

**Friendship and Favour in
Late Anglo-Saxon Élite Culture**

A Study of Documentary and Narrative Sources, c. 900–1016

2 Volumes

Volume 2: Appendices

Els Schröder

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University of York

Centre for Medieval Studies

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME 2: APPENDICES

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Table of Contents..... | i |
| List of Tables Volume 2..... | ii |
| Appendix A – Friendship in Anglo-Saxon Lawcodes..... | 1 |
| Quotations of lawcodes containing friendship vocabulary..... | 4 |
| Appendix B – Friendship in Anglo-Saxon Diplomas..... | 20 |
| Quotations of diplomas containing friendship vocabulary..... | 24 |
| Appendix C – Friendship in Anglo-Saxon Wills..... | 37 |
| Quotations of wills containing friendship vocabulary..... | 42 |

LIST OF TABLES VOLUME 2

| | |
|--|----|
| Table 1: Occurences of friendship vocabulary in the lawcodes | 1 |
| Table 2: Royal diplomas containing friendship vocabulary (924-1016)..... | 20 |
| Table 3: Friendship vocabulary in proems and indication of type..... | 22 |
| Table 4: Friendship vocabulary in other parts of diplomas than proems..... | 23 |
| Table 5: Dating and distribution complete corpus of wills..... | 37 |
| Table 6: Occurrences of friendship vocabulary in wills..... | 41 |

Table 1: Occurrences of friendship vocabulary in the lawcodes

| | Issued in name of | Short reference (based on Liebermann) | Dating and specific information regarding the code | Keywords and themes for discussion |
|----|-------------------|---------------------------------------|--|--|
| 1 | Æthelberht | Abt 65.1 | 602/603? | Compensation; mediation |
| 2 | Alfred | Af 1.2 | c. 885-899 | Oath; pledge; use <i>freond</i> and <i>mæg</i> |
| 3 | Alfred | Af 42.1 | c. 885-899 | Informing <i>friondum</i> and <i>mægum</i> |
| 4 | Alfred | Af 42.4 | c. 885-899 | Use <i>freond</i> and <i>hlaford</i> |
| 5 | Edward | II Ew 3 | 900-925 | Surety; Use <i>frynd</i> and <i>hlaford</i> |
| 6 | Edward | II Ew 5.1 | 900-925 | Friendship and society |
| 7 | Æthelstan | I As Prologue | 925-939 | Royal friendship; reeve; protection; benevolence |
| 8 | Æthelstan | II As 20 | 925-939 | The king's friends; subjects/associates; interdependency |
| 9 | Æthelstan | II As 25 | 925-939 | Friendship and society |
| 10 | Æthelstan | VI As 7 | 925-939 = London Ordinance (not royal) | Royal friendship; reeve; mutually beneficial relationship |
| 11 | Æthelstan | VI As 11 | 925-939 = London Ordinance (not royal) | Binary social system: use <i>freondscype</i> and <i>feondscype</i> |

Table 1: Occurrences of friendship vocabulary in the lawcodes

| | Issued in name of | Short reference (based on Liebermann) | Dating and specific information regarding the code | Keywords and themes for discussion |
|----|-------------------|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| 12 | Edmund | II Em 1 | 939-946 | use <i>freond</i> and <i>mægð</i> |
| 13 | Edmund | II Em 1.3 | 939-946 | The king's friends; subjects/associates; Interdependency |
| 14 | Edmund | III Em 2 | 939-946 "At Colyton" | The king's friends; contrast <i>amici</i> and <i>inimicitia</i> |
| 15 | Edgar | IV Eg 1.5 | 957/959-975 "At Wihthordesstan" | Royal friendship; reeve |
| 16 | Æthelred II | II Atr 9.2 | 994-c. 1000 = Appendix to Peace Treaty with the Danes of 991/994 | Surety |
| 17 | Æthelred II | II Atr 9.3 | 994-c. 1000 = Appendix to Peace Treaty with the Danes of 991/994 | Surety |
| 18 | Æthelred II | IV Atr 4.2 | c. 991-1002? =Motley | Town's friendship; official administrative authority; support; benevolence |
| 19 | Æthelred II | V Atr 1.1 | 1008 = Wulfstania Code | <i>frið</i> 7 <i>freondscype</i> ; secular dimension see VI Atr 1: <i>sibbe</i> 7 <i>some</i> |
| 20 | Æthelred II | V Atr 31.1 | 1008? = Wulfstania Code | Authority of the king; clashing interests family and king; wergild |

Table 1: Occurrences of friendship vocabulary in the lawcodes

| | Issued in name of | Short reference (based on Liebermann) | Dating and specific information regarding the code | Keywords and themes for discussion |
|----|-------------------|---------------------------------------|--|--|
| 21 | Æthelred II | VI Atr 6 | c. 1008-1018? “At Enham” = Wulfstania Code Related to V Atr | Reference to religious?; actively constructed bond |
| 22 | Æthelred II | VI Atr 8 | c. 1008-1018? “At Enham” = Wulfstania Code Related to V Atr | <i>frið 7 freondscipe</i> ; secular dimension |
| 23 | Æthelred II | VI Atr 28 | c. 1008-1018? “At Enham” = Wulfstania Code Related to V Atr | The king’s friends; subjects/associates; interdependency <i>see</i> V Atr 22-23 |
| 24 | Æthelred II | VI Atr 42 | c. 1008-1018? “At Enham” = Wulfstania Code Related to V Atr | Double reference to religious and secular men?; mutual reciprocity |
| 25 | Æthelred II | VIII Atr 22 | 1014 = Wulfstania Code | <i>Freondleasne</i> ; protection provided by lord and relatives |
| 26 | Æthelred II | VIII Atr 27 | 1014 = Wulfstania Code | Support: priests at demarcation line in society |
| 27 | Æthelred II | VIII Atr 44 | 1014 = Wulfstania Code | Friends standing together; national unity |
| 28 | Æthelred II | X Atr 2.1 | c. 1009-1016? = Wulfstania Code Related to V Atr? | <i>frið 7 freondscipe</i> ; secular dimension <i>see</i> V Atr. 1.1 |
| 29 | Æthelred II | EGu Prologue | 1002-1009? = Wulfstania Code | <i>frið 7 freondscipe</i> ; secular dimension; active bonding |

Quotations of laws containing friendship vocabulary

Notes on citation, translation and presentation

Quotations have been taken from the oldest available copy, as provided by Liebermann, unless otherwise stated.

The Anglo-Saxon lawcodes are famously difficult to translate, as often the ordinances are in need of some interpretation to make sense of the provisions. The lawcodes have been translated by Liebermann, Attenborough, Robertson, and partly by Whitelock and my debt to all has been reflected in my inclusion of all these works in the bibliography. However, these translations are very much embedded in old-fashioned debates of the interpretation of these codes, notably with respect to the ‘feud’, and additionally, often try to introduce a recognisable and modern, legal vocabulary.

As debates over the interpretation of these codes have changed, and as this thesis does not try to embed these codes in an unbroken, legal tradition, new working translations have been provided in the following. These translations are my own, but are indebted to the efforts of above-mentioned translators and may occasionally overlap. I have tried to stay as close to the text as possible, yet where needed, interpretations have been added in square brackets to help the reader understand the meaning of the provisions. *Freond/amicus* and *freondscipe/amicitia* have consistently been translated with ‘friend’ and ‘friendship’ as this appendix is not the place to discuss the interpretation of these concepts.

The codes have been divided into a pre-Wulfstanian, and a Wulfstanian section. The interrelated codes of Wulfstan have been clustered, rather than presented in Liebermann’s sequential progression.

I. PRE-WULFSTANIAN CODES

Æthelberht [Abt 65], *Gesetze*, I, p. 7.

65 ‘Gif þeoh gebrocen weorðeþ, XII scillingum gebete.

65.1 Gif he healt weorð, **þær motan freond seman.**’

65 If a thigh is broken, 12 shillings shall be paid as compensation.

65.1 If he becomes lame, **friends may meet to settle the matter.**

Alfred [Af 1], *Gesetze*, I, pp. 46-48.

1 ‘Æt ærestan we lærað, þæt mæst ðærf is, þæt æghwelc mon his að
7 his wed wærlice healde.

1.1 Gif hwa to hwæðrum þissa genied sie on woh, oððe to
hlafordsearwe oððe to ængum unryhtum fultume, þæt is þonne
ryhtre to aleoganne þonne to gelæstanne.’

- 1.2 ‘Gif he þonne þæs weddige þe him riht sie to gelæstanne 7 þæt aleoge, **selle mid eaðmedum his wæpn 7 his æhta his freondum to gehealdanne** 7 beo feowertig nihta on carcerne on cyninges tune, ðrowige ðær swa biscep him scrife, **7 his mægas hine feden**, gif he self mete næbbe.
- 1.3 Gif he mægas næbbe oððe þone mete næbbe, fede cyninges gerefa hine.
- 1.4 Gif hine mon togedan scyle, 7 he elles nylle, gif hine mon gebinde, þolige his wæpna 7 his ierfes.
- 1.5 Gif hine mon ofslea, licgge he orgilde.
- 1.6 Gif he ut oðfleo ær þam fierste, 7 hine mon gefo, sie he feowertig nihta on carcerne, swa he ær sceolde.
- 1.7 Gif he losige, sie he afliesend 7 sie amænsumod of eallum Cristes ciricum.
- 1.8 Gif þær ðonne oþer mennisc borg sie, bete þone borgbryce swa him ryht wisie, 7 ðone wedbryce swa him his scrift scrife.’

- 1 In the first place we enjoin you, just as it is most needed, that every man shall abide carefully by his oath and pledge.
- 1.1 If anyone is wrongfully constrained to promise either of these: to betray his lord or to render aid in an unlawful undertaking, then it is better to be false [to the promise] than to perform it.
- 1.2 If, however, he pledges himself to something which it is lawful to carry out and proves false to his pledge, **he shall humbly give his weapons and possessions to his friends to be kept**, and remain 40 days in prison at a royal manor, and undergo there whatever [sentence] the bishop prescribes for him; **and his relatives shall feed him** if he himself has no food.
- 1.3 If he has no relatives, or [if he] has no food, the king’s reeve shall feed him.
- 1.4 If he will not submit unless force is used against him, [*i.e.*] if he has to be bound, he shall forfeit his weapons and his property.
- 1.5 If he is slain, no wergild shall be paid for him.
- 1.6 If he runs away before the term [of imprisonment is completed] and is recaptured, he shall remain in prison 40 days, as he ought to have done at first.
- 1.7 If he escapes, he shall be banished, and excommunicated from all the churches of Christ.
- 1.8 If, however, other men stand surety for him, he shall pay the compensation [due to them], as the law directs him, and the compensation for breach of pledge, just as his confessor prescribes for him.

Alfred [Af 42], *Gesetze*, I, pp. 74-76.

- 42 ‘Eac we beodað: se mon se ðe his gefan hamsittendne wite, þæt he ne feohte, ær ðam he him ryhtes bidde.
- 42.1 Gif he mægnæs hæbbe, þæt he his gefan beride 7 inne besitte, gehealde hine VII niht inne 7 hine on ne feohte, gif he inne

- geðolian wille; 7 þonne ymb VII niht, gif he wille on hand gan 7 wæpenu sellan, gehealde hine XXX nihta gesundne **7 hine his mægum gebodie 7 his friondum.**
- 42.2 Gif he ðonne cirican geierne, sie ðonne be ðære cirican are, swa we ær bufan cwædon.
- 42.3 Gif he ðonne þæs mægenes ne hæbbe, þæt he hine inne besitte, ride to þam ealdormen, bidde hine fultumes; gif he him fultuman ne wille, ride to cyninge, ær he feohte.
- 42.4 Eac swelce, gif mon becume on his gefan, 7 he hine ær hamfæstne ne wite, gif he wille his wæpen sellan, hine mon gehealde XXX nihta **7 hine his freondum gecyðe**; gif he ne wille his wæpenu sellan, þonne mot he feohtan on hine. Gif he wille on hond gan 7 his wæpenu sellan, 7 hwa ofer ðæt on him feohte, gielde swa wer swa wunde swa he gewyrce, 7 wite 7 hæbbe **his mæg forworht.**
- 42.5 Eac we cweðað, **þæt mon mote mid his hlaforde feohtan orwige**, gif mon on ðone hlaford fiohte; swa mot se hlaford mid þy men feohtan.
- 42.6 Æfter þære ilcan wisan mon **mot feohtan mid his geborene mæge**, gif hine mon on woh onfeohteð, buton wið his hlaforde: þæt we ne liefað.
- 42.7 7 mon mot feohtan orwige, gif he gemeteð oþerne æt his æwum wife, betynedum durum oððe under anre reon, oððe æt his dehter æwumborenre (oððe æt his swistærborenre) oððe æt his medder ðe wære to æwum wife forgifen his fæder.’
- 42 Also we enjoin, that a man who knows his adversary to be residing at home, shall not have recourse to violence before demanding justice of him.
- 42.1 If he has the power to surround his adversary and besiege him, he shall keep him therein seven days without starting a fight against him if he [his adversary] will [consent to] remain inside [his residence]. And if, after seven days, he will submit and hand over his weapons, he shall keep him unscathed for thirty days, **and send formal notice of his position to his kinsmen and friends.**
- 42.2 If, however, he flees to a church, the privileges of the church shall be respected, as we have declared above.
- 42.3 If, however, he has not power enough to besiege him in his house, he shall ride to the ealdorman ask him for help. If he will not help him, he shall ride to the king before having recourse to violence.
- 42.4 And further, if anyone chances on his enemy, not having known him to be at home, and if he will give up his weapons, he shall be detained for thirty days, **and his friends shall be informed** [of his position]. If he is not willing to give up his weapons, then violence may be used against him. If he is willing to surrender and hand over his weapons, and anyone after that uses violence against him [the pursuer], he shall pay the sum which he incurs, whether wergild or compensation for wounds, as well as a fine, and his kinsman shall forfeit his claim to protection as a result of his action.

- 42.5 We further declare **that a man may fight on behalf of his lord**, if his lord is attacked. Under similar conditions a lord may fight on behalf of his man.
- 42.6 In the same way a man may fight **on behalf of his kinsman who is related to him by blood**, if he is attacked unjustly, except it be against his lord. This we do not permit.
- 42.7 A man may recourse to fight, if he finds another [man] with his wedded wife, within closed doors or under the same blanket; or [if he finds another man] with his legitimate daughter (or sister); or with his mother, if she has been given in lawful wedlock to his father.

Edward [II Ew 3], *Gesetze*, I, p. 142.

- 3 ‘Gif hwa ðifþe betogen sy, þonne niman hine on borh **ða þe hine hlaforde befæston, þæt he hine þæs getrywsige; oððe opere frynd**, gif he hæbbe, don þæt sylfe.
- 3.1 Gif he nyte, hwa hine on borh nime, þonne niman þa ðe hit togebyreð on his æhtan inborh.
- 3.2 Gif he naðor næbbe ne æhta ne oðerne borh, ðonne healde hine man to dome.’
3. If anyone is accused of theft, **those who have entrusted him to the lord shall stand surety for him, so that he shall clear himself from the accusation; or if he has any other friends**, they may do the same thing.
- 3.1 If he knows no one who will stand surety for him, those to whom it appertains may take security from his property.
- 3.2 If he has neither property nor any other [means of providing] security, then he shall be kept for trial.

Edward [II Ew 5], *Gesetze*, I, pp. 142-144.

- 5 ‘Gif hwa ðis oferhebbe 7 his að 7 his wæd brece, ðe eal ðeod geseald hæfð, bete swa domboc tæce.
- 5.1 Gif he ðonne nelle, **ðolige ure ealra freonscipes*** 7 ealles ðæs ðe he age.
- 5.2 Gif hine hwa feormige syððan, bete swa seo domboc sæcge, 7 se scyle ðe flyman feormige, gif hit sy herinne; gif hit sy east inne, gif hit sy norð inne, bete be ðam þe þa friðgehritu sæcgan.’
- 5 If anyone neglects this and breaks his oath and his pledge, which the whole populace has given, he shall make amends as the written laws direct.
- 5.1 If, however, he is not willing to do so, **he shall forfeit the friendship of all of us**, and all that he possesses.
- 5.2 If anyone subsequently harbours him, he shall make amends such as the written laws declare of him who harbours a fugitive, if it [the

offence] is committed herein [in this region, *i.e.* the area south of the Humber]; if it is committed in the eastern or northern regions [*i.e.* the Danelaw], amends will be made in accordance with the provisions of the treaties.

* MS B reads *freodscipe*; Liebermann suggest a reading as *freondscipe* for both occurrences, see notes p. 144

Æthelstan [I As Prologue], *Gesetze*, I, p. 146.

N.B. Liebermann's G is quoted over D; despite D being slightly older, G reflects an older phonology and orthography, and offers various superior readings, see Liebermann, Band III: Einleitung zu jedem Stück: Erklärungen zu einzelnen Stellen (1916), pp. 96-97.

‘Ic Æthelstan cyng, mid geþehte Wulfhelmes [mines] arcebiscopes 7 eac minra oþerra biscopa, cyþe þam gerefan to gehwylcere byrig 7 eow bidde on Godes naman 7 on ealra his haligra **7 eac be minum freondscipe beode**, þæt ge ærest of minum agenum gode agyfan þa teoþunga, ægþer ge on cwicum ceape ge on þæs geares eorðwæstmum, swa man rihtast mæge oððe gemetan oððe getellan oððe awegan; 7 þa biscopas þonne þæt ylce don on heora agenum gode, 7 mine ealdormen 7 mine gerefan þæt sylfe.’

I, King Æthelstan, with the advice of my Archbishop, Wulfhelm, and my other bishops also, inform the reeve in every borough, and pray you in the name of God and of all His saints, **and command also by my friendship**, that you render, in the first place, tithes of my own property, both in livestock and in the yearly fruits of the earth, either measuring, counting, or weighing just as one may do most accurately. And the bishops shall do the same with their own property, and my ealdormen and reeves likewise.

Æthelstan [II As 20], *Gesetze*, I, pp. 160-162.

- 20 ‘Gif hwa gemot forsitte þriwa, gilde ðæs cynges oferhyrnesse; 7 hit beo seofon nihtum ær geboden, ær ðæt gemot sy.
- 20.1 Gif he þonne ryht wyrcan nylle ne þa oferhyrnesse syllan, þonne ridan þa yldestan men to, ealle þe to þære byrig hiron, 7 nimon eall ðæt he age 7 setton hine on borh.
- 20.2 Gif hwa þonne nylle ridan **mid his geferan**, gilde cynges oferhyrnesse.
- 20.3 Ond beode mon on þam gemote, ðæt mon eal friþige, þæt se cyng friþian wille; 7 forga þyfðe be his feore 7 be eallum þam þe he age.
- 20.4 7 se þe be <ðissum> geswincan nylle, ðonne ridon þa yldestan men to, ealle þe to þære byrig hyron, 7 nimon eall ðæt he age —7 fo se cyng to healfum, to healfum ða men ðe on þære rade beon— 7 setton hine on borh.
- 20.5 gif he nite, hwa hine aborgie, hæfton hine.

- 20.6 Gif he nylle hit geþafian, leton hine licgan, buton he oþwinde.
- 20.7 Gif hwa hine wrecan wille oððe hine <heora ænigne fælæce>, **þonne beo he fah wið ðone cyng 7 wið ealle his freond.**
- 20.8 Gif he ætwinde, 7 hine hwa feormige, sy he his weres scyldig, buton he hineladian durre be þæs flyman were, þæt he hine flyman nyste.’
- 20 And if anyone fails to attend an assembly three times, he shall pay [the fine] for insubordination to the king; and it will be announced seven nights in advance, when the meeting will be held.
- 20.1 If, however, he will not comply with this rule and will not pay the fine for insubordination, then the chief men who all belong to the borough shall ride [to his house] and take all that he owns, and place him under surety.
- 20.2 If anyone refuses to ride [on such a mission] **with his companions**, he shall pay [the fine] for insubordination to the king.
- 20.3 And it shall be proclaimed in the assembly, that one will protect everything which the king wishes to be protected, and forego theft by his life and by all they possess.
- 20.4 And if even then, he <this one> will not desist, all the chief men who belong to the borough shall ride there and take all he possesses —and the king shall receive half, and the men who were there on the ride [shall receive] the other half— and they shall place him under surety.
- 20.5 And if he knows no one who will act as surety for him, they shall arrest him.
- 20.6 And if he is not willing to consent thereto, they have permission to put him to death, unless he escapes.
- 20.7 And if anyone tries to avenge him, or will resort to violence against against any of them [who slew him], **then he will be at enmity with the king and all his friends.**
- 20.8 If he escapes and anyone harbours him, he [who does so] shall forfeit his wergild unless he taunt to clear himself by the fugitive’s wergild, that he did not know him to be a fugitive.

Æthelstan [II As 25], *Gesetze*, I, p. 164.

- 25 ‘Gif minra gerefena hwylc (þonne) þis don nylle 7 læs ymbe beo þonne we gecweden habbað, þonne gylde he mine oferhyrnesse; 7 ic finde oþere ðe wile.
- 25.1 Ond se biscop amonige þa oferhyrnesse æt þam grefan, þe hit on his folgoþe sy.
- 25.2 Se ðe of ðissa gerædnesse ga, gilde æt frumcirre V pund, æt oþrum cirre his wer, æt þridan cirre **ðolige ealles þæs (þe) he age 7 ure ealra freondscipes.**’

- 25 If any of my reeves is not willing to carry this out, or is less inclined [to do so] than we have declared [that he should], then he shall pay the fine for insubordination to me, and I will find another [reeve] who will be willing.
- 25.1 And let the bishop exact this [the fine] for insubordination from the reeve, to whom it may be within his office [namely, within his diocese].
- 25.2 He who infringe on these ordinances shall pay 5 *pund* on the first occasion; on the second occasion, his wergild; and on the third occasion **he shall lose all that he has and the friendship of all of us.**

Æthelstan [VI As 7], *Gesetze*, I, p. 177.

N.B. This is the London Ordinance in the name of the London *friðgegyldum*, and as such not a royal ordinance.

- 7 ‘Seofode, þæt we cwædon: dyde dæda se þe dyde, þ<e> ure ealra teonan wræce, þæt we wæron ealle **swa on anum freondscype swa on anum feondscype**, swa hwæðer hit þonne wære. 7 se þe þeof fylle beforan oðrum mannum, þæt he wære of ure ealra feo XII pæng [*read pæninga*] þe betera for þære dæda 7 þon anginne. 7 se þe ahte þæt yrfe þe we foregildað, ne forlæte he þa æscan be ure oferhrynese 7 þa mynegunge þar mid, oð þæt we to þam gilde cuman; 7 we þonne eac him his geswince gepancedon of urum gemænan feo, be þam þe seo fare wurðe wære, þy læs seo mynugung forlæge.’
- 7 Seventh, we have declared, whoever it be whose actions avenge wrongs done to all of us, we shall all stand together, **both in friendship and in enmity** whichever it may be [of the two]. And he who kills a thief before others, shall be rewarded for his action and initiative by twelve *pæninga* [taken] from our wealth. And he who has cattle for which we pay, will not forsake the search and the fulfilment [of our grievance] for disobedience to us, until we have obtained payment; and then we shall reward him also from our common wealth for his trouble, just as much as his journey incurred, lest the fulfilment be neglected.

Æthelstan [VI As 11], *Gesetze*, I, p. 182.

N.B. This is the London Ordinance in the name of the London *friðgegyldum*, and as such not a royal ordinance.

- 11 ‘Endlyfte, þæt Æþelstan <cyng> beot his bisceopum 7 his ealdormannum 7 his gerefum eallum ofer ealne minne anweald, þæt ge þone frið swa healdan swa ic hine gerædd habbe 7 mine

witan. Gif eower hwilc forgymeleasað 7 me hyran nelle 7 þæt wedd æt his hyremannum niman nelle 7 he gefafað þa dyrnan gepingo 7 emban þa steoran swa beon nelle, swa ic beboden hæbbe, 7 on urum gewritum stent, þonne beo se gerefa **buton his folgoðe 7 buton minum freondscipe** 7 gesylle me CXX scell [*read scillinga*] 7 be healfum þam ælc minra þegna, þe gelandod sy 7 þa steore swa healdan nelle, swa ic beboden hæbbe.’

- 11 Eleventh, Æthelstan commands his bishops and his ealdormen, and all his reeves throughout his dominions; that you shall keep the peace just as I have decided with my councillors. If any of you is neglectful and unwilling to obey me, and will not exact from his followers [under his jurisdiction] the [above-mentioned] pledge; and if he permits secret gatherings, and is unwilling to attend to exercising our rules, in accordance with what I have commanded and set down in writing, it will be that the reeve **shall be deprived of his office and my friendship**, and he shall pay me 120 *scillinga*; and half this sum shall be paid by each of my thegns who is in possession of land, and is unwilling to attend to exercising our rule in accordance with my commands.

Edmund [II Em 1], *Gesetze*, I, pp. 186-188.

1. ‘Gif hwa heonanforð ænigne man ofslea, ðæt he wege sylf ða fæhþe, butan he hy **mid freonda fylste** binnan twelf monðum forgyldde be fullan were, sy swa boren swa he sy.
 - 1.1 **Gif hine þonne seo mægð forlete**, 7 him fore gyldan nellen, ðonne wille ic, ðæt eall seo mægð sy unfah, butan ðam handdædan, gif hy him syððan ne doð mete ne munde.
 - 1.2 Gif ðonne syððan hwilc **his maga hine feormige**, ðonne beo he scyldig ealles ðæs ðe he age wið þone cyning 7 wege ða fæhðe wið þa mægðe, forðam hi hine forsocan ær.
 - 1.3 Gif þonne of ðære oðre mægðe hwa wrace do on ænigum oðrum men butan on ðam rihthanddædan, **sy he gefah wið þone cyning 7 wið ealle his frind 7 ðolige ealles ðæs he age.**
- 1 If, henceforth anyone slay a man, he is himself to bear the violence, unless he can pay compensation at the full wergild within twelve months **with the aid of his friends**, whatever class he [the man slain] may belong to.
 - 1.1 **If, however, the kindred abandons him**, and is not willing to pay compensation for him, it is then my will that all his kindred is to be exempt from the violence, except the actual offender, if they give him neither food nor protection afterwards.
 - 1.2 If, however, **any one of his kinsmen harbours him** afterwards, he is to be liable to forfeit all that he owns to the king, and to bear the violence as is [due] from the kindred [of the man slain], because they previously abandoned him.

- 1.3 If, however, any one of the other kindred recurses to vengeance on any man other than the actual wrongdoer, **he is to incur the hostility of the king and all his friends, and to forfeit all that he owns.**

Edmund [III Em 2], *Gesetze*, I, p. 190.

- 2 ‘Uult etiam, ut ubi fur pro certo cognoscetur, twelfhindi et twihindi consocientur et exuperent eum uiuum uel mortuum, alterutrum quod poeterunt; et qui aliquem eorum infaidiabit qui in ea quaestione fuerint, **sit inimicus regis et omnium amicorum eius**; et si quis adire negauerit et coadiuuare nolit, emendet regi cxx s. – uel secundum hoc perneget quod nesciuit –et hundreto xxx s.’
- 2 Further, it is his will, that where a man is proved to be a thief, the twelvehundreds* and twohundreds* shall unite and seize him, alive or dead, whichever they can; and he, who will recourse to violence against any of those who have been concerned in that pursuit, **will become an enemy of the king and of all his friends**, and if anyone shall refuse to come forward and does not want to help, he shall pay 120 shillings to the king –or will [formally] deny knowlegde of this [*i.e.* the affair] accordingly, because he did not know– and 30 shillings to the hundred.

* indicates wergilds; so men of high wergild, and men of low wergild

Edgar [IV Eg 1.5-1.5a], *Gesetze*, I, p. 208.

N.B. The added clause 1.5a is suggested to be dating from Æthelred’s reign, and is closely associatated with Worcester traditions, see Liebermann, *Gesetze*, III, p. 140; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 317.

- 1.5 ‘Ðonne beode ic minum gerefan, **be minum freondscipe 7 be eallum þam þe hy agon**, þæt hy styran ælcum þara þe þis ne gelæste 7 minra witena wed abrecan mid ænegum wacscipe wille, swa swa him seo foresæde geradnes tæce; 7 on þære steore ne sy nan forgifnes.
- 1.5a Gif he swa earm bið, þæt he aðer deð oððe þa Godes wanað, his saula to forwyrde, oððe waccor mid modes graman hy behwyrfd þonne þæt he him to agenum teleð, ðonne him micele agenre is, þæt him æfre on ecnysse gelæst, gif he hit mid unnan 7 mid fulre blisse don wolde.
- 1.5 Further, I enjoin upon my reeves, **on pain of forfeiting my friendship and all they possess**, to correct anyone who neglect these things and who renounces the declaration of my councillors by any remissness on his part, just as foresaid ordinance set out for them; and there shall be no remission of the correction.

- 1.5a If he is so debased as either to curtail what is due to God, corrupting his soul, or, with angry heart, to attend to it less diligently than to what he accounts his own, [he ought to realise that] those things will be much more his own, what last for him to all eternity, if he would have been willing to grant it [*i.e.* collected church taxes] with full [intention? dedication?] and with benevolence .

Æthelred [II Atr 9], *Gesetze*, I, p. 226.

N.B. These clauses are not part of the peace agreement, but instead form an appendix to it, dating *c.* 950-1000, with strong Æthelredian overtones. For a discussion, see Liebermann, *Gesetze*, III, pp. 149, 154-155.

- 9 ‘Hwilon stod, þæt man sceolde ðrywa tyman, ðær hit ærest befangen wære, 7 syððan fylgean teame, swa hwær swa man to cende. Ða geræddan witan, þæt hit betere wære, þæt man æure tymde, ðær hit ærest befangen wære, swa longe þæt man wiste, hwær hit ætstandan wolde, ðy læs ðe mon unmihtigne man to feor 7 to lange for his agenan swencte. Swunce mare se, ðe þæt unriht gestreon on his handa stode, 7 læsse se ðe ðær ariht onspræce.
- 9.1 Warige eac hine se ðe his hagen befoð: he to ælcan teame hæbbe getrywne borh 7 beorge, þæt he awoh ne befo, ðy les ðe hine mon swence, swa he oðerne man ðohte.
- 9.2 Gyf hwa to deadan tyme –buton he yruenoman hæbbe, ðe hit clænsie,– geswutelie mid gewitnyse, gif he mæge, þæt he riht cenne, se ðe hit tyme; 7 clænsnige hine sylfne mid ðam. Ðonne bið se deada besmiten, **buton he frind hæbbe, ðe hine mid rihte clænsnian**, swa he sylf scolde, gif he mehte oðð liues wære.
- 9.3 **Gif he ðonne ðære freonda hæfð, ðe þæt don durron**, ðonne berst se team, swa wel swa he liues wære 7 sylf andsæc worhte; stent ðonne ðeofscyldig se ðe hit on handa hæfð: forðam a bið andsæc swiðere ðonne onsagu.
- 9.4 Eac betweox teame, gif hwa tofehð 7 na furðor team ne cend, ac agnian wile, ne mæg mon ðæs wyrnan, gif getrywe gewitnes him to agenunge rymð: forðam agnung bið ner ðam ðe hæfð ðonne ðam ðe æftersprecð.’
- 9 Formerly it was ruled that one should vouch to warranty for the first three times at the place where it [*i.e.* the property] was first taken, and every subsequent time, at the place where the man would declare it [to be]. Then the authorities decided that it would be better that one would always vouch to warranty where it was first taken, just as long that one should know where it [*i.e.* the process] would end, lest a man of small means should be burdened by long and distant journeys in order to recover his property. The burden should rather be borne by him who holds property to which he is not entitled, than by him who is putting forward a just claim to it.

- 9.1 Likewise, he who attaches his goods shall see to it that he has trustworthy security in every case of vouching to warranty, and shall beware of attaching wrongly, lest the burden, which he had thought should be borne by the other man, should be laid upon him.
- 9.2 If anyone vouches a dead person to warranty –unless he has an heir who can clear it [*i.e.* the charge]- he who vouches him to warranty shall show by means of witnesses, if he can, that he is acting justly; and by means of them he shall clear himself. Then the dead man will be held guilty, **unless he has friends who will clear him according to the law**, as he himself would have been obliged to do, if he had been able or alive.
- 9.3 **If, however, he has friends** who are prepared to do so, the vouching to warranty shall fail as completely as if he had himself been alive and had proved his denial. Then he, in whose possession it [the property] is, will be held guilty of theft, because denial is always stronger than accusation.
- 9.4 Further, in the process of vouching to warranty, if anyone accepts and does not carry the process any further but desires to declare himself the owner [of the property], no-one can deny his claim, if trustworthy witnesses establish his ownership of the property, because in principle the actual possessor must be regarded as having more rights than the claimant.

Æthelred [IV Atr 4], *Gesetze*, I, p. 234.

- 4 ‘Et diximus: homo qui hamsocnam faciet intra portum sine licentia et summam infracturam aget de placito ungebendeo, uel qui aliquem innocentem affliget in uia regia, si iaceat, iaceat in ungildan ækere.
- 4.1 Si pugnet, antequam sibi rectum postulet, ac uiuat, emendet regis burhbrece quinque libris.
- 4.2 **Si curet amicitiam ipsius porti**, reddat nobis triginta sol. emendationis, si rex hoc concedat nobis.’
- 4 And we have decreed that a man who, within the town, makes forcible entry into another man’s house without permission and commits a breach of the peace of the worse kind, or he who assaults an innocent person on the king’s highway, if he is slain, shall lie in an unhonoured grave.
- 4.1 If he will recourse to violence, before demanding justice for himself, but stays alive thereby, he shall pay 5 pounds for breach of the king’s peace.
- 4.2 **If he values the friendship of the town itself**, he shall pay us 30 shillings as compensation, if the king will condone this to us.

II. WULFSTANIAN CODES

Edward and Gudrum’s Treaty [EGu Prologue], *Gesetze*, I, p. 128.

N.B. Dorothy Whitelock has dated this agreement to Æthelred’s reign, and Simon Keynes has suggested treating the settlement as Wulfstan’s first legal contribution to Æthelred’s law-giving tradition, dating the treaty to the period between 1002 and 1008; see, Whitelock, ‘Wulfstan and the So-Called Laws of Edward and Guthrum’, pp.17-18; Keynes, ‘An Abbot, An Archbishop and the Viking Raids of 1006-7 and 1009-12’, p. 177.

‘And þis is seo gerædnis eac, þe Ælfred cyng 7 Guðrum cyng 7 eft Eadward cyng (7 Guðrum cyng) gecuran 7 gecwædon, þa þa Engle 7 Dene **to friþe 7 to freondscipe fulllice fengon**; 7 þa witan eac, þe syððan wæron, oft 7 unseldan þæt seolfe geniwodon 7 mid gode gehihtan.’

This also is the proclamation which King Alfred and King Guthrum and afterwards King Edward (and King Guthrum) enacted and agreed upon, when the English and the Danes **unreservedly entered into peace and friendship**; the councilors likewise, who have been [in office] since then, often and frequently have repeated the same and have supported it with [further] improvement.

Æthelred [V Atr 1], *Gesetze*, I, pp. 236-238.

1 ‘Ðæt is þonne ærest, þæt we ealle ænne God lufian 7 weorðian 7 ænne Cristendom georne healdan 7 ælcne hæðendom mid ealle aweorpan; 7 þæt we habbað ealle ægþer ge mid worde ge mid wedde gefæstnod, þæt we under anum cynedome ænne Cristendom healdan willað.

1.1 7 ures hlafordes gerædnes 7 his witena is, þæt man rihte laga up arære 7 ælce unlaga georne afylle, 7 þæt man læte beon æghwylcne man rihtes wyrþe,

1.2 **7 þæt man frið 7 freondscype rihtlice healde** innan þysan earde for Gode 7 for worolde.’

1 This is the first [provision], that we all shall love and honour one God and zealously hold one Christian faith and entirely cast off every heathen practice; and we all have confirmed both with word and with pledge that we will hold one Christian faith under the rule of one king.

1.1 And it is the decree of our lord and his councilors that just practices be established and that all illegal practices be readily abolished, and let it be that every man is allowed the benefit of law;

- 1.2 **and that peace and friendship are to be rightly maintained** within this land in religious and secular matters.

Æthelred [V Atr 31], *Gesetze*, I, p. 244.

- 31 ‘7 gyf hwa forsteal oððon openne wipercwyde ongean lahriht Christes oððe cyninges ahwar gewyrce, gylde swa wer swa wite swa lahslite, aa be ðam þe seo dæd sy.
- 31.1 7 gyf he ongean riht þurh æhlyp geonbyrde & swa gewyrce, þæt hine man afylle, **licge ægyld eallan his freondan.**’
- 31 And if anyone commits obstruction or open resistance anywhere against the law of Christ or of the king, he is to pay either wergild or fine or *lahslit*, ever in proportion to the deed.
- 31.1 And if he against the law offers resistance with a transgression, and so brings it about that he is killed, **no wergild is paid to any of his friends.**

Æthelred [VI Atr 6], *Gesetze*, I, p. 248.

- 6 ‘7 la gyt **we willað biddan freonda gehwylcne** 7 eal folc eac læran georne, þæt hy inwerdre heortan ænne God lufian 7 ælcne hæpendom georne ascunian.’
- 6 And now behold, **we will beseech all our friends** and likewise earnestly enjoin upon the whole nation, to love one God from their inmost heart, and zealously shun all heathen practices.

Æthelred [VI Atr 8], *Gesetze*, I, p. 250.

- 8 ‘7 witena gerædnes is, þæt man rihte laga up arære for Gode 7 for worolde 7 ælghwilce unlaga georne afylle,
- 8.1 7 þæt man heonan forð læte manna gehwylcne, ge earmne ge eadigne, folcrihtes wyrðe,
- 8.2 **7 þæt man frið 7 freondscipe rihtlice healde** innan þysan earde for Gode and for weorolde.’
- 8 And the decree of the councillors is, that justice shall be promoted in religious and secular matters, and all injustice zealously overturned;
- 8.1 and that henceforth all men, both poor and prosperous, shall be allowed the benefit of the law;
- 8.2 **and that peace and friendship shall be rightly maintained** within this land in religious and secular matters.

Æthelred [VI Atr 28], *Gesetze*, I, p. 254.

- 28 ‘7 word 7 weorc freonda gehwile fadige mid rihte 7 að 7 wedd wærllice healde.
- 28.1 7 æghwile unriht aweorpe man georne of þysan earde, þæs þe man don mæge.
- 28.2 7 swicollice dæda 7 laðlice unlagas ascunige man swyðe, þæt is false gewihtas 7 woge gemetas 7 lease gewitnissa 7 fracodlice ficunga 7 fule forligras 7 egeslice manswara
- 28.3 7 deoflice dædas on morðweorcum 7 on manslihtan, on stalan 7 on strudungan, on gitsungan 7 on gifernessan, on ofermettan 7 on oferfyllan, on swiccraeftan 7 on mistlican lahbrican, on æwbrican 7 on hadbrican, on freolsbricon 7 on fæstenbricon, on cyricrenan 7 on mæniges cynnes misdædan.’
- 28 **And let each one of our friends guide his words and deeds correctly, and strictly observe his oath and pledge.**
- 28.1 And let him zealously cast out every injustice from this land, as far as it is possible to do so.
- 28.2 And let him strictly eschew deceitful deeds and hateful injustices, that is, false weights, and erroneous measures, and dishonest testimonies, and shameful deceits, and foul adulteries, and horrible perjuries,
- 28.3 and devilish deeds such as murders and manslaughters, thefts and robberies, covetousness and greed, arrogance and gluttony, deceptions and various breaches of the law, violations of marriage and of holy orders, breaches of festivals and of fasts, sacrilege, and misdeeds of many kinds.

Æthelred [VI Atr 42], *Gesetze*, I, pp. 256-258.

- 42 ‘Eac we [gyt] willað myngian [georne] freonda gehwilecne, ealswa us neod is gelome to donne, þæt gehwa hine sylfne georne bebence,
- 42.1 7 þæt he fram synnan georne gecyrre 7 oþrum mannum unrihtes styre.
- 42.2 7 þæt he oft 7 gelome hæbbe on gemynde, þæt mannum is mæst þearf oftost to gemunene, þæt is þæt hy rihtne geleafan anrædlice habban on þone soþan God, þe is wealdend 7 wyrhta ealra gesceafta. 7 þæt hy rihtne Christendom rihtlice healdan 7 þæt hy godcundan lareawan geornlice hyran 7 Godes larum 7 lagum geornlice fylgean.
- 42.3 7 þæt hy Godes cyrican æghwar georne griðian 7 friþian 7 mid leohte 7 lacum hi gelome gegretan, 7 hy sylfe þær georne to Christe gebiddan.’

- 42 And likewise we desire [earnestly] **to remind each one of our friends**, as there is need for us to do frequently, that each diligently thinks about this for themselves,
- 42.1 And that they eagerly will turn from sins and will restrain other men from wrong-doing, and that they will frequently and often have in mind what is of supreme importance for men to remember, that is, that they unanimously should have a right belief in the true God, who is the ruler and maker of all created things.
- 42.2 And that they should duly keep the true Christian faith, and diligently listen to their spiritual teachers, and zealously follow God’s laws and rules.
- 42.3 And that they should diligently protect and defend the churches of God everywhere, and frequently visit them with candles and offerings, and there themselves earnestly pray to Christ.

Æthelred [X Atr 2], *Gesetze*, I, p. 270.

- 2 ‘7 witena gerædnes is, þæt man rihte laga upp arære 7 ælce unlaga georne afylle, 7 þæt man læte beon æghwylcne man rihtes wyrðe.
- 2.1 **7 þæt man frið 7 freondscype rihtlice healde** for Gode 7 for worolde.’
- 2 And the decree of the councillors is, that justice be promoted and every injustice zealously suppressed, and that every man be allowed the benefit of the law.
- 2.1 **And that peace and friendship be duly** maintained in religious and secular matters.

Æthelred [VIII Atr 22], *Gesetze*, I, p. 266.

- 22 ‘Gif man **freondleasne** weofodþen mid tihltan belecge, þe adfultum næbbe, ga to corsnæde, 7 þar þonne æt gefare þæt þæt God wille, buton he on husle ladian mote.
- 22 If a **friendless** minister of the altar is accused with charges, and if he has no oath-helpers, he is to go to the *corsnæd* [=type of ordeal that involves swallowing the host], and then experience there next what God wishes, unless he is allowed to clear himself on the host.’

Æthelred [VIII Atr 27], *Gesetze*, I, p. 266.

- 27 ‘Gif mæssepreost ahwar stande on leasre gewitnesse oððe on mænan aðe oððe þeofa gewita 7 geweorhta beo, þonne sy he aworpen of gehadodra gemanan **7 þolige ægðer ge geferscipes ge freondscipes ge æghwilces wurðscipes**, buton he wið God 7 wið

men þe deoplicor gebete, fullice swa biscop him tæce, 7 him borh finde, þæt he þanan forð æfre swilces geswice.

27.1 And gif he ladian wille, geladige be dæde mæðe swa mid þryfealdre lade, be þam þe seo dæd sy.’

27 If a priest anywhere stands in false witness or perjury, or be the accessory and accomplice of thieves, he shall be cast out from the fellowship of those in holy orders, **and shall forfeit both their fellowship and their friendship and every kind of honour**, unless he will make thorough amends towards God and men, completely, as the bishop shall prescribe for him, and find surety that henceforth he will cease for ever from all such [wrong-doing].

27.1 And if he seeks to clear himself, he shall do is in proportion to the deed, just so with a threefold method of proof, in accordance with the nature of the deed.

Æthelstan [VIII Atr 44], *Gesetze*, I, p. 268.

44 ‘And uton rihtne Cristendom geornlice wurðian 7 ælcne hæðendom mid ealle oferhogian.

44.1 And uton ænne cynehlaford holdlice healdan; **7 freonda gehwile mid rihtan getriwðan oðerne lufige 7 healde mid rihte.**’

44 And let us zealously honour the true Christian faith and utterly despise heathen practices.

44.1 And let us loyally support one royal lord, **and let each of our friends love the other with true fidelity and support him duly.**

Dating and debate on authenticity is checked against the most recent information available on *The Electronic Sawyer: Online Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters*, <http://www.esawyer.org.uk/index.html>, and checked against the debates in recent literature.

Table 2: Royal diplomas containing friendship vocabulary (924-1016)¹

| | | King | Sawyer | Date | Archive | Authenticity |
|---|--------------|----------------------|--------|------------|--|---------------------|
| | 1 | Æthelstan | S 439 | 937 | Winchester, Old Minster | spurious |
| | 2 | Æthelstan | S 443 | 938 | Winchester, Old Minster | spurious |
| * | 3 | Edmund | S 467 | 940 | Winchester, Old Minster | authentic |
| * | 4 | Edmund | S 471 | 940 (?943) | Abingdon | authentic |
| | 5 | Edmund | S 478 | 941 | Shaftesbury | prob. authentic |
| * | 6 | Edmund | S 482 | 942 | Abingdon | authentic |
| * | 7 | Edmund | S 486 | 943 | Winchester, Old Minster | authentic |
| * | 8 | Edmund | S 487 | 943 | Winchester, Old Minster | authentic |
| * | 9 | Edmund | S 491 | 943 | Abingdon | authentic |
| * | 10 | Edmund | S 503 | 944 | Winchester, Old Minster | authentic |
| | 11 | Edmund | S 508 | 946 | Bath | authentic |
| * | 12 | Eadred | S 524 | 947 | Glastonbury | authentic |
| * | 13 | Eadred | S 527 | 947 | Wells | authentic |
| * | 14 | Eadwig | S 595 | 956 | Thorney | authentic |
| * | 15 | Eadwig | S 623 | 956 | Burton | debated |
| | 16 | Eadwig | S 633 | 956 | Worcester | Authentic |
| * | 17 | Eadwig | S 649 | 957 | Winchester, Old Minster | authentic |
| | 18 | Eadwig | S 652 | 958 | Athelney | authentic |

¹ Friendship references in the poem are starred. Spurious diplomas have been listed, but have been struck through, to allow some insight about the availability of spurious charters containing friendship vocabulary for this period.

Table 2: Royal diplomas containing friendship vocabulary (924-1016)

| | | King | Sawyer | Date | Archive | Authenticity |
|---|----|----------|--------|----------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| | 19 | Eadwig | S 660 | 959 | Winchester, New Minster | authentic |
| | 20 | Edgar | S 728 | 964 | Ghent, St Peter's | spurious |
| | 21 | Edgar | S 731 | 964 = 963 | Worcester | spurious |
| | 22 | Edgar | S 745 | 966 | Winchester, New Minster | authentic |
| | 23 | Edgar | S 761 | 968 | Abingdon | spurious |
| * | 24 | Edgar | S 789 | 972 | Wilton | authentic |
| | 25 | Edgar | S 798 | 974 (28 Dec.) | Ramsey | spurious |
| * | 26 | Edgar | S 820 | 973 x 974 | Winchester, Old Minster | spurious |
| * | 27 | Æthelred | S 849 | 983 | Winchester, Old Minster | authenticity uncertain |
| | 28 | Æthelred | S 857 | 985 | Winchester, Old Minster | authentic |
| | 29 | Æthelred | S 883 | 995 | Abingdon | prob. authentic |
| | 30 | Æthelred | S 894 | 998 | Westminster | spurious |
| | 31 | Æthelred | S 908 | c. 1000 | London, St Paul's | spurious |
| | 32 | Æthelred | S 933 | 1014 | Sherborne | prob. authentic |
| | 33 | Æthelred | S 937 | 990 x 1006 (?999) | Abingdon | prob. authentic |

Table 3: Friendship vocabulary in proems and indication of type

| | King | Sawyer | Type | Associated with specific agency (if known) | Date | Archive | Authenticity |
|----|----------|--------|------|--|------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 | Edmund | S 467 | I | ‘Edmund A’ | 940 | Winchester, Old Minster | authentic |
| 2 | Edmund | S 471 | II | | 940 (?943) | Abingdon | prob. authentic |
| 3 | Edmund | S 482 | II | | 942 | Abingdon | authentic |
| 4 | Edmund | S 486 | II | | 943 | Winchester, Old Minster | authentic |
| 5 | Edmund | S 487 | II | | 943 | Winchester, Old Minster | authentic |
| 6 | Edmund | S 491 | I | ‘Edmund A’ | 943 | Abingdon | authentic |
| 7 | Edmund | S 503 | II | | 944 | Winchester, Old Minster | authentic |
| 8 | Eadred | S 524 | II | ‘Edmund A’ | 947 | Glastonbury | authentic |
| 9 | Eadred | S 527 | II | ‘Æthelred C’ | 947 | Wells | authentic |
| 10 | Eadwig | S 595 | | | 956 | Thorney | authentic |
| 11 | Eadwig | S 623 | II | | 956 | Burton | debated |
| 12 | Eadwig | S 649 | I | | 957 | Winchester, Old Minster | authentic |
| 13 | Edgar | S 789 | I | ‘Edgar A’ | 972 | Wilton | authentic |
| 14 | Æthelred | S 849 | I | ‘Edgar A’ | 983 | Winchester, Old Minster | authenticity uncertain |

N.B. S 491 and S 487 share the same witness list

S 491 and S 482 present similar events

S 491, S 467, and S 471 have been associated based on linguistic evidence

Table 4: Friendship vocabulary in other parts of diplomas than proems

| | King | Sawyer | Part | Date | Archive | Authenticity |
|----|-------------|---------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| 1 | Edmund | S 478 | dispositive section | 941 | Shaftesbury | prob. authentic |
| 2 | Edmund | S 508 | dispositive section | 946 | Bath | authentic |
| 3 | Eadwig | S 633 | sanction | 956 | Worcester | authentic |
| 4 | Eadwig | S 652 | witness list | 958 | Athelney | authentic |
| 5 | Eadwig | S 660 | endorsed lease | 959 | Winchester, New Minster | authentic |
| 6 | Edgar | S 745 | dispositive section | 966 | Winchester, New Minster | authentic |
| 7 | Æthelred | S 857 | dispositive section | 985 | Winchester, Old Minster | authentic |
| 8 | Æthelred | S 883 | dispositive section | 995 | Abingdon | prob. authentic |
| 9 | Æthelred | S 933 | dispositive section | 1014 | Sherborne | debated |
| 10 | Æthelred | S 937 | dispositive section | 990x1006 | Abingdon | prob. authentic |

Quotations of diplomas containing friendship vocabulary

Information for each diploma is based on the information provided by the *Electronic Sawyer*. All charters are quoted, where available, from the new editions. Translations are my own, unless otherwise stated.

A. Friendship in proems

S 595

ECEE, 6, pp. 159-160.

A.D. 956. King Eadwig to Ælfwine, his faithful minister and miles; grant of 10 hides (mansae) at Yaxley and 5 at Farcet, Hunts. Archive: Thorney.

‘Regnante ac gubernante domino nostro Jhesu Christo. Memoria igitur hominum cito elabatur, ideo studendum est omnibus perseuerantibus et manentibus in hoc presenti seculo ut certis litterarum apicibus notentur **que deuotis mentibus notis ac fidelibus amicis ad corporee necessitatis iuuamina largiuntur.**’

Our Lord Jesus Christ will reign and rule in perpetuity. As memory of men swiftly elapses, therefore it is desired that they are recorded for those who persevere and remain in this present world through the durable letters of records, which are enlarged by devoted, acquainted minds and trustworthy friends towards the aid of corporal need.

‘Type I’

S 467

Kemble, 5, 1137, pp. 266-268.

A.D. 940. King Edmund to Eadric, minister; lease, for four lives, of 4 hides (mansae) at Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucs. Archive: Winchester, Old Minster.

‘In nomine altithroni qui omnia de summo cæli apice visibilia et invisibilia ordinabiliter gubernans atque moderans. presentisque vitæ curriculo cotidie temporalis gaze possessiones et universe diuitiarum facultates quas predecessorum anxia sollicitudo per indefessa laborum emolumenta lucratur; et incertis heredibus interdum optatis interdum alienis relinquuntur. Sic mutando fragilitas mortalis vite marcescit; et rotunda seculorum volubilitas inanescit; **ac in carorum propinquorum amicorumque amissione conqueritur ac lacrimatur.**’

In name of him, who is enthroned in heaven, directing and governing all visible and invisible events in orderly manners from the highest summit of heaven. And the anxious solicitude gains daily in the course of the present and temporal the possession of treasures and the universal faculties of riches life by the indefatigable benefits of labours; and they are left behind, sometimes to uncertain (unreliable?) heirs, sometimes to other hopeful outsiders. So frailty of a mortal life withers by changing

events; and the whirling of worldly affairs begins to become empty by rotating; and it laments and weeps over the loss of beloved relatives and friends.

S 491

Abingdon 1, 37, pp. 154-156.

A.D. 943. King Edmund to Eadric, minister; grant of 10 hides at Leckhampstead, and a mill on the river Lambourn, Berks. Archive: Abingdon.

‘In nomine Dei summi et altitroni qui omnia de summo celi apice uisibilia et inuisibilia ordinabiliter gubernans atque moderans, presentisque uite curriculo cotidie temporales possessiones et uniuerse diuitiarum facultates nostris humanis obtutibus cernimus deficientes et decrescentes. Sic mutando fragilitas mortalis uite marcescit et rotunda seculorum uolubilitas inanescit **ac in carorum propinquorum amicorumque amissione conqueritur ac defletur.**’

In name of God almighty who is enthroned in heaven, directing and governing all visible and invisible events in orderly manner from the highest summit of heaven, in the course of the present life we daily separate temporary possessions and the universal faculties of riches with our human contemplations as being faltering and decreasing; So the frailty of a mortal life withers by changing events; and the whirling of worldly affairs begins to become empty by rotating; and it laments and weeps over the loss of beloved relatives and friends.

S 649

Birch, vol. 3: *A.D. 948-975. Appendix* (London: Whiting, 1893), 1003, pp. 202-203.

A.D. 957. King Eadwig to Wulfstan, his faithful minister; grant of 9 hides at Conington, Hunts. Archive: Winchester, Old Minster.

‘Px Regnante in perpetuum domino nostro Jhesu Christo. Nunc mutando fragilitas mortalis vitæ marcescit et rotunda seculorum volubilitas inanescit. **Ac in carorum propinquorum amicorumque amissione conqueritur ac defletur.**’

Px Our Lord Jesus Christ will reign in perpetuity. Now the frailty of a mortal life withers by changing events; and the whirling of worldly affairs begins to become empty by rotating; and it laments and weeps over the loss of beloved relatives and friends.

S 789

Kemble, 3, 572, pp. 86-87.

A.D. 972. King Edgar to Wynstan, his cubicularius; grant of 4 hides . at Afene (? Little Durnford, cf. Avon Farm in Stratford-sub-Castle, Wilts. Archive: Wilton.

‘+ Nunc mutando fragilitas mortalis vite marcescit et rotunda seculorum volubilitas manescit. **ac in carorum propinquorum amicorumque amissione conqueritur ac defletur.**’

+ Now the frailty of a mortal life withers by changing events; and the whirling of worldly affairs begins to become empty by rotating; and it laments and weeps over the loss of beloved relatives and friends.

S 849

Kemble, 3, 640, pp. 232-233.

A.D. 983. King Æthelred to Æthelwold, bishop; grant of a fishery at Ginanhecce on the river Darent, Kent. Archive: Winchester, Old Minster.

‘Nunc mutando fragilitas mortalis uitae marcescit, et rotunda saeculorum uolubilitas inanescit, **ac in carorum propinquorum amicorumque amissione conquaeritur ac defletur.**’

Now the frailty of a mortal life withers by changing events; and the whirling of worldly affairs begins to become empty by rotating; and it laments and weeps over the loss of beloved relatives and friends..

‘Type II’**S 471**

Abingdon 1, 33, pp. 137-139.

A.D. 940 (943?). King Edmund to Ælfsige, minister; grant of 20 hides at Moredon in Rodbourne Cheney, Wilts. Archive: Abingdon.

‘In nomine Dei summi et altissimi Iesu Christi. Manifestum est cunctis quod omnia celestia et terrestria prouidentia Dei gubernantur, **que sollicitudo mortalis uite totis nisibus in carorum amicorumque amissione conqueritur ac defletur.** Ideo certis adstipulationibus mellita oracula diuine clamationis nos frequentatiuis orationibus suadet ut cum his fugitiuis et sine dubio transitoriis possessiunculis iugiter mansura regna Dei suffragio adipiscenda sunt.’

In the name of God Almighty and the most exalted Jesus Christ. It is manifest to the rest that all divine and earthly events are directed by the providence of God, in the face of which the solitude of a mortal life laments and weeps to all pressures for the loss of beloved ones and friends. Therefore the honeysweet prophecy of divine calling urges us

with certain affirmations to frequent prayers, so that they will continually arrive at the everlasting kingdoms of God for judgment with these fugitives and without doubt with their little transitory possessions.

S 482

Abingdon 1, 35, pp. 145-146.

A.D. 942. King Edmund to Sæthryth, a nun; grant of 11 hides at Winkfield [and at Swinley], Berks. Archive: Abingdon.

‘Regnante in perpetuum Domino nostro Iesu Christo. Manifestum est cunctis quod omnia celestia et terrestria prouidentia Dei gubernantur, **que sollicitudo mortalis uite totis nisibus in carorum amicorumque amissione conqueritur ac defletur**. Ideo certis adstipulationibus mellita oracula diuine clamationis nos frequentatiuis orationibus suadet ut cum his fugitiuis et sine dubio transitoriis possessiunculis iugiter mansura regna Dei suffragio adipiscenda sunt.’

Our Lord Jesus Christ will reign in perpetuity. It is manifest to the rest that all divine and earthly events are directed by the providence of God, in the face of which the solitude of a mortal life laments and weeps to all pressures for the loss of beloved ones and friends. Therefore the honeysweet prophecy of the divine calling urges us with certain affirmations to frequent prayers, so that they will continually arrive at the everlasting kingdoms of God for judgment with these fugitives and without doubt with their little transitory possessions.

S 486

Kemble, 5, 1146, pp. 285-287.

A.D. 943. King Edmund to Ælfsige, minister; grant of 20 hides at Moredon in Rodbourne Cheney, Wilts. Archive: Winchester, Old Minster.

‘In nomine Dei summi et altissimi Jhesu Christi. Manifestum est cunctis quod omnia celestia et terrestria prouidentia Dei gubernantur, **que sollicitudo mortalis uite totis nisibus in carorum amicorumque amissione conqueritur ac defletur**. Ideo certis adstipulationibus mellita oracula diuine clamationis nos frequentatiuis orationibus suadet. ut cum his fugitiuis et sine dubio transitoriis possessiunculis iugiter mansura regna Dei suffragio adipiscenda sunt.’

In the name of God Almighty and the most exalted Jesus Christ. It is manifest to the rest that all divine and earthly events are directed by the providence of God, in the face of which the solitude of a mortal life laments and weeps to all pressures for the loss of beloved ones and friends. Therefore the honeysweet prophecy of the divine calling urges us with certain affirmations to frequent prayers, so that they will continually arrive at the everlasting kingdoms of God for judgment with these fugitives and without doubt with their little transitory possessions.

S 487

Kemble, 5, 1145, pp. 282-285.

A.D. 943. King Edmund to Ælfswith, a religious woman; grant of 15 hides (mansae) at Burghclere, Hants. Archive: Winchester, Old Minster.

‘In nomine Dei summi et altissimi Jhesu Christi. Manifestum est cunctis quod omnia caelestia et terrestria providentia Dei gubernantur **quæ sollicitudo mortalis vitæ totis nisibus in carorum amicorumque amissione conqueritur ac defletur.** Ideo omnibus sapientibus indagandum est quod multiplici perturbatione diversis erumpnarum secularium subtilis cogitatio hominis ex memoria recedit dicta vel facta. nisi firmis litterarum apicibus et cautela custodie reserventur et ad memoriam frequentativis ammonitionibus revocentur. eo quod contingere solet manente negligentia nubiferis fuscationibus a recto possessoris jure in alienam progeniem declinaverit.’

In the name of God Almighty and the most exalted Jesus Christ. It is manifest to the rest that all divine and earthly events are directed by the providence of God, in the face of which the solitude of a mortal life laments and weeps to all pressures for the loss of beloved ones and friends. Therefore the honeysweet prophecy of the divine calling urges us with certain affirmations to frequent prayers, so that they will continually arrive at the everlasting kingdoms of God for judgment with these fugitives and without doubt with their little transitory possessions. Therefore it will be investigated by all wise men, because the fine meditation of man recedes from memory, (that is) words or deeds, by the complex commotion in diverse matters of distressful worldly events, lest they are spared by the durable letters of records and by a precaution for protection and (lest they) are recalled to commemoration by frequent reminders. For this reason, it happens to befall that as the result of remaining negligence, it (=memory) may modify the right claim of the possessor in favour of another family by the blackening of clouds.

S 503

Kemble, 5, 1145, pp. 290-292.

A.D. 944 King Edmund to Wulfric, minister: grant of 20 hides at Æscesbyrig (i.e. Woolstone, Berks.). Archive: Winchester, Old Minster.

‘In nomine Dei summi et altissimi Jhesu Christi. Manifestum est cunctis quod omnia celestia et terrestria providentia Dei gubernantur. **quæ sollicitudo mortalis vitæ totis nisibus in carorum amicorumque amissione conqueritur ac defletur.** Ideo certis adstipulationibus mellita oracula divinæ clamationis nos frequentativis ortationibus suadet. ut cum his fugitivis et sine dubio transitoriis possessiunculis jugiter mansura regna Dei suffragio adipiscenda sunt.’

In the name of God Almighty and the most exalted Jesus Christ. It is manifest to the rest that all divine and earthly events are directed by the providence of God, in the face of which the solitude of a mortal life

laments and weeps to all pressures for the loss of beloved ones and friends. Therefore the honeysweet prophecy of the divine calling urges us with certain affirmations to frequent prayers, so that they will continually arrive at the everlasting kingdoms of God for judgment with these fugitives and without doubt with their little transitory possessions.

S 524

Birch, vol 2: *A.D. 601-947, Appendix A.D. 601-947* (London: Whiting, 1887), 828, pp. 593-594.

A.D. 947. King Eadred to Eadric, his faithful comes; grant of 20 hides (mansae) at Ashdown Park in Ashbury, Berks. Archive: Glastonbury.

‘Carta Edredi Regis facta Edrico comiti suo de Aysshedoune. Regnante imperpetuo domino nostro Jhesu Christo manifestum est cunctis quod omnia celestia et terrestria providencia Dei gubernantur **que sollicitudo mortalis vite totis nisibus in carorum amicorumque amissione conqueritur ac defletur** ideo certis adstipulacionibus mellita oracula diem clamacionis nos frequentantivis ortacionibus suadet ut cum his fugitivis et sine dubio transitoriis possessiunculis iugiter mansura Regna Dei suffragio adipiscenda sunt.’

This charter is made by King Eadred king for Eadric, his ealdorman, regarding Ashdown. While our Lord Jesus Christ reigns in perpetuity, it is manifest to the rest that all divine and earthly events are directed by the providence of God, in the face of which the solitude of a mortal life laments and weeps to all pressures for the loss of beloved ones and friends. Therefore the honeysweet prophecy of divine calling urges us with certain affirmations to frequent prayers, so that they will continually arrive at the everlasting kingdoms of God for judgment with these fugitives and without doubt with their little transitory possessions.

S 527

Birch, 2, 821, pp. 586-588.

A.D. 947. King Eadred to Edmund, his faithful minister; grant of 3 hides (mansae) at Hankham, Sussex. Archive: Wells.

‘In nomine Dei summi et altissimi Jhesu Christi. Manifestum est cunctis quod omnia celestia et terrestria providencia Dei gubernantur **que sollicitudo mortalis vitæ totis nisibus in carorum amicorumque amissione conqueritur ac defletur**. Ideo certis adstipulacionibus mellita oracula divinæ clamacionis nos frequentivis ortacionibus suadet ut cum his fugitivis et sine dubio transitoriis possessiunculis jugiter mansura regna Dei suffragio adipiscenda sunt.’

In the name of God Almighty and the most exalted Jesus Christ. It is manifest to the rest that all divine and earthly events are directed by the providence of God, in the face of which the solitude of a mortal life laments and weeps to all pressures for the loss of beloved ones and

friends. Therefore the honeysweet prophecy of divine calling urges us with certain affirmations to frequent prayers, so that they will continually arrive at the everlasting kingdoms of God for judgment with these fugitives and without doubt with their little transitory possessions.

S 623

Burton, 14, pp. 22-23.

A.D. 956 (iii). King Eadwig to Eadwig, his faithful minister; grant of 8 hides at Braunston, Northants. Archive: Burton.

‘Regnante imperpetuum domino nostro Iesu Cristo Manifestum est cunctis quod omnia celestia et terrestria prouidentia Dei gubernantur. **que sollicitudo mortalis vite in carorum amicorumque amissione conqueritur ac defletur.**’

Our Lord Jesus Christ will reign in perpetuity. It is manifest to the rest that all divine and earthly events are directed by the providence of God, in the face of which the solitude of a mortal life laments and weeps to all pressures for the loss of beloved ones and friends.

B. Dispositive section

S 478

Shaftesbury, 12, pp. 47-50.

A.D. 941. King Edmund to Eadric, his vassallus; grant of 2 hides at Beechingstoke, Wilts. Archive: Shaftesbury

‘Ideo ego Admundus, ex regali progenie Deo annuente regenteque super Angligenas aliasque multas gentes in circuitu habitantes rex ordinatus, **amabili uassallo meo Adrico fidelique amico** duas terre mansas in perpetuam dono hereditatem, quatinus, temporalium rerum mobili presencia utens, fidelem obedienciam ac pacem laudabilem erga regni cepra nostri et regale nostrum solium eternabiliter impetret et benigniter seruet.’

Therefore, I, Edmund, from royal stock, designated and guided by God, ordained king over the Angles and many other peoples living in the surroundings, give to my beloved follower and loyal friend Eadric two hides in perpetual possession, using the changing presents of temporary affairs, for as long as he obtains his loyal obedience and the praiseworthy peace towards our royal sceptre and our royal throne and serves benignly.

S 508

Bath and Wells, 7, pp. 86-89.

A.D. 946. King Edmund to Æthelhere, his faithful minister; grant of 5 hides at Weston near Bath, Somerset, on condition that he and his heirs remain faithful to Edmund until the king's death and thereafter transfer their loyalty to a designated friend (*amicus*) of the king. Archive: Bath.

‘Quam ob rem ego Eadmundus, desiderio regni celestis exardens, fauente superno numine basyleos Anglorum multarumque gentium in circuitu persistentium, cuidam adoptiuo fideli meo ministro nomine Æpelere, ob illius amabile obsequium ei libenter largiendo quinque mansas ibidem ubi uulgares prisco more mobilique relatione uocitant æt Westtune, eatenus ut uita comite tam fidus mente quam subditus operibus mihi placabile obsequium prebeat. **Et meum post obitum cuicunque meorum amicorum uoluerō eadem fidelitate immobilis obediensque fiat.**’

For this reason, I, Edmund, burning with desire for the heavenly king, by the heavenly will ruler of the Angles and of many peoples which stand around, have given to my adopted and loyal thegn by the name of Æthelhere, for his loveable obedience five, at that place which the common people by ancient use and in changing reply call ‘at Westtune’ as long as he, loyal, during his committed life (life in office?) demonstrates to me a pleasing obedience, as much loyal in mind, as subordinate in deeds. And after my death, I would desire him to demonstrate to anyone of my friends that same steadfast loyalty, when it (my death) comes to happen, while he is being obedient.

S 745

Alexander R. Rumble, *Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester. Documents relating to the Topography of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman City and its Minsters*, Winchester Studies, 4.3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 4, pp. 82-83.

Translation by Alexander R. Rumble.

A.D. 966. King Edgar to New Minster, Winchester; refoundation and grant of privileges. Archive: Winchester, New Minster.

‘VIII. Hac itaque ratione Sancti Spiritus actatus flamine locum Domini mundans Wintaniensis ecclesiae noui monasterii arcisterium nostro saluatori eiusque genitrici semper uirgini Mariae et omnibus apostolis cum caeteris sanctis dicatum restauraui. Sciens scriptum. consentientes et facientes pari constringuntur pena. rebelliones omnipotentis uoluntati obuiantes possessionem Domini usurpare non sustinens clericos lasciuiantes repuli. ac ueros Dei cultores monachico gradu fungentes. qui pro nostris nostrorumque inibi quiescentium excessibus sedulo intercederent seruitio. quo eorum intercessionibus nostri regminis status uigeret munitus. abbatem Christo cooperante eligens altithrono subiectus illic deuote ordinaui. Hoc subnixē efflagitans depono. **ut**

quod in suis egi. hoc agat in mihi ab ipso conlatis. scilicet aduersarios nostros deiciens amicos sublimando prouehat. ut inimicos sancte Dei ecclesiae deprimens. amicos eius monachos uidelicet beatificans iustificauit. De illorum anathemate qui monachis insidiantur.’

‘For this reason therefore, having been touched by the spirit of the Holy Ghost, cleansing the Lord’s abode, I have re-established the monastery of the New Minster of the church of Winchester, dedicated to Our Saviour and His mother Mary, the Perpetual Virgin, and to all the Apostles, with other saints. Being acquainted with the writing, whose who consent to things and those who do them are equally fettered in punishment, not supporting rebels who oppose the will of the Almighty in usurping the Lord’s property, I have driven away the wanton clerks, and I, subject to the high-throned One, choosing an abbot with Christ’s help, have faithfully appointed thither true worshippers of God, observing the monkish decree [of humility], who might intercede for our sins, and for those of our people lying at rest there, by zealous service, [so that], fortified by their intercessions, the condition of our kingdom might thrive. Humbly requesting this, I beseech that what I have done for His people, He do for those collected together by Himself under me, namely that, in casting down our enemies, He should elevate our friends with advancement, just as I, suppressing the enemies of the Holy Church of God, have blessedly advanced His friends, namely the monks.’

S 857

Kemble, 3, no. 652, p. 218.

A.D. 985. King Æthelred to Alfred, his amicus; grant of 11 hides (mansae) at Michelmersh, Hants. Archive: Winchester, Old Minster.

‘Quamobrem ego Æðelredus rex Anglorum praenoscens quorsum praedicta tendant, scilicet ad diligendos homines bonis moribus adornatos, concedo cuidam **meo amico fideli nomine Ælferd** quandam telluris particulam, id est .xi. mansas in loco uulgari uocitamine æt Miclamersce, quatinus uita comite habeat ac perenniter possideat; cum autem interitum communem aduenire cognouerit, cuicunque sibi libuerit haeredi post se commendet in propriam haereditatem.’

In account of which, I, Æthelred, king of the English, foreknowing where foresaid things extended to, namely to esteemed men adorned with good morals, grant to one of my loyal friends by the name Alfred a particular piece of land, that is, eleven hides at the place which is by common name known as ‘at Miclamersce’, for as long as he has it for a committed life and may he possess it many years; when, moreover, he will have known to come to a common/public (as the result of his office?) death, it will be free to him to entrust it to any of his heirs in proper possession after him.

S 883

Abingdon 2, 125, pp. 483-486.

A.D. 995. King Æthelred to Æthelwig, his miles; grant of 5 hides at Ardley, Oxon., forfeited by three brothers. Archive: Abingdon.

‘Unde ego Aþelred gratia Dei Anglorum rex cunctis meis uolo notum adesse fidelibus, quod ego iure hereditario cuidam meo militi nomine Aþelwig quinque trado mansos in uilla que a notis uocatur Eardulfes lea, ut uita comite eos possideat **et postquam dies extremus eius clauserit oculos cuicumque amico uoluerit** in perpetuam derelinquat possessionem.’

From where, I, Æthelred by the grace of God king of the English wish it to appear known with all my loyal followers, that I give five hides at the estate which is known as ‘Eardulf’s lea’ in hereditary right to my thegn by the name Æthelwig, so that he may possess these lands for his committed life and in perpetual possession and after his last days will close his eyes, he may bequeath it to any of his friends he wishes.

S 933

Sherborne, 15, pp. 51-53.

A.D. 1014. King Æthelred to Sherborne Abbey; grant of 13 or 16 hides at Corscombe, Dorset. The estate had belonged to Sherborne in Edgar’s reign, been leased out for two lives and then sold to Ealdorman Eadric, and later bought back by Wulfgar, famulus of Sherborne. Archive: Sherborne.

‘quondam Alfwoldus episcopus rege EADGARO consentiente duorum hominum tempus de ipso monasterio accommodauit. sed sequens post illorum uite terminationem successor Æthelricus uocamine episcopus recte redintegrauit. necessitudineque postea cogente. ob malorum infestationes direptionesque Danorum duci Eadrico traditione perpetuali tribuit. Labentibus denique annorum curriculis; **quidam predicti monasterii famulus nomine Wlfgarus. fauente amicorum amminiculo.** multo auri argentique pretio. illam terram ab ipso comparauit Eadrico. atque pro anime sue remedio - supra memorato concessit cenobio.’

Once, Bishop Ælfwold had leased it (=13 or 16 hides at Corscombe) with King Edgar’s approval from the same monastery for the time of two men (‘s life). But afterwards, following the end of the life of the two men, his successor named Bishop Æthelric justly reclaimed it. Afterwards, compelled by necessity, as the result of infestations of bad men and the looting by Danes, he granted it to ealdorman Eadric in perpetual hold. And then the course of many years slipped by; until a certain attendant of foresaid monastery by the name Wulfgar bought this land from Eadric himself, supported by the favour of his friends, for a price of a lot of gold and silver, and he granted it to the monastery formerly recounted for the remedy of his soul.

S 937

Abingdon 2, 129, pp. 503-505.

A.D. 990 x 1006, perhaps 999. King Æthelred to St Mary's, Abingdon; grant of land at Farnborough and Wormleighton, Warwicks., and South Cerney, Gloucs. [seized by Ælfric, dux, from a widow, Eadflæd, forfeited by him and restored to Eadflæd, and bequeathed by Eadflæd to King Æthelred]; and at Pyrian (? Wood- or Waterperry, Oxon.) [given to King Æthelred by Æthelweard, son of Ceoflæd], in compensation for the loss of land at Hurstbourne, Hants., and at Bedwyn and Burbage, Wilts. [granted to Abingdon by King Edgar and confiscated by King Edward the Martyr].
Archive: Abingdon.

‘Tellurem uero ad Pyrian, quam etiam ad idem prefatum concedo monasterium, unam illarum constat esse terrarum quas Adelward Ceoflede filius mihi eternaliter possidendas **pro mea donauit amicitia**. Omni uulgo longe lateque satis est cognitum qualiter ipse et frater eius contra me rei extiterint, qualiterque ambo meam inimicitiam exigentibus suis reatibus incurrerint. Hec prefatarum descriptio terrarum facta est per admonitionem Ordulfi auunculi mei atque Apelmari consanguinitate mihi conglutinati et Wlfgeati ministri mei dilecti necnon et abbatis mei Wlfgari tota mihi deuotione benigni, qui me frequenti suggestione cum ceterorum fidelium commonuit suasionem quatinus Dei omnipotentis hereditatem ex aliqua parte innouare et augere curarem. Quod et feci propter Christi qui me in regno sublimauit amorem et eorum **qui me amica assiduitate** ad meam exhortantur necessariam et eternam salutem et propter humilem et benignam quam mihi prefatus abba fideliter et gratanter exhibere solet obedientiam.’

The land, namely at ‘Pyrian’, which I have parted with to the benefit of the same foresaid monastery, as it is well-known to be one of those lands which Æthelward, son of Ceoflæd, gave to me to be held perpetually for my friendship. It is fitting to know for all people far and wide what kind of case he and his brother raised against me, just as how they both incurred my enmity by their examined charges. This description of the mentioned lands was made at the admonition of my uncle Ordulf and of Æthelmær, who is bound to me by kinship, and by the thegn Wulfgeat beloved to me, and also by my abbot, Wulfgar, with complete devotion kind to me, who reminded me by frequent suggestion with the loyal followers of the others to the need to what extent I had to undertake this, (that is) to restore and to increase the inheritance of God Almighty from some part, just as I did. I have also done that on account of the love for Christ, who raised me to power, and on account of those who encourage me with friendly assiduity towards my necessity and eternal health; and on account of the humble and kind obedience which the aforementioned abbot is accustomed to present loyally and joyfully to me.

C. Sanction

S 633

Kemble, 2, 451, pp. 325-326.

A.D. 956 (Cirencester, Gloucs.). King Eadwig to Worcester minster, at the instance of Brihtnoth; grant of 5 hides (cassati) at Phepson in Himbleton, Worcs., with salt-furnaces. Archive: Worcester.

‘et primo anno regiæ dignitatis. Eadwi. quo scepra rexit regalia. Constat etiam hic codicellus magna auctoritate catholicorum sic titulatus. Beatus agonista totius Brittannie Eadwi en imperat obsecrando et obsecrat imperando per munus euangelicæ auctoritatis ut nullus fraudulenter hoc ejus donum audeat violare; ne penas luat mortis amaræ. **Sed unusquisque qui animæ suæ amicus et custos velit esse;** huic donationi sue studeat augmentando et servando prodesse; ut gaudiis civium cælestium valeat interesse.’

Also in the first year of the royal dignity, (In the name of) Eadwig, by whom the royal sceptre it managed. It is fit namely that this codicil with great authority of all universal things agrees him to be accordingly titled. Blessed warrior of all of England, Eadwig, behold, rules by beseeching and beseeches by ruling through the gift of evangelical authority so that no one may dare to fraudulently violate this gift by him; he may pay the penalty of a bitter death. However, anyone who desires to be a friend and guardian of his soul; let this one strive to be useful for his gift by augmenting and serving; so that he may succeed to partake in the joys of the heavenly citizens.

D. Witness list

S 652

ECW, 483, pp. 140-141.

A.D. 958 (for 959). King Eadwig to Ceolweard, minister; grant of 1 hide at Hamp, near Bridgewater, Somerset. Archive: Athelney.

Witness list

‘Ego Elfgar amicus regis intellexi.’

I, Ælfgar, friend of the king, have understood this matter.

E. Endorsed lease**S 660**

New Minster, 22, pp. 90-93.

A.D. 959. King Eadwig to New Minster, Winchester; grant of 10 hides at Bighton, Hants., with lease, for life, by the Minster to Ælfric, the king's minister, in return for 60 mancuses of gold. Archive: Winchester, New Minster.

‘Nos igitur supradicti sancti Petri monasterii cenobite cum regis consensu suorumque heroicorum necnon nostro communi consilio, hanc supradictam terram cuidam regis ministro uocitato nomine Aelfrico, **pro petitione amicorum suorum atque eius placabili munere** quod cum humili deuocione nobis largitus est, id est .lx. mancusas auri, diebus uite sue libenter concedimus eo tenore, ut cum dissolutionis sue dies aduenerit non cuiquam sue prosapie soboli derelinquat, sed sine aliquo obstaculo cum omnibus utensilibus, hominibus, ouibus pecoribusque, monasterio sancti Petri sicut supradictam est diligenter restituat.’

We of foresaid monastery of St Peter have thus freely granted this for the days of his life with the consent of the king and his heirs and also with the advice of our community, this foresaid land to a certain thegn of the king by the name Ælfric, according to the petition of his friends and for his pleasing gift, which with humble devotion is given to us, that is, sixty mancuses of gold, for this course (office?), so that when the day of his dissolution arrives it will not to be left behind for any of his family of offspring, but it will be returned, without any obstacle, with all that is useful, men, birds, and sheep, to the monastery of St Peter just diligently said above.

Table 5: Dating and distribution complete corpus of wills²

| | Donor | Sawyer | Date | Archive |
|-----------|--|---------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | Æthelnoth, reeve, and Gænborg | S 1500 | 805x832 | Canterbury, CC |
| 2 | Abba, reeve, and Heregyth | S 1482 | 833x839 | Canterbury, CC |
| 3 | Badanoth Beotting | S 1510 | 845x853 | Canterbury, CC |
| 4 | Dunn | S 1514 | c. 855 | Rochester |
| 5 | Cynethryth, widow of Æthelmod, ealdorman | S 1200 | 867x870 | Canterbury, CC |
| 6 | Alfred, ealdorman | S 1202 | 870x889 | Canterbury, CC |
| 7 | Alfred, ealdorman | S 1508 | 871x899 | Canterbury, CC |
| 8 | King Alfred | S 1507 | 873x888 | Winchester, NM |
| 9 | Ceolwin (=female) | S 1513 | c. 900 | Winchester, OM |
| 10 | Wulfgar | S 1533 | 931x939; prob. 933x939 | Winchester, OM |
| 11 | Alfred, thegn | S 1509 | 932x939 | Winchester, NM |
| 12 | Æthelwyrd | S 1506 | 941x958 | Canterbury, CC |
| 13 | Theodred, bishop of London | S 1526 | 942x c. 951 | Bury St Edmunds |
| 14 | Ælfgar (ealdorman of Essex) | S 1483 | 946x c. 951 | Bury St Edmunds |
| 15 | Æthelwold, ealdorman | S 1504 | 946x947 | Winchester, OM |

2

Information of dating and distribution has been taken from Tollerton, *Wills and Will-Making in Anglo-Saxon England*, Appendix 1, pp. 285-288. Dating and debates on authenticity are checked against the information available on *The Electronic Sawyer*. Wills with *freond* are highlighted, and also listed in Table B below; Wills which contain *leof* are printed in bold

Table 5: Dating and distribution complete corpus of wills

| | Donor | Sawyer | Date | Archive |
|----|---|---------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| 16 | Eadwulf, priest | S 1419 | 947x955 | Winchester, NM |
| 17 | Ælfsige, bishop (of Winchester) | S 1491 | 951 x 958 | Winchester, NM |
| 18 | King Eadred | S 1515 | 951x955 | Winchester, NM |
| 19 | Æthelgifu | S 1497 | 956x1002 | St Albans |
| 20 | Æthelgeard | S 1496 | 957x c. 958 | Winchester, NM |
| 21 | Ætheric (of Bocking) | S 1501 | c. 960x994 | Canterbury, CC |
| 22 | Æthelflæd (wife of king Edmund, daughter of ealdorman Ælfgar) | S 1494 | 962x991, prob. after 975 | Bury St Edmunds |
| 23 | Brihtric Grim | S 1512 | 964x980 | Winchester, OM |
| 24 | Ælfgifu (former wife King Eadwig? Sister ealdorman Æthelweard?) | S 1484 | 966x975 | Winchester, OM |
| 25 | Ælfheah, ealdorman (of Hampshire; brother to ealdorman Ælfhere of Mercia) | S 1485 | c. 968x971 | Winchester, OM |
| 26 | Ælfhelm (Polga) | S 1487 | 975x1016 | Westminster |
| 27 | Brihtric and Ælfswith | S 1511 | 975x987 (? 980x987) | Rochester |
| 28 | Æthelmær, ealdorman (of Hampshire) | S 1498 | 977x982 | Winchester, NM |
| 29 | Wulfwaru | S 1538 | 984x1016; prob. 984x1001 | Bath |
| 30 | Æthelwold | S 1505 | After 987 | Winchester, NM |

Table 5: Dating and distribution complete corpus of wills

| | Donor | Sawyer | Date | Archive |
|----|---|---------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| 31 | Ealdred, son of Lyfing | S 1455 | c. 990x1005 | Canterbury, StA |
| 32 | Leofwine, Wulfstan's son | S 1522 | 998 (15 April) | Westminster |
| 33 | Wulfgeat of Donington | S 1534 | c. 1000 | Worcester |
| 34 | Ælflæd (wife of ealdorman Brihtnoht, daughter of ealdorman Ælfgar, sister of Æthelflæd) | S 1486 | 1000x1002 | Bury St Edmunds |
| 35 | Wulfric (Spot) | S 1536 | 1002x1004 | Burton |
| 36 | Ælfric, archbishop (of Canterbury) | S 1488 | 1002x1005 | Abingdon |
| 37 | Ælfwold, bishop (of Crediton, c.988-1008x1012) | S 1492 | 1008x1012 | Exeter |
| 38 | Æthelstan ætheling (son of Æthelred II) | S 1503 | 1014 | Canterbury, CC |
| 39 | Wynflæd | S 1539 | ? c. 950 (s. x-xi) | ?Shaftesbury |
| 40 | Ordnoth and his wife | S 1524 | ? s. x | Winchester, OM |
| 41 | Æthelflæd | S 1495 | s. x/xi | London, St Paul's |
| 42 | Sifflæd | S 1525 | s. x2-s. xi | Bury St Edmunds |
| 43 | Sifflæd | S 1525a | s. x2-s. xi | Bury St Edmunds |
| 44 | Mantat the Anchorite | S 1523 | 1017x1035 | Thorney |
| 45 | Wulfsige | S 1537 | 1022x1034 | Bury St Edmunds |
| 46 | Ælfric, bishop | S 1489 | 1023x1038 | Bury St Edmunds |
| 47 | Eadsige | S 1465 | 1032 or 1035 | Canterbury, CC |
| 48 | Leofgifu | S 1521 | 1035x1044 | Bury St Edmunds |

Table 5: Dating and distribution complete corpus of wills

| | Donor | Sawyer | Date | Archive |
|----|-------------------------------------|--------|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| 49 | Thurstan | S 1530 | 1042x1043 | Canterbury, CC |
| 50 | Ælfric (Modercope) | S 1490 | prob. 1042x1043 | Bury St Edmunds |
| 51 | Wulfgyth | S 1535 | 1042x1053, poss. 1046 | Canterbury, CC |
| 52 | Æthelmær, brother of bishop Stigand | S 1468 | 1043x1044 | Bury St Edmunds |
| 53 | Thurstan | S 1531 | 1043x1045 | Bury St Edmunds |
| 54 | Ulf and Madselin | W 39 | 1043x1047 | Petersborough |
| 55 | Wulfgeat and his wife | S 1470 | 1043x1047 | Bury St Edmunds |
| 56 | Osulf and Leofrun | S 1608 | 1044x1052 | Bury St Edmunds |
| 57 | Care, Toki's son | S 1474 | 1045x1046 | Sherborne |
| 58 | Æthelmær, bishop (of Elmham) | S 1499 | 1047x1070 | Bury St Edmunds |
| 59 | Ketel | S 1519 | 1052x1066 | Bury St Edmunds |
| 60 | Brihtmær of Gracechurch | S 1234 | 1052x1070; poss.1054 | Canterbury, CC |
| 61 | Oswulf and his wife Æthelgyth | S 1235 | 1053x1066 | St Albans |
| 62 | Stigand | S 1224 | c. 1040 | Bury St Edmunds |
| 63 | Æthelric | S 1471 | c. 1045 | Canterbury, CC |
| 64 | Eadwine of Caddingon | S 1517 | c. 1050 | St Albans |
| 65 | Wulf (bishop Ulf of Dorchester?) | S 1532 | c. 1050 | St Albans |
| 66 | Thurketel (Heyng) | S 1528 | s. xi, prob. after 1020 | Bury St Edmunds |
| 67 | Thurketel (of Palgrave) | S 1527 | s. xi, prob. before 1038 | Bury St Edmunds |
| 68 | Edwin | S 1516 | s. xi med. | Bury St Edmunds |
| 69 | Thurkil and Æthelgyth | S 1529 | s. xi med. | Bury St Edmunds |

Table 6: Occurrences of friendship vocabulary in wills³

| | Donor | Position, Status, Office | Sawyer | Date | Archive |
|----|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 | Alfred | King | S 1507 | 873x888 | Winchester, NM |
| 2 | Cynethryth | Widow? | S 1200 | 867x870 | Canterbury, CC |
| 3 | Æthelwold | Ealdorman | S 1504 | 946x947 | Winchester, OM |
| 4 | Ælfsige | Bishop | S 1491 | 951x958 | Winchester, NM |
| 5 | Æthelgifu | Widow | S 1497 | 956x1002 | St Albans |
| 6 | Ælfheah | Ealdorman | S 1485 | c. 968x971 | Winchester, NM |
| 7 | Brihtric and Ælfswith | Couple | S 1511 | 975x987, prob. 980x987 | Rochester |
| 8 | Æthelmær | Ealdorman | S 1498 | 977x982 | Winchester, NM |
| 9 | Ealdred | Thegn? | S 1455 | c. 990x1005 | Canterbury, StA |
| 10 | Wulfgeat of Donington | Thegn? | S 1 534 | c.1000 | Worcester |
| 11 | Ælfflæd | Widow | S 1486 | 100x1002 | Bury St Edmunds |
| 12 | Wulfric Spot | Illustrious thegn | S 1536 | 1002x1004 | Burton |
| 13 | Ordnoth and wife | Couple | S 1524 | ? s. x | Winchester, OM |
| 14 | Wulfgyth | Widow | S 1535 | 1042x1053, poss. 1046 | Canterbury, CC |
| 15 | Æthelric | Thegn? | S 1471 | c. 1045 | Canterbury, CC |

³ Wills with occurrences of *freond*; wills with occurrences of both *freond* and *leaf* are printed in bold.

Quotations of wills containing friendship vocabulary

All quotations are taken from the most recent edition, if available, from the British Academy series. For convenience, Sawyer numbers have been provided. Translations are taken from the available translations by Dorothy Whitelock (*Wills*) A. J. Robertson (*Charters* (R)), and F. E. Harmer (*SEHD*). References to translations have been presented in brackets.

1. KING

King Alfred (S 1507)

New Minster, 1, pp. 3-7 (*SEHD*, 11, pp. 49-53).

A.D. 873 x 888. Will of King Alfred. Archive: Winchester, New Minster.

‘7 ic wylle þæt man agyfe þam hiwum æt Domrahamme hyra landbec
7 hyra freols swylce hand to ceosenne swylce him leofast sy, for me 7
for Ælflæde **7 for þa frynd þe heo foreþingode 7 ic foreþingie.**’

And I want that the community at Damerham will receive their
landbook and that they will freely choose a lord which is most dear to
them, for me and for Ælflæd **and for the friends for whom I
interceded and intercede.**

The vocabulary in this passage is very close to an earlier passage of the will in which Alfred made provisions for several religious houses:

‘Eac swa gedæle for me 7 for minne fæder **7 for þa frynd þe he
foreþingode. 7 ic foreþingie** twa hund punda fiftig mæssepreostum
ofer eall min rice, fiftig earmum Godes þeowum, fiftig earmum
þearfum, fiftig to þære cyrican þe ic æt reste.’

I also grant two hundred pounds for me and for my father and **for the
friends for whom he interceded and I intercede:** fifty mass-priests
throughout my kingdom, fifty for the poor servants of God, fifty for
the poor destitutes, fifty to the church in which I will lay.

2. BISHOP

Ælfsige, bishop of Winchester (S 1491)

New Minster, 18, pp. 84-86 (*Wills*, 4, pp. 16-17).

A.D. 955 x 958. Will of Ælfsige, bishop (of Winchester). Archive: Winchester, New Minster.

‘**Ponne bidde ic minnan leofan freond Ælfheah** þæt <þu> bewite ægþer ge þa land ge þa þe mine magas sien, 7 þ[æt] þu ne gefafige þæt man þis on ænig oþer wænde.’

Then I pray you, my dear friend Ælfheah, that [you] will watch both over the estates and over those who are my kinsmen, and that you will never permit anyone to alter this in any way.

3. FEMALE BENEFACTORS

Cynethryth (S 1200)

SEHD, 7, pp. 10-11 (p. 45).

A.D. 867 x 870. Agreement between Eadweald, son of Oshere, and Cynethryth, widow of Æthelmod, ealdorman. Archive: Canterbury, Christ Church.

‘Ðonne hebfað Eadwald 7 Cyne ðas wisan ðus fundene **mid hira friandum**. Gib Eadweald leng lifige ðonne Cyneðryð geselle et ðem londe et Cert .x. ðusenda Gif he gewite er ðonne hia his barna sue hwelc sue lifes sie agefe ðet feoh oniatee sue hit soelest sie forða hit begetan Nis Eðelmode enig meghond neor ðes cynnes ðanne Eadwald his modar his broðar dohtar Mest cyn ðet he ðet lond hebbe 7 his beorn yfter him 7 sue ateon sue him nytlicas<t> ðynce for ða ðe hit mid reohte begetan.’

Now Eadweald and Cynethryth have devised the following arrangements **with the help of their friends**; If Eadweald lives longer than Cynethryth, he is to give for the estate at Chart ten thousand. If he dies first, whichever of his children is alive is to pay the money and dispose of it as may be best for those who acquired it. There is not any relative of Æthelmod as near of kin as Eadweald, whose mother [was] his brother’s daughter. It is most proper that he should have the land, and his children after him, and so disposes of it as may seem most useful for those who have legally obtained it.

Æthelgifu (S 1497)

St Albans, 7, pp. 144-147 (pp. 148-151; as after *The Will of Æthelgifu: a tenth century Anglo-Saxon manuscript*, ed. and trans. by Dorothy Whitelock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968).

c. A.D. 990 x 1001. Will of Æthelgifu. Archive: St Albans.

‘+ Æþelgifu cyð hire cwide **hire cyne hlaforde 7 hire hlæfdian 7 hire freondon** hwæt hio gode wile don hwæt hire hlaforde **hwæt hire freondon** þæt is hyre hlaforde þam cynge .xxx. mancessa goldes.’

Æthelgifu declares her will **to her royal lord and to her lady and to her friends**, what she wishes to render to God, what to her lord and **what to her friends**.

Wulfgyth (S 1535)

Wills, 32, pp. 84-87.

A.D. 1042 x 1053, possibly 1046. Will of Wulfgyth. Archive: Canterbury, Christ Church.

‘And ic yan þet land at Stistede. **a Godes ywitness. and mine vrenden**. into Xp’es chereche. þa muneken. to vostre. on þan yrede þet Elfkitel. and Kytel mine bea’r’n. bruke þas londes. hyre dey.’

And I grant the estate at Stisted, **with the witness of God and my friends**, to Christchurch for the sustenance of the monks in the community, on condition that my sons Ælfketel and Ketel may have the use of the estate for their lifetime.

Ælflæd (S 1486)

Wills, 15, pp. 38-43.

A.D. 1000 x 1002. Will of Ælflæd. Archive: Bury St Edmunds.

‘7 ic gean Æðelm[æ]re æaldorman þes landes æt Lellinge ofer mine deg mid mete. 7 mid mannum. æalswa hit stent on þet gerad þæt he beo **on minum life min fulla freod. 7 forespreca**. 7 mira manna. 7 efter minum dege beo þara halgan stowe. **7 þeræ are ful freod. 7 forespeca æt Stocæ** þe mine ylðran on restap. 7 ic gean þes landes æt Lissingtune Eðelmere mines ...e mid mete. 7 mid mannum ealswa hit stent. **7 hine eadmodlice bidde þæt he min fulla freod. 7 mundiend beo** on minum dege. 7 efter minum dege gefelste þæt cwide 7 mira ylðran standan mote.’

And I grant to the ealdorman Æthelmær the estate at Lawling after my death, with its produce and its men, just as it stands, **on condition that during my life he shall be a true friend and advocate to me and to my men, and after my death, be a true friend and advocate of the holy foundation at Stoke**, where my ancestors lie buried, and its property. And I grant the estate at Liston to Æthelmær my [lord’s kinsman?] with the produce and with the men, just as it stands, **and humbly pray him that he will be my true friend and protector** during my life and after my death will help to secure that my will and my ancestors’ wills may stand.

4. COUPLES

Brihtric and Ælfswith (S 1511)

Rochester, 35, pp. 50-51 (*Wills*, 11, pp. 26-29).

A.D. 975 x 987. (? 980 x 987). Will of Brihtric and Ælfswith. Archive: Rochester.

‘7 ic bidde for godes lufan minne leofan hlaford . þæt he ne ðafige þæt ænig man uncer\ne/ cwide awænde . **7 ic bidde ealle godes freond** þæt hi ðarto filstan.’

And I pray by dear lord, for the love of God, that he will not allow any man to alter our will. **And I pray all God’s friends** that they will give their support to it.

Ordnoth and his wife (S 1524)

Wills, 5, pp. 16-18.

s. x. Ordnoth and his wife to Old Minster, Winchester. Archive: Winchester, Old Minster.

‘On ða gereðnesse is þæt land geseld to þam mynstre þæt man unc gefecce. æt uncrum ændedege mid þes mynstres craftre 7 unc swylce legerstowe forescewian swylc unc for gode þearflice sy. 7 for weorulde gerysenlic. Þis is seo gewitnes ðe Ordnod. Wile habban godæs 7 his hiredes on ealdan mynstre. þæt is þæt he 7 is wif cwædan on heora gewitnesse **þæt is æhta gangan on his freonda hand ofer his deg** se ðel þe he cweþe 7 se oþer dæl into þære stowe þær hi restað.’

On these terms is the estate given to the minster: that on the day of our death they will fetch us with the minster’s resources and provide for us such a resting-place as is necessary for us in God’s sight and fitting in the eyes of the world. It is for this that Ordnoth wishes to have the testimony of God and his community at the Old Minster: namely, that he and his wife announced in their presence that the part of his possessions which he stated **was to go into his friends’ possession after his death**, and the other part to the place where they shall be buried.

5. LAY MEN: ILLUSTRIOUS MEN

Ealdorman Æthelwold (S 1504)*SEHD*, 20, p. 33 (pp. 63-64).

A.D. 946 x 947. Will of Ealdorman Æthelwold. Archive: Winchester, Old Minster.

‘Her geswutelad þæt Eadred cing geuþe þæt land æt Wilig þa twelf hida to scrudfultume þam hirede into Ealdan Mynstre. Leof, Æþelwold ealdarman cyþ his leofan cynehlaforde Eadred cynge hu ic wille ymbe þa landare þe ic æt mine hlaforde gearnode. Ærest Gode 7 þære halgan stowe æt þam bisceopstole æt Wintanceastre, þam bisceope 7 þam hiwum, þæt land æt Wilig þa twelf hida to scrudfultume, þæt hi me on heora gebeddredenre hæbben, swa swa ic him to gelyfe. 7 þam cinge minne hæregeatwa: feower sweord 7 feower spæra 7 feower scyldas 7 feower beagas, twegen on hundtwelftigum mancosun 7 twegen on hundeatigum, 7 feorwer hors 7 twa sylfrene fata. 7 minum breðer Eadrice þæt land æt Ocebunan 7 æt Æscedune 7 æt Cegham 7 æt Wessingature. 7 Æþelstane minæ breðer þæt land æt Bradanwætere 7 þæt æt Niwantune. 7 Ælfsige mine broðorsuna þæt land æt Carcel. 7 Ælfstanes suna mines broþor þæt land æt Cleran. 7 eall þæt yrfe þæ ic hæbbe on lænelandum, þonne wylle ic þæt þæt sie gedeled for mine sawle swa swa ic nu þam freondum sæde þæ ic to spræc.’

Here it is stated that King Eadred gave the estate of twelve hides at Wiley to the community at the Old Minster for the provision of clothing. Sire, I, ealdorman Æthelwold, declare to my dear and royal lord King Eadred, what are my wishes with regard to the estates which I have acquired from my lord. In the first place [I give] to God and to the holy foundation - the bishop and the community - at the episcopal see of Winchester the twelve hides of land at Wiley for the provision of clothing, so that they may remember me in their prayers, as I believe that they will. And to the king my heriot: four swords, four spears, four shields, four bracelets, two worth one hundred and twenty mancuses, and two worth eighty mancuses, four horses and two silver cups. And to my brother Eadric the estates at Ogbourn, Ashdown, Cheam, and Washington. And to my brother Æthelstan the estates at Broadwater and Newton. And to Ælfsige, my brother's son, the estate at Carcel. And to the son of my brother Ælfstan the estate at Clere. And I desire that a distribution of all the property which I hold on lease be made for the good of my soul, according to the directions **which I have just given to the friends to whom I have been speaking.**

Ælfheah (S 1485)

Wills, 9, pp. 22-25.

c. A.D. 968 x 971. Will of Ælfheah, ealdorman. Archive: Winchester, Old Minster.

‘And ic wullan þæt man gefreogen ælcne witeþeowne man on ælcum þæra landæ **þæ ic minon freondon bæcwedden hæbbæ**. And þisseræ gebafiuncga þæ sæ cyning geuþæ is to gewitnæssæ Ælfþryþ þæs cynincges wif and Æþelwold bisceop. and Ælfhære ealdorman and Æþelwine ealdorman and Ælfwinæ and Æscwig abbod.’

And I wish that every penally enslaved man be freed on each of the estates **which I have bequeathed to my friends**. And the witnesses of this permission which the King has granted to me are: Ælfthryth the King’s wife, and Bishop Æthelwold and the Ealdorman Ælfhere and the Ealdorman Æthelwine and Ælfwine and the Abbot Æscwig.

Æthelmær, ealdorman of Hampshire (S 1498)

New Minster, 25, pp. 117-118 (*Wills*, 10, pp. 24-27).

A.D. 946 x 947. Will of Ealdorman Æthelwold. Archive: Winchester, New Minster.

‘+ Æðelmær ealdorman cyð on ðysum gewrite **his cynehlaforde 7 eallum his freondum** his cwyde wæs to his nyhstan dæge.’

+ The ealdorman Æthelmær in this document informs **his royal lord and all his friends** [what] his will was on his last day.

Wulfric Spot (S 1536)

Burton, 29, pp. 53-56 (*Wills*, 17, pp. 46-51).

A.D. 1002 x 1004. Will of Wulfric. Archive: Burton

‘7 ic geann Ælfrice arcebisceope þæs landes æt Dumeltan forð mid þon oðran for minon sawle. **Wið þan þe he freond. 7 fultum. ðe betere sy** into þære stowe þe uc geworht hæbbe.’

And I grant to Archbishop Ælfric the land at Dumbleton along with the other, for my soul, **in the hope that he may be a better friend and supporter** of the monastery which I have founded.

The combination *freond 7 fultum* is repeated in a second instance:

‘7 ic geann Ufegeate þ[æs] landes æt Norðtune. **On þ[æt] gerad þ[æt] he freond. 7 fultum þe betere sy** into þære stowe.’

And I grant Ufegeat the estate at Norton **in the hope that he may be a better friend and supporter** of the monastery.

And in third instance in Wulfric's will:

‘7 ic wylle þ[æt] se cyning beo hlaford. þæs mynstres ðe ic getimbrede. 7 þære landara þe ic ðynderinn becweden hæbbe gode to lofe. 7 to wurðmynta minan hlaforde 7 for minra sawle. **7 Ælfric arce[bisceop]. 7 Ælfhelm min broðor. þ[æt] hig beon mund. 7 freond. 7 forespreocan.** into ðære stowe wið ælcne geborene mann. Heom to nanre agenre æhta. butan into sa[nctus] Benedictus regole.’

And I desire that the king be lord of the monastery which I built and the estates which I have bequeathed to it to the glory of God and to the honour of my lord and for my soul. **And that Archbishop Ælfric and my brother Ælfhelm be protectors and friends and advocates** of that foundation against any man born, not as their own possession, but as belonging to St Benedict's order.

6. LAY MEN: THEGNS

Ealdred (S 1455)

St Augustine's, 31, pp. 118-119 (*Charters* (R), 62, pp. 128-129).

c. A.D. 990 x 1005. Agreement between Wulfric, abbot of St Augustine's, Canterbury, and Ealdred, son of Lyfing. Archive: Canterbury, St Augustine's.

‘In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi . Her swutelað on þisum gewrite hu Wulfric abb' . 7 Ealdred Lifinges sunu þæs ðegnes wæron sammæle ymbe þæt land æt Clife. þæt he gebeh for godes ege 7 for scs Augustinus . **7 for hys freonda mynegunge** . mid lande into sce Augustine . 7 ælce geara sylð on scs Augustinus mæssedæg .i. pund to geswutelunga . 7 æfter hys dæge gange þæt land into sce Augustine . swa gewerud swa hit þonne byð. Pyses ys to gewitnesse se hired æt sce Augustine 7 se æt Cristes cyrcean . 7 Lifing his fæder . 7 Siward . 7 Sired his broðor . 7 Wulfstan æt Sealtwuda . 7 oðer Wulfstan. 7 þis sy gedon for Siferð . 7 for his ofsprincg to hyra sawle ðearfe a butan ende. Amen.’

Here it is declared in this document how Abbot Wulfric and Ealdred, son of the thegn Lyfing, came to an agreement about the estate at Cliffe. Through the fear of God and St Augustine and **on the advice of his friends** he commended himself and the estate to St Augustine's, and every year on St Augustine's day he shall give a pound in token, and after his death the estate shall pass to St Augustine's, furnished as it is as that time. The witnesses of this are the community at St Augustine's and that at Christchurch, and Lyfing, his father, and Siward and his brother Sired and Wulfstan of Saltwood and the other Wulfstan. And this is done forever without end on behalf of the souls of Siferth and his children. Amen.

Wulfgeat of Donington (S 1534)

Wills, 19, pp. 54-57.

Probably *c.* A.D. 1000. Will of Wulfgeat of Donington. Archive: Worcester.

‘7 he bit his hlaford for godes lufan **þæt he beo his wifes freond 7 his dohter** 7 he ann his wife þæs landes æt Cylleshale.’

And he prays his lord for the love of God **that he will be a friend to his wife and daughter.**

Æthelsige, intermediary:

‘7 Æþelsige. leof cyð þis mine hlaforde 7 **ealle mine freondum.**’

And, dear Æthelsige, make this known to my lord **and to all my friends.**

Æthelric (S 1471)

Charters (R), 101, pp. 181-191.

c. A.D. 1045. Agreement between Archbishop Eadsige and Æthelric. Archive: Canterbury, Christ Church.

‘7 æfter heora twegra dæge fo se arcebisceop Eadsige þærto . gyf he leng libbe þænne hi . oððe loc hwa his æftergencga þænne beo . **butan sum heora freonda þa land furþor** on þæs arcebisceopes gemede ofgan mage . to rihtan gafole . oððe to oþran forewyrdan . swa hit man þænne findan mage wið þone arcebisceop þe þænne libbe.’

And after the death of both of them Archbishop Eadsige shall take possession of them, if he lives longer than they, or whoever is his successor at the time, **unless one of their friends can continue to hold the estates**, agreeably to the archbishop, at a fair rent or in accordance with such other arrangements as may be devised at the time with the existing archbishop.

