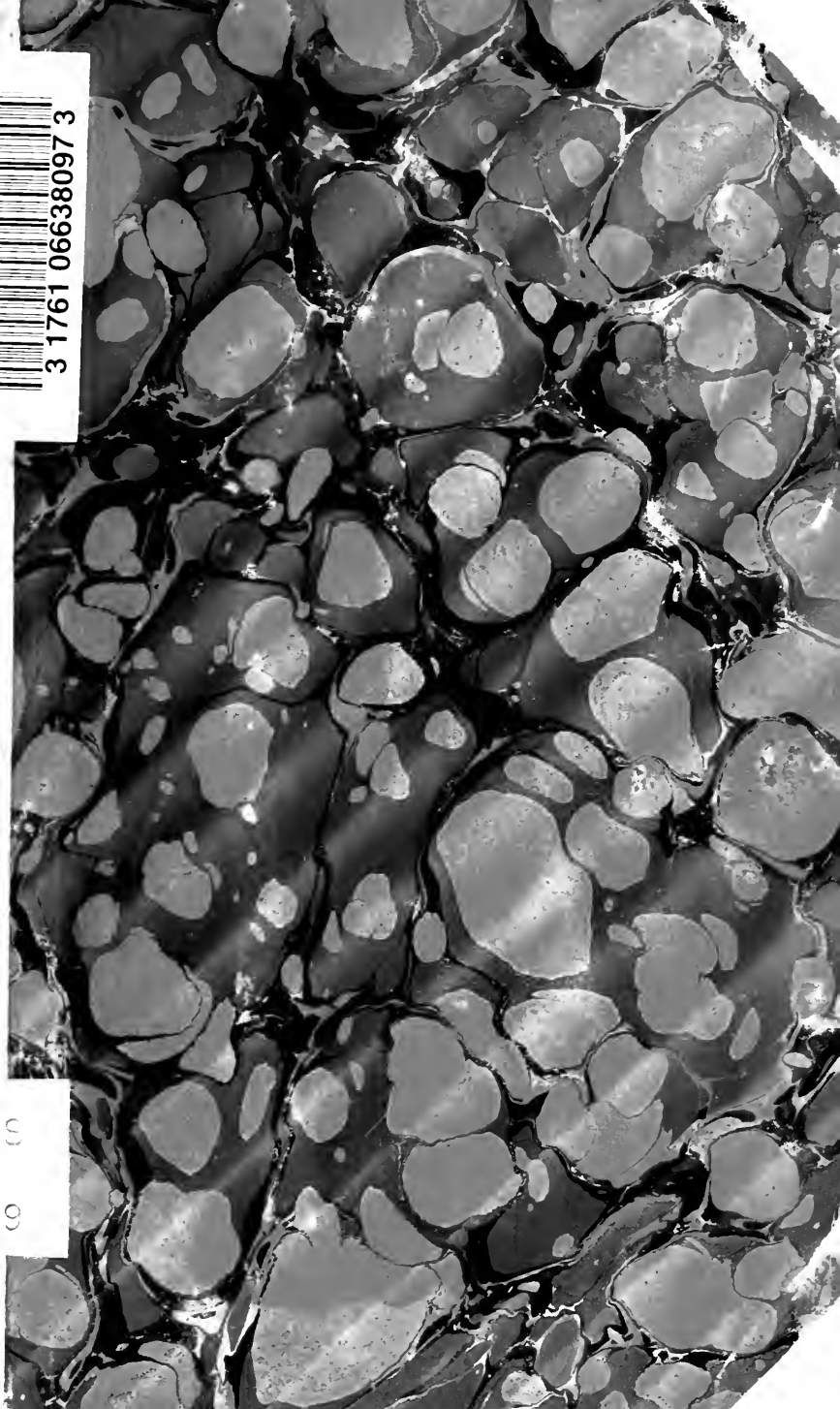




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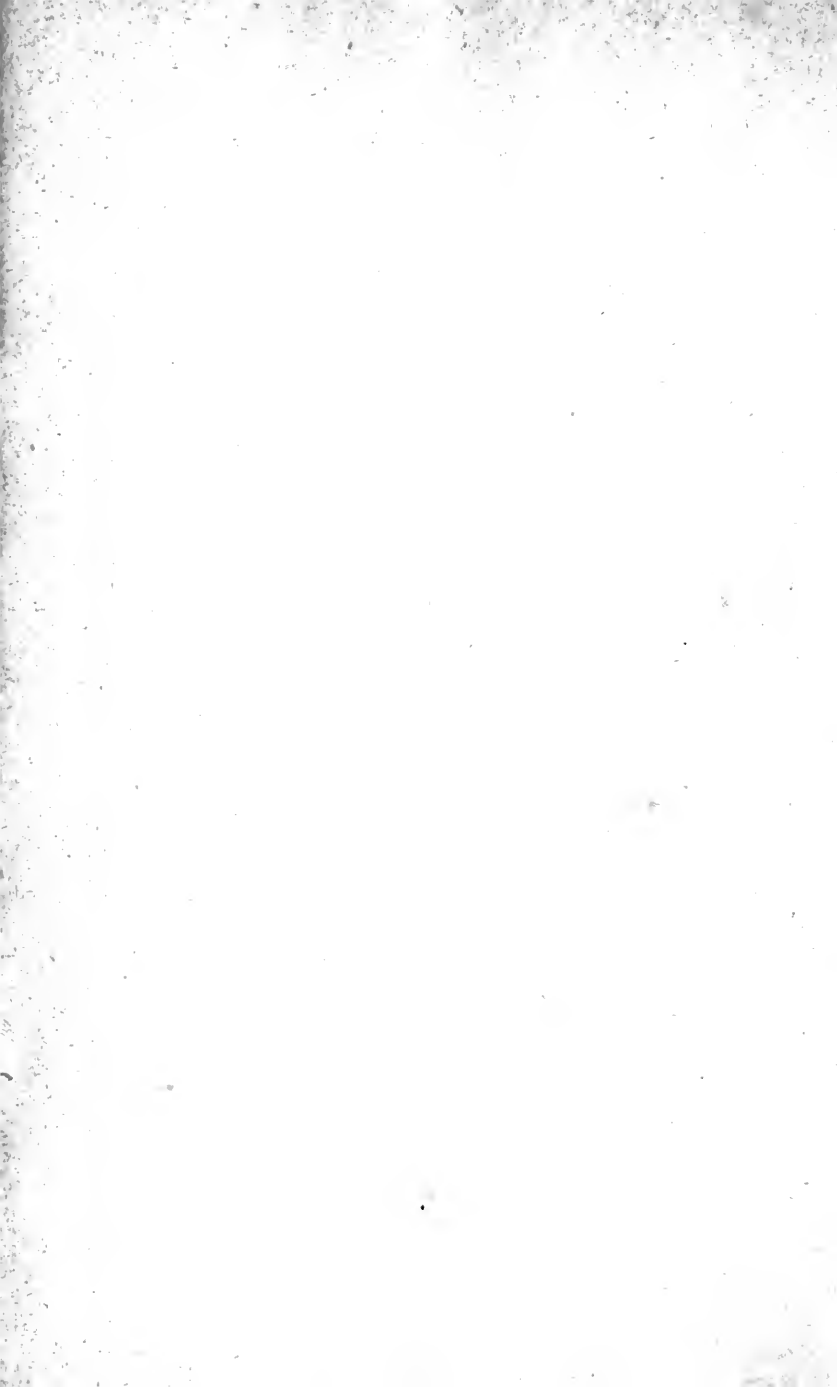
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KING ALFRED'S

WILL.

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THE  
WILL OF KING ALFRED,

REPRINTED FROM  
THE OXFORD EDITION OF 1788;

WITH A PREFACE,  
AND ADDITIONAL NOTES.

LONDON:

W. PICKERING, CHANCERY LANE.

NATTALI, TAVISTOCK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

M.DCCC.XXVIII.

1823

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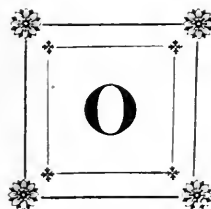
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19.9.55



## PREFACE.

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N the personal character and exploits of the illustrious Alfred we shall not detain our readers by offering a single comment, although a more attractive and important subject for historical and biographical investigation does not exist. There are apparent anomalies both in the life and reign of this great King, which require much more minute and specific attention than they have yet received, but to which even a cursory reference would exceed the assigned limits of this prefatory address.—Nothing further will therefore be attempted, on the present occasion, than such general explanations as may tend to illustrate the highly interesting document of which the following pages offer an accurate reprint.

King Alfred's Will, in an entire and correct form, was published for the first time, in 1788, under the able superintendence of the Rev. Owen Manning. This edition, printed at the Clarendon Press, in quarto, exhibited the Saxon text, with notes, and no less than three distinct versions, of which we have preferred the first and most literal: the others—a 'free' English translation and a Latin rendering—as their utility is not altogether obvious, we have thought it unnecessary to retain. The original was at that time in the possession of Mr. Astle, and had been preserved in a Register of the Abbey of Newminster, founded at Winchester by Alfred not long before his death.

“This Register” it is stated in the original preface, “commences with an account of the first foundation of the Abbey in the Cemetery on the north-west side of the Cathedral of Winchester, which about the year 1110 was removed to Hyde. The greatest part of the Register, and particularly that in which the Will is inserted, appears to have been written between the years 1028 and 1032, so that the entry in the Register could not have been later than one hundred and thirty-two years after the foundation of the Abbey, though it was probably earlier; and it may reasonably be supposed, that care would be taken

by the Abbot and Convent, to exemplify the Will of their great and munificent Founder, in the most correct manner.”

The Will itself might be made the text of a far from uninteresting dissertation on antiquarian points of considerable importance. The rights of succession, both regal and concerning private property—the modes of tenure—the gift and maintenance of personal privileges—the forms of bequest—with other circumstances relating to ancient habits and localities—may derive incidental elucidation from this valuable relic. Its disclosures manifest the jealousy with which the Anglo-Saxon Monarchs watched and secured the transmission of their private possessions to their families and friends; it illustrates the commencement of that complicated state of property on which the Norman genius for chicane afterwards impressed a still more vexatious character of intricacy; and it exhibits in a very striking light, the magnanimous forbearance of Alfred under the selfish evasions of his brother, and his anxiety to act justly when himself placed in similar circumstances. It may assist in giving a clearer view of the scope and bearing of this testamentary record, if we insert the former editor’s “Introductory Remark.”

“ It appears, by the Preface or Introduction to this Will, that King Ethelwolf left certain manors and other estates in land (besides what he had given them in his life-time) to his three sons, Ethelbald, Ethelred, and Alfred, and to the survivor of them.

“ That, on Ethelbald’s decease, Ethelred and Alfred made over their joint interest herein to King Ethelbert their then eldest brother, in trust, to release it to them again in the same condition in which he received it: with a Covenant to do the same by such estates also as he had obtained by their joint assistance, and such as he should have acquired himself.

“ That, on Ethelbert’s decease, and Ethelred’s succeeding to the Crown, Alfred applied to him in Witena-gemot, to make partition of the estates, and to assign him his share: but that Ethelred refused; alledging in his excuse, that it was a mixed property, which he had entered upon at different times, and that he could not easily distinguish the lands one from another:—That, however he would make him his heir:—with which declaration Alfred was satisfied.

“ That, shortly after, in a Witena-gemot at Swinburgh, it was agreed between Ethelred and

Alfred, that the survivor should give to the children of the other, 1. All such lands as they two themselves should have acquired; and 2, All such as Ethelwolf their father had given to them two in Ethelbald's life-time; but not, 3, Those which he had bequeathed by Will to the three; which, together with the personal estate of him of the two that should die first, was to go to the survivor.

“That finally, therefore, this third sort of lands, viz. such as King Ethelwolf the father had devised by Will to the three brothers and the survivor of them, and which had now devolved on Alfred, was the subject of the following bequest: which, in the Witena-gemot at Langden (King Ethelwolf's Will being first produced and read) it was unanimously agreed that Alfred had undoubted authority to make: and which the nobility there assembled pledged themselves to see carried into execution.”

Independently of the wish to render generally accessible an important illustration of English history, and to supply a deficiency in the book market occasioned by the scarcity of the first edition, regard has been had, in the present publication, to the general interest that has been recently awakened to every thing connected with the

literature of the Anglo-Saxons. The singularly clear and comprehensive grammatical elucidations of Mr. Bosworth have rendered the access easy, and even attractive; and it may be hoped that henceforward a knowledge not only of the acts and institutions of our ancestors, but of their habits of thought and expression, will be considered as amongst the indispensable elements of a liberal education. The true genius of our tongue, the legitimate clue to its richest treasures, can never be ascertained but by ascending to its source. Shakespeare and the giants of Shakespeare's day, are only to be adequately understood by the man who has traced up the derivation of that unrivalled medium, through which their feelings and conceptions have been transmitted to these later times—*sed hactenus hæc*,—we had intended to extend these observations into something like a brief essay on Anglo-Saxon literature, but this is not the place, and we must be content with a general reference for information, at once minute and interesting, to Mr. Bosworth's "Elements," and to the admirable "Illustrations" of Mr. Conybeare.

The little work which is now placed in the reader's hands, will be found, with the aid of the closely verbal rendering, available as an appendix to the grammar—a kind of praxis on the rudi-

ments. The Additional Notes have been supplied by the kindness of a friend. They refer to points of minute, but it is hoped not either useless or unimportant criticism. Inquiries connected with the import and power of words must be microscopic, or they will be unavailing.

On the whole, it is hoped that this unpretending re-publication may contribute something to the furtherance of an important and interesting pursuit. The archaisms of a language cannot but be objects of anxious research to all who would understand its peculiar qualities; nor will it be practicable for any student to make himself master of its character and capabilities, who shall have neglected the investigation of its original dialects. And there will be found in the result much to repay, with usurious interest, the labour of acquisition. There is one branch of our antique literature, rich both in expression and in intellectual power, that is to be approached only through this avenue. Langland, Chaucer, Wycliff, cannot be fairly estimated, nor, indeed, satisfactorily comprehended, but by readers who have secured a competent acquaintance with the Anglo-Saxon idiom. Were it not for the risk of lapsing into protracted dissertation, reference might be made to the value of these studies to all who would trace

the history of English law up to its primary sources, and to those who would examine our national annals in their earliest and least contaminated authorities—but enough has been said in explanation of the present publication, and from more protracted comment we are withheld by considerations of expediency.





KING ALFRED'S

WILL.

## KING ALFRED'S WILL.

---



Ʒ Ælfred cingc mid Godes gife.  
Ʒ mid geþeahtungre æþereðer<sup>a</sup> er-  
cebyrceoper. Ʒ ealna þerƿ-geaxena  
ritena gepitnerre. Ʒmeade ýmbe  
minre ſaple þearfe. Ʒ ýmbe min ýþfe þæt  
me god Ʒ mine ýldran forgearon. Ʒ ýmbe  
þ ýþfe þæt ađulƿ<sup>b</sup> cingc min fæðer uf  
þum<sup>c</sup> gebroðrum becpæð. aþelbolde. Ʒ æðe-  
rede. Ʒ me. Ʒ ſpýlc ure ſpýlce lengeƿ  
þære þæt ge ſenre to eallum :

<sup>a</sup> Ethelred, archbishop of Canterbury; who died, A°. 888.

<sup>b</sup> Ethelwolf, the father of Alfred, died, 13 Jan. A°. 857-8, leaving four sons, 1. Ethelbald, 2. Ethelbert, 3. Ethered, 4. Alfred, who were successively kings of England; and one daughter, Ethelwith, who A°. 851, married Burthred

## TRANSLATION.

---

\*\*\*\*\*  
\* I \* Alfred King, by God's grace, and  
\* with the counsel of Ethelred arch-  
\* bishop, and all the West-Saxon no-  
\* bles' concurrence, have considered  
my soul's health, and of my inheritance that  
to me God and my ancestors did give; and of  
that inheritance which K. Ethelwolf my father  
to us three brothers did bequeath, Ethelbald,  
and Ethered, and me; and which of us soever  
longest liver were, that he should take to all.

king of Mercia; and, after his death, A°. 873, became a  
nun at Padua, where she died, A°. 889.

° K. Ethelwolf, made no mention, in his Will, of his  
second son, Ethelbert, having, in his life-time (on the death  
of Athelstan uncle of Ethelbert) A°. 851, given him the  
kingdom of the South-Saxons, East-Saxons, and Kent.

Ac hit zelamp þæt æþelbold zefor.<sup>d</sup> 7 pýt. æþered [<sup>e</sup> 7 ic]. mid ealre þeƿt-ƿeaxena ƿitena zepitneƿre unceƿne dæl oðƿæƿtan æþelbýrhte<sup>f</sup> cinzce uncrum mæze. on þa zepædene þe he hit eƿt zedýde unc ƿpa zepýlde ƿpa hit þa ƿæƿ þa ƿit hit him oðƿæƿtan. 7 he þa ƿpa dýde. ze þæt ýrfe. ze ƿ he mid unce ƿzemanan bezeat. 7 þæt he ýlf zepƿrýnde :

Ða hit ƿpa zelamp ƿ æþered<sup>g</sup> to ƿenz. þa bæd ic hine beƿoran urum ƿitum eallum. ƿ pýt ƿ ýrfe zedældon. 7 he me azeafe minne dæl. þa ƿæde he me ƿ he naht eaðe ne mihte todælan. ƿor þon he hæfde ƿul ofƿt ær onzeƿanzen. 7 he cƿæð þæƿ þe he on uncrum zemanan zebnuce. 7<sup>h</sup> [þæƿ þe he] zepƿrýnde. æƿter hiƿ dæze he nanum menn ƿel ne uðe þonne me. 7 ic þæƿ þa ƿæƿ ƿel zepaƿa :

<sup>d</sup> Ethelbald, the eldest brother of Alfred, died, 20. Dec. A°. 860.

<sup>e</sup> The words, 7 ic, seem to be wanting in the original.

<sup>f</sup> Who succeeded to the kingdom on the death of Ethelbald, A°. 860; and was now the eldest surviving brother of the three.

<sup>g</sup> Ethered succeeded to the Throne on the death of Ethelbert, A°. 866.

<sup>h</sup> The words, þæƿ þe he, though not expressed in the

But it came to pass that Ethelbald died; and we two Ethered [*and I*] with all the West-Saxon nobles' concurrence, our part did give in trust to Ethelbert king our brother, on the condition that he it should re-deliver to us as entire as it then was when we it to him did make over. And he then so did, both by that estate, and that which he by our joint concurrence had obtained, and what he himself had acquired.

When it so happened that Ethered succeeded, then prayed I him before our Nobles all, that we two the inheritance might divide; and he to me would give my share. Then said he to me, that he not easily might divide, for that he had, at many different times formerly taken possession. And he said concerning that which he of our joint property enjoyed, and [*that which he*] had acquired, after his days, he to no man rather would give it than to me. And I therewith, at that time was well satisfied.

But it came to pass that we all by the heathen

Original, must be understood, as absolutely necessary to enable the Reader to distinguish between the two species of Estate here mentioned, viz. That which Ethered was seised of by joint heirship with Alfred, and such as he had acquired himself.

Ac hit zelamp þæt pe ealle on hæðenum<sup>i</sup> folce gebrocude wæron. þa swiðe wylc ymbe uncre bearn. þæt hi sumre are beforstan wæde unc on þam brocum swa unc wæde. þa wæron pe on gemote æt<sup>k</sup> swinbeornum. þa gecwædon wit on west-reauxena witea gewitnesse. þæt swaðer uncer leng wære. ꝥ he ge-ude oðres bearnum þara landa þe wylc sylfe begeton. ⁊ þara land þe unc adulf cingc forgearf be adelbolde lifendum. butan þam þe he us þrum gebroðrum gecwæð. ⁊ þær uncor ægðer oþrum his wedd wæde swaðer uncer leng lifede. þæt se fenge ægðer ge to lande. ge to madmum. ⁊ to eallum his æhtum. butan þam dæle þe uncer gehwæðer his bearnum becwæð :

Ac hit zelamp ꝥ æðered<sup>l</sup> cingc gefor. þa ne cyððe me nan mann nan yrfe-gewrit. ne nane gewitnesse. ꝥ hic ænig oðer wære butan swa wit on gewitnesse ær gecwædon. þa gehyrde se nu manega yrfe-gewritu. nu þa lædde ic adulfes cinges yrfe-gewrit on ure gemot æt<sup>m</sup> langan-

<sup>i</sup> The whole Reign of this Prince was one continued war with the Danes, who are here meant by the hæðen folc.

<sup>k</sup> I find no place of this name at present in England.

<sup>l</sup> King Ethelred died 23. Apr. A°. 872; when Alfred succeeded to the Crown.

<sup>m</sup> There are diverse places in England of the name of Langdon and Longdon; but which of them this was, it is

folk despoiled were. Then discoursed we concerning our Children, that they some support would need to be given by us out of these Estates, as to us was given. Then were we in Council at Swinburgh; when declared we two, in the West-Saxon Nobles' presence, that which soever of us two longest liver were, that he should give to the other's Children those Lands that we two our selves had acquired, and those Lands that to us two Ethelwolf the King gave while Ethelbald was living; except those that he to us three Brothers bequeathed. And of this, of us two each to the other his security did give, that whether of us two longest should live, he should take both to the Land and to the Treasures; that to all his possessions, except that part, which of us either to his Children should bequeath.

But it came to pass that Ethered the king deceased, when communicated to me no man no Title-Deed, nor no Evidence, that it any other was than as it before Witness we before had agreed. Then heard we now of many Inheritance-suits. Now therefore brought I Ethelwolf the King's Will into our Council at Langadene; and

impossible to say. If this point should be settled, and the time at which the Council was holden, we could ascertain the date of the Will, as well as the place at which it was made.

dene. ⁊ hit man arædde beforan eallum þe-  
 reaxena ritum. þa hit aræd þær. þa bæd ic hý  
 ealle for minre lufan (⁊ him min pedd bead. ⁊  
 ic hýra næfre nænne ne oncude for þon þe hý  
 on riht ſpræcon) ⁊ ⁊ hýra nan ne pandode ne  
 for minan lufan. ne for minum ege. þæt hý ⁊  
 folcſiht aſehton. þý læſ æniȝ man cpeðe ⁊ ic  
 mine mægild. oððe ýldran. oððe ȝinȝran. mid  
 þô forðemde. ⁊ hý þa ealle to rihte ȝeſehton  
 ⁊ cpædon ⁊ hý nan rihtre riht ȝeþencan ne  
 mihtan. ne on þam ýrre-ȝerſute ȝehýran. “nu  
 “ hit eall aȝân iſ þær on oð þine hand. þonne  
 “ þu hit becpeðe ⁊ ſýlle ſpa ȝeribne handa ſpa  
 “ fremðre ſpaðer þe leofne ſý.” ⁊ hi ealle  
 me þær hýra pedd ȝealdon. ⁊ hýra hand-ſetene.  
 ⁊ be hýra liſe hit næniȝ mann næfre ne  
 onpende on nane oðre riſan butan ſpa ſpa  
 ic hit ſýlf ȝecpeðe æt þam nýhtan dæge :



it they read before all the West-Saxon Nobles. When it read was, then prayed I them all for my love (and to them my security gave, that I of them never to none would bear ill will for that they right should speak) that of them none would neglect, neither for my love nor for my fear, that they the common right should declare; lest any man should say, that I my kinsfolk, whether elder or younger, wrongfully had excluded. And they then all for right pronounced and declared, that they no more rightful Title conceive could, nor in a Title-Deed hear of. "Now (*said they*) it all delivered is there into thy hand: Wherefore thou it mayest bequeath and give, either to a Relation or a Stranger, as to thee most eligible may be." And they all to me thereupon their security gave, and their hand-setting, that, during their life, it no man never should pervert in none other wise but so as I it my self should direct on the next day.

Ic Ælfræd þe ƿeƿt-ƿeaxe<sup>n</sup>a <sup>n</sup> cingc. mid ƿodeƿ  
 ƿýfe. ⁊ mid þýſſe ƿepitneſſe. ƿeƿeðe hu ic  
 ýmbe min ýſſe ƿille æƿteƿ minum ðæge :

Æþeƿt ic an Eaðƿeade<sup>o</sup> minum ýlðƿan ƿuna  
 þæƿ landeƿ æt <sup>p</sup> ſtƿæt neat on <sup>q</sup> tƿiconſcýre.  
 ⁊ <sup>r</sup> heoƿtýgtuneſ. ⁊ þa bocland ealle þe leoƿ  
 heah hýlt. ⁊ þ̄ land æt <sup>s</sup> capumtune. ⁊ æt  
<sup>t</sup> cýlƿantune. ⁊ æt <sup>u</sup> burhhamme. ⁊ æt <sup>v</sup> þeð-  
 moƿ. ⁊ ic eom <sup>w</sup> ƿýſſindýg to þam <sup>x</sup> hýpum æt  
<sup>y</sup> ceodre. þ̄ hý hine ceoƿan on þa ƿeƿað þe  
 þe æƿ ƿeƿeden hæƿðon. mid þam lande  
 æt <sup>z</sup> cýptune. ⁊ þam þe þæƿ to hýƿað. ⁊ ic

<sup>n</sup> Alfred being King at the time he made his Will, it must have been made between A°. 872, when he came to the Crown, and A°. 885, in which Bishop Esne, one of the Legatees therein mentioned, died.

<sup>o</sup> Edward, the eldest son of Alfred, was born a little before his father ascended the throne; and afterwards succeeded him therein, by the name of Edward the Elder.

<sup>p</sup> Probably Stratton in Cornwall. See the next Note.

<sup>q</sup> I take Tricon-shire to have been, without all doubt, Cornwall; it being but a small Saxon variation from Trishire, as it was called by the British inhabitants. See Borlase's Cornish Vocabulary.

<sup>r</sup> Perhaps Hardington in Co. Som. as most of the Lands here bequeathed are in that County or Wilts.

I Alfred, of the West-Saxons King, by God's grace, and before this company of Witnesses, declare how I concerning my Estates will after my day.

First, I give to Edward, my eldest Son, the Land at Stræneat in Tricon-shire, and Heortigtune, and the Book-land all that Leof heah holds, and the land at Carumtune, and at Cylfantune, and at Burnhamme, and at Wedmor. And I am a petitioner to the Families at Ceodre, that they him would chuse on the condition that we formerly expressed had; with the land of Ciwtune, and that which thereto belongeth. And I

\* Carhampton, Co. Som.

† Chilhampton, Co. Wilt.

‡ Burnham, Co. Som.

§ Wedmore, Co. Som.

¶ For ꝥꝥýmðig, "Qui requirit," &c.

\* These hīƿar, "Families," at Chedder, were the Ceorls, who occupied the tenemental Lands there. They were so far analogous to those who, in the succeeding feudal times, were called privileged villains, as that they could not be compelled to hold their Lands against their own consent. Hence it was that Alfred had stipulated with them, on the ground of a requisition on his part, to chuse Edward his son to be their Landlord; i. e. to continue his Tenants after he himself should be dead and gone.

‡ Chedder, Co. Som.

§ Chewton, Co. Som.

him an þær landes æt <sup>a</sup> cantuctune. 7 æt  
<sup>b</sup> bederindan. 7 æt <sup>c</sup> peferizge. 7 <sup>d</sup> hýrrebun-  
 nan. 7 æt <sup>e</sup> futtune. 7 æt <sup>f</sup> leodridan. 7  
 æt <sup>g</sup> apeltune :

7 ealle þa bocland þe ic on cent hæbbe. 7  
 æt þam nýðeran <sup>b</sup> hýrrebunan. 7 æt <sup>i</sup> cýfeldene.  
 agýfe man into rintanceartne on þa zepad  
 þe hit min fæder ær zecpæð. 7 þ min run-  
 dor feoh þæt ic eczulfe oðfærte on þam  
 neoðeran hýrrebunan :

7 þam zingran <sup>k</sup> minan suna þ land æt <sup>l</sup> ea-  
 deringtune. 7 þ æt <sup>m</sup> dene. 7 þ æt <sup>n</sup> meone.

<sup>a</sup> Quantock, Co. Som.

<sup>b</sup> Bedwin, Co. Wilt.

<sup>c</sup> Pewsey, Co. Wilt.

<sup>d</sup> Hussebourn, Co. Hant.

<sup>e</sup> There are so many places in England of the name of Sutton, that it is hard to say which of them is here meant ; but, doubtless, one of those of this name in Somersetshire or Wilts. <sup>f</sup> Probably Ledered in Surrey.

<sup>g</sup> I take this to have been Aulton in Wilts, which was given by some of his successors to the Cathedral of Winchester, Cart. 29. E. 1. n. 54. For Aulton in Hants seems to have been given to that Church by Egbert the Grandfather of Alfred. Dug. Mon. I. 979. Yet Camden takes it for granted to have been Aulton in Hants ; and, following the printed Latin Translation of the Will, says, that Alfred gave it to the Keeper of Leodre. Edit. Gibs. p. 146.

<sup>h</sup> Nether Hussebourn in Hants ; which was afterwards

to him give the land at Cantuctune, and at Bedewind, and at Pefesigge, and Hysseburn, and at Suttune, and at Leodride, and at Aweltune.

And all the Book-land that I in Cent have, and at the Nether Hysseburn, and at Cyseldene, let it be given to Wintan-ceastre, on the condition on which it my Father formerly gave; and that my private Estate which I to Egulf gave in trust at the Nether Hysseburn.

And to my younger Son the land at Eadering-tune and that at Dene, and at Meone, and at Am-

given by Edward to the Cathedral of Winchester.

<sup>i</sup> Chiseldon or Chistleton in Wilts; which was given to the Old Foundation at Winchester for the present; but, as it seems, for the benefit of his intended New Minster, at that place, which appears to have been possessed of it in 4 Edw. iii. Rom. 4. E. 3. m. 4. apud Tann. Notit. p. 156.

<sup>k</sup> This younger son of Alfred was Ethelward, born about A°. 880. He was educated at Oxford, became a very learned Man, and died 16 Oct. A°. 922.

<sup>l</sup> Adrington, Co. Som.

<sup>m</sup> There are places of this name both in Hants and Wilts, as well as in many other Counties. But I take it to have been in one of those two, as most of the Estates here bequeathed lay among the West-Saxons.

<sup>n</sup> East and West-Meon, Co. Hant.

7 æt ° ambresþýrig. 7 æt ° deone. 7 æt  
 9 sturmemýnster. 7 æt ° gidle. 7 æt ° crewærn.  
 7 æt ° hþitan cýrican. 7 æt ° axanmuðan. 7  
 æt ° branecefcumbe. 7 æt ° columtune. 7 æt  
 7 twýfýrðe. 7 æt ° mylenburþnan. 7 æt ° exan-  
 mýnster. 7 æt ° juðerþýrðe. 7 æt ° lirtune.  
 7 þa land þe þær to hýnan. ꝥ rýnd ealle þe  
 ic on ° pealcýnne hæbbe butan ° triconfýre :

7 minre ýlðstan ° dehter þæne ham æt  
 8 pelepe :

° Ambresbury, Co. Wilt.      ° Down, Co. Dors. or Devon.

9 Sturminster, Co. Dors.      ° Gidle, Co. Devon.

° Crewkern, Co. Som.      ° Whitchurch, Co. Hant.

° \* Axmouth, Branscomb, Columbton, Co. Devon.

7 Twiford, Co. Hant.      ° Milbourn, Co. Dors. or Som.

° Axminster, Co. Devon.      ° Of this I find nothing.

° Litten, of which there is one in Dors. and one in Som.

° "On pealcýnne." The author of the printed Translation hath rendered this "sub cælo," as if Alfred had meant to say, under the Welkin. But, beside that this Word is always written, in the Saxon language, peolcen, polcen, or pelcn, the very termination, cýnne naturally refers us to some district. The only Question is, What that district was?—Now the Britons, who retired into the West of England, were called, by our Saxon ancestors, pealar, and their Tribes, peala cýnne, i. e. Britannorum gentés. The word indeed, is, at present, retained in the name of those only who retired to the extremity of the island; who are to this day called Corn-pealar. But this does not hinder but

bresbyry, and at Deone, and at Sturemynster, and at Gifle, and at Cruærn, and at Whitechurch, and at Axanmouth, and at Brancescumbe, and at Columtune, and at Twyfyrd, and at Mylenburn, and at Exanmynster, and at Sutheswyth, and at Liwtune, and the lands that thereto belong ; which are all that I in Weal district have, except Triconshire.

And to my eldest Daughter the Manor at Welewe.

that it might formerly extend farther. Nay, the prefix, *Eopn*, applied to one set of the *pealaj*, seems to imply that there were other *pealaj* beside these, and bordering upon them. Accordingly, I do suppose that, by a latitude peculiar to common speech, the inhabitants of Devon, or even of Somersetshire, might be called *pealaj* also: And that, therefore, when Alfred had bequeathed his Estates in these parts, he finished with saying, *ƿ ƿynd ealle þe ic on peal-cýnne hæbbe butan ƿuconƿyƿe*, i. e. as we should express it now, “Which are all that I have in the West of England, except in Cornwall.” And, as a proof of this, it is observable, that none of the Lands hereafter bequeathed are farther West than Wiltshire.

<sup>e</sup> This hath been explained already in Note <sup>a</sup> p. 10.

<sup>f</sup> His eldest daughter was Ethelfleda, who married Ethelred, D. of Mercia; after whose death, A°. 912, she governed that Province till her own decease, 15 Jun. A°. 919.

<sup>g</sup> Wellow, Co. Hant.

Ʒ þære medemeƷtan<sup>h</sup> æt <sup>i</sup>cleapan. Ʒ æt  
<sup>k</sup>cendeƷer :

Ʒ þære ƷingeƷtan <sup>l</sup>þone ham. æt <sup>m</sup>pelig. Ʒ  
 æt <sup>n</sup>ærctune. Ʒ æt <sup>o</sup>cippan hamme :

Ʒ æðelme<sup>p</sup> mineƷ broðer Ʒuna þone ham  
 æt <sup>q</sup>ealðingburpan. Ʒ æt <sup>r</sup>cumtune. Ʒ æt  
<sup>s</sup>crundellan. Ʒ æt <sup>t</sup>beadingum. Ʒ æt <sup>u</sup>bead-  
 inga hamme. Ʒ æt <sup>w</sup>burpnam. Ʒ æt<sup>x</sup>þunƷer-  
 felda. Ʒ æt <sup>y</sup>ærceƷum :

Ʒ aþelƷolde <sup>z</sup>mineƷ broðor Ʒuna þone ham  
 æt <sup>a</sup>Ʒodelmingum. Ʒ æt <sup>b</sup>ƷyldeƷorða. Ʒ æt  
<sup>c</sup>Ʒtæningum :

<sup>h</sup> His middlemost daughter, as he calls her, was Ethelgeda, a Nun, and afterwards Abbess of Shaftsbury, where she died and was buried.

<sup>i</sup> King's Clere, Co. Hant.

<sup>k</sup> Probably one of those places in Hampshire which still bear this addition to their Name, viz. Preston-Candever, Chilton-Candever.

<sup>l</sup> The youngest daughter of Alfred was Elfrida, who married Baldwin. II. Earl. of Flanders; and dying, 7 Jun. A°. 929, was buried in the Monastery of St. Peter at Ghent.

<sup>m</sup> Willey, Co. Wilt.

<sup>n</sup> Ashton, Co. Wilt.

<sup>o</sup> Chippenham, Co. Wilt.

<sup>p</sup> Æthelm, the eldest son of K. Ethelbert elder brother of Alfred.



And to the middlemost, [*that*] at Cleare, and at Cendefer.

And to the youngest, the Manor at Welig, and at Æsctune, and at Cippanhamme.

And to Æthelm, my brother's son, the Manor at Ealdingburn, and at Cumtune, and at Crundell, and at Beading, and at Beadinghamme, and at Burnham, and at Thunresfield, and at Æsceng.

And to Athelwold, my brother's son, the Manor at Godelming, and at Gyldeford, and at Stening.

<sup>q</sup> Aldingbourn, Co. Sussex.

<sup>r</sup> Compton, Co. Sussex.

<sup>s</sup> Crundal, Co. Hant.

<sup>t</sup> Beden, Co. Sussex.

<sup>u</sup> Bedingham, Co. Sussex.

<sup>w</sup> Barnham, Co. Sussex.

<sup>x</sup> I take this to have been the Manor of Thunderfield in the parish of Horsey, near Reygate in Surrey, where was formerly a Castle of considerable strength.

<sup>y</sup> Probably Eashing in the parish of Godelming in Surrey, the Manor of which also belonged to Alfred.

<sup>z</sup> Ethelwold, the youngest son of K. Ethelbert elder brother of Alfred; who died in arms against Edward his cousin, the son and successor of Alfred, A<sup>o</sup>. 905.

<sup>a b</sup> Godelming and Gildford, both in Surrey.

<sup>c</sup> Steyning in Sussex.

Ƴ oſferðe <sup>d</sup> minum mæge þone ham æt  
<sup>e</sup> beccanlea. Ƴ æt <sup>f</sup> hſyðeranfelda. Ƴ æt <sup>g</sup> dic-  
 celingum. Ƴ æt <sup>h</sup> ſuðtune. Ƴ æt <sup>i</sup> lullingmýn-  
 rter. Ƴ æt <sup>k</sup> angemæringum. Ƴ æt <sup>l</sup> felh  
 hamme. Ƴ þa land þe þær to hýpan :

Ƴ <sup>m</sup> ealhſſiðe þone ham æt <sup>n</sup> lamb burpan.  
 Ƴ æt <sup>o</sup> panetung. Ƴ æt <sup>p</sup> eðandune :

Ƴ minum tſam ſunum an þuſend punda.  
 ægðrum ſiſ hund punda :

Ƴ minre ýldſtan dehter. Ƴ þære mede-  
 merſtan. Ƴ þære zingſtan. Ƴ ealhſſiðe. him  
 ſeoprum ſeoper hund punda. ælcum an  
 hund punda :

Ƴ minra <sup>q</sup> ealdorſmanna ælcum an hund  
<sup>r</sup> manzcuſa. Ƴ æþelme. Ƴ aðelpolde. Ƴ oſferðe.  
 eac ſpa :

<sup>d</sup> Who this Oſferth his couſin was, I do not find.

<sup>e f g</sup> Beckley, Rotherfield, and Dichling, all in Suſſex.

<sup>h i k l</sup> Sutton, Lullington, Angmering, and Felpham, all in  
 Suſſex.

<sup>m</sup> Ethelſwitha was the wife of Alfred, and daughter of  
 Ethelred the Great, Earl of Mercia. She ſurvived her  
 huſband four years; and, dying A°. 904, was buried in the  
 Nunery at Wincheſter of her own foundation.

And to Osferth, my cousin, the Manor at Beccanlea, and at Rytherfield, and at Dicceling, and at Suthtune, and at Lullingminster, and at Augmering, and at Felham, and the Lands that thereto belong.

And to Ealhswith, the Manor at Lamburn, and at Wancting, and at Ethandune.

And to my two sons, one thousand of Pounds ; to each five hundred of Pounds.

And to my eldest daughter, and to the middlemost, and to the youngest, and to Ealhswith, to them four, four hundred of Pounds ; to each one hundred of Pounds.

And of my Aldermen to each one hundred of Mancuses ; and to Æthelm, and Athelwold, and Osferth also.

<sup>n</sup> ° Lambourn and Wantage in Berks, at the latter of which K. Alfred was born.

<sup>p</sup> Edington, near Westbury in Wilts, where Alfred defeated the Danes, A°. 878.

<sup>q</sup> The King's Aldermen were his Justices itinerant and other Great Officers of his own appointment.

<sup>r</sup> The Mancus was about 7s. 6d. of our present currency.

Ƴ æðereðe ealdorþmenn an Ƴfeorð on hund  
teontigum mancuŷum.

Ƴ þam mannum þe me folgiað. þe ic nu  
on eaŷter tidum feoh ŷealde. tpa hund pun-  
da. aȷŷfe man him. Ƴ ðæle man him betfeoh.  
ælcum Ƴpa him toȷebȷrian wille. æfter þære  
wiran þe ic him nu ðælde :

Ƴ þam \*ercebifceope. c. mancuŷa. Ƴ †eŷne  
bifceope. Ƴ †pærfeŷðe bifceope. Ƴ þam †æt  
Ƴcibeurnan :

Eac Ƴpa ȷedæle for me. Ƴ for minne fæ-  
der. Ƴ for þa frýnd þe he foreþingode. Ƴ  
ic foreþingie. tpa hund punda. fiftig mæŷfe  
pfeorŷtum ofer eall min rice. fiftig earnum  
ȷoder þeorum. fiftig earnum þearfum. fif-  
tig to þære cȷnican þe ic æt weŷte. Ƴ ic

\* Ethelred Archbishop of Canterbury, who died A°. 888.

† Esne, Bishop of Hereford; who died, according to Godwin, A°. 885. Indeed Stevens and Willis place him a Century higher. But as a Bishop Esne is here expressly mentioned as a Legatee, and no other of that name occurs in the whole Catalogue of Bishops, it seems a full proof that Godwin is right in the point of Chronology.

‡ Werferth was Bishop of Worcester, a Man of singular Learning, and employed by Alfred in translating the Dia-

And to Ethered the Alderman, a sword of an hundred Mancuses.

And to the Men that me follow, to whom I now at Easter-tide money gave, two hundred of pounds. Let them give to them, and divide them between, to each as to him to belong they shall judge ; after the manner that I to them now have distributed.

And to the Archbishop, one hundred of Mancuses, and to Esne Bishop, and to Werferth Bishop, and to the [*Bishop*] at Schireburn.

Also, let them distribute for me and for my Father, and for the friends that he interceded for, and I intercede for, two hundred of Pounds ; Fifty to the Mass-Priests over all my Kingdom ; fifty to the poor Ministers of God ; fifty to the distressed Poor ; fifty to the Church that I at shall

logues of Pope Gregory I. into the Saxon language. He died, according to some, A°. 911. according to others, A°. 915.

\* The Bishop of Shirbourn was Asser, the great friend and favorite of Alfred ; and who also wrote the Annals of his Reign down to the year 893. He died, according to the most probable accounts, A°. 909, or 910. See Fra. Wise de vita et scriptis Asserii, §. 12. prefixed to his Edition of Asser's Annals of Alfred.

nat naht ȝerȝlice hræðer þær feoŷ ȝpa mi-  
cel ȝ. ne ic nat þeah hiȝ maȝe ȝȝ. butan  
ȝpa ic ȝene. Gȝȝ hiȝ maȝe ȝȝ. beo hiȝ him  
eallum ȝemæne þe ic ȝeoh becepen hæbbe.  
ȝ ic ȝille þæt mine ealdor menn ȝ mine þe-  
niȝmenn þær ealle mið ȝȝndan. ȝ þiȝ þuȝ  
ȝedælan :

Donne hæfde ic æȝ on oðre ȝiȝan aȝriten  
ȝmbe min ȝȝȝe. þa ic hæfde maȝe feoh. ȝ  
ma maȝa. ȝ hæfde moneȝum mannum þa ȝe-  
ȝritu oðfæȝt. ȝ on þaȝ ȝlcan ȝeritneȝȝe hiȝ  
ȝæȝon aȝritene. þonne hæbbe ic nu ȝoȝbæȝ-  
ned þa ealdan. þe ic ȝeahȝian mihte. Gȝȝ  
hiȝȝa hȝȝlc ȝunden bið. ne ȝoȝȝtent þæt  
naht. ȝoȝ þam ic ȝille þæt hiȝ nu þuȝ ȝȝ  
mið ȝodeȝ ȝultume :

ȝ ic ȝille þa menn þe þa land habbað. þa  
ȝoȝd ȝelæȝtan þe on mineȝ fæder ȝȝȝe-ȝe-  
ȝrite ȝtandað ȝpa ȝpa hiȝ ȝȝȝmeȝt maȝon :

ȝ ic ȝȝlle ȝiȝ ic æniȝum menn æniȝ feoh  
unleanod hæbbe þæt mine maȝaȝ þæt huȝu  
ȝeleanian :

ȝ ic ȝȝlle þa menn þe ic mine bocland  
becpen hæbbe. þæt hiȝ hiȝ ne aȝȝllan oȝ

rest. And I know not certainly whether of the Money so much is; Nor I know not but that thereof more may be; but so I suppose. If it more be, be it to them all common to whom I money bequeathed have. And I will that my Aldermen and my Ministers there all together be and this thus distribute.

When I had formerly in other wise disposed in Writing of my Inheritance, then I had more estate, and more Relations; and had to many Men the Writings intrusted; and in the same company of Witnesses they were written. But I have now burned those old *Deeds* that I by inquiry recover might. If of these any found should be, let it stand for nothing: for that I will that it now thus be by God's assistance.

And I will the Men that the Lands shall have, the Words to fulfil that in my Father's Testament do stand, so as they soonest may.

And I will, if I to any Man any money unpaid have, that my Relations that at least repay.

And I will the Men to whom I my Bookland bequeathed have, that they it do not give from my

minum cýnne. oƿer heora dæg. ac ic wille  
 [x oƿer] hýra dæg þæt hit gange on þa nyh-  
 tan hand me. butan hýra hƿýlc bearn hæbbe.  
 þonne iƿ me leofaƿt þæt hit gange on þæt  
 ƿtrýned on þa ƿæpned healƿe. þa hƿile þe  
 ænig þær ƿýrðe ƿý. min ýldra ƿæðer hæƿðe  
 gecƿeden hiƿ land on þa y ƿƿe healfre. næƿ  
 on þa z ƿƿinl healfre. þonne gif ic gerealde  
 ænigre ƿiƿ handa þ he geftrýnde. þonne ƿor-  
 gýldan mine maƿar. 7 gif hý hit be þan lib-  
 bendan habban ƿýllan. gif hit elles ƿý. gange hit  
 oƿer hýra dæg ƿra ƿra ƿe ær gecƿeden hæƿ-  
 don. ƿorþon ic cƿeðe þæt hi hit gýldan. ƿor  
 þon hý ƿoð to minum þe ic ƿýllan mot ƿra ƿiƿ  
 handa ƿra ƿæpned handa ƿraðer ic ƿýlle :

7 ic biððe on goder naman. 7 on hiƿ hali-  
 gna. þ minra maƿa nan. ne ýrƿeƿearða ne  
 gefƿence nan. nænig a cýneliƿ þara þe ic  
 ƿoregeald. 7 me ƿerƿ-ƿeaxena ƿitan to rihte  
 gefehton þæt ic hi mot lætan ƿra ƿreo ƿra

x The Word oƿer seems to be wanting here.

y z Spepe healfre.....ƿƿinl healfre. The Sexes are here denominated from the Implements peculiar to their respective Occupations; the Male from the Spear, the Female from the Spindle. And hence, I cannot but think it probable, that the word ƿæpned, signifying also masculine (though derived, by the Authors of our Vocabularies, from ƿæpen, which they suppose to have been a Saxon Word correspond-



kindred after their day: But I will [*after*] their day, that it go unto the nighest hand to me; unless of them any one Children have; then it is to me most eligible that it go to that issue on the male side, the while that any of it worthy be. My Grandfather hath bequeathed his Land to the Spear-side, and not to the Spindle-side. Wherefore, if I have given to any Female what he had acquired, then let redeem it my Relations, if they it while she is living have will: If it otherwise be, let it go after their day, so as we before determined have. For this reason I ordain that they it pay for, because they will succeed to my [*Estate*] that I give may, or to female hand, or to male hand, whether I will.

And I beseech in God's name, and in his Saints', that of my Relations none, nor of my heirs none, do obstruct none of the freedom of those that I have redeemed. And for me the West-Saxon Nobles as lawful have pronounced that I

ing to the Veretrum of the Latins) has it's Origin in the Word *pæpen* as it signifies Arms; and is therefore only applied to the male Sex, as the particular Weapon, the Spear was, because it was the only Sex that bore Arms.

\* The latter part of this compound, *līf*, is put for *leaƿ*: and the whole word, *cýpelīf*, is as much as to say "arbitrii licentiam," *i. e.* the liberty of disposing of themselves.

þeope ſpaðer ic wille. ac ic for goder lufan.  
 ⁊ for minre ſaple þearfe. wille ꝥ hý ſýn  
 heora freolſer wýrðe. ⁊ hýra cýner. ⁊ ic  
 on goder hſiender naman beode þæt hý nan  
 man ne bſocie. ne mid feor manunge. ne mid  
 nænigum þingum. ꝥ hý ne mozan <sup>b</sup> ceoſan  
 ſwýlcne mann ſwýlce hý wýllan :-

⁊ ic wille þæt man aſýfe þam <sup>e</sup> hſum æt  
<sup>a</sup> dompa hamme hýra land bec. ⁊ hýra freolſ  
 ſwýlce hand to ceoſenne ſwýlce him leoſar  
 ſý. for me. ⁊ for <sup>e</sup> ælflæde. ⁊ for þa  
 ſwýnd þe heo forþingode. ⁊ ic forþingie :-

⁊ ſec <sup>f</sup> man eac on cwicum <sup>g</sup> ceape ýmbe  
 minre ſaple þearfe. ſpa hit beon mæge. ⁊  
 ſpa hit eac geſýrne ſý. ⁊ ſpa ge me forſý-  
 fan wýllan :-

<sup>b</sup> Alfred, having manumitted diſerſe þeopar, and put  
 them into the condition of ceopleſ, deſires that his Heirs  
 would not abridge them of that Liberty, but leave them to  
 chuse ſuch man for their landlord as they would ; which all  
 ceopleſ, by the Saxon Conſtitution might do.

<sup>c</sup> The hſar of Domerham were the ſame ſort of People  
 with thoſe of Chedder, ſpoken of in a former Note, viz. The  
 Ceopleſ who occupied the tenemental Lands there, which  
 they might relinquish when they pleaſed. And as they were  
 intreated, in that inſtance, to chuse Edward for their Lord, *i. e.*  
 to continue to occupy thoſe Lands under him, as they had done

them may leave either free or bond whether I will. But I, for God's love, and for my Soul's advantage, will that they be of their freedom Masters, and of their Will, and I, in God the living's name intreat that them no man do not disturb, neither by Money-exaction, nor by no manner of means, that they may not chuse such Man as they will.

And I will that they restore to the families at Domerham their Land-Deeds, and their free liberty such person to chuse, as to them most agreeable may be ; for me, and for Elflada, and for the friends that she did intercede for, and I do intercedè for.

And seek they also, with a living price, for my Soul's health, as it be may, and as it also fitting is ; and as ye me to forgive shall be disposed.

under Alfred : so here, the Heirs are required to leave those of Domerham to chuse such Man for their Landlord, as they would ; *i. e.* to continue to occupy those Lands, or relinquish them, as they should think proper.

<sup>d</sup> *Dompa hamme*, The Manor of Dummer, Co. Hant.

<sup>e</sup> His eldest Daughter.

<sup>f</sup> *Sec man*, " Let them seek," or, make application to, *viz.* God.

<sup>g</sup> *On cpicum ceape*. " With a living Price ;" *viz.* By prayer and intercession, and the usual offices of Devotion.

SIC ITUR AD ASTRA.



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## ADDITIONAL NOTES.

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PAGE 3, LINE 3.

The West-Saxon nobles' concurrence.] Sax. *ƷepitneƷre*. *Witness*, or *testimony*.

PAGE 3, LINE 7.

King Ethelwolf.] Sax. *Aðulf*. Several of the proper names in this Will are spelled incorrectly.

PAGE 5, LINE 4.

Ethelbert King our *brother*.] So, in fact; but the Saxon word *mæg* denotes any relative.

PAGE 5, LINE 10.

Ethered *succeeded*.] Sax. *ƷenƷ to*, *took to* [the government.]

PAGE 5, LINE 18.

He to no man *rather* would give it.] The Saxon *Ʒel ne*, should probably be read *Ʒelne*.

PAGE 7, LINE 2.

That they some support would need to be given by us out of these estates, as to us was given.] This translation is incorrect. The words *Ʒælde unc on þam bƷocum ƷƷa unc Ʒælde*, are

parenthetical, and may be rendered literally "given to us in those troubles as to us given," i. e. "whether we were able to retain more or less of our property amidst those troubles." Similar forms of expression occur in Alfred's Boethius.

## PAGE 7, LINE 10.

While Ethelbald was living.] Sax. be aðelbolde lifendum. The preposition governing the ablative case absolute is here expressed. So be þan libbendan, page 24.

## PAGE 9, LINE 7.

Common right.] Sax. folcniht, *the law of the land*.

## PAGE 11, LINE 4.

I give—*the land*, &c.] Alfred describes most of the estates which he devises, as land, but in some places he uses the word ham. The latter word (the origin of our *home* and *hamlet*) was used by the Anglo-Saxons for a house, farm, town or village, and generally an abode or habitation. Somn. Dict.—Mr. Manning renders it "*manor*"; meaning, it is presumed, an entire *township*; for the word *manor*, if not the thing, is of Norman introduction.—But it is impossible to suppose that the numerous estates devised by Alfred to his two sons, as land, did not comprehend *manors* in Mr. Manning's acceptance of the term. It is much more likely that land and ham were considered by him synonymous, and that he in fact possessed an entire township in most, if not all, of the places which he mentions.

PAGE 19, LINE 1.

To Osferth, my *cousin*.] Sax. *mæge*, *relative*.

PAGE 19, LINE 15.

Mancuses.] Mr. Manning says “the mancus was about 7s. 6d. of our present currency.” This *may* be correct; but the precise grounds of every valuation of ancient money in modern currency should be stated. Mr. Turner, in his history of the Anglo-Saxons, Vol. II. p. 468, (4th edit.) quotes a passage from Elfric, which asserts that five pennies made one shilling, and thirty pennies one mancus. This, as he observes, “would make the mancus six shillings,” which is not very far from its value in “present currency” according to Mr. Manning’s calculation. But it must be recollected that these were *Anglo-Saxon* pennies and shillings, the relative value of which to commodities was very different from that of our modern pence and shillings. Mr. Turner supposes that two sorts of pennies were the only *coins* of the Anglo-Saxons above their copper coinage; and that all their other denominations of money (including the mancus) are to be regarded as “weighed or settled quantities of *uncoined* metal”—we should rather say *money of account*.

PAGE 21, LINE 3.

The men that me follow, to whom I now at Easter-tide money gave.] The Saxon *easter tidum*, is plural, and might be rendered *every Easter*. Of what description of persons these followers consisted is very uncertain. Mr. Manning in his “free” translation has “My *Valects* whom I hired at Easter.” *This is too modern*.

## PAGE 23, LINE 11.

In the same company of witnesses.] Sax. on þar ylcan ʒeƿitnerre, *with this same witness*, or *evidence*, i. e. with the same form of authentication, *not* in the presence of the same persons.

## PAGE 24, LINE 9.

æniʒre ƿif handa—be þan libbendan—oƿer hƿna ðæg.] The want of correspondence between the different clauses of this sentence, renders it somewhat obscure. The sense is probably correctly given by Mr. Manning.

## PAGE 24, LINE 10.

ʒ ʒif.] The ʒ might be considered redundant; but “*and if;*” or “*an if;*” in the sense of *if*, is not uncommon in our old writers.

## PAGE 25, LINE 5.

Worthy.] Sax. ƿƿþe, *capable*; dignus *juxta leges*.

SIC ITUR AD ASTRA.

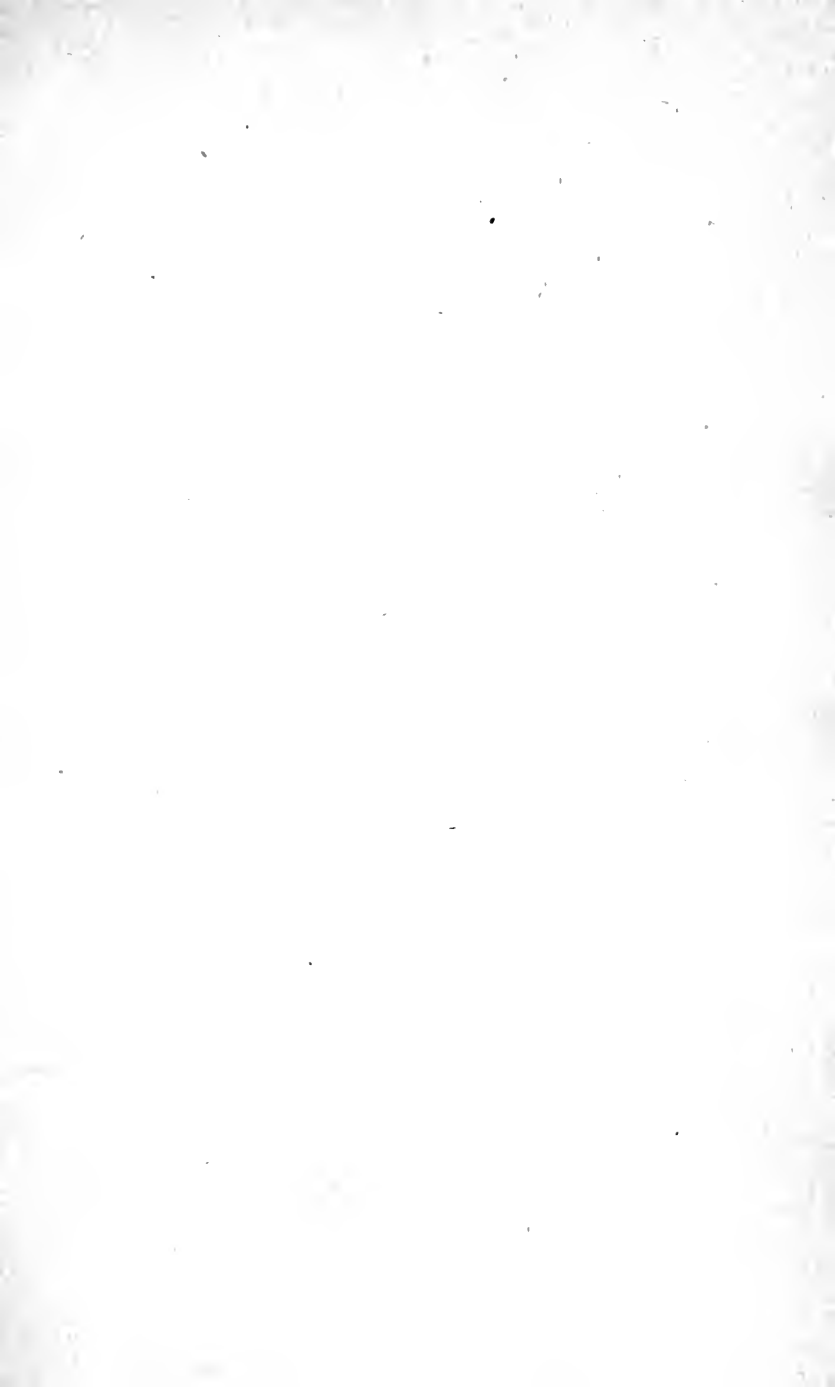


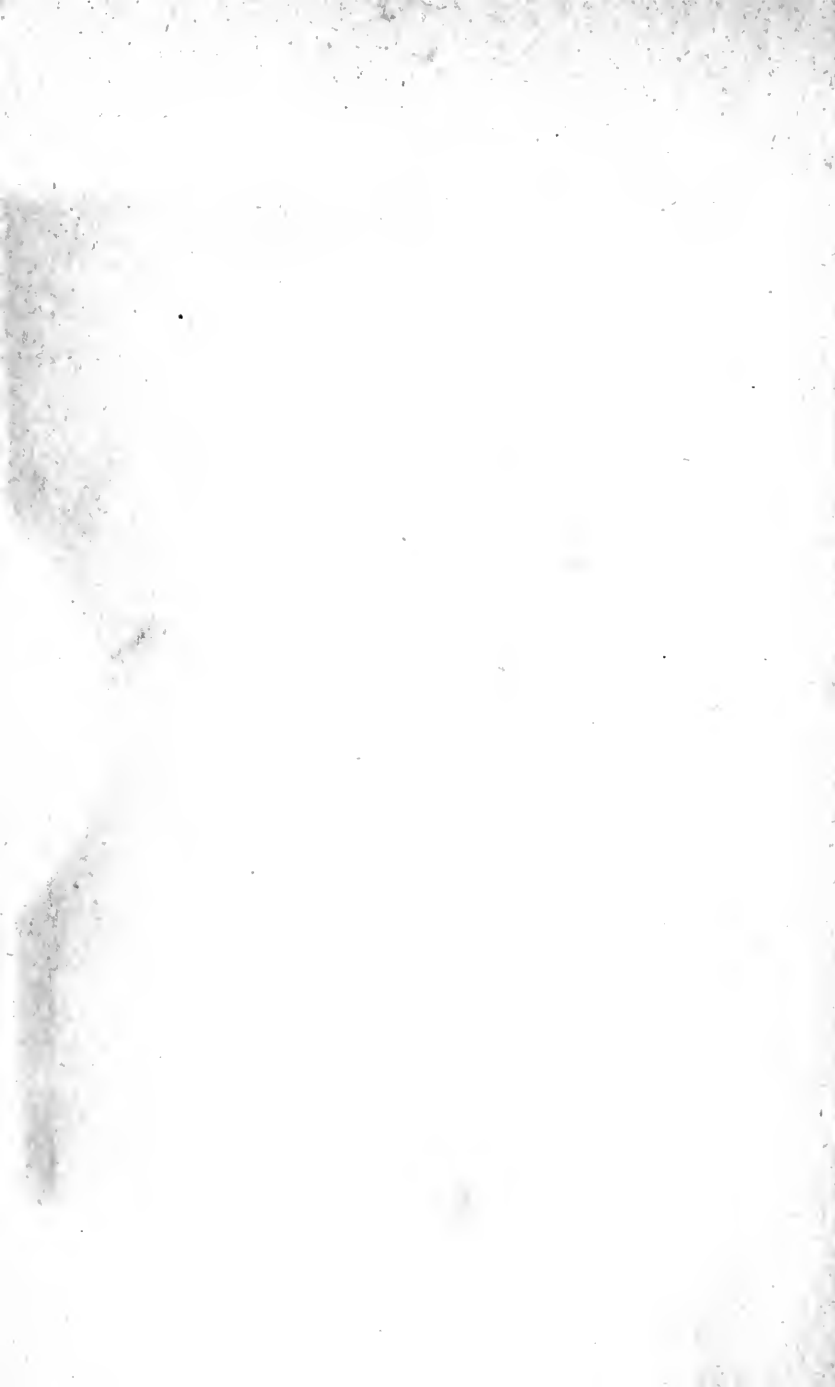
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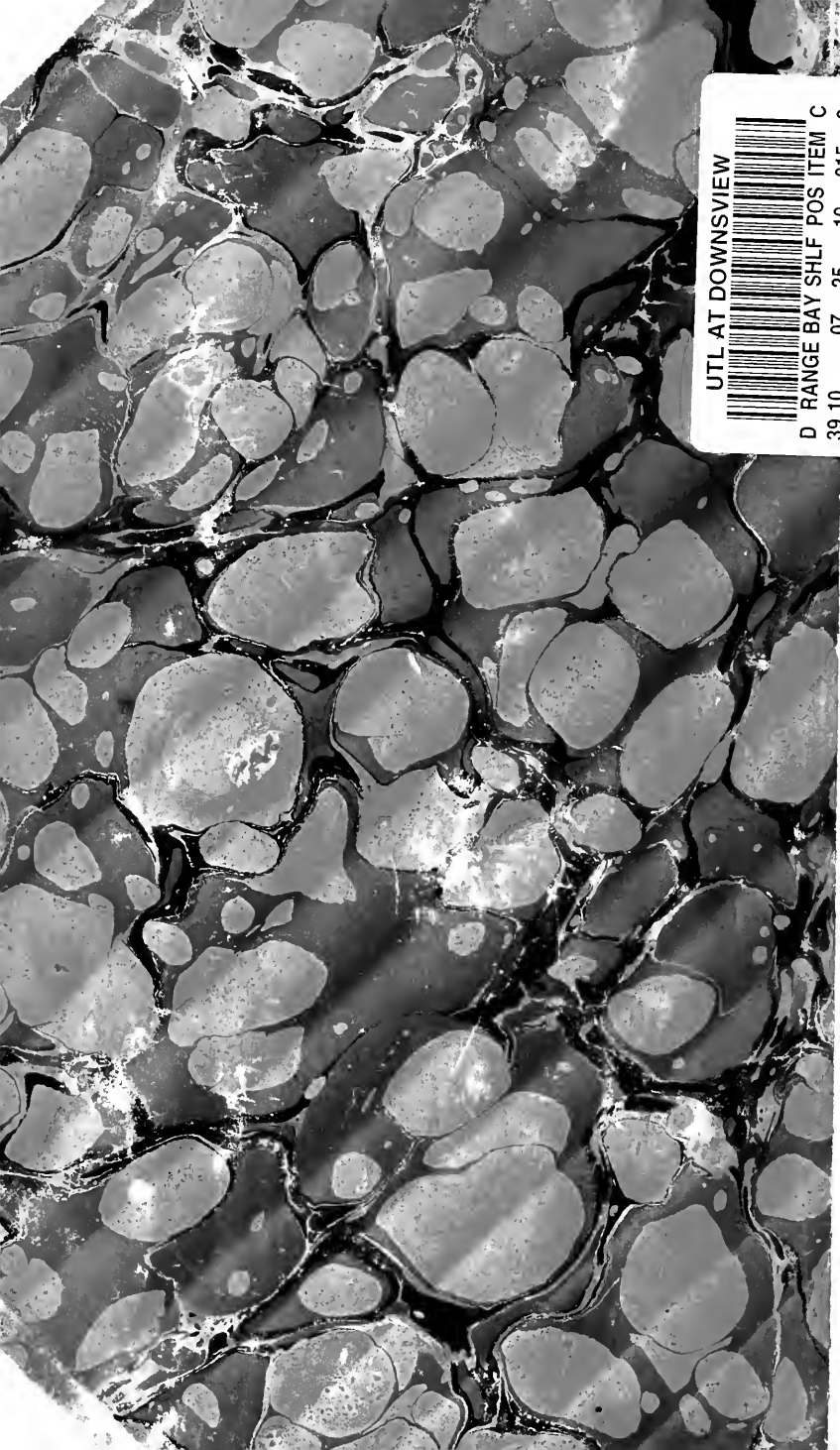
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