts. No. 147 is a charter granting Hinton Ampner to the church of South Stoneham, near Southampton. No. 148 also concerns South Stoneham. No. 149 relates to *Wenbeorg(en)*, *que modo Hynyton dicitur*, and the bounds are of Little Hinton, Wilts. Nos. 150 and 151 deal with the same estate, which was also a Winchester property.

Of the *Hamnes* in Nos. 141-4, all but the last relate to Ham in Wiltshire, and derive ultimately from two membranes attached to each other. The estate was given to the Old Minster 933×939. No. 144 however conveys land at East and West Ham, Essex, to Ealdorman Athelstan.<sup>1</sup>

Nos. 187-90 deal with places called *Wudetune*; they relate to Wootton, Oxon., Wootton St Lawrence, Hants, an estate as yet unidentified,<sup>2</sup> and Wootton-under-Edge, Glos., in that order. The Hampshire property descended to the Old Minster; but the estates conveyed by the other three, all royal grants to thegns, were never Winchester property as far as can be ascertained.

Finally, No. 215 concerning *Uferantun* (East Overton, Wilts.) is followed by No. 216 concerning *Ofertune* (Orton Waterville, Hunts.<sup>3</sup>). The former belonged to Winchester by the time of DB, but the latter estate is unlikely ever to have been Winchester property, and one may hazard a guess that both these charters were included in the cartulary simply because the Old Minster possessed a prebendal estate at *Uferantun* or Overton, Hants (Nos. 17, 56).

Here we have ample vindication of Professor Finberg's hypothesis, for there can be but one satisfactory explanation of all these remarkable coincidences. The materials entered in the *Codex* are derived from two distinct sources, the

<sup>1</sup> In *The Early Charters of Essex: The Saxon Period*, Leicester, 1957, p. 14, I gave a misleading account of this charter, which I am pleased to take this opportunity to rectify. The recipient of East and West Ham was not Ealdorman Athelstan of East Anglia, the "Half King," who was dead by 958; he must have been Athelstan "Rota," who became Ealdorman of Essex in 956. Furthermore, there are no "errors in the witness list" for which I blamed the copyist of the *Codex*; the error was in fact my own, due to a careless misreading of a comment of Miss Robertson in R, p. 338. East and West Ham passed into the possession of Westminster, probably before the end of the tenth century; CS 1264, the charter recording this, is spurious as it stands but there is no need to question the information it conveys.

<sup>2</sup> On the location, see my forthcoming *Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands*.

<sup>3</sup> On the location, see ECEE, pp. 22-3.

original title deeds to the Old Minster estates being supplemented extensively by charters drawn from a large and comprehensive collection, which can only have been that forming the archives of the Anglo-Saxon royal house.<sup>1</sup>

Whoever made this selection were presumably under the impression that these royal diplomas recorded the earlier history of estates that had since become cathedral property, and in this assumption they were often correct. But not always, for they failed to take into account two fundamental characteristics of Old English topography, which continue to bedevil scholarship to the present day. The first is that place-names like *Mordune*, *Stoce*, *Eastun(e)*, *Heantune*, *Hamme*, *Wudetune*, and *Uferantun* were very common, each being applied to a substantial number of sites scattered widely over the English countryside. Secondly, right up to the time of the Norman Conquest, individual settlements along valleys such as those of the *Ebbesburna*, *Cleare*, *Meone*, and *Wylye* often named themselves after the parent river, without any distinguishing prefixes or suffixes.

The repercussions of the former circumstance on the structure of the *Codex* we have examined already; it remains now to be seen if the second factor was also at play as the royal collection was searched for charters to reinforce the cathedral archives.

Let us open this section of our inquiry with a consideration of charters Nos. 30-4 in the *Codex*, five diplomas issued between 947 and 986, each relating to 5 hides at *Ebbesburna*, each being a conveyance to a thegn. Writing in 1955, Professor Darlington stated "the grants . . . presumably relate to Bishopstone, since the preservation of the documents in the *Codex Wintoniensis* raises the presumption that the lands were subsequently given to Winchester."<sup>2</sup> We have shown already how dangerous such an assumption can be, but as a matter of fact these estates *did* descend to Winchester Cathedral, all being included within the 45 hides at Ebbesborne restored to the Old Minster in 997 by the authentic No. 29. Evidently they had been alienated some time between 901 (No. 106) and 947 (No. 31). As to the locations, the boundary clauses show that Nos. 31 and 33 indeed related to Bishopstone; but No. 30 concerned Odstock, No. 32 part of Stratford Tony, and No. 34 Coombe Bissett.<sup>3</sup> It seems likely that all five of these charters were drawn from the royal collection.

Turning now to Nos. 56-61 relating to places called *Cle(a)re*, the key charter is No. 57, which appears to be authentic, with bounds describing the eastern half of Highclere. By this diploma, dated 955, the estate was given to the bishop

<sup>1</sup> That such a selection was possible implies that the charters in the royal collection were filed in alphabetical order according to the estates conveyed. See Appendix I for the filing process of the royal archives.

<sup>2</sup> *VCH Wilts.*, II, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> ECW, Nos. 265, 279, 287, 292, and 320. The bounds rule out Coombe Bissett and Homington for No. 279, leaving Odstock.

of Winchester, who bequeathed it to his kinsmen some time before 959.<sup>1</sup> The property was back in the possession of Winchester Cathedral by the time of Domesday; it may be presumed that the restoration dates from the time of King Edgar. Two other entries in this group, Nos. 59 and 60, have bounds which are copies of those of No. 57. Both charters seem to be Winchester forgeries, the text of the former being copied *verbatim* from the genuine No. 195.<sup>2</sup> We are left with three charters, Nos. 56, 58, and 61, which relate to estates which had no known connection with the Old Minster; they concern land in the western half of Highclere, at Burghclere, and at Ecchinswell. Of these, No. 61 is one of the important *febilis fortiter* diplomas discussed recently by Eric John.<sup>3</sup> It was witnessed at Colchester in 931, and conveys Ecchinswell to an abbot named Ælfric whose house was probably New Minster; certainly the Old Minster had no abbot at this or at any other time.<sup>4</sup> The religious lady Ælswith, the recipient of Burghclere by No. 58, was presumably connected with Wilton.

The *Cle(a)re* group of charters is followed in the *Codex* by six entries relating to *Meon(e)*, Nos. 62-7. East Meon was held at the time of DB by the bishop of Winchester, but there is no evidence that he or his predecessors ever held the land at West Meon, conveyed to a thegn by No. 65.

In 946 Ealdorman Æthelwold left 12 hides at *Wilig* to the Old Minster (No. 153). The estate is probably to be equated with the 10 hides at Codford and Stockton in the Wylve valley which belonged to Winchester Cathedral at the time of Domesday.<sup>5</sup> The *Codex* group of charters concerning lands in the Wylve valley includes one dated 901 by which this estate was granted to someone called Æthelwulf (No. 155).<sup>6</sup> Two later charters in this group (Nos. 152 and 154), both grants to thegns, concern estates which do not appear ever to have been Winchester property.

So far we have not discussed the date at which selection may have been made of deeds from the royal muniments to reinforce those of the cathedral. Professor Finberg postulated that this occurred at the time that the *Codex* was being compiled, i.e. c. 1130 × 1150, and so far the present investigation has yielded

<sup>1</sup> W IV; ECW, p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> The bounds of No. 59 are in O.E., an anachronism for the date claimed, A.D. 749.

<sup>3</sup> E. John, *Orbis Britanniae*, Leicester, 1966, pp. 49-51.

<sup>4</sup> Ælfric heads the abbots witnessing the following charters of the period 931 × 934: CS 674-7, 689, 691-2, 635 (a New Minster charter of Athelstan dated 11 Jan. 933, which has been amended by the substitution of King Edward's name), 695, and 702. In the *Codex* rubric to No. 61 he is "promoted" to bishop, no doubt to support the inference that this is an Old Minster estate. See footnote 6 below for a similar "promotion."

<sup>5</sup> ECW, p. 88.

<sup>6</sup> The rubric claims him to be a bishop, but there is no known bishop of this name alive in 901, either at Winchester or elsewhere. In the body of the charter, the failure to give any title to Æthelwulf the recipient is most unusual, and I suspect that some such word as minister has been deleted from the original text by the *Codex* copyist, so that the rubric should not be contradicted.

nothing to contradict this view. If we consider Nos. 53–5 relating to Pitminster for instance, two of these diplomas were issued to a thegn in 938 and 941, and, from analogy with other groups of charters in the *Codex*, we would expect these to have been drawn from the royal muniments. The third charter in the group, however, records the gift of this property to the Old Minster in 1044, so that the two earlier charters are unlikely to have been transferred from one set of muniments to the other before that date. Similar considerations apply to Nos. 68–70 relating to Poolhampton, to Nos. 76–7 relating to Witney, to Nos. 136–8 relating to Millbrook, and to Nos 139–40 relating to places called *Heantune*; in all of these cases the transfer of muniments is unlikely to have occurred before the mid-eleventh century.

The possibility remains, however, that some transfers of this kind had been taking place for many years prior to the compilation of the *Codex*. The process may have been initiated soon after the Benedictine reform. Three charters Nos. 81–3 relating to Harwell, Berkshire, are a case in point. All three are grants to thegns, of the type commonly selected from the royal collection to reinforce evidence of the cathedral's ownership. Presumably therefore the Old Minster acquired land at Harwell some time between 985 (the date of No. 82) and the Norman Conquest, for it was a Domesday possession of the cathedral. But if we examine No. 83 in detail, we find that it underwent some revision before its entry into the *Codex*. Its text is similar to that of CS 968, a diploma of King Eadwig dated 956.<sup>1</sup> In the Harwell charter, however, King Edgar's name has been substituted for that of the donor, King Eadwig, and two resulting substitutions appear in the witness list.<sup>2</sup>

There is a simple reason for these alterations, for the titles of many charters issued in the troubled years of King Eadwig's reign were suspect in the generation after his death, and it appears to have been a common practice of the Benedictine reformers to amend them.<sup>3</sup> With this in mind, there can be little doubt that the rehabilitated text of No. 83, with the original personal names restored, represents a genuine charter issued by King Eadwig in 956, the first year of his

<sup>1</sup> This charter is entered in a fourteenth-century hand on fol. 27<sup>v</sup> of BM Cott. Tib. B. v, an early eleventh-century miscellany of Winchester origin, which was at Battle Abbey in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; cf. N. Ker, *Catalogue of MSS Containing Anglo-Saxon*, Oxford, 1957, pp. 255–6. The estate conveyed was at Zeal and Donhead, Wilts.; cf. ECW, No. 280.

<sup>2</sup> Dunstan takes the place of Oda as archbishop of Canterbury, and the name of Ealdorman Ælfhere has been substituted for that of the ætheling Edgar, the later king.

<sup>3</sup> CS 1022 from Abingdon, issued in 958 some time after 2 June, has Eadwig's name displaced by that of King Eadred. So has CS 1024 from Evesham, dated by the witness list 956. CS 1150, a *Codex* charter (No. 15), ascribes to King Eadred a transaction recorded in CS 938, another *Codex* charter (No. 37) which is in fact a diploma of King Eadwig; cf. ECW, p. 238, n. 3. CS 1005, a charter of Eadwig dated 957, is ascribed to King Edgar in the rubric to its entry in the Abingdon cartulary. CS 1023 is a charter from the Wells archives, issued by Edgar while king of the Mercians, and dated 5 May 957 × 2 June 958, in which Edgar's name has been ousted by that of Eadred. A similar substitution is made in CS 1021 dated 958, a charter which found its way into the Burton muniments.

reign. The amendments recorded in the *Codex* version were concerned with preserving the charter's validity as a title deed, a question unlikely to have been of more than academic importance after the first quarter of the eleventh century. Moreover, they could hardly have been made while the charter was filed in the royal archives, for King Eadwig's successors stood to gain nothing from such an alteration. Validity of title was the concern of the holder of the land; it seems likely therefore that the substitutions in the text were made after the deed had been transferred from the royal muniments to those of the cathedral, possibly at the turn of the tenth century.

Just the same argument applies in the case of No. 179, one of a group of *Codex* charters relating to Woolstone, Berks., another Domesday estate of Winchester Cathedral which must have been acquired in or before the reign of the Confessor. Here again, an authentic diploma of King Eadwig dated 958 has been amended, by the substitution of the name of King Eadred as the donor. But the most important example for our purpose is that of No. 129, one of the *Eastun* charters that has been discussed already. It relates to land in Staffordshire which could never have belonged to Winchester, and the strong supposition is that this charter was originally in the royal collection. As with No. 179, the name of the donor, King Eadwig, has been altered to Eadred. The amendment may have been made when the charter was transferred to the cathedral muniments, possibly in this case soon after the reformation of the chapter in 964, for Easton near Winchester had been given to the bishop in 961 (No. 125).

Evidence of a rather different kind, but pointing to the same conclusion, comes from the *Codex* entries concerning a certain Æthelgeard, who was one of the most powerful Wessex thegns of the mid-tenth century. His interests were centred on Winchester where he held considerable property, especially at the eastern end of the town,<sup>1</sup> and he left land to the New Minster for the souls of himself and his wife; it seems likely that they were buried there, and that he is the Æthelgeard *preñg* whose name appears in a list of benefactors to that house.<sup>2</sup> No less than eight charters survive in the *Codex*,<sup>3</sup> and one in the Hyde Abbey Register (formerly New Minster),<sup>4</sup> by which successive kings from Athelstan to Eadwig grant him over 70 hides in the Thames valley near Wallingford, and in East Hampshire, mostly in the Meon valley. In addition, he received 5 hides at *Niwantun* (possibly Newtown, Berks, near Sotwell),<sup>5</sup> and another 5 hides in the Isle of Wight which he probably gave to Evesham, for Evesham owned the estate at the time of Domesday and it is in the Evesham

<sup>1</sup> *Codex* Nos. 184, 86.

<sup>2</sup> W vi; *Liber Vitæ: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey*, Winchester, ed. W. de Gray Birch, Hampshire Record Society, 1892, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Codex* Nos. 65, 184, 85-6, 78, 80, 91, 116.

<sup>4</sup> CS 988.

<sup>5</sup> CS 944, a charter which strayed into the archives of Wulfric Spot's eleventh-century foundation at Burton-on-Trent. Other charters in this abbey's register relate to lands in Oxfordshire and Wiltshire.

cartulary that the text of the grant is preserved.<sup>1</sup> Towards the end of his career, Æthelgeard rose to third in the hierarchy of thegns in constant attendance upon the king. Some of his charters show evidence of this special service to the royal family;<sup>2</sup> he knew the æthelings in their childhood,<sup>3</sup> and King Eadwig called him his *carus*.<sup>4</sup> It is noteworthy that Æthelgeard remained true to Eadwig after Edgar's revolt in 957;<sup>5</sup> when Eadwig died and Edgar succeeded, Æthelgeard disappeared from the pages of history, whether by death or disgrace we do not know.<sup>6</sup>

Æthelgeard's estates near Wallingford had once been the property of the bishops of Winchester, having formed part of King Æthelwulf's Second Decimation of 854.<sup>7</sup> In return the bishop was to bear the cost of entertaining distinguished foreign visitors to Winchester, an indication of the town's importance as the West Saxon capital. Alienation occurred, however, before the end of the first half of the tenth century, and the estates were given piecemeal to Æthelgeard; in 947 he received 10 hides at Brightwell (No. 80), a year later 5 hides at Sotwell and 5 more at Mackney (No. 91), and finally in 957 a further 15 hides at Sotwell (CS 988). One can only speculate whether with the receipt of these properties Æthelgeard inherited the duties of entertaining foreign visitors. Certainly his extensive Winchester possessions would have enabled him to do this without difficulty. Serjeantry in England was not unknown before the Norman Conquest.

When he died Æthelgeard left the reversion of his Sotwell estate to New Minster, and the remaining 20 hides near Wallingford descended to the Old Minster, so restoring to the cathedral most of the land there originally granted by King Æthelwulf a century previously. Æthelgeard's Exton property (*Codex* No. 184) also came into the cathedral's possession,<sup>8</sup> presumably at the same time as the Brightwell estate;<sup>9</sup> both were retained by Winchester after the Norman Conquest.

<sup>1</sup> CS 1025. The formulas of the proem, dispositive, and immunity clauses of this undated fragment were not evolved until 958 (CS 1023, 1034-5), to which year it should be assigned.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. the dispositive clauses of *Codex* Nos. 65, 80.

<sup>3</sup> *Codex* No. 78, a charter of King Eadred wrongly dated 945. See p. 17, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> CS 944. <sup>5</sup> He witnesses several of Eadwig's charters, but none of Edgar's, in that year.

<sup>6</sup> In addition to those charters already discussed, Æthelgeard witnesses the following royal diplomas: CS 705, R xxv (934); CS 707 (935); CS 775 (942); CS 783, 787, 789 (943); CS 791-2, 795, 798, 802 (944); CS 808 (945); CS 814, 818 (946); CS 820-1, 824, 830, 832-4 (947); CS 866, 868-71 (948); CS 875, 877, 879, 882-3, 888 (949); CS 891-2 (951); CS 895 (952); CS 905, 917 (955); CS 919, 921, 924-5, 927, 930, 932, 934-5, 938, 942-3, 948-9, 952-3, 955, 957-66, 970-1, 973-4, 977, 979, 981-3, 985, 1024 (956); CS 1002 (c. 956); CS 1009 (956 × 957); CS 987, 992, 994, 997-9, 1001, 1003-4 (957); CS 1032 (before 2 June 958). In the text of CS 976 (*Codex* No. 116) he is given the title of an ealdorman, but the rubric correctly calls him a thegn.

<sup>7</sup> *Codex* No. 79; ECW, p. 203.

<sup>8</sup> It was given by King Edgar, cf. WCD, p. 64.

<sup>9</sup> Possibly the 30 hides at Brightwell given to the bishop of Winchester in 854 formed part of the hundred of Cholsey, all of which was in Winchester's possession in 879 × 899, when it was returned to the king in exchange for 50 hides at Chisledon and 60 at Hurstbourne Priors (No. 196).

One may suppose that some, if not all, of Æthelgeard's charters reached the *Codex* via the royal collection, for the lands conveyed by Nos. 65, 85-6, and 116 appear never to have become Winchester property.<sup>1</sup> Yet Æthelgeard's No. 80, as Professor Finberg has established, was used as an exemplar for the attestations to the spurious *Codex* entries Nos. 28 and 42, composed by the Winchester monks at the end of the tenth century or soon afterwards.<sup>2</sup> The witness list appears also to have been utilized when No. 78 was fabricated, probably at about the same period.<sup>3</sup>

More detailed work of this sort is needed before the *Codex* yields all its secrets, but the general pattern is beginning to emerge. Soon after the Bene-

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 85-6 are two very interesting charters by King Edmund for Æthelgeard, relating to 7 hides at West Tisted, Hants. The former was issued in 941 from the royal estate at Cheddar, Somerset, and utilizes formulas common in the early diplomas of King Athelstan, whence the detailed dating clause, constructed from an Easter table. Evidently the transcriber could not read the incarnation date clearly, so he supplied it from the indiction; unfortunately he chose the wrong decennovenal cycle, giving 960 for the supplied date instead of 941. The epact is two years out for either 941 or 960, but such an error is all too easy to make when reading an Easter table, and in no way invalidates the record of this transaction. The indiction, concurrent, and regnal year are all right for 941, and the witness list is compatible. This is a wholly convincing charter, and I see no good reason why Professor Whitelock should have stigmatized it as "doubtful" (*Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. P. H. Sawyer, Roy. Hist. Soc., 1968, p. 192, No. 511). The second West Tisted charter, No. 86, was issued two years later because the former one had been mislaid—"ideo scripsimus novam cartulam quia antiquum librum non habebamus," (a phrase repeated in CS 757, 801, and with variations in Nos. 123 and 162), so the whole thing had to be done again, including the drawing up of a completely fresh set of bounds for this estate. It looks as if the "lost" charter was stored away in the king's *haligdom* all the time.

<sup>2</sup> ECW, p. 236, n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> The four charters relating to Æthelgeard's estates near Wallingford must be considered as a group (*Codex* Nos. 78, 80, 86, and the New Minster text CS 988). Of these, the surviving texts of No. 80 and CS 988 may be accepted as wholly authentic. No. 86 is also basically authentic, but has two late interpolations, discussed below. No. 78, however, bears all the marks of forgery. The witness list has been lifted from No. 80, and is incompatible with the ostensible date, 945. Incidentally, the forms of attestation of the witnesses do not appear elsewhere in authentic charters of a date earlier than 946, e.g. CS 818. The boundary clause is in three parts, the first describing the land conveyed by No. 80, and the second that of CS 988; the third section repeats part of the boundary clause of No. 86, relating to property within the town of Wallingford, and land just to the north of the ancient town wall (for a reconstructed map of Wallingford at the time of the Norman Conquest, see *VCH Berks.*, 1, p. 365). It seems therefore that the 30 hides said to be conveyed by this charter comprise the 10 hides of No. 80 plus the 15 hides of CS 988, plus the unhidated portion of No. 86. The reason for making all this come to 30 hides is plain enough; the conveyance is intended to represent the same territory as in King Æthelwulf's Decimation Charter, the authentic No. 79. Yet it does appear possible that No. 78 is a heavily modified version of a lost authentic diploma issued by King Eadwig in 957-8 to confirm the three donations recorded in Nos. 80, 86, and CS 988. The invocation to the surviving text, for example, is found elsewhere only in a few charters of the years 995 × 997 (CS 909, 949, 956-7, 995), and the reference in the dispositive clause to the king's childhood is convincing. Whether No. 78 is completely fabricated or just a heavily amended version of an authentic charter, the surviving form of the text is likely to be due to the activities of Benedictine revisionists in the late tenth century. Unhappily, the matter is further complicated by a much later interpolation in the texts of both No. 78 and No. 86, referring to the *castellum* at Wallingford. Wallingford castle was a Norman structure, so these interpolations are probably due to the compilers of the *Codex*. To the same period must be assigned the anachronistic reference to Bishop Æthelwold introduced into the boundary clause of No. 86.

dictine reformation of 964, the Winchester monks began to reconstruct the cathedral muniments to bring them into line with their newly acquired endowment of lands and liberties. Undoubtedly the driving force was their great bishop Æthelwold, whose influence with the young King Edgar enabled him to bring about substantial changes in land tenure and in seignorial jurisdiction over the estates of his new monastic foundations. In their turn these innovations resulted in a considerable development of the work and organization of the monastic scriptoria and muniment rooms. It seems likely that at the Old Minster, the heart of the reform movement, the monks were uniquely placed as custodians of the royal *haligdom*, from which they abstracted earlier land-books concerning (as they thought) their newly acquired estates, both in order to supplement the evidence of the cathedral archives, and also possibly to make it more difficult for descendants of previous owners to re-establish claims to their ancestors' property. This transfer of old land titles from the royal repository to the cathedral's own muniment collection soon became a routine process, which was repeated right up to the Norman Conquest every time a property was newly acquired by the cathedral.

This theory postulates first that the later Anglo-Saxon kings kept copies of the royal landbooks issued by them, and secondly that this royal collection was housed at Winchester, at least during the last century of the Anglo-Saxon state. As to the first assumption, in the tenth and eleventh centuries the royal diplomas themselves are silent on this matter; but in the ninth century the Mercian royal house kept a collection of its land charters stored at Winchcombe (CS 384; cf. ECWM p. 229), and *Codex* No. 198 shows that the West Saxon kings similarly kept duplicates of diplomas issued by them, which they filed with "the charters of the royal inheritance." In an appendix to this paper I argue that the Old English endorsements to the royal land charters were made for ease of reference when they came to be filed in the royal archives, and that the custom originated in Wessex in 854 and was perpetuated until the Norman Conquest. For the period 995 × 1053 we have evidence that vernacular copies of wills and of monastic and private charters were often placed *æt thæs cinges haligdome*.<sup>1</sup> The *haligdom* was the royal sanctuary or chapel where holy relics were kept; if private titles to land were preserved there, we may be sure that so too were the solemn royal diplomas, the sacredness of which was protected by the most formidable anathemas.

But was the *haligdom* at Winchester, at some other place, or peripatetic with the king? There are good grounds for believing that by the end of the tenth

<sup>1</sup> W XVI, xxx; R LXXV, cxv. Similar references occur in late Latin translations of O.E. vernacular documents, e.g. *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake, Roy. Hist. Soc., 1962, pp. 157-8, and *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis*, ed W. Dunn Macray, London, 1886, p. 172. The topic was discussed recently by Professor F. Barlow in *The English Church, 1000-1066*, London, 1963, pp. 122-4.

century the collection of royal diplomas was large and comprehensive, covering bookland in the whole of England south of the Humber.<sup>1</sup> At a conservative estimate it must have numbered several thousand charters, and it seems to me highly unlikely that it was carried about on the royal perambulations.

It was from the Winchester scriptorium (surely that of the Old Minster) that the scribes came who drafted the royal landbooks of the period 931-63,<sup>2</sup> and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was being compiled there by the same group of people at this period. What happened to the production of royal diplomas during the last century before the Norman Conquest is still a matter for debate, but we know that the king's treasury was established at Winchester by 1036, and that Domesday Book was compiled and kept there. Sometimes kings were consecrated and buried at the Old Minster; sometimes they held their councils and wore their crown there. If the evidence of the *Codex* has been interpreted correctly, the royal charter collection was undoubtedly kept at Winchester at some time between 1045 and 1150,<sup>3</sup> and the same evidence suggests that the former date should be amended to 964. There is indeed a good case for supposing that the royal charter archives (first for Wessex only, later for all England south of the Humber) were stored at Winchester during the whole of the three centuries following King Æthelwulf's famous Second Decimation of 854. Support on general grounds for such a conclusion is forthcoming from the growing evidence for the development in England of a strong and sophisticated machinery of central government from the time of Edward the Elder onwards. It can confidently be predicted that closer examination of the structure and contents of the *Codex* will shed further light on these and related themes.

It would be wrong however to conclude this review without noticing that the *Codex* is far from being a comprehensive record of all the Anglo-Saxon charters available at the Old Minster at the time of its compilation. The cathedral muniments suffered disastrous depredation at the hands of Cromwell's soldiers, and when in 1643 John Chase, the chapter clerk, catalogued such few title deeds as had been salvaged by the townsfolk, of the thirty listed items of pre-Conquest date no less than half refer to texts which had not been entered in the *Codex*.<sup>4</sup> Many of these of course may have come originally from the royal archive collection—for example, diplomas relating to Conington, Hunts.,<sup>5</sup> to Newnham

<sup>1</sup> If we have interpreted the *Codex* correctly, the royal collection was sufficiently large to include several charters conveying lands in different places having the same place-name such as *Eaton, Stoce*, etc. Of the charters entered in the *Codex*, no less than 86 could possibly have been drawn from the royal archives; these are marked "k" in the handlist forming Appendix II to this paper.

<sup>2</sup> P. Chaplais 'The Origin and Authenticity of the Royal Anglo-Saxon Diploma', *Jnl Soc. of Archivists*, III, 1965, particularly pp. 59-61.

<sup>3</sup> See, further, the references cited in ECWM, p. 22, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> WCD, pp. 59-64.

<sup>5</sup> †CS 1003.

Murren, Oxon.,<sup>1</sup> and to Madeley near Newcastle under Lyme in Staffordshire.<sup>2</sup> In the same category we may place the remarkable diploma by which King Æthelwulf booked to himself land at South Hams, Devon; although this does not appear in Chase's Catalogue, he certainly recovered it for the chapter muniments, for it is endorsed in his own hand.<sup>3</sup> But several of the charters listed by Chase must have been kept in the Old Minster's own muniment collection from the outset, and among these appear such major items as a copy of King Æthelwulf's First Decimation, and a diploma of King Alfred relating to the hundred of Chilcomb, as well as several straightforward grants to the minster, such as those of *Wolferdyngton* (possibly Wolverton, Hants) and Exton, Hants.

We may note too that some Old Minster charters which reached the Cottoonian collection were neither entered in the *Codex* nor listed by Chase.<sup>4</sup> The same applies to at least two charters that came into the possession of Harley,<sup>5</sup> and also to a number of O.E. writs.<sup>6</sup> The *Codex* is indeed notably deficient in O.E. material, although there must have been large numbers of wills and private charters sent to the Old Minster for safe keeping in the king's *haligdom*. One has only to recall the masses of vernacular texts surviving to a late date at Bury St Edmunds, and underlying the Latin transcripts preserved in the *Liber Eliensis* and the *Ramsey Chronicle*, to appreciate just how much similar material at the Old Minster has been lost irretrievably.

## APPENDIX I

### CONTEMPORARY ENDORSEMENTS TO THE ROYAL LANDBOOKS

When the scribe of a royal diploma of the Anglo-Saxon period had finished writing the last name of the witness list and ensured that the ink was dry, he would habitually fold it several times horizontally and vertically. In so doing, two purposes would be served; the dimensions of the membrane would be reduced, so facilitating transportation and storage, and the writing itself would be protected

from dirt, rubbing, and fading, for the folds were always made inwards. And in the course of time, so that one folded membrane could be distinguished from another without going to the trouble of unfolding it, the scribes evolved the custom of endorsing one of the outside panels as soon as the charter had been folded.

Little is known about contemporary endorsements to royal diplomas issued before

<sup>1</sup> †CS 1176.

<sup>2</sup> †CS 1312.

<sup>3</sup> †CS 451. This charter has recently been discussed by Professor Finberg, in *West-Country Historical Studies*, 1969, pp. 11-23.

<sup>4</sup> The collection of Cotton Charters at the British Museum includes original Anglo-Saxon texts from Evesham, Westminster, Rochester, and Winchester (Old Minster), with a single late item from Canterbury (K 742). The charters which are probably of Old Minster provenance include CS 181, 225, 451, 469, 1083, and W III and R cxviii.

<sup>5</sup> \*CS 1145, \*\*\*K 1335.

<sup>6</sup> H, Nos. 109, 110, 111.

the reign of Athelstan. With the exception of two examples from the East Saxon diocese (CS 81, 111), our earliest evidence is confined to charters preserved by the see of Canterbury; in the first quarter of the ninth century these were sometimes endorsed with the name of the place conveyed, followed by the word *bo[e]c* (e.g. CS 289, 326, 343, 400; and see E. John, *Orbis Britanniae*, Leicester, 1966, p. 74). A small subgroup of these Kentish texts has endorsements with rather more detailed topographical descriptions (CS 373, 380-1), and in the earliest of these the word *landboec* first appears. CS 416 shows that Mercian charters of a slightly later date could bear still more elaborate endorsements, but these did not, apparently, keep to any fixed formula, and we have to return to Kentish evidence to trace the next steps in the development of the stereotyped phraseology which characterizes contemporary endorsements to royal charters issued in the last two centuries of the Anglo-Saxon state.

CS 467 is an original diploma which should probably be dated 853 and is endorsed *†ðis sindan ðes landesbec et uluham, ealdheres landes* in a contemporary hand. CS 496 dated 858 is another original Kentish diploma, famous for its reference to folkland, with a contemporary endorsement commencing *†ðis siondan ðes landesboec et Wassingwellan ðet Eðelbearht cyning Wullafe sealde his ðegne*. . .<sup>1</sup> We need have no difficulty, therefore, in accepting the evidence of a late copyist that CS 469, concerning land in Wiltshire, was originally endorsed *†ðis seondan ðes landes bec ðe Eðelulf cyning Wiferde his ðegne salde*, an important prototype formula which we shall call F<sub>1</sub>. Professor Finberg has shown this text to be an authentic copy of one of King Æthelwulf's famous

'Second Decimation' charters of 22 April 854,<sup>2</sup> and the *Codex Wintoniensis* also preserves copies of two authentic charters in this series (Nos. 79 and 160), headed respectively by the rubrics *ðis is thara. xxx. hida boc æt Brihtanwylle th(æt) Athelwulf cing gæbocade into Ealdan Mynstræ*, and *this is ðara. iii. hida boc to Worðie ðae Æthelwulf cing bocode Hunsie his thegne on ece yrfe*. This second version forms another important prototype which we shall call F<sub>2</sub>.

A full examination has yet to be made of the part played by the text of Æthelwulf's Second Decimation in the development of charter diplomatic, but already there can be no doubt as to its importance; the invocation, for example, immediately became the normal form for West Saxon diplomas issued in the second half of the ninth century. It will now be shown how the two prototypes F<sub>1</sub> and F<sub>2</sub> guided the evolution of the formulas of endorsement to the royal Anglo-Saxon land charters.

Within two decades of F<sub>1</sub> we have the following *Codex* rubric (No. 159):<sup>3</sup> *ðis seond ðæs landes boc thæ Eðelred cing Hunsige his thegen salde æt Worðie*. The rubric to a further *Codex* charter, dated 901 (No. 155), runs: *ðis is thæra land boc to biWilig thæ Eadweard cing gebocade Aðelwulf biscope on ece yrfe*; another, dated 928 (No. 122), runs: *ðis is seo land boc to Stoce the Edelstan cing gebocade Byrhtferthæ his thegne on ece yrfe*. Nine years later, the rubric to a Wilton charter (CS 714)<sup>4</sup> reads as follows: *This is Brydancumbes land boc the Æthelstan cing gebocade tham hiwan at Wiltane . . . on eche yrfe*, which led the following year to the fully developed formula of yet another *Codex* entry (No. 90), which we shall label F<sub>3</sub>: *This is Rimtunes land boc de Æthelstan cing gebocade Æthelrede his thegne on ece yrfe*. From 938 onwards, formula F<sub>3</sub> was endorsed on *Codex* charters

<sup>1</sup> Cf John, *op. cit.*, pp. 106, 112-13. *Sealde* comes from the verb *sellan*, which meant 'to give' at this date, without necessarily implying a money transaction.

<sup>2</sup> ECW, ch. vi, a fundamental contribution to our knowledge of the development of the Anglo-Saxon royal diploma.

<sup>3</sup> The rubrics prefacing charters entered in the *Codex* are accurate copies of the endorsements on the original membranes of these landbooks, as they lay before the cartulary scribes. This is established by comparison of the *Codex* entries with those charters of which the originals or pseudo-originals have survived (see p. 8, n. 1 above). Because of this, the *Codex* greatly increases the evidence otherwise available for investigating the development of contemporary endorsements to royal diplomas of the Anglo-Saxon period.

<sup>4</sup> As with the *Codex*, rubrics to entries in the Wilton cartulary reproduce the endorsements to the charters concerned.

Nos. 176, 184, and 190, and also on the following originals from Kent and Wiltshire: CS 734, 741, and 743, and on two Wilton charters, CS 756 and 782. In diplomas of this group issued after the year 939 the word *landboc* was replaced by *boc*, and the whole formula was discontinued after the year 943.

Turning now to prototype F<sub>2</sub>, we have an early development in No. 181 from the *Codex*, dated 856: *ðis is thara. xx. hida boc to Æscesbyrig the Ædelwulf cing gebocade Aldrede his thegne on ece yrfe*, which we shall call formula F<sub>4</sub>. This version is not to be found again until 940 (CS 757 from Wilton, and *Codex* charter No. 70),<sup>1</sup> but it was destined to continue unaltered as the main form from then onwards until 961, and sporadically thereafter right up to the Norman Conquest. During this period it is represented by no less than fifty-three examples from the *Codex*,<sup>2</sup> and another thirteen from the Wilton cartulary;<sup>3</sup> the formula appears also in a group of thirteen original charters (and copies of originals) relating to lands in Kent, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Cornwall, and Devon.<sup>4</sup>

In 961 an interesting original diploma, CS 1072, which is also entered in the *Codex* (No. 44), was endorsed with the following variant of formula F<sub>4</sub>: *This is thæra feower hyda landboc æt Withiglea the Eadgar cing hæfð gebocod*

*Cenulfe on ece yrfe*.<sup>5</sup> As far as can be ascertained, the substitution of *hæfð gebocod* for *gebocade* occurs only once elsewhere, in another original charter CS 1165 dated 965, relating to land in Dorset.<sup>6</sup> Both these charters also omit the words *his thegne* after the name of the recipient, and they substitute the compound *landboc* for the simple *boc* of earlier charters in the series. This last modification was retained by the majority of contemporary endorsements from 965 onwards, producing a formula we shall call F<sub>5</sub>, for which the original CS 1101, a Canterbury charter relating to land in Essex and dated 963, may be quoted as exemplar: *†this is thara. vii. hida land boc æt Fengge the Eadgar cyning gebocode Ingerame his thegne on ece yrfe*.

Formula F<sub>5</sub> is well represented in endorsements to royal diplomas issued throughout the last century of the Anglo-Saxon period. Six examples are preserved in the *Codex*,<sup>7</sup> eight in copies of charters from other centres,<sup>8</sup> and a further seven survive as originals.<sup>9</sup> These landbooks relate to properties scattered over Suffolk, Bedfordshire, Middlesex, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Somerset, Dorset, and Devon. It should be noted that the three Devon examples have unusual forms in place of the verb *gebocode* which appears elsewhere;<sup>10</sup> it is possible that these were all written at Crediton, but the topic requires further investigation before a firm conclusion

<sup>1</sup> I omit three slightly modified examples from the *Codex*, Nos. 65, 54, and 157 (dated 932 × 939), and CS 734, an original Wiltshire charter dated 939 which also has a small modification to the formula.

<sup>2</sup> These are, in chronological order, Nos. 85, 55, 86, 58, 73, 180, 78, 80, 31, 91, 121, 179, 57, 110, 87, 37, 163, 177, 40, 30, 189, 68, 116, 174, 66, 71, 33, 117, 144, 187, 56, 194, 34, 93, 64, 83, 72, 76, 81, 62, 118, 134, 135, 182, 139, 32, 183, 152, 188, 186, 156, 209, 77.

<sup>3</sup> These are, in chronological order, CS 795, 818, 870, 879, 934, 958, 992, 998, 1030, 1031, 1053, 1216, K 778.

<sup>4</sup> These are, in chronological order, CS 791 from Canterbury, CS 877, 892, 895, 965, 966 from Abingdon, CS 986 from Bath, CS 1003 from Winchester, CS 1056 from Bodmin, CS 1295 from Rochester, CS 1303 (repository unknown), CS 1312 probably from Winchester, and K 705 which is possibly from Evesham. The F<sub>4</sub> formula was also doubtless used to endorse the lost charter of King Æthelred concerning East Oakley in Wootton St Lawrence, Hants. ECW, No. 143. WCD, p. 62.

<sup>5</sup> A much later endorsement in the hand of John Chase, the chapter clerk, shows that this charter was at Winchester as late as 1643. WCD, p. 63.

<sup>6</sup> Provenance unknown.

<sup>7</sup> These are, in chronological order, Nos. 125, 126, 145, 82, 53, and 115.

<sup>8</sup> These are, in chronological order, CS 1116 from Wells, CS 1145 and 1176 from Winchester, CS 1221 from Abingdon, CS 1269 from Ely, CS 1309 from Westminster, and K 1318 and 1332 from Sherborne.

<sup>9</sup> These are, in chronological order, CS 1083 probably from Winchester, CS 1085 from Westminster, CS 1103 from Exeter (thought by some to be a later copy), CS 1229 from Worcester, K 744 and 770 of unknown provenance, and K 781 from Winchester.

<sup>10</sup> K 744 *het gebocian*, K 770 *let gebecean*, and K 1332 *let gebocygean*.

can be reached. Another feature of formula F, endorsements is that the word *thegne* is often replaced by a more descriptive appellative such as *mæge* (CS 1085), *burhthegne* (CS 1083), *hunta(n)* (K 648), and *huskarle* (K 1318). CS 1229 shows a further elaboration; the recipient, who is described as the king's *leofan, getreowan thegne*, was in fact Ælfwold, the brother of Ealdorman Æthelwine of East Anglia, and a notable supporter of the Benedictine reform.

There remains for consideration a small group of charters bearing unusual endorsements, or having no contemporary endorsement at all. It is surprising how few there are. CS 1040 from Wells, an original issued in 958 and conveying land in Herefordshire, is endorsed *Her is stantunes boc*; a *Codex* entry (No. 127) dated 963 and relating to land in Shropshire is similarly entitled *Her is Eastunes boc and Plesces*. Two more *Codex* texts, concerning lands in Hampshire and Sussex (Nos. 64 and 120, dated 967 and 975), are headed by the rubrics *ðis is seo boc æt Meone* and *ðis is seo boc æt Stoce*. CS 536 is an original Kentish landbook composed in 873; it purports to be a royal diploma, but in fact it was written at Christ Church by someone who was a poor Latinist; it is endorsed *ðis is sia boc æt Gildincge*.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, *Codex* No. 128 dated 975, another text cast in the form of a royal landbook, seems to be a copy of a product of the Glastonbury scriptorium; it was endorsed *this*

*is Ealhhelmes land boc the Eadgar cing him gebocode on ece yrfe æt Eastun*.<sup>2</sup> Crawford Charter No. VIII, an original dated 998 from Evesham, bears a contemporary endorsement using a rather archaic formula: *ðis is thera landda boc to Sulthham and to Hlodbroce and to Hreodburnan the Æthelred cyninge sealde Leofwine ealdorman on ece yrfe*. Finally, CS 792, 964, 968, 1066, 1082, 1231, and ECDC 37, are original charters which appear not to have been endorsed at the time they were composed; they all come from different sources and the lands conveyed are widely scattered, from Suffolk to Cornwall.

What has emerged from this study is that the great majority of the royal diplomas issued from the reign of Athelstan to that of Edward the Confessor were endorsed at the time of their composition by brief summaries in Old English, following a stereotyped formula. The endorsement gave the names of the estate, the donor, and the recipient, and very often the hidage of the estate conveyed; the date of the transaction was invariably omitted. It would appear that the custom originated in Wessex in the reign of King Æthelwulf, probably as a result of his Second Decimation in 854. There is a strong presumption that these endorsements were made for ease of reference when the charters came to be filed in the royal archives. When copies of the diplomas were made for recipients or for third parties, the

<sup>1</sup> This text calls for more attention than has been devoted to it in the past. The scribe was recording a transaction by which the archbishop of Canterbury, with King Alfred's consent, sold to a thegn the life lease of a Kentish estate, with reversion to the *familia*. He made a clumsy job of it, utilizing for his exemplar what purported to be a royal diploma concerning the estate, issued by King Æthelwulf of Wessex in 839 × 851; but this exemplar was itself written by a member of the Christ Church *familia*, for in the boundary clause reference is made to land held by another member of the *familia* who is called *mona[c]hus nostri (sic)*. The witness list to the surviving text is in three parts; the first, from Æthelwulf *rex* to Wulfred, has the attestations followed by *consensi et subscripsi*, and derives from the text of the exemplar. These names are repeated, minus this phrase, in the second part of the list, and I suggest that this section came from a small piece of parchment attached physically to the exemplar, as in CS 442. The third section of the list, from Ceolnoð *archiepisceopus* onwards, contains names which (with one exception) do not appear in the other two sections, and I suspect that these also were originally listed on the attached parchment.

<sup>2</sup> This charter was drawn up at the request of the king's relative, a monk named Ælfwine. The transaction was enacted at Glastonbury and witnessed by all the *familia* there. The remainder of the witness list differs sharply from that of other charters of the period, the names being confined to those of the bishop of Hereford, the ealdorman of Mercia, the abbots of St Albans, Bath, Glastonbury, St Augustines (probably), and Milton, and three thegns, of whom at least one, Ordulf, was probably from the West country. It looks as if the king was visiting Glastonbury with a small retinue, and the transaction was completed on the spot at the request of his relative, a monk there. The text utilized a regular diploma of King Edgar for its exemplar (see CS 1314, 1351 for the formulas). The *Codex* version derives presumably from a copy made for inclusion in the king's *haligdom*.

endorsements were usually copied also, but this was not invariably done, for the recipients would rarely have assembled a large enough set of charters of their own to require the sophisticated filing methods used for the royal collection.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Examples of such local copies survive in the Burton archives preserved at the William Salt Library at Stafford. An unpublished original charter of King Æthelred to his thegn Morcar, granting land in Derbyshire in 1009, is endorsed in capitals: ✠*Westunes Landbóc*. An earlier original granting land to Bishop Wulfric in 968 (CS 1211) is endorsed: *wulfrices boc bisc[eop] æt stantune ā on ece erfe*. Two late eleventh-century copies of charters issued in 956 (CS 954) and 993 (unpublished; Abbots Bromley, Staffs.) are endorsed: ✠*deorlafestunes boc* and ✠*Bedintunes boc*, in each case in the main hand.

## APPENDIX II

THE CONTENTS OF THE *CODEX WINTONIENSIS*<sup>1</sup>

<i>Charter No.</i>	<i>Folio No.</i>	<i>Edition</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Description</i>
1	6	*H 107	984 × 1001	Chilcomb, Hants. Writ.
2	6	*CS 1160	N.D.	Chilcomb. List of lands forming the hundred.
3	6	*CS 1161	N.D.	List of lands belonging to the Old Minster.
4	6 <sup>v</sup>	*K 1291	996	A message in Winchester to the Old Minster.
5	7	*K 626	980	1½ hides at Calshot, Hants, to the Old Minster.
6	7	***H 112	1053 × 1066	Portland, Dorset. Writ (late insertion).
7	7 <sup>v</sup>	Unpublished	13th c.	Cron dall and Itchell, Hants. Bounds (late insertion).
8	8	*K 1347; R LIII	975 × 979	Exchange by bishop and <i>familia</i> of Old Minster: 12 hides at Moreden in Rodbourne Cheney, Hants, for 2 acres in Winchester.
9	8	*CS 605, 1338; Ha XVI	?900	Exchange of land in Winchester.
10	8 <sup>v</sup>	*CS 1302	968 × 970	Grant of land in Winchester to the three minsters.
11	8 <sup>v</sup>	*R XLIX	?970 × 975	Exchange of lands etc. in Winchester.

<sup>1</sup> Code of Asterisks: †Original charter extant. \*Wholly authentic. \*\*Basically authentic, but incorporating some spurious material. \*\*\*Basically spurious, but incorporating some authentic material. ‡For further details, see ECEE, p. 17. All charters are grants by the reigning monarch, unless otherwise stated. Those prefixed by the letter k *possibly* came from the royal archives.

<i>Charter No.</i>	<i>Folio No.</i>	<i>Edition</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Description</i>
12	9	**CS 1146	c. 964 × 975	Restoration to Old Minster of 100 hides at Downton, Wilts., and 30 at Bowcombe, I.O.W. Renewal of title of Chilcomb, Hants.
13	9 <sup>v</sup> -10	*CS 1147; R xxxviii	?964 × 975	Renewal of beneficial hidation of Chilcomb.
14	10	*CS 1149	c. 964 × 975	Confirmation to bishopric of Winchester of 100 hides at Taunton, 20 at Stoke by Shalbourne, Wilts., and 30 at Banwell and 10 at Crowcombe, both in Som.
15	10 <sup>v</sup> -11	*CS 1150	?964 × 975	Restoration to Old Minster of 40 hides at Alresford, Hants.
16	11	*CS 1151	?964 × 975	Restoration to Old Minster of 10 hides at <i>Clere</i> (High Clere), Hants.
17	11 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 1152	?964 × 975	Confirmation to Old Minster of 20 hides at Overton, 15 at North Waltham, and 5 at Bradley, all in Hants.
18	11 <sup>v</sup>	*CS 1153	?964 × 975	Confirmation to Old Minster of 60 hides at Tichborne, Beauworth, and Ovington, all in Hants.
19	11 <sup>v</sup> -12	*CS 1154	?964 × 975	Confirmation to Old Minster of 60 hides at Farnham, Surrey, and 10 at Bentley, Hants.
20	12	*CS 1155	?964 × 975	Confirmation to Old Minster of 70 hides at Beddington, Surrey, with appurtenant woodland.
21	12 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 1156	?964 × 975	Confirmation to Old Minster of 30 hides at Fareham, Hants.
22	12 <sup>v</sup>	*CS 1157	?964 × 975	Confirmation to Old Minster of 28 hides at Bishops Waltham, Hants.
23	12 <sup>v</sup>	*CS 1158	?964 × 975	Confirmation to Old Minster of 64 hides at Twyford, Crawley, Owslebury, Hensting, Horton or Houghton, Bishopstoke, Otterbourne, Chilland, Easton, and Hunton, all in Hants.
24	12 <sup>v</sup> -13 <sup>v</sup>	*CS 1159	?964 × 975	Summary and confirmation of charters 12-23 above.
25	13 <sup>v</sup> -14	***CS 27	?793 × 796	100 hides at Downton, Wilts., to Winchester Cathedral.
26	14 <sup>rv</sup>	***CS 391	826	55 hides at Downton, and 45 at Ebbesborne, Wilts., to Winchester (confirmation of No. 25).
27	14 <sup>v</sup> -15	***CS 690	931 × 933	Renewal of liberty of Downton, as granted in No. 25.

<i>Charter No.</i>	<i>Folio No.</i>	<i>Edition</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Description</i>
28	15 <sup>v</sup> -16	***CS 862	948	Confirmation of title to Downton and Ebbesborne, as in Nos. 25-6.
29	16-17	*K 698	997	Restoration to the Old Minster of 55 hides at Downton, and 45 at Ebbesborne, with reference to Nos. 12, 25, and 27-8.
k 30	17 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 962	956	5 hides at Ebbesborne to the thegn Wulfric (Odstock, Wilts.).
k 31	17 <sup>v</sup> -18	*CS 832	947	5 hides at Ebbesborne to the thegn Ælfsige (Bishopstone, Wilts.).
k 32	18-19	*K 655	986	5 hides at Ebbesborne to the thegn Ælfgar (part of Stratford Tony, Wilts.).
k 33	19 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 1004	957	5 hides at Ebbesborne to the thegn Ælfric (Bishopstone).
k 34	19 <sup>v</sup> -20	*CS 1071	961	5 hides at Ebbesborne to the thegn Byrnsige (Coombe Bissett, Wilts.).
35	20 <sup>rv</sup>	***CS 623	909	Confirmation to the bishop of Winchester of 40 hides at Alresford, Hants.
36	20 <sup>v</sup> -21	***CS 102	701	Restoration to Winchester Cathedral of 40 hides at Alresford (as in No. 39).
k 37	21 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 938	956	40 hides at Alresford to the thegn Ælfric.
38	21 <sup>v</sup> -22	*CS 939	956	Repetition of bounds of No. 37.
39	22	***CS 398	824 × 833	Restoration to Winchester Cathedral of 40 hides at Alresford (as in No. 36).
40	22 <sup>v</sup>	*CS 960	956	4 hides at Withiel Florey, Som., to the thegn Ælfwold.
41	22 <sup>v</sup> -23 <sup>v</sup>	***CS 727	938	Confirmation of 4 hides at Withiel Florey, and 3 at Charmouth, Dorset, to the Old Minster.
42	23 <sup>v</sup> -24	***CS 831	947	Restoration of 130 hides at Taunton, Som., to the Old Minster and the bishopric of Winchester.
43	24-26	**CS 1219, 1220; R XLV	968	Renewal of freedom of Taunton (2 Latin and 1 O.E. versions).
k 44	25 <sup>rv</sup>	†CS 1072	961	4 hides at Withiel Florey to the thegn Cenwulf.
45	26 <sup>rv</sup>	*H 108	995 × 1002	Ruishton, Som. (member of Taunton). Writ.

<i>Charter No.</i>	<i>Folio No.</i>	<i>Edition</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Description</i>
46	26 <sup>v</sup> -27	*CS 611	904	The bishop and <i>familia</i> of Winchester give 20 hides at Stoke by Shalbourne, Wilts., to the king in return for privileges for Taunton.
47	27 <sup>v</sup>	*CS 549	879	Ruishton, Somerset. Bounds of No. 89.
48	27 <sup>v</sup>	ECW 417-19	c. 890	Notes of 3 leases of members of Taunton.
49	27 <sup>v</sup>	*ECW 547	N.D.	Bounds of Kingston, near Taunton.
50	27 <sup>v</sup> -28	***CS 476	854	Bounds of Hundred of Taunton Deane (see No. 100).
51	28	**CS 158	737	Bounds of Withiel Florey, Som., and of Charmouth, Dorset (see No. 102).
52	28	*ECW 548	N.D.	Bounds of Washford in Old Cleeve, and of Kentsford, near Watchet, Som.
53	28 <sup>v</sup> -29	*K 774	1044	15 hides at Pitminster, Som., to the Old Minster.
k 54	29-30	*CS 729	938	16 hides at Pitminster to the thegn Ælfheah.
k 55	30-31	*CS 770	941	16 hides at Pitminster to the thegn Ælfheah.
k 56	31 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 1051	959	10 hides at the western half of Highclere, Hants, to the thegn Ælfwine.
57	31 <sup>v</sup> -32	*CS 905	955	Lease of 10 hides at the eastern half of Highclere to the bishop of Winchester, with reversion to the Old Minster after 4 lives.
k 58	32-33	*CS 787	943	15 hides at Burghclere, Hants, to the religious lady Ælfswith.
59	33 <sup>rv</sup>	***CS 179	749	10 hides at <i>Cleran</i> to Winchester Cathedral.
60	33 <sup>v</sup> -34	***CS 628	c. 909	Confirmation to the bishop of Winchester of 10 hides at Highclere.
k 61	34-5	*CS 674	931	10 hides at <i>Clere</i> (Ecchinswell, Hants) to the abbot Ælfric (witnessed at Colchester, Essex).
k 62	35 <sup>v</sup> -36	*CS 1319	959 × 963	Confirmation of 65 hides at <i>Meone</i> (East Meon, Farnfield in Privett, Froxfield, Steep, and Langrish, all in Hants), to Queen Eadgifu.
k 63	36 <sup>v</sup>	*CS 1114	963	8 hides at Ambersham, Sussex, to the church of St Andrew, Meon.
k 64	37 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 1200	967	8 hides at East and West Meon and Farnfield to Winflæd.

<i>Charter No.</i>	<i>Folio No.</i>	<i>Edition</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Description</i>
k 65	37 <sup>v</sup> -38 <sup>v</sup>	*CS 689	932	12 hides at West Meon to the thegn Æthelgeard.
k 66	38 <sup>v</sup> -39	*CS 982	956	50 hides at <i>Meone</i> (part of East Meon, with Steep, Langrish, and Oakshott in Froxfield) to the thegn Eadric.
k 67	39 <sup>v</sup> -40	**CS 377	824	22 hides on both sides of the river Meon (East Meon and Froxfield) to the thegn Wulfheard.
k 68	40 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 974	956	5 hides at Poolhampton (in Overton, Hants) to the thegn Byrnic.
k 69	40 <sup>v</sup> -41	*CS 752	1033	10 hides at Poolhampton to Earl Godwin.
k 70	41 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 763	940	5 hides at Poolhampton to the nun Ætheldryth.
k 71	41 <sup>v</sup> -42	*CS 983	956	20 hides at Moredon in Rodbourne Cheney, Wilts., to the thegn Wynsige.
k 72	42-43	*CS 1217	968	20 hides at Moredon in Rodbourne Cheney to the thegn Eadwine.
k 73	43 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 788	943	20 hides at Moredon in Rodbourne Cheney to the thegn Ælfsige.
74	43 <sup>v</sup>	*R xcviII	1043-4	The bishop and <i>familia</i> of the Old Minster to the thegn Osgod: life lease of Adderbury, Oxon., in return for (5 hides at) Wroxall, I.O.W.
75	43 <sup>v</sup> -44	†W xx	1015	Will of the ætheling Athelstan: Adderbury (Oxon.), Marlow (Bucks.), and Morden (Cambs.) to the Old Minster. See also No. 84.
k 76	44 <sup>v</sup> -45	*CS 1230	969	30 hides at Witney, Oxon., to the thegn Ælfhelm.
77	45-46	*K 775	1044	30 hides at Witney, Oxon., to the bishop of Winchester.
78	46-47	*CS 810	945	30 hides at Brightwell, Sotwell, Mackney, and Wallingford, all in Berks., to the thegn Æthelgeard.
79	47 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 474	854	30 hides at Brightwell to the bishop of Winchester.
k 80	47 <sup>v</sup> -48	*CS 830	947	10 hides at Brightwell to the thegn Æthelgeard.

<i>Charter No.</i>	<i>Folio No.</i>	<i>Edition</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Description</i>
k 81	48 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 1292	973	7 hides at Harwell, Berks., to the thegn Ælfric.
k 82	48 <sup>v</sup> -49 <sup>v</sup>	*K 648	985	17 hides at Harwell to the huntsman Æthelric.
k 83	49 <sup>v</sup> -50	**CS 1183	956	7 hides at Harwell to the thegn Ælfstan.
84	50 <sup>rv</sup>	†W xx	1015	Copy of No. 75.
k 85	50 <sup>v</sup> -51	*CS 765	941	7 hides at West Tisted, Hants, to the thegn Æthelgeard.
k 86	51-52	*CS 786	943	7 hides at West Tisted to the thegn Æthelgeard.
k 87	52 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 931	953 × 955	5 hides at <i>Rimtun</i> (Rimpton, Som.) to the thegn Brihtric (Grim).
88	52 <sup>v</sup>	*W vii	964 × 980	Will of Brihtric Grim. <i>Rimtun</i> (5 hides + 1 hide) to the Old Minster.
89	52 <sup>v</sup> -53	*CS 549	‡879	8 hides at <i>Risctun</i> (Ruishton, Som.) to the bishop of Winchester.
k 90	53 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 730	938	5 hides at <i>Rimtun</i> to the thegn Æthered.
91	54 <sup>rv</sup>	**CS 864	948 (for 947)	5 hides at Mackney and 5 at Sotwell, Berks., to the thegn Æthelgeard.
92	54 <sup>v</sup> -55 <sup>v</sup>	***CS 629	909	20 hides at Crawley and 8 at Hutton, Hants, to the bishop of Winchester.
93	55 <sup>v</sup>	*CS 1077	961	Lease of 10 hides at Kilmeston, Hants, to the thegn Athulf, with reversion to Winchester.
94	56	*R xxxiii	961	Lease of Kilmeston to the thegn Athulf, by the Old Minster.
95	56	***CS 625	‡909	20 hides at <i>Uferantun</i> (Overton), 15 at Waltham, 5 at Bradley (all in Hants), all to the bishop of Winchester.
96	57 <sup>rv</sup>	***CS 626	‡909	Another version of No. 95.
97	57 <sup>v</sup> -58	*CS 72	685-7	60 hides at Farnham, Binton, Churt, and <i>Cusanweoh</i> , all in Surrey, to Cedde, Cisi, and Criswa.

<i>Charter No.</i>	<i>Folio No.</i>	<i>Edition</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Description</i>
98	58	*CS 324	801 × 805	60 hides at Farnham from the bishop of Winchester to Byrthelm, in exchange for 33 hides at Wooton Rivers, Mildenhall, Froxfield, and Bedwyn, all in Wilts.
99	58-59	***CS 627	909	60 hides at Farnham and 10 at Bentley confirmed to the bishop of Winchester (see also No. 19).
100	59 <sup>rv</sup>	***CS 476	854	133 hides forming the Hundred of Taunton Deane, and 10 hides at Brown, Som., to Winchester Cathedral to augment Taunton. See No. 50.
101	60 <sup>rv</sup>	**CS 612	904	Privileges for Taunton to the bishop and <i>familia</i> at Winchester, in exchange for 10 hides at Crowcombe, 20 at Compton, 20 at Banwell (all Som.), and 20 at Stoke by Shalbourne, Wilts. See No. 14.
102	60 <sup>v</sup> -61	**CS 158	737	4 hides at Withiel Florey, Som., and 3 at Charmouth, Dorset, to Winchester Cathedral, to augment Taunton. See No. 51.
103	61	*ECW 352	N.D.	Bounds of Downton, Wilts., and of 30 hides at Calbourne, I.O.W. See No. 107.
104	61 <sup>rv</sup>	*R xv	879 × 909	Lease by the bishop and <i>familia</i> of Winchester to Alfred: 40 hides at Alresford, Hants.
105	61 <sup>v</sup>	*W v	10th c.	Will of Ordnoth and his wife. 10 hides at Candover, Hants, to the Old Minster.
106	61 <sup>v</sup> -62	*Ha xvii	902	Lease by the bishop and <i>familia</i> of Winchester to Beornwulf: 15 hides at Ebbesborne, Wilts.
107	62 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 392	826	30 hides at Calbourne, I.O.W., to the bishop of Winchester. See No. 103.
108	62 <sup>v</sup>	*CS 731	938	25 hides at Tichborne, including 5 at Beauworth, Hants, to the Old Minster.

<i>Charter No.</i>	<i>Folio No.</i>	<i>Edition</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Description</i>
109	62 <sup>v</sup> -63 <sup>v</sup>	*R xx	c. 909	Lease by the <i>familia</i> to the bishop of Winchester: 20 hides at Tichborne.
k 110	63 <sup>v</sup> -64	†CS 926	956	7 hides at Millbrook, Hants, to Ealdorman Wulfric. See No. 136.
111	64 <sup>rv</sup>	***CS 475	854	8 hides at Ruishton, and 8 at Stoke St Mary and Orchard Portman, Som., to Winchester Cathedral, to augment Taunton.
k 112	64 <sup>v</sup> -65	*CS 550	882	15 hides at Creech and 2 at Stoke (?St Mary), Som., to the thegn Athelstan.
113	65 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 590	900	10 hides at Lydiard, Wilts., from the bishop and <i>familia</i> of Winchester to Ealdorman Ordraf, in return for 10 at Fonthill, Wilts., from Ordraf to the bishop, and 3 at Avington, Hants, from the bishop to the <i>familia</i> .
114	65 <sup>v</sup> -66	*CS 613	904	38 hides at Bishops Waltham, Hants, to the bishop and <i>familia</i> of Winchester, in exchange for 40 hides at Porchester, Hants.
115	66-67	*K 776	1045	8 hides at South Stoneham, Hants, to the Old Minster. See No. 148.
k 116	67 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 976	956	10 hides at Chidden in Hambledon, Hants, to 'Ealdorman' Æthelgeard.
k 117	67 <sup>v</sup>	*CS 1027	958	2½ hides and 25 acres at Ashford in Burlescombe and Boehill in Sampford Peverell, Devon, to the thegn Eadheah.
k 118	67 <sup>v</sup> -68 <sup>v</sup>	*K 633	982	3 hides and 30 acres at <i>Stoce</i> (Longstock, Hants) to the thegn Leofric. See No. 119.
119	68 <sup>v</sup> -69	*K 633	982	Copy of No. 118.
k 120	69 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 1314	975	4 hides at <i>Stoce</i> (South Stoke, Sussex) to his kinsman Oswald.
k 121	69 <sup>v</sup> -70	*CS 865	948	11 hides at <i>Stoce</i> (Alverstoke, Hants) to the thegn Ælfric.

<i>Charter No.</i>	<i>Folio No.</i>	<i>Edition</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Description</i>
k 122	70-71	*CS 663	928	12 hides at <i>Stoce</i> (Odstock, Wilts.) to the thegn Byrhtferth. Witnessed at Exeter.
123	71 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 592	900	50 hides at Hurstbourne, Hants, to the <i>familia</i> at Winchester.
124	71 <sup>v</sup> -72	*CS 594; R cx	900	10 hides at <i>Stoce be Hysseburnan</i> (Stoke by Hurstbourne, Hants), to the <i>familia</i> at Winchester, in exchange for land at Chisledon, Wilts., and at Sparsholt in Lydiard Millicent, Hants.
125	72 <sup>v</sup> -73	*CS 1076	961	7½ hides at <i>Eastun</i> (Easton near Winchester) to the bishop of Winchester.
k 126	73 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 1199	967	5 hides at <i>Eastun</i> (unlocated) to the thegn Ælfsige.
k 127	73 <sup>v</sup> -74 <sup>v</sup>	*CS 1119	963	6 hides in <i>Plesc</i> (Plaish in Cardington, Salop.) and <i>Eastun</i> (Church and Chetwynd Aston, Salop.) to the thegn Wulfric.
k 128	74 <sup>v</sup>	*CS 1315	975	3 hides at <i>Eastun</i> (Aston in Wellington, Salop.), to the thegn Ealhhelm, at the request of the king's kinsman, the monk Ælfwine. Dated from Glastonbury.
k 129	74 <sup>v</sup> -75	**CS 987	957	5 hides at <i>Eastun</i> (Little Aston, Staffs.) and <i>Bearre</i> (Great Barr, Staffs.) to the thegn Wulfhelm.
130	75 <sup>rv</sup>	*R xiv	871 × 877	Lease by the bishop and <i>familia</i> of Winchester to Ealdorman Cuthred and his wife Wulfthryth: 8 hides at <i>Eastune</i> (the eastern part of Alvington, near Winchester).
131	75 <sup>v</sup> -76 <sup>v</sup>	***CS 390	825	15 hides at Alton Priors, Wilts., to Winchester Cathedral.
132	76 <sup>v</sup>	*R cvii	1047 × 1052	Lease by the bishop and <i>familia</i> of Winchester to Wulfric: 2 hides and 1 yardland at Alton Priors, and 3 yardlands at Patney, Wilts.
133	76 <sup>v</sup> -77	*CS 566; R xvii	871 × 899	Ceolwin to the <i>familia</i> of Winchester: 15 hides at Alton Priors.
k 134	77 <sup>rv</sup>	*K 636	982	10 hides at Bushton in Clyffe Pypard, Wilts., to Ealdorman Æthelmær.

<i>Charter No.</i>	<i>Folio No.</i>	<i>Edition</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Description</i>
k 135	77 <sup>v</sup> -78	*K 638	983	10 hides at Bushton in Clyffe Pypard to the thegn Æthelwine.
k 136	78 <sup>rv</sup>	†CS 926	956	7 hides at Millbrook, Hants, to Ealdorman Wulfric. Copy of No. 110.
k 137	78 <sup>v</sup> -79 <sup>v</sup>	ECW 164	1045	7 hides at Millbrook to Ealdorman Godwine. Text identical with No. 138.
138	79 <sup>v</sup> -80	†K 781	1045	7 hides at Millbrook to the bishop of Winchester. Text identical with No. 137.
k 139	80-81	*K 650	985	9 hides at <i>Heantune</i> (Wolverhampton, Staffs.) and 1 at Trescott, Staffs., to the lady Wulfrun.
140	81 <sup>rv</sup>	*K 780	1045	8 hides at <i>Heantun</i> (Hinton Ampner, Hants) to the bishop of Winchester.
k 141	81 <sup>v</sup> -82	†CS 677	931	9 hides at <i>Hamme</i> (Ham, Wilts.) to the thegn Wulfgar.
142	82 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 679	N.D.	Copy of bounds in No. 141.
143	83	†R xxvi	933-9	Will of Wulfgar: the reversion of Ham, Wilts., to the Old Minster.
k 144	83 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 1037	958	5 hides at <i>Hamme</i> (East and West Ham, Essex) to Ealdorman Athelstan (called bishop in rubric).
k 145	83 <sup>v</sup> -84	*CS 1316	975	5 hides at Fyfield, Hants, to the thegn Ælfweard. See No. 217.
k 146	84 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 1118	963	5 hides at Patney, Wilts., booked by the king to himself.
k 147	84 <sup>v</sup> -85	*K 712	990	10 hides at <i>Heantun</i> (Hinton Ampner, Hants) to the church of South Stoneham.
k 148	85 <sup>rv</sup>	*K 713	990	8 hides called <i>Westun</i> at (South) Stoneham to ? (given later to the bishopric for the Old Minster). See No. 115.
149	85 <sup>v</sup> -86	***CS 477	854	20 hides at Wanborough, Wilts., to the church of Winchester. Endorsed <i>Wenbeorgen que modo Hynyton dicitur</i> . The bounds are of Little Hinton, Wilts.

<i>Charter No.</i>	<i>Folio No.</i>	<i>Edition</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Description</i>
150	86 <sup>rv</sup>	***R VIII	(854)	Late record of No. 149, in O.E. without bounds.
151	86 <sup>v</sup>	*CS 479	1047 × 1070	Bounds of <i>Wenbeorgan</i> (Wanborough and Little Hinton) in the time of Bishop Stigand of Winchester.
k 152	86 <sup>v</sup> –87	*K 664	988	5 hides at Wylve, Wilts., to the thegn Ælfgar.
153	87 <sup>rv</sup>	*Ha xx	946	Will of Ealdorman Æthelwold. 12 hides at Wylve to the Old Minster (Stockton, west of Wylve; see ECW, p. 88).
k 154	87 <sup>v</sup> –88	*K 611	977	10 hides at Wylve to the thegn Ælfric (bounds include Bathampton).
k 155	88 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 595	901	10 hides at Wylve to Ethelwulf (bounds include Codford and Stockton).
k 156	88 <sup>v</sup> –89 <sup>v</sup>	*K 743	1026	5 hides at <i>Worthi</i> (Abbots Worthy, Hants) to the bishop of Crediton.
k 157	89 <sup>v</sup> –90	**CS 740	939	8 hides at <i>Worthige</i> (Chilland in Martyr Worthy, Hants) to the thegn Heahfyrth.
158	90 <sup>rv</sup>	***CS 473	854	Restitution to Winchester Cathedral of 3 hides at <i>Worthige</i> (Headbourne Worthy).
k 159	90 <sup>v</sup> –91	*CS 520	868	5 hides at <i>Worthige</i> (Martyr Worthy) to the thegn Hunsige.
k 160	91 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 468	854	To the thegn Hunsige: exemption from secular dues of 3 hides at <i>Wordi</i> (part of Martyr Worthy).
161	91 <sup>v</sup> –92	**CS 389	825	5 hides at <i>Worthige</i> (Martyr Worthy) to Winchester Cathedral.
162	92–93 <sup>v</sup>	**CS 624	909	Confirmation of 50 hides at Whitechurch, Hants, to the <i>familia</i> at Winchester.
k 163	93 <sup>v</sup> –94	*CS 948	956	30 hides at <i>Ellendune</i> (land in Wroughton and Lydiard Millicent, Wilts.) to the thegn Ælfheah.
164	94–95	**CS 705	934	30 hides at <i>Enedforda</i> (Enford, Wilts.) 10 at Chilbolton, and 10 at Ashmansworth to Winchester Cathedral.

<i>Charter No.</i>	<i>Folio No.</i>	<i>Edition</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Description</i>
165	95 <sup>rv</sup>	**R xxv	934	English version of No. 164, without bounds.
k 166	95 <sup>v</sup> -96	*W ix	968 × 972	Will of Ealdorman Ælfheah: <i>Ællændune</i> to the king. See No. 163.
167	96	*R cvi	1047 × 1053	Lease by Bishop Stigand and the <i>familia</i> at the Old Minster to Æthelmær: 1 hide at Sparsholt, Hants.
168	96 <sup>rv</sup>	*W viii	966 × 975	Will of Ælfgifu. (30 hides) at Princes Risborough, Bucks., to the Old Minster.
169	96 <sup>v</sup>	*CS 618	900 × 908	Latin translation of No. 170.
170	96 <sup>v</sup> -97	*CS 619	900 × 908	Lease (in O.E.) by the bishop of Winchester of 70 hides at Beddington, Surrey, to the king.
171	97-98	**CS 620-1	909	Renewal of beneficial hidation of Chilcomb, in return for confirmation by the bishop of Winchester to the king of leases of 100 hides at Downton and Ebbesborne, Wilts., and 70 in Beddington, Surrey. (ECW, pp. 244-8.)
172	98-99	*K 624	980	7 hides at Havant, Hants, to the Old Minster, subject to life interest of the fourth life under lease No. 173.
173	99-100	*CS 707	934	Lease for 4 lives to the thegn Wihtgar; 7 hides at Havant, Hants.
k 174	100 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 979	956	5 hides at East Stoke in Hayling Island, Hants, to the thegn Æthelsige.
175	100 <sup>v</sup> -101	*R cxiv	1053	The bishop of Winchester and the <i>familia</i> of the Old Minster to Wulfweard the White. Lease of 5 hides at Hayling Island (which had been left to Winchester by Queen Ælfgifu), with reversion to Winchester of this plus another 5 hides there.
k 176	101-102	*CS 742	939	17 hides at Droxford, Hants, to the king's sister Eadburgh.
k 177	102 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 953	956	20 hides at Swanmore and part of Droxford to the lady Æthelhild.

<i>Charter No.</i>	<i>Folio No.</i>	<i>Edition</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Description</i>
178	102 <sup>v</sup> -103	***CS 393	826	17 hides at Droxford to Winchester Cathedral.
k 179	103 <sup>rv</sup>	**CS 902	958	20 hides at <i>Æscesbyrig</i> (East Woolstone, Berks.) to the thegn Wulfric.
k 180	103 <sup>v</sup> -104 <sup>v</sup>	*CS 796	944	20 hides at <i>Æscesbyrig</i> (West Woolstone) to the thegn Wulfric.
k 181	104 <sup>v</sup> -105	*CS 491	856	20 hides at <i>Æscesbyric</i> (West Woolstone) to the thegn Ealdred.
k 182	105 <sup>rv</sup>	*K 639	983	2½ hides at Westwood, Hants, to the thegn Ælfnoth.
k 183	105 <sup>v</sup> -106 <sup>v</sup>	*K 658	987	3 hides at Westwood and 3 yardlands at Farleigh Hungerford to the huntsman Leofwine.
k 184	106 <sup>v</sup> -107 <sup>v</sup>	*CS 758	940	12 hides at Exton, Hants, to the thegn Æthelgeard.
k 185	107 <sup>v</sup> -108	*CS 959	956	15 hides at Bleadon, Som., to the thegn Ælfwold.
k 186	108 <sup>rv</sup>	*K 739	1023	7 hides at Hannington, Hants, to the thegn Leofwine.
k 187	108 <sup>v</sup> -109	*CS 1042	958	20 hides at <i>Wudutune</i> (Wooton, Oxon.) to the thegn Æthelric.
k 188	109-110	*CS 673	990	15 hides at <i>Wudatun</i> (Wootton St Laurence, Hants) to the thegn Æthelweard.
k 189	110 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 969	956	4 hides at <i>Wudetune</i> (unidentified) to the thegn Æthelwold.
k 190	110 <sup>v</sup> -111	*CS 964	940	Lease of 4 hides at <i>Wudetune</i> (Wotton-under-Edge, Glos.) to the thegn Eadric.
191	111	†K 763	1042	1 hide at Coombe in East Meon, Hants, to the bishop of Winchester.
k 192	111 <sup>v</sup>	**CS 508	866 × 867	6 hides at Buttermere, Wilts., to Ealdorman Wulfhere.
193	112 <sup>v</sup>	*K 640	983	A fishery on the River Darent, Kent, to the bishop of Winchester.
194	112 <sup>v</sup>	*CS 1054	960	10 hides at Itchen Stoke, Hants, to the bishop of Winchester, with reversion to the Old Minster.

<i>Charter No.</i>	<i>Folio No.</i>	<i>Edition</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Description</i>
195	113	*CS 180	749	5 hides at <i>Thruhham</i> (Park Farm, Beaulieu), 1 at <i>Eppelhyrste</i> (in Brockenhurst), and 1 at Whitley, all in Hants, to the church of Winchester.
196	113	*CS 565	879 × 899	50 hides at Chisledon, Wilts., and 60 at Hurstbourne Priors, Hants, to the bishop and <i>familia</i> of Winchester, in exchange for 100 hides at Cholsey, Berks., with appurtenant villis.
197	113 <sup>rv</sup>	*CS 544	877	The bishop of Winchester to the <i>familia</i> : 5 hides at Nursling, Hants.
198	113 <sup>v</sup>	*CS 423	838	40 hides at Shalfleet, I.O.W., to the bishop of Winchester.
k 199	113 <sup>v</sup> -114	*K 652	985	11 hides at Michelmersh, Hants, to Ælferd.
200	114	*K 622	979	5 hides at Long Sutton, Hants, to the Old Minster, to add to the 45 hides at Crondall.
201	114 <sup>v</sup>	*CS 1068	961	5 hides at Avington, Hants, to the Old Minster.
202	114 <sup>v</sup>	*CS 495	858	The bishop of Winchester to the king, with reversion to the church of Winchester: 60 hides at Farnham, Surrey.
203	114 <sup>v</sup> -115	*K 783	1046	6 hides at Hoddington, Hants, to the bishop of Winchester.
k 204	115	*K 720	1012	A prædium in Winchester to Queen Ælfgifu.
205	115 <sup>v</sup>	*K 750	1033	3 hides at Bishops Hull, Som., to the Old Minster.
206	115 <sup>v</sup>	***CS 713	937	Beneficial hidation of Chilcomb, Hants.
207	115 <sup>v</sup>	*ECW 128	979	Memorandum of restoration of Crondall, Hants, to Winchester Cathedral.

<i>Charter No.</i>	<i>Folio No.</i>	<i>Edition</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Description</i>
208	116	*CS 1307	973-4	45 hides at Crondall to the Old Minster.
209	116 <sup>v</sup>	*K 753	1033	Renewal of privileges for the Old Minster.
210	116 <sup>v</sup> -117	***H 113	N.D.	Record of an agreement between the New and Old Minsters (late insertion).
211	117	*ECW 180	N.D.	Boundary between Crondall and Elvetham (late insertion).
212	117	**CS 1313 (part)	975	Bounds of Bleadon, Som. (late insertion).
213	117	*Unpublished	12th c.	Bounds of <i>Wudetun</i> (unlocated). (Late insertion.)
214	117 <sup>v</sup>	***CS 493	N.D.	Confirmation of beneficial hidation of Chilcomb.
k 215	118	†CS 734	939	15 hides at <i>Uferantun</i> (East Overton, Wilts.) to the nun Wulfswyth.
k 216	118 <sup>v</sup>	*CS 875	949	4 hides at <i>Ofærtune</i> (Orton Waterville, Hunts.) to the thegn Frytheric.
217	118 <sup>v</sup> -119	*CS 1316	975	Copy of No. 145.
k 218	119	**K 1284	984 × 988	Land at Wyke Regis, Weymouth, and Melcombe Regis, Dorset, to the thegn Atsere.