Forging Links with the Past:

The Twelfth-Century Reconstruction of Anglo-Saxon Peterborough

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Thesis Abstract

'Forging Links with the Past: the twelfth-century reconstruction of Anglo-Saxon Peterborough'

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This thesis is a study of four early twelfth-century forgeries, comprising a house-history, two charters and a papal bull and how they were used by the monks of Peterborough to reconstruct their monastery's pre-Conquest past. The texts survive as copies in the mid twelfth-century Peterborough cartulary known as the *Liber Niger*, under the rubric 'Relatio hedde abbatis quomodo incipente christianitate in regione mediterraneorum Anglorum initiatum sit Medeshamstede monasterium et subsequentibus priuilegiis confirmatum'. Chapter One contains a survey of the medieval sources preserved in the Peterborough archive and a review of their historiography. Chapter Two analyses the forgeries' contents, the motives behind their production, their sources and the identity of their forger. Chapter Three discusses Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, MS E Hand 1's interpretation of the forgeries, his ethnicity, sources and understanding of his Anglo-Saxon heritage in relation to national events. Chapter 4 assesses Hugh Candidus' interpolation of the forgeries into his Chronicle, Hugh's research and his reconstruction of Peterborough's Anglo-Saxon past. Chapter Five explores Peterborough's monastic boundaries prescribed in pseudo-Wulfhere's charter of 664 and their relationship with the twelfth-century landscape. Chapter Six assesses the estates and routes of toll bestowed upon Peterborough by pseudo-Eadgar's charter of 972 and their correlation with the *prouinciæ* of the neighbouring fenland monasteries of Crowland, Thorney and Ramsey. An examination of the *Relatio* texts in conjunction with archaeological, etymological, topographical and contemporary documentary evidence has led to the conclusion that the forgeries were probably compiled between 1109 and 1114 either by or at the instigation of Abbot Ernulf. Although the privileges conferred by the charter were fabricated to suit the early twelfth-century Peterborough's circumstances, certain elements are based upon authentic pre-Conquest sources, which also influenced MS E Hand 1's and Hugh Candidus' reconstructions of Peterborough's Anglo-Saxon past.

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For my late parents, William and Marie Richards Lumley,

formerly of Lyndhurst, 5 The Village, Ryhope, Sunderland

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Abbreviations

AASRP	Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers
Acta	*English Episcopal Acta*: *Lincoln*, ed. D. M. Smith, 2 vols. [I and IV] (Lincoln, 1980-6)
AJ	*Archaeological Journal*
ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England*
ASC (A)	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 173, ff. Iv-32r
ASC (B)	London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. vi, ff.1r-35v
ASC (C)	London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. i, ff. 115v-64r
ASC (D)	London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. iv, ff. 3r-9v, 19r-86v
ASC (E)	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 636, ff. 1r-91v
ASC (F)	London, British Library, Cotton Domitian, A. viii, ff. 30r-70v
ASC (G)	London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. xi. 2
B	*Cartularium Saxonicum: A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History*, ed. W. de Gray Birch, 3 vols. in 7 (London, 1885-93)
BL	London, British Library
BNJ	*British Numismatic Journal*
Cart. Ram.	*Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*, ed. W. Hart and A. L. Ponsonby, Rolls Series 79, 3 vols. (London, 1884-93)
CB	*Historiæ Coenobii Burgensis Scriptories Varii e Codibus Manuscriptis,* in *Historia Anglicanæ Scriptores Varii e Codibus Manuscriptis*, ed. J. Sparke, 2 vols. in 1 (London, 1723)
CCCC	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
Chron. Angliæ	*Chronicon Angliæ Petriburgense*, ed. J. A. Giles (London, 1845)
Chron. Petro.	*Chronicon Petroburgense*, ed. T. Stapleton (London, 1845)
Chron. Ram.	*Chronicon Abbatiæ Rameseiensis*, ed. W. Dunn Macray, Rolls Series 83 (London, 1886)
CUL	Cambridge University Library
DB	*Domesday Book*
ECEE	C. R. Hart, *Early Charters of Eastern England* (Leicester, 1966)
EHD	*English Historical Documents, c. 500-1042*, ed. D. Whitelock, 2nd edn. (London, 1979)
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EME	*Early Medieval Europe*
FNQ	*Fenland Notes and Queries*

HC	*The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, ed. W. T. Mellows (Oxford, 1949)
HE	*Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, ed. and tr. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969)
Ingulph	*Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland*, ed. and tr. H. T. Riley (London, 1854)
JBAA	*Journal of the British Archaeological Association*
JNAS	*Journal of the Northampton Architectural Society*
K	*Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, ed. J. M. Kemble, 6 vols. (London, 1839-48)
LE	*Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake (London, 1962)
LNQ	*Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*
MS A	*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A Collaborative Edition* 3, *MS. A*, ed. J. Bately (Cambridge, 1986)
MS B	*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A Collaborative Edition* 4, *MS. B*, ed. S. Taylor (Cambridge, 1983)
MS C	*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A Collaborative Edition* 5, *MS. C*, ed. K. O'Brien O' Keeffe Cambridge, 1996)
MS D	*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A Collaborative Edition* 6, *MS. D*, ed. G. P. Cubbin (Cambridge, 1996)
MS E	*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A Collaborative Edition* 7, *MS E*, ed. S. Irvine (Cambridge, 2004)
MS F	*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A Collaborative Edition* 8, *MS. F*, ed. P. S. Baker (Cambridge, 2000)
NNQ	*Northamptonshire Notes and Queries*
NPP	*Northamptonshire Past and Present*
OMT	Oxford Medieval Texts
OV	*The Ecclesiastical History of Oderic Vitalis*, ed. and tr. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969-80), I (Books III and IV)
PCAS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*
PCC SMR	Peterborough City Council Sites and Monuments Record
PDC	Peterborough Dean and Chapter
Plummer	*Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, with Supplementary Extracts from the Others: A Revised Text on the Basis of an Edition by John Earle*, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1892-9; rev. imp., by D. Whitelock, 1952)
PNHSAS	*Peterborough Natural Historical, Scientific and Archaeological Society*
R	*Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A. J. Robertson, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1956)

RCHME	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England)
RS	Rolls Series
RRAN	*Registra Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066-1087)*, ed. D. Bates (Oxford, 1998)
S	*Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks VIII* (London, 1968); Electronic Sawyer, www.trin.cam.ac.uk/eSawyer
Soc. Ant.	Society of Antiquaries
Swaffham	Cambridge University Library, Peterborough Dean and Chapter 1 [The Book of Robert of Swaffham]
VCH	*Victoria County History*
VG	*Felix's Life of St. Guthlac*, ed. and tr. B. Colgrave (Oxford, 1956)
VW	*The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, ed. and tr. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927)
Whittlesey	London, British Library, Additional 39758 [The Book of Walter of Whittlesey]

Introduction

A single statement by Bede confirmed that *Medeshamstede* existed as a religious house before 673. It was renamed *Burch* or St. Peter's *Burh c.* 972 x 992 and finally received the nomenclature Peterborough after the Dissolution of the monasteries in 1539.[1] It was probably the earliest religious house to be established in the region of the Middle Angles, which according to Bede was the first territory controlled by Penda of Mercia (*c.* 628-655) to embrace to Christianity.[2] From *Medeshamstede*, pioneering monks and priests would have offered pastoral care to their converts over an enormous catchment area.[3]

Archaeological and architectural evidence relating to *Medeshamstede* is inconclusive, revealing only that two earlier churches had occupied the site of post-Conquest building. No contemporary records of the abbey's foundation are known to survive.[4] Furthermore, it appears that no new information was available to the historians, Orderic Vitalis (1095-1142), William of Malmesbury (*c.* 1095-1143) and Henry of Huntingdon (*c.* 1088-*c.* 1156), who were operating in the area in the third decade of the twelfth century and who based their accounts of the conversion of the Middle Angles and *Medeshamstede*'s foundation upon data extracted from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.[5]

However, despite the dearth of reliable information, the early twelfth-century monks of *Burch* appear to have become pre-occupied with their monastery's Anglo-Saxon heritage. Demoralized by the post-Conquest alienation of their monastery's estates and the erosion of its privileges and perhaps haunted by memories and traditions of its pre-Conquest past, they set about writing their own version of *Medeshamstede*'s history. Constructed as a four-part

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[1] *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, ed. and tr. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), hereafter *HE*, Bk. IV, ch. 6. *Medeshamstede* received the cognomen *Burch* after Abbot Cœnwulf (992-1006) fortified it with a wall to create a stronghold or *burh*. See ASC (E), 963. Where possible, throughout this thesis the names are used chronologically. *Medeshamstede* is used in terms of the pre-992 monastery. *Burch* denotes the post-992 monastery and Peterborough [St. Peter's *Burh*] is used mainly with reference to the post-1539 church and town.

[2] *HE*, Bk. I, ch. 15; Bk. III, ch. 21. See also B. Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England*, London, 1990), p. 107.

[3] Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms*, pp. 109-10.

[4] J. T. Irvine, 'Account of the Pre-Norman remains discovered at Peterborough Cathedral in 1884', *JNAS* 50 (1894), pp. 279-81; H. M. and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1965-79) II, p. 492.

[5] *HE*, Bk. IV, ch. 6; Bk. III, 21, 24; *The Ecclesiastical History of Oderic Vitalis*, ed. and tr. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969-80), I (Books III and IV), hereafter *OV*, pp. xiii-xv, xxv-xxvii, 322-5; *William of Malmesbury: The Deeds of the Bishops of England* (*Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*), ed. and tr. D. Preest (Woodbridge, 2002), ch. 180; *Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, Historia Anglorum*, ed. and tr. D. Greenway, (Oxford, 1996), pp. clxvii, 196-9. See also A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 530-c. 1307* (London, 1974), pp. 166-7.

narrative and comprising a house-history, a charter of 'King Wulfhere' (658-75), another charter of 'King Eadgar' (959-75) and a bull of 'Pope Agatho' (678-81), it claimed that the monastery was founded by Oswiu of Northumbria and his son-in-law, Peada, sub-ruler 0f the South Mercians. It also explained the evolution of *Medeshamstede*'s estates, proclaiming the abbey's ownership of great swathes of territory in the east of England. All four documents survive in their earliest extant form as mid twelfth-century copies, preserved under the rubric, *Relatio Hedde Abbatis* in the community's cartulary known as the *Liber Niger* or the Black Book of Peterborough.[6]

The *Relatio* forgeries at post-Conquest *Burch* were not isolated occurrences. As the importance of the written word began to supersede oral tradition in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries and Norman bureaucracy was demanding written proof of ownership, charters purporting to confer ancient privileges were produced by the Benedictine communities such as St. Augustine's and Christ Church, Canterbury, at Rochester, Reading and Westminster during a period that has been described as 'the golden age of forgers'.[7] Like those of their counterparts, there can be no doubt that the privileges granted to *Burch* in the *Relatio* confections were formulated to suit the early twelfth-century political climate in an attempt to restore to the monastery the liberties that its brethren believed their Anglo-Saxon ancestors had enjoyed. However, certain elements of the documents' composition suggest that their author had scrutinized a variety of sources, including authentically based pre-Conquest charters and memoranda, which were later copied into the *Liber Niger*.[8] It also appears that other data was available to the forger that has since been lost, possibly because it was preserved by oral tradition.

Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that possessions described in the *Relatio* forgeries may reflect *Medeshamstede*'s pre-Conquest *prouincia*, since the western estates enclosed within the bounds of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter and toll routes defined by pseudo-Eadgar's charter correspond with the western section of the post-Conquest Nassaburgh Hundred of Northamptonshire. However, *Medeshamstede*'s eastern frontiers, which purportedly extended across the Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire fens, are less easy to chart. Their perambulation is hindered by the palimpsest created by extensive post-medieval land reclamation projects that resulted in the re-routing of rivers and the re-

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[6] London, Society of Antiquaries, 60, ff. 58v-70r (Peterborough, s. xii$^{2/4}$).
[7] M. Gibson, *Lanfranc de Bec* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 168-9 (Christ Church); A. Campbell, *Charters of Rochester* (London, 1973), pp. xxii-xxiv; N. Brooks, *Anglo-Saxon Myths: State and Church* (London, 2000), pp. 15-6; W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), p. 178.
[8] See below, Chapter 2, pp. 39-51.

cutting of drainage channels, while the place-names of some of the boundary points were recorded in their earliest vernacular form.[9] Fortunately, several pre-drainage maps survive together with William Dugdale's research, published in his *History of Imbanking and Drayning of divers Fens and Marshes*, all of which offer an insight into the morphology of the medieval fenland.[10] In addition, a series of archaeological surveys, known collectively as the *Fenland Project* and published by the Cambridge Archaeological Unit during the 1980s and 1990s, are indispensable for our understanding of the constantly changing fenscape to the north, south and east of Peterborough. An examination of these resources, combined with essential fieldwork and an analysis of archaeological, etymological and *Domesday Book* evidence and topographical features that existed at the time when the forgeries were produced, enables us to reconstruct the early twelfth-century landscape, beneath which the Anglo-Saxon landscape survives.

The quartet of *Relatio* documents was considered by the brethren of *Burch* to be of such intrinsic value that they were used to underpin subsequent house-histories. Within a decade of their production, a version of the forgeries was interpolated into the Peterborough conflation of version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, now referred to as Manuscript E or ASC (E), which was copied and completed in the vernacular between *c.* 1121 and 1155. Probably commissioned to fill the vacuum created by the cessation of the earlier conflations of the Chronicle, the forgeries were modified to portray the foundation of *Medeshamstede* in a national rather than a local context.[11] After its termination, ASC (E) was supplanted by a second Peterborough chronicle compiled entirely in Latin. It represented the result of a lifetime's research by a monk named Hugh Candidus, who had spent his whole career at *Burch* methodically collecting information from a variety of sources, including original documents that were later transcribed into the *Liber Niger* and material which has since been lost or was preserved only as folk memories. Unlike ASC (E), the 'Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus' recorded events relating almost exclusively to his monastery, weaving around the *Relatio* forgeries the entire history of *Medeshamstede* from its purported

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[9] See below, Chapters 5 and 6.

[10] W. Dugdale, *History of the Imbanking and Drayning of Divers Fennes and Marshes both in Foreign Parts and in this Kingdom*, 2nd edn. (London, 1772). The maps consulted include John Hexham's 'Map of the Fenland between Wisbech and Peterborough' [*c.* 1590], John Blæu's 'Map of *Regiones Inundatæ*' [1648] and Thomas Watt's 'Map of the Wisbech Hundred' [1657]. See below, Chapters 5 and 6.

[11] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 636; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition* 7, *MS E*, ed. S. Irvine (Cambridge, 2004). See below, Chapter 3.

foundation *c.* 655 until its restoration *c.* 963 x 972 after its alleged destruction by the Danes in 870.[12]

Several editions of Hugh's text have been published. Nevertheless, his research has never been analysed or evaluated in conjunction with *Domesday Book*, ASC (E) and the *Liber Niger* documents as a medium that offers us an insight into how the twelfth-century monks of *Burch* perceived and re-invented their Anglo-Saxon past.[13] Hitherto modern historians also have neglected to examine the twelfth-century documentation in relation to the archaeological, cartographical, etymological and topographical evidence that enables us to recreate the landscape with which the monks were familiar and which instilled a sense of belonging, prompting them to reconstruct their abbey's history. This thesis attempts to redress the situation.

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[12] *The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, ed. W. T. Mellows (Oxford, 1949). See below, Chapter 4.

[13] Malasree Holm has submitted 'The Peterborough Chronicle and the writing of History in the Twelfth Century' (unpubl. PhD thesis, Trinity College, Cambridge, February 2005). A copy of her thesis has been unavailable for my perusal.

Chapter One

Reassessing the Past: A Survey of Medieval Sources and Scholarship

Introduction: Pre-Conquest sources

No original charters survive to testify to the establishment of the abbey of *Medeshamstede* by Oswiu of Northumbria and his son-in-law, Peada, client-ruler of Southern Mercia, *c.* 655. The early history of the monastery is based almost entirely upon a series of early twelfth-century forgeries, which are preserved in a mid twelfth-century cartulary known as the *Liber Niger* or the Black Book of Peterborough.[1]

A single reference in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* confirmed that a religious foundation existed at *Medeshamstede c.* 672. Bede stated that shortly after the Synod of Hertford of 672 Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury (668-90) expelled Bishop Winfrith from his Mercian see for an unspecified misdemeanour.[2] In his place, he appointed Seaxwulf, 'erat constructor et abbas monasterii, quod dicatur Medeshamstedi in regione Gyruiorum'.[3] Bede compiled his masterwork at Jarrow, over two hundred miles away from *Medeshamstede* during the early decades of the eighth century. Therefore, he was relying solely upon secondary, although in his opinion trustworthy, accounts of events that had taken place more than fifty years earlier. In his Preface, Bede cited as his authority for the conversion of the kingdom of Mercia 'the brethren of the monastery known as Lastingham'.[4] This monastery, situated in the modern county of North Yorkshire, had been founded by Cedd, one of the four evangelizing priests, who had converted the province of the Middle Angles after the marriage of Peada to Alhflæd, daughter of Oswiu of Northumbria.[5]

Bede's dearth of information regarding the establishment of *Medeshamstede* possibly may be explained by the collapse of diplomatic relations between Northumbria and Mercia following the murder of Peada, allegedly by his wife, and the subsequent banishment of the

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[1] London, Society of Antiquaries, 60 (Peterborough, 1125 x 1150), ff. 58v-70v. See below, pp. 39-42. Pierre Chaplais states that 'the term "original" has been used to refer to a document written in a contemporary script, on a single sheet of parchment, and displaying no suspicious features'. He defined a 'copy' as 'seemingly beyond suspicion' and 'in a later hand'. See his 'The Authenticity of the Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas of Exeter', in *Essays in Medieval Diplomas and Administration* (London, 1981), XV, p. 3.

[2] *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, ed. and tr. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), hereafter *HE*, Bk. IV, chs. 5, 6. See also C. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650-c. 850* (Leicester, 1995), pp. 208-300.

[3] Colgrave and Mynor's translation: 'the founder and abbot of the monastery known as *Medeshamstede* in the land of the Gyrwe'. See *HE*, Bk. IV, ch. 6.

[4] *HE*, Preface.

[5] *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 21.

Northumbrians from the kingdom.[6] Furthermore, by the early decades of the eighth century, Northumbria had been eclipsed by the ascendancy of Mercia.[7] Since Bede dedicated his *Historia Ecclesiastica* to King Ceolwulf (729-38), he may have considered it politic to omit details concerning *Medeshamstede*'s completion and the generous endowments purportedly made by Peada's brothers, Wulfhere (658-75) and Æthelred (675-704), who were responsible for driving Ceolwulf's antecedents from Mercia and ultimately depriving Northumbria of the province of Lindsey.[8] Alternatively, the absence of information may simply reflect that written records did not exist in Mercia in the seventh century.

Soon after Bede had concluded his *Historia Ecclesiastica* in 731, Felix, about whom little is known, was commissioned by Ælfwald of the East Angles (713-49) to write a biography of St. Guthlac (*c.* 673-714), the hermit of Crowland.[9] Felix's *Vita Guthlaci* recorded Guthlac's noble lineage, the sanctity of his childhood, his military career and his sojourn at the double monastery of Repton.[10] It also provided a detailed description of the late seventh- and early eighth-century topography of the Crowland area to which he retired, but made no allusions to the neighbouring foundation of *Medeshamstede*.[11] However, in his determination to emphasize the isolation of Guthlac's anchorage, Felix may have chosen to ignore the pre-existing fenland abbey, which lay eleven miles to the south-west. Roberts argues that, despite its dedication to Ælfwald, Felix's *Vita Guthlaci* was compiled sixty miles from Crowland, at Repton [Derbyshire], where Guthlac had received his tonsure from its foundress, Abbess Ælfthryth. Since Felix's text reflected that of the *Vitæ Cuthberti*, Roberts concludes that Guthlac's *Vita* was composed after Bede had completed his *Historia Ecclesiastica*.[12] Although it would have been appropriate for the Repton community to promote the image of a saint, who had begun his religious career there, Roberts' theory only adds to the confusion. Repton, later the mausoleum of Mercian kings, probably was a

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[6] *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 24.

[7] *HE*, Bk. V, ch. 23 [19]; F. M. Stenton, 'The Supremacy of the Mercian Kings', in *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. M. Stenton (Oxford, 1970), pp. 49-50, 53-64; B. Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms in Early Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1988), pp. 112-3.

[8] *HE*, Preface; Bk. III, ch. 24; ASC (E), 656, 675.

[9] *Felix's Life of St. Guthlac*, ed. and tr. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1956), hereafter *VG*, pp. 15-6; G. Jones, 'Ghostly Mentor, Teacher of Mysteries: Bartholomew, Guthlac and the Apostle's Cult in Early Medieval England', in *Medieval Monastic Education*, ed. G. Ferzoco and C. Muessig (Leicester, 2000), p. 137.

[10] *VG*, chs. 1-3, 10-5, 16-8; 19-24.

[11] *VG*, chs. 25, 27-8.

[12] J. Roberts, 'Hagiography and Literature: The Case of Guthlac of Crowland', in *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, ed. M. P. Brown and C. A. Farr (Leicester, 2001), pp. 70-1.

daughter-house of Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire, itself a satellite of *Medeshamstede*.[13] Therefore, it is somewhat perplexing that there is no reference to *Medeshamstede* in Felix's *Vita Guthlaci*, unless by the early eighth century Repton was attempting to assert its independence from *Medeshamstede* in favour of its more illustrious neighbours, the Mercian *cathedra* at Lichfield and royal *vicus* of *Tomton* [Tamworth].[14]

Stephen of Ripon's *Vita Wilfridi*, compiled 710 x 731, contains several accounts of Wilfrid's activities in Mercia at the invitation of Wulfhere (657–75) and Æthelred 675-704). Nevertheless, Stephen failed to reveal the names of 'the new monasteries', which Wilfrid was said to have founded within the province.[15] However, Stephen disclosed that Wilfrid died 'ad monasterium eius, quod in Undolum [Oundle] positum est, in quo olim Andræ apostolici dedicavit'.[16] Bede verified this statement, but implied that Oundle was a region rather than a 'vill', and that Wilfrid's foundation was a satellite of *Medeshamstede*, ruled by Abbot Cuthbald (*c.* 673-*c.* 716), Seaxwulf's successor.[17] Nevertheless, Bede also stated that *Medeshamstede* was situated 'in regione Gyruiorum', suggesting that the monastery's territory may have originally been contained within the tribal unit of the North *Gyrwe*.[18] Furthermore, the estate of Oundle was among 'Bishop Æthelwold's gifts to *Medeshamstede*' upon its re-foundation *c.* 963. The document that described this gift is considered have an authentic basis and survives in the form of an Old English copy in the twelfth-century Peterborough cartulary, the *Liber Niger*.[19] A copy of a second authentically-based but undated document, the 'Bounds of Oundle', written in Old English and preserved in the same manuscript, suggests that Oundle remained under *Medeshamstede*'s jurisdiction.[20]

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[13] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 44v-45r, Friduric, *princeps* of Æthelred of Mercia, to *Medeshamstede* land at *Bredun* [Breedon] (675 x 692); ff. 45rv, 'Friduric *princeps* to Abbot Hædda of Breedon, 31 manentes called *Hrepingas*', 675 x 692; *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks VIII* (London, 1968); Electronic Sawyer, www.trin.cam.ac.uk/eSawyer [S] 1803, 1805. See also A. Rumble, '"*Hrepingas*" Reconsidered', in *Mercian Studies*, ed. A. Dornier (Leicester, 1977) pp. 169-71.

[14] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 45v-46r; S 1804; Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms*, p. 102.

[15] *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, ed. and tr. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927), hereafter *VW*, chs. 14, 65. See also D. P. Kirby, 'Bede, Eddius Stephanus and the "Life of Wilfrid"', *EHR* 98 (1983), pp. 102-5.

[16] *VW*, ch. 65. My translation: '[He died] at his monastery, which is situated at Oundle, where he once dedicated a church to the Apostle Andrew.'

[17] *HE*, Bk. V, ch. 19.

[18] *HE.*, Bk. IV, ch. 6. See below, Chapter 5.

[19] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 40r; *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A. J. Robertson, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1956)[R] 39, pp. 72-5; S 1448.

[20] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 50r; *Cartularium Saxonicum: A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History*, ed. W. de Gray Birch, 3 vols. in 7 (London, 1885-93) [B] 1129; S 1566.

1. Twelfth-century manuscripts

Fortunately, the lack of reliable documentary evidence relating to the early *prouincia* of *Medeshamstede* is compensated by the wealth of material that survives in three twelfth-century Peterborough manuscripts which, as will be argued below, preserve some significant details about Anglo-Saxon *Medeshamstede*. The three manuscripts are as follows:

a) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 636: The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, MS 'E'

The Peterborough version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, hereafter ASC (E), was commenced *c.* 1121, over fifty years the Norman Conquest and during the abbacy of John de Séez (1114-25). Copied by two different scribes in the vernacular with thirty-eight brief Latin entries, it was continued intermittently until 1154, when it concluded with a prayer for the community.[21] Until recently, the standard edition of the ASC (E) text was published in John Earle's and Charles Plummer's 1892 edition, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel.*[22] In 1954, a facsimile edition of the E-text was produced for the Early English Manuscripts Series, edited by Dorothy Whitelock with an appendix by Cecily Clark, in which she discussed the late thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman gloss in the margins of folios 86v-94v.[23] Clark's edition of ASC (E), *The Peterborough Chronicle, 1070-1154*, has been superseded by Susan Irvine's authoritative 2004 publication, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, MS E.*[24] Various translations of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle are in circulation, the most recent and reliable being edited by Michael Swanton.[25]

ASC (E) was probably the source for a set of Latin annals, written in the margins of the first two folios of the Pascal Tables in another Peterborough manuscript, compiled 1122 x 1135, now preserved as London, British Library, Harley 3667 [*Computistica*]. Writing in retrospect, Hand 1 of the *annales* recorded notable events for the years between 1087 and

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[21] *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile* 4: *The Peterborough Chronicle (Bodleian Manuscript Laud Misc. 636),* ed. D. Whitelock, (Copenhagen, 1954), p. 31.
[22] *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, with Supplementary Extracts from the Others: A Revised Text on the Basis of an Edition by John Earle* , ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1892-9; rev. imp., by D. Whitelock, 1952). See below, Chapter 3.
[23] *Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock. The gloss recorded the history of Britain from the advent of the Saxons to the accession of Edward I in 1272. See Clark, 'The Anglo-Norman Chronicle', pp. 39-43.
[24] *The Peterborough Chronicle 1070-1154*, 2nd ed. C. Clark (Oxford, 1958); *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition* 7, *MS E*, ed. S. Irvine (Cambridge, 2004).
[25] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, ed. Swanton, (London; rev., 2000).

1135, whilst Hand 2 made only a single entry to register the appointment of Abbot Benedict in 1177.[26]

b) Cottonian Library, Otho A. xvii (now lost): The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus

The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus was the culmination of years of assiduous research by a monk, also known as Hugh Albus, and Hugh the White, who had spent most of his life within the confines of the monastery. Written entirely in Latin, the house-history was commenced soon after ASC (E) was brought to a close and described events pertaining almost exclusively to the monastery from its foundation *c.* 655 until the deposition of Abbot William de Waterville in 1175. Hugh's manuscript was edited and copied by an unknown scribe into a cartulary known as Cottonian Library Otho A. xvii, which was destroyed in the fire at the Cottonian Library at Ashburnham House, Westminster, in October 1731, hence it was never entered into the British Library with the remainder of the Cotton collection. Fortunately, in 1652 George Davenport made a transcript, which is preserved at Cambridge University Library as MS Dd. 14. 28. 2.[27] Robert of Swaffham, the mid twelfth-century cellarer of *Burch* edited, copied, possibly rubricated and continued the transcript of Hugh's chronicle in his register, additionally recording the events of the years from 1175 to 1256.[28] Another monk from the community, Walter of Whittlesey, produced a fourth edition of the chronicle, recopying both Hugh's and Swaffham's house-histories into his own cartulary, which he continued from 1256 until 1330.[29]

In 1723, Cathedral librarian, Joseph Sparke (1682-1750), published the various Peterborough chronicles in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Varii e Codicibus Manuscriptis* as two volumes in one, including Whittlesey's transcripts of Hugh Candidus' and Swaffham's

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[26] London, British Library [BL], Harley 3667, ff. 1r-2r (Hand 1); f. 2v (Hand 2). See also Clark, *Peterborough Chronicle*, p. xvii; R. Gameson, *Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066-1130)* (Oxford, 1999), No. 404.

[27] Cottonian Library, Otho A. xvii. See also T. Smith, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the Cottonian Library, London 1696: Reprinted from Sir Robert Harley's Copy, Annotated by Humfrey Wanley together with Documents relating to the Fire of 1731,* (London; rev., C. G. C. Tite, 1984), pp. 68-9; *The Cartularies of Peterborough Abbey*, ed. J. Martin (Kendall, 1978), pp. 34-5. See below, Chapter 4.

[28] Cambridge University Library [CUL], Peterborough Dean Chapter [PDC] 1, [The Book of Robert of Swaffham] (Peterborough, *c.* 1250), hereafter Swaffham, ff. 1r-19r (old foliation). See Martin, *Cartularies*, pp. 7-12.

[29] BL, Additional 39758 [The Book of Walter of Whittlesey] (Peterborough, *c.* 1322-9), hereafter Whittlesey, ff. 20r-115v (new foliation). See also Martin, *Cartularies*, pp. 17-19. An anonymous continuation of Whittlesey concluded in 1338.

chronicles with Whittlesey's continuation.[30] However, it was not until 1941 that William Thomas Mellows and his brother, Charles, published the first translation of Hugh's Peterborough chronicle, thus making it available for general readership.[31] Unlike Sparke, Mellows relied upon not only Whittlesey's edition, but he also examined the Davenport transcript of the first copy of Hugh's original manuscript and Robert of Swaffham's version, carefully referencing the manuscripts that he consulted.[32] In 1949, William Mellows published an edition of the Latin text, using the same primary sources.[33]

c) London, Society of Antiquities, 60, ff. 6-73: The *Liber Niger*

An equally significant manuscript is the *Liber Niger*. It is the earliest of *Burch*'s extant cartularies and, therefore, it is of considerable value to the local historian. The *Liber Niger* consists of three distinct sections. The first element (folios 62-73v), compiled between 1125 x 1150, comprises a miscellany of randomly arranged copies of land tenures and charters, both genuine and spurious, claiming to date from 664 to *c.* 1125. The second element contains the late thirteenth-century *Chronicon Petroburgense* (folios 75r-80v, 85r-136v).[34] The final part of the *Liber Niger* (folios 81-85v, 101v-261r) includes charters, surveys of demesne manors, statutes and miscellaneous documents relating to the thirteenth centuries, with fourteenth-century additions, and was written in a variety of hands. However, it is the charters and memoranda copied into folios 6r-73r that enable us to understand more lucidly the period of disjunction between the alleged destruction of the abbey by the Danes in 870 and the restoration of *Medeshamstede* by Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester *c.* 963.

The *Liber Niger* contains four crucial documents upon which the history of the foundation of *Medeshamstede* depends, all of which are incorporated into the twelfth-century chronicles of ASC (E) and of Hugh Candidus but were preserved in their earliest extant form in the *Liber Niger* under the rubric, *Relatio Hedde Abbatis*. The *Relatio* begins with an early house-history, claiming to be a copy of writings of Hædda, a pre-870 abbot of *Medeshamstede*, discovered among the ruined walls by Æthelwold. 'Hædda's' house-history is the only evidence that connected *Medeshamstede*'s foundation with the royal house of

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[30] *Historiæ Coenobii Burgensis Scriptories Varii e Codibus,* hereafter *CB*, in *Historia Anglicanæ Scriptores Varii e Codibus Manuscriptis*, ed. Sparke 2 vols. in 1 (London, 1723) I. See below, p. 16.
[31] *The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, tr. C. Mellows, ed. W. T. Mellows (Peterborough, 1941).
[32] D. C. Douglas, 'Review: W. T. Mellows, The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus', *EHR* 64 (1949), p. 538.
[33] *The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, ed. W. T. Mellows (Oxford, 1949).
[34] See below, p. 15.

Northumbria.[35] It is upon this document that all subsequent Peterborough house-histories are based (Appendix A).

The second document is the 'Charter of Wulfhere of the Mercians of 664', granting *Medeshamstede* privileges and describing its monastic boundaries upon its completion by Peada's brothers, Wulfhere and Æthelred, and his sisters, Cyneswith and Cyneburh, Oswiu's former daughter-in-law. This is one of two versions of the charter and has been classified by Sawyer as Version B (Appendix B).[36] Pseudo-Wulfhere's charter is followed by pseudo-Agatho's papal bull of 680, with the appended land grants of Æthelred.[37] This third document confirms the 'ancient' rights and privileges conferred upon *Medeshamstede* by 'Wulfhere' and his successor, 'Æthelred' (Appendix C). These 'ancient writings' purportedly prompted Eadgar the Peaceable (959-75) to restore all of the privileges granted in by Wulfhere and to redefine the monastic boundaries in his charter of 972, which is the fourth document in the quartet of forgeries (Appendix D).[38] Thus, the interval of approximately a century between *Medeshamstede's* alleged destruction by the Danes and its restoration by Æthelwold were conveniently explained. However, the *Relatio* documents were blatant forgeries that reflect the political climate of the early twelfth century rather than that of the seventh and tenth, when oral tradition took precedence over the written word.[39]

The four *Relatio* forgeries were arranged chronologically in the *Liber Niger* between affiliated muniments. Immediately preceding 'Hædda's' house-history is an agreement of 1072, which acknowledged Canterbury's supremacy over York, a theme that featured prominently in both pseudo-Agatho's bull and pseudo-Eadgar's charter. It includes among its signatories, William I, Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury, Abbot Scotland of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and significantly Abbot Turold of *Burch* (1069-98). A copy of William I's agreement survives in the Canterbury archive.[40] Therefore, it is feasible that a version was brought to *Burch* by Abbot Ernulf (1107-14), the former prior of Christ Church. Pseudo-Eadgar's charter is followed in the *Liber Niger* by a series of endorsements by successive rulers, namely Edward the Martyr (975-79), Æthelred II (979-1013, 1014-16), Cnut (1016-

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[35] Soc. Ant., ff. 58v-59v; ASC (E), 963; *Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Badinel, 2nd edn., 6 vols. in 7 (London, 1817-30) II, p. 375; *The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, ed. W. T. Mellows (Oxford, 1949), hereafter *HC*, pp, 159-60.
[36] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 59v-64r; S 68. See also *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 21. For Version A, see below pp. 16-7.
[37] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 64r-68r; S 72.
[38] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 68r-70v; S 787.
[39] M. Clanchy, *From Memory to the Written Word*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1993), p. 263. See below, Chapter 2.
[40] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 56v-58r; *Registra Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066-1087)*, ed. and tr. D. Bates (Oxford, 1998), [*RRAN*] 68.

35), Edward the Confessor (1042-66) and finally William I (1066-87), a honour for which Abbot Brand (1066-9) was obliged to pay his king forty gold marks.[41] Since the affirmations are preserved only in the Peterborough archive and refer to ancient privileges granted by their predecessors, namely pseudo-Wulfhere's and pseudo-Eadgar's charters, they should be regarded with suspicion.[42] Moreover, as they survive in their earliest form in the *Liber Niger* as mid twelfth-century copies, it is impossible to discover their authorship or when they were concocted.

The majority of the documents preserved in the *Liber Niger* were written in Latin. However, seven of the tenth-century Latin charters, five of which were arranged consecutively between folios 29r and 39r, contain vernacular bounds.[43] A further seven documents, six of which are grouped between folios 46v and 55v, were written in Old English throughout.[44] This implies that, as late as the second quarter of the twelfth century, the brethren of *Burch* still must have regarded the vernacular as of utmost importance and were determined to sustain their pre-Conquest traditions. Unfortunately, it is impossible to assess whether the muniments containing Old English were copied into the *Liber Niger* directly from original charters or dictated from oral tradition. Nevertheless, it appears that the *Liber* Niger denoted a strenuous effort by the monks of *Burch* to copy into a single manuscript for easy access an assortment of pre-Conquest documents together with post-Conquest confirmations and lists of estates and knights' fees.

Elaine Treharne deduces on palaeographical grounds that the *Liber Niger* was compiled between the years 1125 and 1150.[45] This coincides with the date of the document

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[41] Soc. Ant., 60, 70v-71v; *Registra Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066-1087)*, ed. D. Bates (Oxford, 1998) [*RRAN*] 216; ASC (E), 1066; *HC*, pp. 76-7.

[42] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 70v-71r.

[43] The documents are as follows: Soc. Ant., 60, f. 29rv, 'King Eadwig to Ælfsige, land at Kettering' (956); B 943; S 592; ff. 30r-31r,'King Eadred to Ælfsige, land at Ailsworth' (948); B 871; S 533; ff. 32r-33r, 'Edward the Confessor to Æthelstan, land at Ayston [Rutland]' (1046); *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, ed. J. M. Kemble, 6 vols. (London, 1839-48) [K] 784; S 1014; ff. 33r-34v, 'King Eadgar to Quen, land at Howden and Old Drax [Yorks.].' (959); B 1052; S 681; ff. 34v-35v, 'King Æthelred to Ælfhere, land at Olney [Bucks.]' (979); K 621; S 834; ff. 38r-39r, 'King Eadgar to Bishop Æthelwold, land at Barrow-on-Humber' (971); B 1270; S 782; ff. 51r-52r, 'King Eadred to Ælfsige Hunlafing, land at Alwalton' (935); B 909; S 566.

[44] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 39v-40v, 'Æthelwold's Gifts to Medeshamstede' (*c.* 963 x 972); R 39, pp. 72-5; S 1448; f. 46rv, 'Agreement between Ceolred, Abbot of Medeshamstede concerning lands in Lincolnshire' (852); B 464; S. 1440; ff. 47r-49v, 'List of sureties for Medeshamstede's estates' (972 x 992); R 40; f. 50r, 'The bounds of Oundle'; B 1129; S 1566; ff. 50v-51r, 'The Will of Ulf and Madselin' (1066 x 1069); ff. 52r-54v, 'Northamptonshire Geld Roll' (1072 x 1078); ff. 54v-55r, 'Æthelwold's exchange of land at Washington, Sussex for Yaxley and Ailsworth, with Wulfstan Uccea' (963 x 975); R 37; S 1377. Professor Treharne, Department of English, Leicester University, concludes that all of the vernacular text appears to be the work of the same scribe, pers. com., March 2002.

[45] Treharne, pers. com., March 2002.

placed at the beginning of the manuscript, the 'the 'Descriptio militum abbatia de Burgo'.[46] It is feasible that this inventory was prepared during the period when the abbey was under Henry's direct control, following the death of Abbot John de Séez in 1125, and before the appointment of Henry d'Angély in 1127.[47] Therefore, the production of the cartulary may have represented the monks' determination to challenge King Henry's authority over their community. The exclusion of two papal bulls of Eugenius III suggests that the compilation of the earliest section of the *Liber Niger* (folios 6-73) ceased before December 1146, when the bulls were issued.[48] Although various extracts from the *Liber Niger* have been published, an edition of the manuscript is long overdue. However, a mid eighteenth-century transcript is available at the Society of Antiquities of London, classified as MS 131.[49]

1. Thirteenth- and fourteenth-century sources containing twelfth-century material

In addition to the twelfth-century manuscripts, ASC (E), the *Liber Niger* and the Hugh Candidus' Chronicle, there are several other documents and cartularies pertaining to twelfth-century *Burch* that merit discussion.

a) Cambridge University Library, Peterborough Dean and Chapter 1: The Book of Robert of Swaffham

The Book of Robert of Swaffham, compiled *c.* 1250, is the earliest Peterborough cartulary in which the scribe may be positively identified.[50] The manuscript was carefully organized into four distinct components, consisting of Swaffham's edition and continuation of Hugh Candidus' Chronicle (folios 1r-26r), copies of charters, privileges and inquisitions arranged in chronological order, including *Relatio* and its associated forgeries (folios 37r-310r), *de Gestis Heriwardi* (folios 320r-339r), the biography of the Lincolnshire warlord who featured in both ASC (E) and Hugh Candidus' Chronicle, and finally a selection of later material written in several different hands (folios 340r-355r).[51] Most of the documents contained within the second element of Swaffham's register post-date the early section of the *Liber Niger* (folios 6r-73r) and survive in their earliest known form in this manuscript. These include the earliest extant copy of the two papal bulls of Eugenius III of 1146 and an updated

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[46] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 6r-18r, 'List of manors held by the abbot of Burch during the reign of Henry I'.
[47] ASC (E) 1125, 1127; *HC*, pp. 99-100.
[48] ASC (E), 1146; *HC*, pp. 108-19. Various documents preserved within of the *Liber Niger* will be discussed throughout this thesis.
[49] P. J. Willets, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Society of Antiquaries of London* (London, 2000), p. 59.
[50] Martin, *Cartularies*, pp. 7-12.
[51] Swaffham, ff. 320r-339r. See also ASC (E), 1070; *HC*, pp. 77-9.

version of the lost Northamptonshire Survey, which was originally compiled *c.* 1100 x 1120 but was amended during the reign of Henry II (1154-89).[52]

The inclusion of *de Gestis Heriwardi*, the final entry in Swaffham's hand, is significant since it helps us understand the Anglo-Saxon perception of events that took place at *Burch* after the Norman Conquest. Hart proposes that Swaffham's version of the exploits of the local freedom fighter was based upon that of Richard of Ely, compiler of *Liber Eliensis*, who claimed to have gathered his information from the reminiscences of Hereward's former comrades, preserved in lost vernacular texts.[53] Swaffham emphasized Hereward's connexions with *Burch*, stating that he was knighted, according to the English tradition by Abbot Brand, and described his assault upon the monastery prior to the installation of Turold (1069-98). Swaffham also appears to have consulted Geffrei Gaimar's mid twelfth-century *Gesta Herewardi*, supporting Gaimar's concept that Turold was captured and held to ransom by Hereward, a saga which was absent from the *Liber Eliensis*, ASC (E) and Hugh Candidus' house-history but which was repeated in both the so-called 'Chronicle of Abbot John of Burch' and pseudo-Ingulph's history of Crowland Abbey.[54]

b) London, British Library, Egerton 2733:
The Book of Charters and Privileges of John of Threckingham

The pocket-sized manuscript known as the Book of Charters and Privileges of John of Threckingham, was probably compiled by an obedientary of *Burch* during the abbacy of Abbot Robert de Sutton (1262-73). It includes copies of 'Hædda's' house-history, Version B of pseudo-Wulfhere charter of 664, pseudo-Eadgar's charter,[55] and the papal bulls of 'Agatho' and of Eugenius III, which appear to have been transcribed directly from

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[52] Swaffham, ff. 74v-76v; ff. 124rv.

[53] C. R. Hart, 'Hereward "The Wake"', *PCAS* 65 (1974), pp. 33-5. One of the lost texts was purportedly the work of Leofric, Hereward's priest at Bourne [Lincs.]. See Swaffham, f. 320r; *Gesta Herewardi*, ed. Hardy *et al.*, p. 339. See also Whitelock's, 'Introduction' in *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake (London, 1962), hereafter *LE*, pp. xxxiv-xxxv, lv.

[54] CUL, PDC 1, ff. 328v, 336v; *Gesta Herewardi Incliti Exulis et Militis*, in *Lestorie des Engles solum la Translacion Maistre Geffrei Gaimar*, ed. T. D. Hardy and C. T. Martin, RS 91, 2 vols. (London, 1888-9) I, pp. 339-404., pp. 368, 394-5. See also *Chronicon Angliæ Petriburgense*, ed. J. A. Giles, pp. 55-6. 'Ingulph's' chronicle claimed to be the work of an abbot who had ruled Crowland from 1075 to 1109. However, it was more likely to have been created *c.* 1415 by Prior Richard Upton in order to protect his monastery's estates and privileges from Spalding Priory. Pseudo-Ingulph's chronicle survives only in the form of a sixteenth-century transcript, BL, Arundel 178, ff. 29r-59v. See also *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland with the Continuation of Peter de Blois* (London, 1854) ed. and tr. H. T. Riley, hereafter *Ingulph*, pp. ix-xi, 143, 259. See below, pp. 19-20.

[55] BL, Egerton 2733, ff. 11v-14v; ff. 14v-21v;

Swaffham.[56] Measuring only 3½ by 2¾ inches (9cm by 7cm), this delightful *libellus* was probably compiled as a portable cartulary, designed for consultation by abbey officials to facilitate the settlement of disputes regarding monastic property.

c) Cambridge University Library, Peterborough Dean and Chapter 5: The Book of Charters and Privileges of Henry of Pytchley Junior

The *Liber Cartarum et Priuilegiorum Henrici de Pyghtele Junioris* was arranged in four sections, comprising an incomplete list of contents (folios 1r-14r), a collection of late thirteenth-century transcripts of eleventh- and twelfth-century material (folios 20r-39r), including copies of five pre-Conquest charters, all of which were arranged in two groupings in the *Liber Niger*,[57] copies of royal charters and confirmations of the monastic estates from the reigns of Wulfhere to Richard I (folios 39r-55r) and finally, a random assortment of title deeds (folios 60r-219r). Although the second element of the cartulary includes a copy of 'Hædda's' house-history, pseudo-Wulfhere's charter [Version B] and pseudo-Edgar's charter, pseudo-Agatho's bull was absent.[58] Its exclusion may be explained by the fact that none of the estates allegedly bestowed upon *Medeshamstede* by Æthelred in the appendage to the bull were recorded as possessions of the abbey in 1086.

d) Society of Antiquaries, 60, ff. 75r-80v, 85r-136v: *Chronicon Petroburgense*

Written in a late-thirteenth century hand, *Chronicon Petroburgense* described events on a local and national scale from 1122 to 1294. It is understood to have been the work of William de Woodford, whilst sacrist of the monastery from *c.* 1274 to 1295.[59] Thomas Stapleton published a useful edition of the chronicle in 1845. His volume also contains several significant documents, which were preserved *en bloc* in the *Liber Niger*, including the 'Descriptio maneriorem abbatie de burhe', the 'Descriptio militum abbatia de Burgo' and a transaction made by Abbot Ælfsige *c.* 1020 x 1023, which delineated the bounds of the Huntingdonshire marsh of Whittlesey Mere.[60]

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[56] BL, Egerton 2733, ff. 99r-106v; ff. 107r-112v. See also Martin, *Cartularies*, p. xiii, 13-4.
[57] The five pre-Conquest royal charters confirming estates to *Burch* are as follows: CUL, PDC 5; f. 20r, Edward the Confessor, 'Land at Scotton, Scotter, Manton and Northorpe [Lincs.]' (1061 x 1066); K 819; S 1059; ff. 20rv, Edward, 'Land at Walton-on-Trent, near Alkborough [Lincs.]' (1055 x 1060); K 806; S 1060; ff. 21v-22, Edward, 'Land at Fiskerton [Lincs.]' (1060); K 808; S 1029; ff. 22rv, Eadgar to Bishop Æthelwold 'Land at Barrow-upon-Humber [Lincs.]' (971); B 1270; S 782; ff. 22v-23v, Cædwalla, 'Land at Hoo [Kent]' (687); B 89; S 233. See also Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 26rv-28r; 36r-39r.
[58] CUL, PDC 5, ff. 39rv; ff. 39v-42r; ff. 42r-44v.
[59] Martin, *Cartularies*, p. 4.
[60] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 6r-25v; *Chronicon Petroburgense*, ed. T. Stapleton (London, 1845), pp. 157-83.

e) British Library Cotton Vespasian E. xxii: The White Book of Peterborough

The White Book of Peterborough, comprising the registers of William of Woodford (1295-99) and Godfrey of Crowland (1299-1321), is the earliest extant abbot's register, an edition of which has been published by Sandra Raban.[61] Although the manuscript contains material relating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, two documents concern the tenure of land at Collingham [Nottinghamshire], by Godwin, son of Asketill de *Colingham*, during the abbacies of Ernulf (1107-14) and John de Séez (1114-25). The White Book also contains an updated copy of the Northamptonshire Survey.[62]

f) London, British Library, Cotton Augustus ii. 5: The 'Charter of King Wulfhere of the Mercians, 664' [Version A]

A late thirteenth/early fourteenth-century conflation of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, which Sawyer named Version A, recorded *Burch*'s privileges and the boundaries set down in Version B, preserved in its earliest form in the *Liber Niger*. In addition, the compiler listed the numerous estates, allegedly granted by Wulfhere in 664, most of which lie within Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire, whilst others are located in Leicestershire, Rutland, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Kent, Shropshire and Yorkshire.[63] Version A also contains material derived from other sources including the appended land grants to pseudo-Agatho's bull, Richard I's confirmation charter to *Burch* of 1189 and Abbot Ælfsige's transaction of *c.* 1020 x 1023. Since all of these documents are preserved in Swaffham's register, it is feasible that Version A's compiler consulted Swaffham's manuscript as his source.[64] Pseudo-Wulfhere's charter Version A was interpolated into the Book of Walter of Whittlesey (1332-1339) and the Great Book of John of Achurch (*c.* 1170).[65] Nevertheless, emblazoned with gold leaf, with a portrait of the king and measuring 31¾ x 24 inches (80.5 x 61cm), BL., Cotton Augustus ii. 5 represents the most impressive of all the versions of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter. Its size and aspect suggest that it was produced for proclamation at an auspicious

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[61] Martin, *Cartularies*, pp. 36-8; *The White Book of Peterborough*, ed. S. Raban (Northampton, 2001).
[62] BL, Cotton Vespasian E. xii, ff. 90r; ff. 94r-99r; *White Book*, ed. Raban, Nos. 224-5, 245D.
[63] S. 68. It is not within the remit of this thesis to discuss in detail the estates, which lay beyond the bounds of Version B of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter and the Eight Hundreds of Oundle. For two comprehensive studies, see S. Keynes, *The Councils of Clofesho*, Vaughan Paper No. 38 (Leicester, 1994), pp. 33-46; C. M. Peterson, 'Studies in the Early History of Peterborough Abbey, *c.* 650-1066' (unpubl. PhD thesis, Birmingham University, 1995), pp. 58-90, 222-6, 253-60, 267-87; 310-321.
[64] CUL, PDC 1, ff. 37v-38v (Pseudo-Wulfhere's charter); ff. 73r-74v (pseudo-Agatho's bull); ff. 44r-46r, (Richard I's charter); ff. 119v-120r Ælfsige's contract). Version A's charter bounds included a perambulation of the marsh known as Whittlesey Mere and its associated fisheries as described in Abbot Ælfsige's contract. See Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 24r-25v. See below, Chapters 5 and 6.
[65] Whittlesey, ff. 193r-195v; Soc. Ant., 38, ff. 205r-208r.

occasion, perhaps for the visit of Edward I and Queen Margaret *c.* 1302 during the abbacy of Godfrey de Croyland (1299-1321) or for the entertainment of Prince Edward of Wales and his companion, Piers Gaveston, shortly afterwards.[66]

g) Cottonian Library, Otho A. xvii (now lost): *Historia Cœnobii Petriburgensis versibus rhythmicis Gallicanis*

Of similar date to Version A of Wulfhere's charter is an incomplete Anglo-French rhyme, *Historia Cœnobii Petriburgensis Versibus rhythmicis Gallicanis.* Preserved in the same manuscript as Hugh Candidus' Chronicle, it represented a précis of Hugh's house-history, from the time of the abbey's foundation by Peada and Oswiu, until the disastrous appointment of Henry d' Angély in 1127, after which the poem ends abruptly.[67] However, several salient points were emphasized in the course of the verses, suggesting that the poem was composed to be recited or even sung to a wider audience than the monks of *Burch*. The lavish donations bestowed upon the monastery by Peada, his siblings and Oswiu of Northumbria were remarked upon, thus establishing *Medeshamstede*'s connexions and encouraging present company also to give generously.[68] The monastery's pre-Conquest claim to a status second only to Rome, its ancient rights and privileges as prescribed by *Relatio* charters and bull and the prominence of its abbots were also stressed. The statutory threat of excommunication for all, irrespective of their rank, who disregarded *Medeshamstede*'s ancient liberties was applied. *Burch* was also promoted as a centre of pilgrimage with an impressive array of relics, including the arm of St. Oswald, brother of Oswiu.[69] Therefore, the poem demonstrates that the issues of seniority and supremacy over neighbouring religious houses were of as equal importance to the monastery in the late-thirteenth century as they had been when the *Relatio* forgeries had been compiled. Indeed, the verses vigorously convey the message that the monastery should remain free from interference by both religious and temporal lords suggesting that the poem also may have been composed for Edward I's or the Prince of Wales' visits as an accompaniment to Version A of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter.[70]

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[66] Whittlesey, ff. 114r; *CB*, pp. 171-2; *Symon Gunton's History of the Church of Peterburgh*, ed. S. Patrick, facsimile edn. (Stamford, 1990), pp. 39-40.
[67] Cottonian Library Otho A. xvii was destroyed in 1731. However, Sparke had acquired a copy of the verses, which he published as *Versibus Gallicanis* in his *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Varii* I, pp. 241-56. A more recent edition with a translation has been published by Alexander Bell as '*La Geste de Burch*' in *HC*, pp. 175-218.
[68] *HC*, lines 52-66. See also Smith, *Cottonian Library*, pp. 68-9.
[69] *HC.*, lines 135-69, 276-306, 351-68, 372-84.
[70] Whittlesey, f. 114r.

h) British Library, Additional 39758: The Book of Walter of Whittlesey

Like Swaffham's volume, the Book of Walter of Whittlesey, complied between *c.* 1322 and 1329, was a combination of chronicle and cartulary. In addition to his version of Hugh Candidus' house-history and its continuations (folios 20r-115v), Whittlesey's manuscript contains regnal lists, saints' obituaries and other notable events (folios 2r-4v), copies of Version A of pseudo-Wulfhere and pseudo–Eadgar's charters (folios 193r-198v) and a version of *Passio sanctorum Wlfardi et Ruffini*, the sons of Wulfhere who were allegedly slain by their father upon their conversion to Christianity (folios 8r-19v).[71] An extent of the manors of *c.* 1321 was also included, demonstrating that the abbey's possessions were little changed since the procurement of the papal bulls of Eugenius III in 1146, which were also transcribed into Whittlesey's register.[72] A chronicle of England from Brutus until 1274 occupies the margins of folios 8r-92v and 95v.[73]

i) London, Society of Antiquaries, 38: The Greater Book of John of Achurch

John of Achurch, warden of the abbey manors *c.* 1344, was credited with compiling or owning both the Greater and Red Books, which bear his name.[74] The scribe's interest in the demesne estates suggests that he also may have had connexions with the *Carte Nativorum*, a mid fourteenth-century inventory of peasants' land holdings within the demesne manors.[75] The Greater Book contains numerous thirteenth- and fourteenth-century charters and transactions relating to *Burch*'s possessions in Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire and Rutland, all of which had been claimed in late thirteenth-/early fourteenth-century Version A of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter and were confirmed to the abbey in 1086.[76] A copy of Version A, commencing with an illuminated capital bearing a portrait of Wulfhere in medieval regalia, is located near the end of the cartulary, perhaps to illustrate the 'legitimacy' of *Burch*'s jurisdiction over the estates.[77] Pseudo-Eadgar's charter was excluded

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[71] Whittlesey's source for the legend was probably the lost Cottonian Library, Otho A. xvii. According to local tradition, the princes were killed in the vicinity of *Medeshamstede*. Before the Dissolution in 1539, a series of windows in Peterborough's cloister depicted their passion. See also *HC*, pp. 140-59; *Gunton's History of the Church*, pp. 2-3, 104-10; Martin, *Cartularies*, pp. 34-5.
[72] Whittlesey, ff. 116r-128v; ff. 161r-163r; *HC*, pp. 109-24; 162-70.
[73] Martin, *Cartularies*, p. 18.
[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 19-22.
[75] CUL, PDC 39 (*c.* 1340-7); *Carte Nativorum: A Peterborough Abbey Cartulary of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. C. N. L. Brooke and M. M. Postan (Oxford, 1960).
[76] BL, Cotton Augustus ii. 5; S 68.
[77] Soc. Ant., 38, ff. 205r-208r.

from this manuscript. Although Achurch's Greater Book remains unedited, the Society of Antiquaries retains a mid-eighteenth century transcript, catalogued as MS 126.[78]

j) Cambridge University Library, Peterborough Dean and Chapter, 6: The Red Book of John of Achurch

Compiled during the late fourteenth century, John of Achurch's Red Book recorded extracts from the proceedings and judgements pertaining to *Burch* at both the royal and shire courts. A succession of royal charters from Wulfhere to the reign of Edward III (1327-77) were also copied into the manuscript, including the latest known medieval versions of pseudo-Wulfhere and pseudo-Eadgar's charters.[79] 'Abbot Hædda's' house-history and pseudo-Agatho's bull were excluded from Achurch's register.

k) Cambridge University Library, Peterborough Dean and Chapter, 7: The Book of Fees of Brother Henry of Pytchley

Not to be confused with the late thirteenth-century Book of Charters and Privileges of Henry of Pytchley Junior, *Liber feodorum cum alliis rebus fratris Henrici de Pygthysle,* is believed to have been compiled by his namesake, the sacrist at *Burch*, *c.* 1391-1405. An edition was published by W. T. Mellows in 1927.[80] The cartulary contains little pre-Conquest material apart from 'Nota de fundacione monasterii de Thorneye', which was derived from pseudo-Wulfhere's charter.[81] However, the manuscript provides crucial details regarding the feudal history of the Nassaburgh Hundred of Northamptonshire, including genealogies of the knights of *Burch* dating back to the Norman Conquest.

l) British Library, Cotton Claudius A. v, ff. 1r-44v: The Chronicle of 'Abbot John'

An inscription written in a later hand proclaiming that a fourteenth-century manuscript was the 'Cronicon Petroburgense a fundatione eiusdem monasterii ab anno 604 (sic) ad annum 1368. Continet . . . seriem Abbatum monasterii euisdem et Priorum Spaldingensis ecclesiæ in comitatu Lincolniensi per Johannem Abbatum Burgi Sancti Petri' led Joseph

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[78] Willets, *Catalogue*, p. 57.
[79] CUL, PDC 6, f. 9r-10v; ff. 10v-11v.
[80] Monks usually took their cognomen from their place of origin. Since Pytchley was a possession of Peterborough at in 1086, this may explain why two Peterborough scribes, separated by a century, shared the same name. See *Domesday Book* hereafter *DB: Northamptonshire*, ed. J. Morris, F. and C, Thorn (Chichester, 1979), 6a [25]; *The Book of Fees of Henry of Pytchley*, ed. and tr. W. T. Mellows (Kettering, 1927), pp. xiii; Martin, *Cartularies*, pp. 28-30.
[81] CUL, PDC 7, f. 1r-2v; Mellows, *Pytchley*, pp. 2-4. See also Soc. Ant., 60, f. 63r.

Sparke the antiquarian to conclude that it was the work of Robert of Swaffham's contemporary, John de Caux [Kaleto], abbot of *Burch* (1250-62), with a continuation by Robert de Boston, a monk of Spalding Priory.[82] Although 'Abbot John's' Chronicle and its continuation recorded the annals from 654, the year 'Abbot John' believed *Medeshamstede* was founded, until 1368, it mainly described national and international events. However, 'John de Caux' introduced the concept that Abbot Hædda was slaughtered by the Danes alongside his monks in 870. The chronicle also contains a graphic, but nevertheless inaccurate, account of the aftermath of the attack upon the abbey and the desecration of the relics of Cyneburh and her relatives that does not appear in any earlier source.[83] The description was later used *verbatim* by the compiler of pseudo-Ingulph's Chronicle of Croyland Abbey.[84] For the legend of the Lincolnshire warlord, Hereward's, capture of Abbot he appears to have shared a similar source to Swaffham. 'Abbot John's' account of Turold's misfortune also is repeated faithfully in pseudo-Ingulph's Crowland house-history.[85] Gransden proposes that 'Abbot John's' chronicle 'was adapted for the Peterborough copyist' from a Bury St. Edmunds' exemplar.[86] However, its management of local events, availability as a source for the Crowland house-history, its catalogue of *Burch*'s misfortunes rather than its attributes, and its continuation by a monk of Spalding all suggest that the house-history's provenance was the Lincolnshire monasteries of either Crowland or Spalding. Nevertheless, since a note in a later hand at the beginning of the manuscript states 'Iste liber pertinet ad monasterium de Burgo Sancti Petri, anno domini MDCLIIII', we may assume that, at some time before the Dissolution in 1539, the manuscript belonged to *Burch*.[87]

A study of materials preserved in the Peterborough archive reveals that the earliest extant description of the foundation of *Medeshamstede* appears in ASC (E), commenced at *Burch c.* 1121. For his exemplar, the scribe relied heavily upon the quartet of *Relatio* forgeries. Furthermore, after Hugh Candidus' Chronicle (1155 x 1175), no new data

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[82] Sparke published an edition of the chronicle in 'Johannem de Kaleto, abbatem Petroburgensem, et Robertum Boston, monachum forsan Spaldingiæ' in his *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Varii* I, pp. 1-137. J. A. Giles published a less bulky edition. See his *Abbot John de Caux: Chronicon Angliæ Petriburgense* (London, 1845). See also Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 530-1307* (London, 1970), pp. 402-3.

[83] 'Abbot John' described the despoliation of the relics of SS. Cyneburh [Kyneburgha] and Cyneswith [Kyneswitha] of Castor and Tibba of Ryhall, which were not translated to Peterborough until after 963 during the abbacy of Ælfsige. See *Chron. Angliæ*, ed. Giles, pp. 19-22. See also ASC (E) 963; *HC*, pp. 50-1.

[84] *Ingulph*, pp. ix, 45-8.

[85] *Chron. Angliæ*, ed. Giles, pp. 55-6; *Ingulph*, pp. 143, 259.

[86] Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 402-3.

[87] BL, Cotton Claudius A. v also contains a copy of William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* (ff. 45r-133r) and *Vita Adhelmi Episcope* (ff. 133r-135r).

may be extracted from any ensuing cartulary or house-history. Therefore, it seems that when describing *Medeshamstede*'s Anglo-Saxon past, subsequent scribes employed as their exemplars pre-existing twelfth-century material. It is feasible that, once the generation of monks who were aware of the production of the forgeries were dead, the fabrications may have been accepted within the community as authentic, prompting scribes to diligently reproduce them in their cartularies for posterity. As *Burch*'s post-Conquest privileges and possessions were established beyond doubt in the confirmation charters of successive kings and through title deeds, less emphasis was placed upon the forgeries to the extent that pseudo-Agatho's bull was excluded from fourteenth-century registers of Henry of Pytchley Junior, Walter of Whittlesey and John of Achurch. Subsequent cartularies, such as the White Book, *Carte Nativorum* and the Register of George Fraunceys concentrate upon recording only transactions pertaining to *Burch*'s post-Conquest estates.[88]

2. Additional twelfth-century material

While Hugh Candidus was diligently compiling his Peterborough chronicle, twenty miles away across the Great Fen a monk named Richard was writing the *Liber Eliensis*, which he compiled between *c.* 1146 and 1174.[89] Indeed, Ely had a more substantial claim to royal connexions than *Medeshamstede*. Its foundation in 673 by Æthelthryth, the estranged wife of Ecgfrith of Northumbria, was well documented by Bede.[90] However, it seems that Richard was so engrossed in promoting the status of his own monastery that *Medeshamstede* received only a passing reference, which he had gleaned from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.[91]

Ramsey Abbey, ten miles to the south-east of *Burch*, had no such pedigree to rely upon, since it was not until *c.* 966 that it was established by Ealdorman Æthelwine and Bishop Oswald of Worcester.[92] Therefore, the anonymous scribes of the late twelfth-century *Liber Benefactorum Ecclesiæ Rameseiensis* and of the thirteenth-century *Chronicon Abbatiæ Rameseiensis* were obliged to base their monastery's claim to antiquity upon the relics of the seventh-century Kentish princes, Æthelred and Æthelberht, and of the Bishops Felix and Ivo,

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[88] CUL, PDC 39; BL, Cotton Faustina B. iii, ff. 1r-157r; Martin, *Cartularies*, pp. 25-6, 30-4.
[89] *LE.*, pp. xlvi-xlix; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 270-1.
[90] *HE*, Bk. IV, chs. 19 [17], 20 [18].
[91] *LE.*, Bk. I, ch. 17; *HE*, Bk. IV, ch. 6.
[92] *Chronicon Abbatiæ Rameseiensis*, ed. W. Dunn Macray, RS 83 (London, 1886), hereafter *Chron. Ram.* pp. 13-4, 35-42. See also C. R. Hart, 'The Foundation of Ramsey Abbey', *Review Benedictine*, 104 (1994), pp. 295-327.

procured for the abbey by various means.[93] Unfortunately, they did not mention the foundation of the rival monastery of *Medeshamstede*.

Furthermore, the establishment of a seventh-century monastery at *Medeshamstede* was cited in neither the Thorney Annals, which probably were initiated by the Norman Abbot Gunter de le Mans (1085-1114) and continued until 1421,[94] nor in the documents preserved in the fourteenth-century cartulary, the Red Book of Thorney.[95] Indeed, this was a contradiction of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter of 664, which claimed that the earliest foundation at *Ancarig* [Thorney] was once a cell of *Medeshamstede*, occupied by ascetic monks from Seaxwulf's monastery.[96] In contrast, Eadgar's foundation charter to Thorney of 973 emphasized the significance of not the seventh-century monastic settlement of *Ancarig* but of the pious siblings, Tancredus, Torhtredus and Toua [Tona], who were claimed to have inhabited the *Þornige* ['the isle of thorns'] at the time of the Danish incursions of 870.[97] The omission of the reference to *Medeshamstede* by the Thorney scribe may have been deliberate, since to acknowledge his monastery's early existence as a mere satellite of *Medeshamstede* was tantamount to admitting *Medeshamstede*'s primacy over Thorney. However, it is likely that the Thorney compiler was using as his exemplar a document which pre-dated pseudo-Wulfhere's charter.

During the early twelfth century, the Anglo-Norman historian, Orderic Vitalis (1075-1142), a monk of St Évroul [Normandy], was invited by Abbot Geoffrey d'Orleans to visit his abbey at *Croyland* [Crowland], eight miles north of Peterborough.[98] Relying mainly upon a copy of Felix's *Vita Guthlaci* and information supplied by Prior Wulfstan of Crowland, Orderic devoted a substantial portion of his *Historia Ecclesiaistica* to the monastery.[99] Included in the same work was a brief reference to *Medeshamstede*, in which he cited its foundation by Seaxwulf 'tempore Wulferi regis' and its restoration by Eadgar and Æthelwold.[100]

William of Malmesbury (*c.* 1095-*c.* 1143), 'the self-appointed successor to Bede', was also residing at Crowland for a brief period whilst revising his *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* in

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[93] *Chron. Ram.*, pp. ix, 55, 114-5, 127-8. See below, Chapter 4, p. 137.
[94] Oxford, St. John's College, 17; *The Thorney Annals, 963-1412*, ed. C. R. Hart, (Lampeter, 1997), pp. 2-3.
[95] CUL, Add. 3020-1, 2 vols. See also C. R. Hart, *Early Charters of Eastern England* (Leicester, 1966) [*ECEE*], pp. 146-50.
[96] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 63r. The word, *Ancarig* ['anchorage'], is tenth-century in origin, Treharne, per. com., Sept., 2001. See below, Chapter 2, pp. 45-6.
[97] CUL, Add. 3020, f. 12rv (new foliation); *ECEE*, pp. 165-172; S 792.
[98] *The Ecclesiastical History of Oderic Vitalis*, ed. and tr. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969-80) I (Books III and IV), hereafter *OV*, pp. xiii-xv, xxv-xxvii, 322-5.
[99] *OV*, pp. 322-51.
[100] *OV*, pp. 244-5.

1125.[101] Although William acknowledged the antiquity of *Medeshamstede*, its restoration by Æthelwold, the erection of the curtain wall by Abbot Cœnwulf [Kenulf] (992-1005), causing it to be called *Burch* or 'stronghold', and the enshrinement the relics of Cyneburh, Cyneswith, Tibba and Oswald, he supplied no information about the seventh-century foundation. However, he recorded that *Burch*'s post-Æthelwold estates were so extensive 'that almost the whole region round about was subject to it', suggesting that he may have been invited to inspect pseudo-Eadgar's charter during a visit to the abbey.[102] Malmesbury was even less forthcoming in his *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, which included no references to pre-Conquest references to *Burch.*[103]

Like, Malmesbury, Archdeacon Henry of Huntingdon (*c.* 1088-*c.*1156) was well-informed regarding the enshrinement of Cyneburh, Cyneswith and Tibba and their relationship with Peada.[104] Using Bede as his direct source for his *Historia Anglorum*, Henry also described the conversion of the Middle Angles but was frustratingly silent regarding the foundation of any seventh-century religious houses within the region.[105] However, unlike his fellow historians, Huntingdon included a reference to the abandoned Roman settlement of *Durobrivæ*, at Chesterton on the south bank of the River Nene (centred at TL 1168 9717). He divulged that it was named *Kair Dorm* by the British but later became known as *Dormecastre.*[106] The name *Dormundescæstre* was used by John of Tynemouth, a fourteenth-century monk writing at St. Albans *c.* 1346, to describe the place where he claimed that Cyneburh founded her nunnery 'not far from the River Nene . . . at *Kyneburge castrum* [Castor]'.[107] According to a copy of a charter preserved in the *Liber Niger*, by 948 the name of the settlement had been changed to *Kyneburge castre*.[108]

We may perhaps understand the reluctance of twelfth-century fenland chroniclers to endorse the antiquity and royal sponsorship of the rival monastery of *Burch*, especially if they suspected that their own house may have once lain within its territory. Nevertheless, a study

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[101] Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 166-7, 169; *OV*, pp. xxv-xxvi.
[102] *William of Malmesbury: The Deeds of the Bishops of England* (*Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*), ed. and tr. D. Preest (Woodbridge, 2002), ch. 180. See also ASC (E), 963; *HC*, pp. 47-8, 50-1.
[103] *William of Malmesbury: Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. and tr. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. OMT (Oxford, 1998-9).
[104] *Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, Historia Anglorum*, ed. and tr. D. Greenway, OMT (Oxford, 1996), pp. 692-3.
[105] *Ibid.*, pp. 196-9; *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 21.
[106] *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Greenway, pp. 14-5. See also D. Mackreth, '*Durobrivæ*', *Durobrivæ* 7 (1979), pp. 19-21; Mackreth, '*Durobrivæ,* Chesterton, Cambridgeshire', in *Small Towns in Eastern England and Beyond*, ed. A. E. Brown (Oxford, 1995), pp. 147-55.
[107] *Nova Legenda Anglie as Collected by John of Tynemouth et al.*, ed. C. Horstman, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1891) I, p. 130. See below, Chapter 5, pp. 175-7.
[108] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 30v,'King Eadred to Ælfsige, land at Ailsworth'; S 533; *Nova Legenda* I, ed. Horstman, p. 130.

of twelfth-century 'national' chronicles has revealed that no more information was available concerning the conversion of the Middle Angles and the establishment of *Medeshamstede* than can be accessed from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.[109]

Symeon of Durham's *Libellus de Exordio*, compiled *c.* 1104 x 1115, diligently recorded the baptism of Peada by Bishop Finan but failed to mention Peada's marriage to the daughter of Oswiu of Northumbria, an event that precipitated the conversion of the Middle Angles. Symeon reworked Bede's account of the evangelization of the Middle Angles by the four priests, after Peada's joyous return to his province but had nothing to say regarding the foundation of *Medeshamstede*.[110]

John of Worcester's chronicle survived in the form of five twelfth-century manuscripts, all of which are prefixed with lists of popes, Jewish high priests, selected archbishops and bishops and the dynasties of Anglo-Saxon kings, and two fragments.[111] After recording the names of Penda's offspring, John explained that Cyneburgh 'became a nun in a monastery founded by her brothers, Wulfhere and Æthelred, and which was called after her, Cyneburg's castle. Her sister Cyneswith also became a nun in the same monastery'.[112] However, like Symeon, John repeated Bede's account of Peada's acceptance of the Christian faith as well as his baptism, marriage and the conversion of his subjects by four priests, whom he named as Cedd, Adda, Betti and Diuma, but volunteered no information regarding the establishment of a religious house in the province of the Middle Angles.[113]

Thus, it appears that twelfth-century historians experienced similar problems to their modern counterparts in their quest for information relating to the establishment of *Medeshamstede*. Whilst the Peterborough chroniclers resorted to incorporating into their house-histories the forgeries known collectively as *Relatio Hedde Abbatis*, it is unclear whether their contemporaries from other religious houses were either unaware of these documents or knew of them but doubted their credibility. Therefore, it seems that the only

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[109] *HE*, Bk. III, chs. 21, 24; Bk. IV, ch. 6.

[110] *Symeon of Durham: Libellus de Exordio atque Procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis Ecclesie, Tract on the Origins and Progress of this Church of Durham,* ed. and tr. D. W. Rollason, OMT (Oxford, 2000), pp. xlii-xliv, Bk. I, ch. 3; *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 21.

[111] The seven manuscripts represent various twelfth-century revisions of the original text. The main manuscript, Oxford, Corpus Christi Colleges, 157, which contains a revision of the annals from 1128 to 1131 and ends in 1140, is believed to have been compiled by three scribes, the third of which was probably John of Worcester. See *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. Darlington and P. McGurk, tr. J. Bray and P. McGurk, 2 vols., OMT (Oxford, 1995) II, pp. xvii-xviii, xxi. Gransden concluded that the *Chronicle* was the work of John of Worcester, who used data, which had been collected by his predecessor, Florence. See her *Historical Writing*, p. 144.

[112] *The Chronicle of Florence of Worcester with Two Continuations*, ed. T. F. Forester (London, 1854), pp. 447-8. John's source for Cyneburh's career appears to have been the 'Mildrith Legend'. See below, Chapter 2, pp. 43-4.

[113] *John of Worcester* II, ed. Darlington and McGurk, pp. 104-5; *HE*, iii. 21.

trustworthy, primary source widely available to the discerning researcher was Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, compiled over fifty years after the elevation of Abbot Seaxwulf to the see of Lichfield *c.* 673.[114]

3. Secondary Sources: the antiquarian interest

After *Burch* was dissolved in 1539, two-thirds of its estates were awarded to the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough Cathedral. The remainder of the monastic lands were purchased by prominent local families such as the Fitzwilliams, the Montagues and the Wingfields, among whom some of the registers and cartularies were dispersed.[115] The effect of the Dissolution upon the monastic library was devastating. Neil Ker calculated that out of the 348 manuscripts listed in a late fourteenth-century Peterborough library catalogue, only ten have been located.[116]

By the mid-seventeenth century, academics, clergymen and local gentry began to realize the significance of the surviving Peterborough manuscripts. In 1655 William Dugdale (1605-86), a Warwickshire antiquarian, published the first of three volumes of his *Monasticon Anglicanum*, which made available to scholars key documents from manuscripts held in private collections. These documents include the *Relatio* forgeries, the *Passio sanctorum Wlfardi et Ruffini* and 'Abbot John's' account of Hædda's death and the destruction of *Medeshamstede* by the Danes.[117] Dugdale made no attempt to analyse the information at his disposal, but merely presented it to his readers as a seventeenth-century cartulary.

Meanwhile, Dugdale's contemporary, Symon Gunton (1609-76), the incumbent of St. John's Parish Church, was already gathering information from the Peterborough chronicles and cartularies in order to produce his *History of the Church in Peterburgh*. His work was completed by Symon Patrick, Dean of the Cathedral from 1679 to 1689, who published their joint efforts in 1686.[118] Both Gunton and Patrick were familiar with Bede's and William of Malmesbury's *Historiæ* as well as with less trustworthy sources such as pseudo-Ingulph's Crowland chronicle. However, it appears that Patrick was unaware of the dubious origins of

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[114] *HE*, Bk. III, chs. 21, 24; Bk. IV, ch. 6.
[115] Martin, *Cartularies*, p. xv.
[116] N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 150-2. See also CUL, PDC 15; *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues*, ed. K. Friis-Jensen and J. M. W. Willoughby, 8: *Peterborough Abbey* (London, 2001), Bp21.
[117] *Monasticon Anglicanum: A History of the Abbies and other Monasteries, Hospitals and Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches with their other Dependencies in England and Wales etc.*, 2nd edn. ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Badinel, 2nd edn., 6 vols. in 8 (London, 1817-30) I, pp. 375-80.
[118] S. Gunton, *The History of the Church in Peterburgh* [1686], ed. S. Patrick, facsimile edn. (Stamford, 1990); Martin, *Cartularies*, pp. xix-xx.

the pseudo-Wulfhere and pseudo–Eadgar's charters and reproduced them in his edition without question or comment.[119]

The earliest historian to cast doubt upon the authenticity of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter was Joseph Sparke (1682-1740), who expressed his misgivings in a letter of 19 January 1718/9 to his fellow antiquary, John Bridges.[120] In his capacity as Cathedral librarian and auditor, Sparke had at his disposal all of the manuscripts which were in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough Cathedral. Working in conjunction with Dean White Kennet, in 1723 he published his combined volumes of *Historia Anglicannæ Scriptores Varii et Codicibus Manuscriptis*. The first element, *Historia Anglicannæ*, was devoted to the Chronicle of Abbot John de Caux and its continuation by John de Boston.[121] The second section entitled, *Historiæ Coenobii Burgenensis Scriptores Varii*, contained Whittlesey's text of Hugh Candidus' and Swaffham's chronicles together with the anonymous continuation. An edition of the Anglo-French poem, *Versibus rhythmicis Gallicanis*, and a biography of Thomas à Becket complete Sparke's work.

Sparke's association with John Bridges (1666-1724), a Northamptonshire lawyer, was of mutual benefit, since it involved the exchange of books, transcripts of manuscripts and ideas. In 1719, Bridges scoured his county in search of reliable material for his two volumes of *History of the Antiquities of Northamptonshire*. Moreover, he consulted manuscripts held in the Cottonian Library in Westminster in addition to those owned by the Earl of Exeter of Burghley House, Stamford, which included the *Liber Niger* and the Greater Book of John of Achurch.[122] After Bridges' death, the Reverend Peter Whalley undertook the task of continuing his work, which was eventually published in 1791.[123] Whilst Sparke's *Historia Anglicannæ Scriptores Varii*, written entirely in Latin, may have been intended as a primary source for academic study, Bridges' *History of the Antiquities of Northamptonshire* was probably designed to appeal to a wider audience. Appearing as almost a forerunner to the *Victoria County History*, Bridges' *History* provides references to places of worship that were cited in Version A of Wulfhere's charter but which either had been demolished or had changed their function by the early eighteenth century.[124] These included the chapel at

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[119] Gunton, *History of the Church*, pp. 177-22, 123-8, 135-9.
[120] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Top. Northants., c. 17, p. 121. Sparke also refuted the legend of Wlfardus and Ruffinus, which he omitted from his edition. See Martin, *Cartularies*, pp. xvii-xviii.
[121] BL, Cotton Claudius, A. v, ff. 1r-45r; *Historia Anglicannæ*, pp. 1-113.
[122] Soc, Ant., 60, 38; Martin, *Cartularies*, p. xix.
[123] J. Bridges, *History of the Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, ed. P. Whalley, 2 vols. (London, 1791). See also R. Eady, 'John Bridges, Peter Whalley and the History of the County', *NPP* 4:5 (1970/1), pp. 288-9.
[124] BL, Cotton, Augustus ii. 5.

Peakirk, which was traditionally the site of cell of Guthlac's sister, Pega, and the hermitage at Singlesole, later a monastic grange and subject for dispute between the abbots of *Burch* and Crowland.[125]

A contemporary of Bridges and Sparke was John Morton (*c.* 1671-1726), whose book, *The Natural History of Northamptonshire*, was published in 1712.[126] Despite essentially being a study of the flora and fauna of the county, the Northamptonshire clergyman devoted a chapter to local antiquities.[127] Morton's research was thorough and analytical. Citing Henry of Huntington (*c.* 1088-*c.* 1156) and William Camden (1552-1623) as his sources, he discussed the territories of the British peoples who inhabited Northamptonshire at the beginning of the Roman period but said nothing regarding the Middle Anglian *Gyrwe* and *Wiðerigga* tribal units whose territory appears to have been enclosed within the bounds of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter.[128] Morton demonstrated his awareness of the network of Roman roads and 'publick ways', especially in the vicinity of Castor, seven miles to the east of Peterborough. Furthermore, he conceded that the earthworks at Chesterton were 'a Roman station', whilst 'the Castle or principal Fort or however, the Place of Residence of the chief Officer was upon the Hill where the [Castor] Church at present stands', unlike Edmund Artis (1789-1847) who, when excavating the churchyard site in the 1820s, believed that he had discovered the Roman fort and *vicus* of *Durobrivae*.[129] In contrast, Morton's description of the foundation of *Medeshamstede* was brief and appears to have been based upon Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and upon pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, which like Gunton and Bridges, he believed to be genuine.[130]

4. Twentieth-century scholarship

To the list of antiquarians whose authorship has been discussed above, we must add the name of William Thomas Mellows (1882-1950), who Joan Wake described as being 'in the front rank of local historians'.[131] A native of Peterborough and a solicitor by profession, Mellows developed an interest in ecclesiastical history in his early twenties, resulting in his

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[125] Bridges, *History of Northants.*, pp. 514, 574. See below, Chapter 5, p. 50; Chapter 6, pp. 203-4, 245-6.
[126] J. Morton, *The Natural History of Northamptonshire* (London, 1712).
[127] *Ibid.*, pp. 498-549.
[128] *Ibid.*, p. 498. See also BL, Harley 3271, f. 6v; C. R. Hart, 'The Tribal Hidage', *Transactions of the Royal Society*, Fifth Series 21 (1971), pp. 142-3, 152-3; W. Davies and H. Vierck, 'The Contexts of "Tribal Hidage": Social Aggregates and Settlement Patterns', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 8 (1974), p. 284.
[129] Morton, *Natural History*, pp. 501, 509, 511-2; E. Artis, *Durobrivæ of Antoninus Identified and Illustrated* (London, 1928).
[130] Morton, *Natural History*, pp. 534-5; *HE*, Bk. III, chs. 21, 24.
[131] J. Wake, 'William Thomas Mellows', *NPP* 1:3 (1950), p. 3.

appointment first as chapter clerk, then as treasurer to the Peterborough Dean and Chapter, Cathedral librarian (1936-46) and finally honorary Cathedral archivist (1946-50). He was a founding member of the Northampton Record Society for whom he translated Henry of Pytchley's Book of Fees and the Chronicle of Hugh Candidus as well as editing several other volumes relating to the history of Peterborough. Unfortunately, Mellows' scholarship has not been widely appreciated and an edition of his papers on a variety of local themes is long awaited.[132]

In 1933, Frank Merry Stenton (1884-1967) became the first historian to adopt a holistic approach to the origins of the seventh-century monastery of *Medeshamstede* and its purported *prouincia* in his paper, '*Medeshamstede* and its colonies'.[133] Combining his analysis of all the authentic pre-870 material that is preserved in copy form in the *Liber Niger*, with etymological evidence and parallel references in Æthelwold's appendage to pseudo-Agatho bull and ASC (E), Stenton conjectured that the spurious foundation documents may have been based upon earlier charters which had survived in oral or written form until the twelfth century.[134] He argued on the grounds of authentic diplomatic and etymological evidence that *Medeshamstede* had acquired colonies as far away as Breedon-on-the-Hill [Leicestershire], Hoo [Kent], Bermondsey and Woking within decades of its foundation. However, he conceded that in respect of the date and circumstances of its foundation of *Medeshamstede*, the only reliable source of information was Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica.*[135]

Forty years later W. T. W. Potts responded with his treatise, 'The Pre-Danish Estate of Peterborough Abbey'.[136] Unlike Stenton, Potts examined the seventh-century boundaries of the North and South *Gyrwe* with their neighbouring tribes in relation to the monastic estates of *Medeshamstede* and Ely, offering a perambulation of his perceived bounds of the eastern section of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter.[137] However, although Potts acknowledged the *Wiðerigga*, another tribe whose territory formed part of *Medeshamstede*'s domain, he did not attempt to plot the western section of pseudo-Wulfhere's bounds, an assignment that is

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[132] Mellows' papers included 'Markets, Guilds and Fairs of the City of Peterborough' (1909), *The Medieval Hospitals and Alms of Peterborough* (Peterborough, 1918), 'The Granges of the Abbey of Peterborough' (Peterborough, 1923/4).

[133] F. M. Stenton, '*Medeshamstede* and its Colonies', in *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. Stenton (Oxford, 1970), pp. 179-192.

[134] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 67rv; Stenton, '*Medeshamstede*', pp. 179-80.

[135] Stenton, *Medeshamstede*, pp. 191-2. See also Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 36r-37v, Hoo, 687 x 691); ff. 44v-45r, Breedon (675 x 692); ff. 55v-56v, Woking and Bermondsey (708 x 715); ASC (E) 686 (Hoo); 777 [779] (Woking).

[136] W. T. W. Potts, 'The Pre-Danish Estate of Peterborough Abbey', *PCAS* 65:2 (1973-4), pp. 13-27.

[137] *Ibid.*, pp. 15-8, 20-1.

possible through the interpretation of topographical features, archaeological and etymological evidence and *Domesday* records.[138]

Stenton's article was regarded as the definitive source pertaining to the early possessions of *Medeshamstede* and its pre-870 colonies until 1993, when his work was reviewed by Simon Keynes in his study of the Councils of *Clofesho*.[139] Although several informative articles and books have been published concerning the kingdom of Mercia, it has been the general trend for authors to be non-committal about the extent of *Medeshamstede*'s monastic estates, usually basing their evidence upon Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*,[140] the 'Tribal Hidage'[141] or the so-called 'Breedon memoranda'.[142]

The anatomy of the Peterborough forgeries was examined at length in Wilhelm Levison's *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*. In his Appendix I, 'The charters of Ethelbert of Kent', Levison scrutinized the *Relatio* documents, comparing them with counterparts from the continent and St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. Whilst he suspected that their author was a monk of St. Medard de Soissons named Guerno, who died between 1119 and 1130, he failed to give specific dates for the Canterbury fabrications suggesting that they were composed 'after the middle of the eleventh century'. Moreover, Levison neither discussed the charter boundaries nor the political climate in Peterborough that motivated the forgeries' production.[143] In contrast, Susan Kelly was more specific in her dating, consigning Guerno's Canterbury forgeries to probably 'the first decade of the twelfth-century' but was primarily concerned with the spurious charters relating to St. Augustine's.[144]

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[138] *Ibid.*, pp. 21-7. See also Hart, 'The Tribal Hidage', pp. 142-3, 152-3; *DB: Northants.*, 6a [4, 9]. See below, Chapter 5.

[139] S. Keynes, *The Councils of Clofesho*, Vaughan Paper No. 38 (Leicester, 1994). See also Canon J. Higham, 'The Abbey of *Medeshamstede* (Peterborough) as a Seventh-Century Centre of Evangelism with Particular Reference to Brixworth', *The Friends of All Saints' Brixworth, Eleventh Annual Report and Statement of Accounts* (1993), pp. 25-36. For a survey of recent work on Anglo-Saxon charters in general, see N. Brooks, 'Anglo-Saxon Charters: A Review of Work 1953-73; with a Postscript on the period 1973-98', in his *Anglo-Saxon Myths: State and Church 400-1066* (London, 2000), pp. 181-237.

[140] *HE*, Bk. III, chs. 21, 24; Bk. IV, ch. 6.

[141] BL, Harley 3271, 6v. See also C. R. Hart, 'The Kingdom of Mercia', in *Mercian* Studies, ed. A. Dornier (Leicester, 1977), pp. 43-61; D. Dumville' 'Essex, Middle Anglia and the Expansion of Mercia', in: *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, ed. S. Bassett (Leicester, 1989), pp. 105-6.

[142] The two most frequently discussed 'Breedon memoranda' are as follows: Soc. Ant., 60, f. 44v-45r, 'Friduric, *princeps* of Æthelred, to *Medeshamstede* land at Breedon' (675 x 692), S 1803; f. 45rv, Friduric, *princeps*, to Hædda, Abbot of Breedon, land at *Hrepingas* [Repton] (675 x 692), S 1805. See A. Dornier, 'The Anglo-Saxon Monastery at Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leics.', in her *Mercian Studies* (Leicester, 1977), pp. 155-68; "*Hrepingas*' Reconsidered', in *Mercian Studies*, ed. Dornier, pp. 169-172; Keynes, *Clofesho*, pp. 37-41.

[143] W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*, pp. 200-23.

[144] Kelly, 'Some Forgeries in the Archive of St. Augustine's Canterbury', *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*, MGH Schriften 33: 4 (Hanover, 1988), p. 360. See below, Chapter 2, pp. 57-8.

5. PhD theses

Medeshamstede, later *Burch*, has been the subject for five doctoral theses, all of which are based almost entirely upon documentary evidence, but nevertheless provide a valuable contribution towards our understanding of the topography of the estates of the medieval monastery. Michael Franklin devoted a chapter to 'The Deanery of Peterborough' in his 'Minsters and Parishes: Northamptonshire Studies'. Although he examined the relationship between the *Wiðeringa* and North *Gyrwe* folk and the development of *matrix ecclesiæ* within the Nassaburgh Hundred, he made no attempt to scrutinize either the privileges or the bounds of pseudo-Wufhere's charter or to inquire into the motives behind its production.[145]

Eileen Bailey's 'The Fenland Abbeys in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries' was a survey of the monasteries of *Burch*, Ely, Thorney and Ramsey and their estates and status as centres of education and culture through a comparative study of their house-histories.[146] Bailey referred to the seventh-century foundation of *Medeshamstede* only in passing in order to explain its alleged destruction by the Danes in 870.[147] Moreover, since she was concerned mainly with authentic material, she simply dismissed the foundation charters without further discussion.[148]

Jennifer Paxton's thesis, 'Charter and Chronicle in Twelfth-Century England: House-Histories of the Fenland Abbeys' complemented that of Bailey in that it examined post-Conquest events that affected the monasteries of *Burch*, Ely and Ramsey in order to evaluate the scholarship of the scribes and their interaction with the neighbouring religious communities.[149] In her chapter dedicated to *Burch*, Paxton considered the significance of the *Relatio* documents and their treatment by ASC (E) Hand 1 and Hugh Candidus, suggesting that they 'may have been forged by or with the help of the notorious Norman practitioner, Guerno', during Ernulf's abbacy.[150] Although she briefly examined the motives behind the privileges conferred upon the abbey in the fabrications, she did not attempt to explore the charter bounds.[151]

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[145] M. Franklin, 'Minsters and Parishes: Northamptonshire Studies', (unpubl. PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1982), pp. 122-179.
[146] E. P. Bailey 'The Fenland Abbeys in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries' (unpubl. PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 1974).
[147] *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.
[148] *Ibid.*, p. 43-4.
[149] J. A. Paxton, 'Charter and Chronicle in Twelfth-Century England: House-Histories of Fenland Abbeys' (unpubl. PhD thesis, University of Harvard, 1999).
[150] *Ibid.*, pp. 74. See also her 'Forging Communities: Memory and Identity in Post-Conquest England', *Haskins Society Journal* 10 (2001), pp. 95-109.
[151] Paxton, 'Charter and Chronicle', pp, 68-9.

Colin Peterson's 'Studies in the early History of Peterborough Abbey, *c.*650- *c.*1066' investigated the establishment and restoration of *Medeshamstede* and the extent of its colonies, founding his research upon Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and documents that survive in copy form in the *Liber Niger* and the Book of Swaffham or were interpolated into ASC (E) and Hugh Candidus' Chronicle.[152] Peterson adopted an individualistic rather than a holistic approach to his data analysis, observing it from a pre-Conquest perspective without considering the post-Conquest sequence of events that precipitated the Peterborough forgeries or the significance of their inclusion or exclusion from subsequent manuscripts. Peterson expanded Stenton's theory regarding *Medeshamstede*'s pre-870 colonies. However, his discussion relating to the eastern bounds of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter and their relationship between the North *Gyrwe* and neighbouring tribes was entirely reliant upon Potts' observations.[153] He was more forthcoming about the privileges conferred upon the reformed monastery in pseudo-Eadgar's charter, studying them in terms of the land market and concluding that they may have been based upon an original document compiled at the behest of Æthelwold.[154] Whilst acknowledging the territory bestowed upon *Medeshamstede* by pseudo-Eadgar differed considerably from that granted by pseudo-Wulfhere, in the manner of all Peterborough historians since Potts, Peterson failed to illustrate his observations by conducting his own perambulation of *Medeshamstede*'s purported territory, taking in account both natural and artificial landscape features which pre-existed the composition of the forgeries. Like Potts, he chose to ignore the western section of the charter bounds. Nevertheless, Peterson's systematic analysis of 'Æthelwold's gifts to *Medeshamstede*' and the monastery's subsequent acquisitions and transactions successfully bridge the gap between Stenton's '*Medeshamstede* and its colonies' and Edmund King's *Peterborough Abbey: A study in the land market*.[155] In February 2005, Malasree Holm submitted her thesis, 'The Peterborough Chronicle and the writing of History in the Twelfth Century', without any consultation between us and I have not seen a copy of her thesis.[156]

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[152] C. M. Peterson, 'Studies in the Early History of Peterborough Abbey, *c.* 650-1066' (unpubl. PhD thesis, Birmingham University, 1995).
[153] *Ibid.*, pp. 50-5. See also Stenton, '*Medeshamstede*', 179-92; Potts, 'Pre-Danish Estate', pp. 13-27.
[154] Peterson, 'Peterborough Abbey', pp. 107-131.
[155] *Ibid.*, pp. 58-90, 222-6, 253-60, 267-87, 310-321; E. King, *Peterborough Abbey 1086-1310: A Study in the Land Market* (Cambridge, 1973).
[156] M. Holm, 'The Peterborough Chronicle and the Writing of History in the Twelfth Century' (unpubl. PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, February 2005).

Conclusion

Over 1350 years have elapsed since *Medeshamstede* was purportedly co-founded by Peada, son of Penda of Mercia, and Oswiu of Northumbria, yet no new evidence has emerged to substantiate this claim. Our knowledge of the abbey's early history was based entirely upon four spurious documents, a house-history, two charters and an appended papal bull that survive as copies in the mid twelfth-century *Liber Niger*. Therefore, it is no surprise that twelfth-century chroniclers and modern researchers alike have, perhaps wisely, based their arguments regarding *Medeshamstede*'s foundation upon information accessed from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.[157]

In 1933 Stenton broke with tradition when he combined evidence from authentic documents preserved in the *Liber Niger* with information supplied in Æthelred's attachment to pseudo-Agatho's bull in order to argue that *Medeshamstede*'s colonies may have been as extensive the forgery claimed.[158] Peterson extended Stenton's theories, but failed to take into account the personalities of its purported founders and benefactors, the motives behind the charters and the *Burch* scenario at the time of their production, which undoubtedly reflected upon the nature of their content.[159]

Whilst a serious investigation of the toll routes conferred by pseudo-Eadgar's charter has never been undertaken, Potts' perambulation of pseudo-Wulfhere's bounds was incomplete and is in need of revision, taking into account landmarks that pre-existed the production of the forgeries. By using this method, it is possible to discover a connexion between the seventh-century tribal units and tenth-century hundred and county boundaries with the monastic territory held by *Burch* both before and after the Norman Conquest.[160] Thus, it appears that the twelfth-century monks of *Burch*'s reconstruction of their abbey's pre-Conquest history may not have been founded entirely upon the *Relatio* forgeries. They may also have been based, as Swaffham claims, upon in old writings and the reminiscences of elderly monks, which were reworked at a time when *Burch*'s fortunes and its brethren's morale had reached their lowest ebb.[161]

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[157] *HE*, Bk. III, chs. 21, 23; Bk. IV, ch. 6; Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 58v-70v; ASC (E), 963; *HC*, p. 31
[158] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 67rv; Stenton, '*Medeshamstede*', pp. 179-192.
[159] See below, Chapter 2, pp. 33-8.
[160] See below, Chapters 5 and 6.
[161] Swaffham, f. 1r; *HC*, pp. 3-4. See below, Chapters 2 and 3.

Chapter Two

Reconstructing the Past: Motives and Opportunities

Introduction

On the Eve of St. Oswald, Friday 4 August, 1116, the Benedictine Abbey of *Burch* 'was burnt through carelessness, except for the chapter house, the dormitory and the new refectory, in which the monks had only dined for three days, the poor having been fed there before. The whole town was also burnt'.[1] The 'Nine Days' Fire', as it became known, was probably witnessed by the youthful Hugh Candidus, who later recounted the cause and aftermath of the event in his Peterborough Chronicle.[2]

The conflagration must have been perceived as the ultimate catastrophe for the monks of *Burch* and their abbot, John de Séez (1114-25). Not only was their church, the most important monastic building, destroyed but it is likely that the library containing the twenty-one books donated by Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester 963 x 972 and any extant pre-Conquest documents that were not stored in the chapter house or refectory, also were lost.[3] If so, all of the abbey's surviving connexions with its Anglo-Saxon past, other than oral tradition, would have been completely annihilated. Furthermore, it was only during the abbacy of John de Séez's predecessor, Ernulf (1107-14) that *Burch* finally had begun to recover from fifty years of recession and repression by Abbot Turold de Fécamp (1069-98) and the Conqueror's sons, William II (1087-1100) and Henry I (1100-35).

The political climate in Peterborough, 1066-1116

Unfortunately, *Burch*'s reputation probably was damaged irreparably after Leofric, the last of the great Anglo-Saxon abbots, fell ill whilst on campaign with Harold II during the

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[1] My translation of 'per incuriam combustum est totum monasterium preter capitulum, et dormitorium et refectorium nouum, nisi solummodo per tres dies manducauerant, refectis prius pauperibus. Set et tota uilla combusta est.' See *The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, ed. W. T. Mellows (Oxford, 1949), hereafter *HC*, p. 97. See also Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 636, hereafter ASC (E), f. 79r (1116).

[2] *HC*, pp. 95, 97-8.

[3] London, Society of Antiquaries, 60 (Peterborough, s. xii$^{2/4}$), ff. 39v-40v, 'Æthelwold's gifts to Medeshamstede'; *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A. J. Robertson, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1956) [R] 39, pp. 72-5; *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks VIII* (London, 1968); Electronic Sawyer, www.trin.cam.ac.uk/eSawyer [S] 1448. See also *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues* 8: *Peterborough Abbey*, ed. K. Friis-Jensen and J. M. W. Willoughby (London, 2001), Bp1.

autumn of 1066. He returned to his abbey, where he died on 1 November. The monks of *Burch*, according to tradition, elected Brand, one of their number, a kindly but naïve man to replace him. Unfortunately, Brand petitioned Edgar Ætheling, the grandson of Edmund Ironside, to confirm his appointment, believing that Eadgar eventually would accede to the English throne. Thus, Brand incurred William I's displeasure and was obliged to bribe him with forty gold marks in order to retain the abbacy.[4] According to ASC (E) Hand 1, these events symbolized the post-Conquest decline of the monastery, culminating in the once *Gildene Burh*, 'Golden Borough', degenerating into *Wrecceburh*, 'Wretched Borough'.[5]

When Brand died in November 1069, William imposed upon *Burch* Abbot Turold who, according to Hugh Candidus, 'was more of a mischief than an advantage to the abbey'.[6] He had inflicted such a tyrannical regime upon both the brethren of his former monastery at Malmesbury and the local population that the king declared, "because Turold is behaving more like a soldier than an abbot, I shall find for him a foe who is a good match for his attacks. He shall have Peterborough as a field for his courage and generalship, and practise his fighting there."[7]

The foe in question was Hereward, the Lincolnshire partisan, who had lost his lands in the aftermath of the Conquest.[8] He promptly formed an alliance with King Swein of Denmark, who had recently arrived in England aspiring to win control of the kingdom.[9] Provoked by William's choice of abbot, Hereward decided to launch a pre-emptive strike upon *Burch* before Turold could take charge. Claiming to be 'homo monachorum' ['a man of the monks'], possibly on the grounds that he had been 'girded with the sword and belt of a knight' at *Burch* by the Anglo-Saxon Brand, Hereward's ostensible motives were to 'secure' the monastic treasures, rather than let them fall into Norman hands. However, the monks decided to resist.[10] Realizing the gravity of the situation and not wishing to make the same

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[4] ASC (E), 1066; *HC*, pp. 74-7. See also Soc. Ant., 60, f. 71rv; *Registra Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066-1087),* ed. and tr. D. Bates (Oxford, 1998) [*RRAN*] 216.
[5] ASC (E), f. 58r (1066).
[6] *HC*, p. 86. My translation of 'abbacie magis obfuit quam profuit'. See also A. M. Morris, 'Peterborough in Peril: Turold de Fécamp (1069-1098)', *Friends of Peterborough Cathedral Journal* (2005), pp. 36-9.
[7] *William of Malmesbury: The Deeds of the Bishops of England* (*Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*), ed. and tr. D. Preest (Woodbridge, 2002), ch. 264.
[8] *Domesday Book*, hereafter *DB: Lincolnshire*, ed. J. Morris, P. Morgan and C. Thorn, 2 vols. (Chichester, 1986) I, 8 [34]; II, 42 [9], CK [4, 48].
[9] ASC (E), 1070; *HC*, p. 77.
[10] ASC (E), 1070; *HC*, p. 79; Cambridge University Library [CUL], Peterborough Dean and Chapter [PDC] 1 [The Book of Robert of Swaffham], (Peterborough, *c.* 1250), hereafter Swaffham, f. 328v (old foliation); Geffrei Gaimar, *Gesta Herewardi Incliti Exulis et Militis*, in *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Ævi Scriptores*, ed. T. D. Hardy and C. T. Martin, RS 91, 2 vols. (London, 1888-9) I, p. 368.

mistakes as Brand, the monks closed their portals to Hereward and his troops. The 'Battle of Bothilde Gate' ensued, after which the shrines and treasury were looted and all the monastic buildings, apart from the church and perhaps the infirmary, were destroyed. The defenders, who had apparently put up a gallant resistance, were either dispersed or carried off to Hereward's stronghold at Ely, except for one ailing brother languishing in the infirmary, who conveniently survived to relate his experiences.[11]

Fortunately, a monk named Ivar [Yware], forewarned of Hereward's approach, had managed to collect various Gospel books, vestments and other portable treasures and fled with them to Stamford, where Turold was ensconced with 160 men-at-arms.[12] According to Hugh Candidus, the remainder of the abbey's valuables was lost to the Danes, apart from its most precious possession, St. Oswald's arm and a few minor relics that were deposited at Ely by Hereward. It was later recovered by Prior Æthelwold, one of the hostages, and taken to Ramsey Abbey for safekeeping. Realizing the potential revenue that the incorrupt royal limb could generate from pilgrims, the brethren of Ramsey were reluctant to part with the trophy, until Turold threatened to raze their house to the ground unless the relic was restored to *Burch*.[13]

The first Norman abbot already appeared to be a force to be reckoned with since he had his own standing army to implement his commands on the pretext that he was acting in the interests of the king. Once installed at *Burch*, one of his first acts was to commission a motte and bailey castle, nicknamed Mount Turold, to be erected as a rallying point for his knights next to the abbey church, suggesting that his relationship with the indigenous monks and dispossessed local families was far from harmonious.[14] The mound, now known as Tout Hill is still visible today in the north-east corner of the Deanery garden (centred at TL 1946 9874) (Figure 1).

Turold's twenty-eight year regime proved to be strict, controlled and, from Hugh Candidus' perspective, corrupt. In his Chronicle, Hugh listed a catalogue of grievances and disasters that befell the abbey during Turold's abbacy. The military monk systematically stripped the monastery of its assets by bestowing its lands upon his relations and knights to such an extent that less than one third was left in demesne, causing Hugh to bewail that, 'The abbey was valued at £1,050 when he arrived here, but he so dispersed its estates that it

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[11] ASC (E), 1070; *HC*, p. 79. Bothilde Gate lay to the east of the abbey. See C. R. Hart, *The Danelaw* (London, 1992), pp. 627-30.
[12] ASC (E), 1069.
[13] *HC*, pp. 79-84.
[14] *HC*, pp. 84-5. See also D. Mackreth, 'Tout Hill Close', *Durobrivæ* 2, pp. 24-6.

was barely worth £500'. Turold appointed two 'foreign' monks as sacrists, resulting in the theft of Archbishop Æthelric's chasuble, which was taken to the monastery of Préaux. Turold also purchased for himself the bishopric of Beauvais, to which he transferred more of *Burch*'s wealth. However, he was ejected by the French monks and, upon his return to *Burch*, was compelled to pay William I 'a great sum of money' in order to re-claim the abbacy.[15]

Figure 1: Tout Hill, *c.* 1890 (Courtesy of Neil Mitchell)

When Turold died in 1098, Godric, the brother of Brand, was chosen to succeed him by his fellow monks. Nevertheless, the abbey was obliged to pay William II for the privilege of electing their own abbot with three hundred marks of silver, which apparently was taken from the altar, since Turold had impoverished the establishment's coffers.[16] However, the very presence of Godric proves that nostalgic, elderly monks, who remembered the days when a just and sympathetic English abbot governed *Burch*, still survived.

Despite being forced to purchase his office, Godric was deposed on the grounds of simony within the year, together with the abbots of Ely and Ramsey. As a result, the monastery fell under the direct rule of Henry I, who claimed the abbey's income for his own. Unfortunately, this did not prevent thieves from Francia and Flanders from breaking into the church and stealing silver and gold crosses, chalices, patens and candlesticks from the altar.

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[15] *HC,* pp. 84-6.
[16] *HC,* p. 86.

Although the goods were recovered, none were returned to the monastery but were confiscated by the king. Soon afterwards, Henry appointed as abbot, Matthias Ridell, the brother of his justicary, Geoffrey Ridell. Matthias died at Gloucester within the year, resulting in Henry's tenure of the abbey for a further four years.[17]

Thus, the post-Conquest period had proved disastrous for *Burch* and the morale of its monks must have reached its nadir. However, in 1107, Ernulf, a Frenchman from St. Symphorien, Beauvais, and 'prior de archiepiscopatu Cancie' (1096-1107), was installed as abbot of *Burch* by Archbishop Anselm.[18] At last, the monastery was endowed with a spiritual leader of whom the monks approved. Apart from his extensive building works, Ernulf also seemed effective at recouping some of the monastery's losses under Turold, devising an ingenious scheme by which the knights of *Burch* could pay two portions of tithes to the Sacrist during their lifetimes and a third of their assets upon death in return for perpetual masses for their souls.[19]

So exemplary was Ernulf's rule that, despite his protests, he was elevated to the bishopric of Rochester, the suffragan see of Canterbury, in 1114. He was succeeded at *Burch* by John de Séez, the personal choice of Henry I, who at the same time appointed Bishop Ralph d'Escures of Rochester to the archepiscopate of Canterbury (1114-22).[20] Neither William II nor Henry I's relationship with Ralph's predecessor, Anselm (1093-1109), had been cordial. Anselm had been forced into exile twice, during the years 1097 to 1100 and 1101 to 1107, and Henry waited another five years after his death in 1109 before approving Ralph as his successor.[21] In the interim the Archbishops of York Gerard (1101-09) and Thomas II (1109-14), under whose jurisdiction *Burch* lay, remained the spiritual leaders of England, a privilege which York grew accustomed to relish. This unsatisfactory situation, combined with Henry's protracted absences from the realm whilst on military manoeuvres in Normandy, may have culminated in Henry's exercise of the royal prerogative by the selection of his own candidate, John de Séez, as abbot of *Burch.* Thus, Henry could demonstrate the

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[17] *HC*, pp. 86-8; ASC (E), 1103.
[18] *HC*, pp. 90-1, 96; ASC (E), 1107; *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Preest, ch. 72.
[19] *HC*, pp. 90-1. See also *Peterborough Local Administration*, ed. W. T. Mellows (Kettering, 1939), p. 200.
[20] ASC (E), 1114; *HC*, pp. 96-8.
[21] Anselm argued that his allegiance was first to the pope, then to the king. See *Hugh the Chanter, The History of the Church of York, 1066-77*, tr. C. Johnson, OMT (Oxford, rev., by M. Brett, C. N. L. Brooke and M. Winterbottom 1990), pp. xiv-xv, xxx-xlv, 2-21; M. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers: 1066-1272*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1998), pp. 65-7. See also M. Brett, 'Gundulf and the Communities of Canterbury and Rochester', in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars, 1066-1109*, ed. R. Eales and R. Sharpe (London, 1995), pp. 21-4.

limitations of the monastery's authority, just as he had attempted to eradicate feudal loyalties in the judicial system.[22]

Despite his royal appointment and inauspicious beginning, Hugh Candidus considered John de Séez's abbacy as successful.[23] Monastic fires and, indeed, urban conflagrations, were frequent occurrences during the medieval period. In 1087, St. Paul's Cathedral and several other London minsters were destroyed.[24] Christ Church, Canterbury, burnt down in 1067, followed by Gloucester in 1122.[25] Furthermore, the 'Nine Days' Fire' offered Abbot John an excellent opportunity to mastermind an even more impressive religious centre, completely eradicating any remnants of Æthelwold's late tenth-century complex in the process. His rebuilding programme was underway within two years.[26]

Re-asserting the past: the introduction of the house-history

It is generally conceded that, as a direct result of both the 'Nine Days' Fire' and, perhaps, the unfavourable political climate of high taxation, John de Sèez recognized the need to produce a Peterborough version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.[27] Through these annals, he could emphasize the antiquity of his monastery, its vast estates and ancient rights and privileges bestowed upon it by its professed royal founders and reformers.

For his exemplar, Abbot John turned to Christ Church, Canterbury, with which *Burch* had already developed a special relationship through Abbot Ernulf, formerly prior at Christ Church, and through *Burch*'s continued support for Canterbury in its struggle for primacy over York.[28] Unfortunately, the Canterbury prototype known as √E, which was the ancestor for ASC (E), has since disappeared. However, recent scholarship by Peter Baker has detected a distinct resemblance between the text of ASC (E) and that of a secondary Canterbury chronicle, Manuscript F, hereafter ASC (F), which was compiled at Christ Church between *c.* 1080 and *c.* 1110, probably whilst Ernulf was prior.[29]

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[22] Clanchy, *England and its Rulers*, p. 47.
[23] *HC*, pp. 98-9.
[24] ASC (E), 1086.
[25] ASC (E), 1067, 1122.
[26] *HC*, pp. 98-9.
[27] *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile* 4: *The Peterborough Chronicle (Bodleian Manuscript Laud Misc. 636)*, ed. D. Whitelock (Copenhagen, 1954), p. 31; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A Collaborative Edition* 7, *MS E*, ed. S. Irvine (Cambridge, 2004), p. xiii. See below, Chapter 3.
[28] *The Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock, p. 28; C. Clark, *The Peterborough Chronicle: 1070-1154*, Oxford, 1958, pp. xviii-xix. See also *William of Malmesbury: De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. R. M. Thomson *et al.*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1987-99) I, Bk. III, ch. 298.
[29] London, British Library [BL], Cotton Domitian A. viii, f . 30r-70r; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A Collaborative Edition* 8, *MS. F*, ed. P. S. Baker (Cambridge, 2000), hereafter *MS F*, pp. ix, xxviii-xxxiv.

The Peterborough forgeries

In addition to the Canterbury annals, ASC (E) Hand 1 had access to four related texts, which were later preserved together under the rubric *Relatio Hedde Abbatis* in the Peterborough cartulary, the *Liber Niger*.[30] The texts, purporting to be a ninth-century house-history, charters of Kings Wulfhere (658-675) and Eadgar (959-75) and a decretal of Pope Agatho dated 664, plot the history of *Medeshamstede* from its foundation by Peada and Oswiu of Northumbria *c.* 655 until its restoration by Æthelwold *c.* 963. Although the documents are early twelfth-century fabrications, careful scrutiny reveals that they may have been based upon authentic pre-Conquest materials, which were perused and amended by the early twelfth-century Peterborough forger.

i. 'Abbot Hædda's' house-history (Appendix A)[31]

The first of the four forgeries claimed to be the writings of Abbot Hædda, who was according to 'John de Caux' slaughtered with his monks by the Danes in 870. It is upon 'Hædda's' house-history, which allegedly was discovered 'hidden in the old walls' by Bishop Æthelwold, that the ASC (E) chronicler based his description of the establishment of the seventh-century monastery at *Medeshamstede*.[32] 'Abbot Hædda's' work also formed the foundation for all subsequent Peterborough house-histories, including ASC (E) and Hugh Candidus' Chronicle.[33] However, Hugh was more cautious regarding the authorship of the cache of documents conveniently 'discovered' among the ruins, stating that they were 'antiqua priuilegia, que monachi iam mortui in ipsis parietibus ecclesie inter petras absconderant'.[34]

Nevertheless, 'Hædda's' house-history was considered significant enough to be copied into the following twelfth- and thirteenth-century Peterborough cartularies:

1. London, Society of Antiquaries, 60, ff. 58v-59v [The *Liber Niger*]] (s. xii$^{2/4}$)

2. Cambridge, University Library, Peterborough Dean and Chapter 1, ff. 37rv [The Book of Robert of Swaffham] (*c.* 1250)

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[30] Soc. Ant., 60 ff. 58v-70v.
[31] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 58v-59v.
[32] ASC (E), 963; *Chronicon Angliæ Petriburgense*, ed. J. A. Giles (London, 1845), p. 19.
[33] ASC (E), 654, 656; *HC*, pp. 7-10. See below, Chapter 3, p. 93; Chapter 4, pp. 113-4.
[34] *HC*, p. 31. My translation: 'ancient privileges, which monks now dead hid between the stones in the walls of the same church.'

3. London, British Library, Egerton 2733, ff. 11v-14v
[The Book of Charters and Privileges of John of Threckingham] (post-1253)

4. Cambridge, University Library, Peterborough Dean and Chapter 5, ff. 21rv
[The Book of Charters and Fees of Henry of Pytchley Junior] (s. xiii$^{4/4}$).

It is reasonable to conjecture that an early house-history existed, perhaps, composed to commemorate Æthelwold's restoration of *Medeshamstede* and to be recited on auspicious occasions. Stenton proposed that the post-Conquest scribes of *Burch* had access to ancient documents that survived the Danish raids and the conflagrations of 1070 and 1116. From these they could draw enough data to provide a foundation for both their chronicles and convincing forgeries. Moreover, since seven extant pre-870 Peterborough charters, which include the so-called 'Breedon memoranda' appear to have an authentic basis, it is possible that other muniments also may have escaped destruction or survived as oral traditions.[35] Nevertheless, Jennifer Paxton draws our attention to the remarkable resemblance between the revelation of the scrolls of the Torah upon the restoration of the temple in Jerusalem and the discovery of 'ancient writings' among the ruins of *Medeshamstede*. Indeed, it appears the laws of Moses and the privileges of 'Wulfhere' and 'Agatho' were analogous and, therefore, must be obeyed.[36]

Except for ASC (E) Hand 1's comment in the annal for 963, the only evidence to associate the house-history with 'Hædda' is the rubric that preceded the earliest extant copy of the document in the *Liber Niger*:

> 'Relatio hedde abbatis quomodo incipente Christianitate in regione mediterraneorum Anglorum initiatum sit Medeshamstede monasterium et subsequentibus priuilegiis confirmatum'.[37]

It is also unclear whether the 'original' forgery revealed the name of its professed author or that 'Hædda' was intended to represent *Medeshamstede*'s last pre-870 abbot. We learn from the 'Breedon memoranda' that between 675 and 692 a monk of the abbey, named Hædda, was appointed abbot of the satellite monastery of *Breodune* [Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire], which prospered under the patronage of *princeps* Friduric and King

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[35] F. M., Stenton '*Medeshamstede* and its Colonies', in *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. M. Stenton (Oxford, 1970), pp. 179-80; N. Brooks, *Communities and Warfare, 700-1400* (London, 2000), pp. 59-60. See below, Chapter 3, pp. 85-6; Chapter 4, p. 115.
[36] 2 Chronicles 34: 14-28; J. Paxton, 'Forging Communities: Memory and Identity in Post-Conquest England', *Haskins Society Journal* 10 (2001), p. 105.
[37] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 58v. *HC*, pp. 159-61. My translation: 'An account of Abbot Hædda, how Christianity, being established in the region of the Middle Angles, was introduced to the monastery of *Medeshamstede* and subsequent privileges [were] confirmed.' See also ASC (E), 963.

Æthelred.[38] Therefore, it is equally feasible that the twelfth-century house-history's author may have claimed that it was the work of Hædda of Breedon, whilst residing at *Medeshamstede* and therefore was absent when the abbey was attacked.

'Abbot Hædda's' text represents a précis of *Medeshamstede*'s pre-870 history. Its author relied heavily upon Bede's description of the double marriage alliance between Peada and Cyneburh, the offspring of the heathen Penda of Mercia, and Alhflæd and Alhfrith, the children of the Christian Oswiu of Northumbria, brother of the martyred St. Oswald, whose arm later was venerated at *Burch*. The composer also consulted Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* regarding Peada's baptism by Finan, the conversion of the Middle Angles, the death of Penda, the ascendancy of Wulfhere and the eventual appointment of the influential Abbot Seaxwulf.[39] Furthermore, the location of the monastery 'quod Medeshamstede dicitur in regione Gyruiorum' was copied almost *verbatim* from Bede's *Historia.*[40] The author then digressed from his exemplar, claiming it was the joint decision of Oswiu and Peada to establish a royal monastery within the Mercian kingdom, after which Peada's brothers, Wulfhere and Æthelred, played a significant role in securing *Medeshamstede*'s continued prosperity by lavishing upon it estates and privileges.[41] Seaxwulf also extended the abbey's sphere of influence through the creation of daughter houses, thus preparing the way for the forged documents that were to follow.[42] Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* was not included in the list of books given to the abbey by Bishop Æthelwold between 963 and 972.[43] However, an early eleventh-century copy of Bede's work survives, bound together with an early twelfth-century catalogue, which lists *Historia Ecclesiastica* amongst its number.[44] If this copy was the direct source of information for 'Hædda's' house-history, its date would provide a *terminus post quem* of the early eleventh century for the earliest version of the house-history.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to discover whether the tradition that Peada and Oswiu were co-founders of *Medeshamstede* was preserved in local folklore or in an earlier text. It is also possible that the legend was the product of the fertile imagination of an early eleventh-

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[38] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 44v-46r; S 1803-5. See below, pp. 47-8.

[39] *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, ed. and tr. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), hereafter *HE*, Bk. III, chs. 21, 24; Bk. IV, ch. 6.

[40] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 58v; *HE*, Bk. IV, ch. 6, 'quod dicitur Medeshamstedi in regione Gyruiorum'. My translation: 'which is called Medeshamstede, in the region of the Gyrwe.'

[41] As late as 1539, alms were given 'to poor persons, praying for the souls of the Kings Peada, Wulphere (*sic.*) and Ethelred (*sic.*), founders of the aforesaid monastery'. See *Valor Ecclesiasticus Temp. Henr. VIII Auctoritate Regia Institutus*, ed. J. Caley, 6 vols. (London, 1810-34) IV, p. 283; *The Last Days of Peterborough Abbey*, ed. W. T. Mellows (Kettering, 1947), p. 18.

[42] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 59rv.

[43] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 39v; *Library Catalogues* 8, ed. Friis-Jensen and Willoughby, Bp1.

[44] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 163, ff. 1r-227r, 251r (Peterborough, s.xi$^{4/4}$/ s.xii$^{1/4}$). See also *Library Catalogues* 8, ed. Friis-Jensen and Willoughby, Bp 2. 8.

century monk, who was familiar with Bede's accounts of the conversion of the Middle Angles and Seaxwulf's elevation to the Mercian see.[45] However, the references to the possessions and privileges granted by pseudo-Wulfhere's charter and pseudo-Agatho's bull and the author's vision of *Medeshamstede* as 'a second Rome' with numerous daughter houses and subordinate monasteries leads us to suspect that, if an eleventh-century house-history had existed, then it was modified considerably by the early twelfth-century forger.[46] Therefore, it seems likely that 'Hædda's' house-history was an early twelfth-century confection, written to complement its accompanying forgeries, and that its author had subtly incorporated data extracted from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, from extant pre-Conquest documents and perhaps even local legends, in order convince his audience of its authenticity. Thus, 'Hædda's writings' served as an introduction to the documents that were to follow.

Nevertheless, the possibility that Oswiu was the co-founder of *Medeshamstede* should not be completely dismissed as post-Conquest fiction. After his decisive victory over Penda at *Winwæd c.* 655, Oswiu *had* granted twelve estates, six in Bernicia and six in Deira, for the construction of monasteries as a token of his thanksgiving and penitence. Therefore, it is possible that Oswiu may also have been instrumental in establishing at least one religious house in the province of his old adversary, which he now controlled through the client-kingship of his son-in-law, Peada.[47] Had he done so, he would have been able to celebrate both the triumph of Christianity over paganism and Northumbria's domination over Mercia.

'Abbot Hædda's' house-history signified an attempt to compensate for the absence of any account of the foundation of *Medeshamstede* by Bede. The document endeavoured to legitimize the antiquity of the monastery by emphasizing its relationship with five seventh-century kings, Peada, Wulfhere and Æthelred, the sons of Penda of Mercia, and Oswald and Oswiu of Northumbria, all of whom represented the two most powerful kingdoms of the period. However, as pseudo-Wulfhere's charter will reveal, it was Wulfhere who emerged as the most generous benefactor of *Medeshamstede.* Indeed, the forger strove to promote Wulfhere as the true founder of *Medeshamstede* through his extensive land grants and accompanying privileges. Unlike Peada, who was murdered by his wife, or Oswiu, who had been expelled from Mercia, when Wulfhere died in 675 he wielded indisputable control over southern England.[48]

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[45] *HE*, Bk. III, chs. 21, 24; Bk. IV, ch. 6.
[46] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 59v. See below.
[47] *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 24.
[48] *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 24; F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1971), p. 85; B. Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1990), pp. 158-9.

ii. 'King Wulfhere of Mercia's charter to *Medeshamstede*, 664' [Version B]

(Appendix B)

Significantly, pseudo-Wufhere's charter occupied the position directly after 'Hædda's' house-history in the otherwise haphazardly arranged *Liber Niger.*[49] It is preserved as two versions in the following manuscripts:

Version A	1.	London, British Library, Cotton Augustus ii. 5 (s.xiii$^{4/4}$/xiv$^{1/4}$)
	2.	London, British Library, Additional 39758 ff. 193r-195v [The Book of Walter of Whittlesey] (*c.* 1322-9)
	3.	London, Society of Antiquaries, 38 ff. 205r-8v [The Great Book of John of Achurch] (*c.* 1370)
Version B	4.	London, British Library, Egerton 2733, ff. 14v-21v [The Book of Charters and Privileges of John of Threckingham] (post-1253)
	5.	London, British Library, Harley Roll Z 17 (s. xiv)
	6.	London, Lambeth Palace, 321, p. 62 (s. xvi: extract)
	7.	London, Society of Antiquaries, 60, ff. 59v-64r [The *Liber Niger*] (s. xii$^{2/4}$)
	8.	Cambridge, University Library, Peterborough Dean and Chapter 1, ff. 37v-38v [The Book of Robert of Swaffham] (*c.* 1250)
	9.	Cambridge, University Library, Peterborough Dean and Chapter 5, ff. 39v-42r [The Book of Charters and Fees of Henry of Pytchley Junior] (s. xiii$^{4/4}$)
	10.	Cambridge, University Library, Peterborough, Dean and Chapter 6, ff. 9r-10v [The Red Book of John of Achurch] (s. xiv$^{3/4}$).

The charter confirmed and elaborated upon *Medeshamstede*'s unspecified royal endowments and privileges mentioned in 'Abbot Hædda's' house-history.[50] It began by re-acquainting the reader with the prime movers associated with the foundation of *Medeshamstede*, namely Seaxwulf, Oswiu, Peada and his brothers, Wulfhere, and Æthelred, and his sisters, Cyneswith and Cyneburh, whom he described as a former queen and the

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[49] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 59v-64r; S 68. An Old English version of the charter is interpolated into ASC (E), f. 14v-16v, 656; *Cartularium Saxonicum: A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History*, ed. W. de Gray Birch, 3 vols. in 7 (London, 1885-93) [B] 22a. See below, Chapters 3 and 5.
[50] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 58v-59v.

foundress of a nunnery of *Kyneburgensi* [Castor].[51] It also introduced, in an advisory capacity, another sibling, Merewalh, whom Hugh Candidus chose to ignore.[52] Believed to have been appointed by Penda as sub-king of the *Magonsæte*, a Mercian province on the Welsh borders, Merewalh had both royal and saintly connexions. He was married to Domne Eafe, a Kentish princess and foundress of Minster-in-Thanet, where she was succeeded as abbess by their daughter, Mildrith (died *c.* 700).[53] In 1035, Mildrith's remains were translated by Cnut to St. Augustine's, where a cult developed around her shrine.[54] Mildrith's piety and that of her relatives became the subject of several *vitæ*, known collectively as the 'Mildrith Legend', versions of which were generated at Ramsey Abbey in the late tenth century and at St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury by 1100.[55] The inclusion of Merewalh suggests that the forger was reinforcing *Medeshamstede*'s relationship with yet another royal dynasty, that of Kent, where Christianity was reintroduced to England by St. Augustine in 597.[56] It is not known if the 'Mildrith Legend' had disseminated as far as *Burch* by the early twelfth century.[57] However, the forger's knowledge of both Merewalh's kinship with Wulfhere and of Cyneburh's career suggests that he was familiar with Mildrith's lineage and that he may have had Kentish connexions.

The purported date of 664 for pseudo-Wulfhere's charter was carefully contrived by the forger to correspond with a series of notable events described by Bede, the most significant of which was the Synod of Whitby.[58] Immediately after the council, Alhfrith, sub-ruler of Deira and, one of the chief advocates of the Roman cause despatched his friend, Wilfrid, to Gaul to be consecrated bishop according to the Roman tradition. This was Alhfrith's last recorded act, after which he vanished from all written sources and it is generally assumed that he was killed or was exiled following an unsuccessful *coup d'état* to usurp his father, Oswiu.[59] Alhfrith's departure conveniently coincided with Cyneburh, his wife's, emergence at

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[51] Soc. Ant., 60 f. 60v. See also D. W. Rollason, *The Mildrith Legend: A Study in Early Medieval Hagiography in England* (Leicester, 1982), pp. 77, 115. See below, Chapter 5, pp. 175-7.
[52] Soc. Ant. 60, f. 60v; ASC (E), 656; *HC*, p. 9.
[53] ASC (E), 656; *HC*, pp. 57-8; Rollason, *Mildrith Legend*, pp. 9, 20-1, 75, 77, 80, 115. See also Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms*, pp. 107-8. See below, Chapter 4, p. 111.
[54] *Charters of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury and Minster-in-Thanet*, ed. S. E. Kelly (Oxford, 1995), No. 33; S. 990.
[55] Rollason, *Mildrith Legend*, pp. 15-23. See also Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms*, pp. 106-7.
[56] *HE*, Bk. I, chs. 25-26.
[57] Mildrith's *Vita* was not mentioned in Peterborough Abbey's early twelfth-century library catalogue but was included in a late fourteenth-century inventory. See Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 163; CUL, PDC 15; *Library Catalogues* 8, ed. Friis-Jensen and Willoughby, Bp2, Bp21. 8b
[58] *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 25. See also C. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650-c. 850* (Leicester, 1995), p. 289.
[59] *HE*, Bk. III, chs. 25, 28; ASC (AE), 664. See also Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms*, p. 79.

the *Medeshamstede* consecration ceremony, as 'prior regina . . . mater sacrarum virginum'.[60] Furthermore, in 664 a total eclipse of the sun heralded a visitation of the plague, which swept through southern England and into Northumbria.[61] Perhaps, influenced by Bede's description of the Synod of Whitby, the author of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter considered 664 to be an auspicious year for the endowment of such a prestigious monastery as *Medeshamstede*.

Not surprisingly, since the charter claimed to have been written in 664, pseudo-Wulfhere declared that the Roman form of Christianity prescribed by the Synod of Whitby was to be practised at *Medeshamstede* and that the abbey should become a focus of pilgrimage so that 'hic queramus ipsum patronum qui Rome non possimus'.[62] The forger also introduced a number of privileges, which *Medeshamstede* was to enjoy, including the abbey's supremacy over any other monasteries that may be established in the region, and freedom from interference and oppression by Wulfhere and his heirs upon pain of excommunication. Finally, pseudo-Wulfhere's charter expressed the desire that daughter churches would be founded in the outlying districts, aspirations that seemed quite moderate in comparison with those which were to follow in his next document, pseudo-Agatho's bull, positioned immediately after pseudo-Wulfhere's charter in the *Liber Niger*.[63]

The bounds of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter defined *Medeshamstede*'s territory, which purported stretched from the tenth-century Lincolnshire Wapentake of Elloe in the north to the vast lake of Whittlesey Mere in the south, from Wansford in the west to the settlement of March in the east.[64] The forger appears to have carefully avoided the *provincia* of Ely Abbey, founded *c.* 679 Æthelthryth, the estranged wife of Ecgfrith of Northumbria, and restored by Æthelwold in 970.[65] However, he included within *Medeshamstede*'s limits, the late tenth century estates of Thorney, Crowland and Ramsey. Indeed, he described Thorney [*Ancarig*], said to have been Bishop Æthelwold's favourite monastery, as simply a hermitage to which

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[60] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 60v. My translation: 'a former queen . . . mother of holy virgins'. See also Rollason, *Mildrith Legend*, pp. 77, 115.
[61] *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 27; ASC (AE), 664.
[62] Soc. Ant. 60, f. 62r. My translation: 'We, who cannot go to Rome, can seek the patron [St. Peter] here.'
[63] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 62v.
[64] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 60v-62r.
[65] *HE*, Bk. IV, ch. 19 [17]; *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Preest , ch. 75; *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. B. Yorke (Woodbridge, 1988), p. 3. See below, Chapter 5.

ascetic brethren were permitted to withdraw with Seaxwulf's consent.[66] Thus, *Burch*'s seniority over the neighbouring fenland house of Thorney was emphasized.

The document concluded with an endorsement by 'Wulfhere' in the presence of Deusdedit, 'the sixth Archbishop of Canterbury after St. Augustine' (655-64), thus bolstering *Burch*'s relationship with Canterbury. An imposing list of testators followed, all of whom were cited in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica.* Astonishingly, Oswiu, the proclaimed co-founder, signed immediately after Wulfhere, at a time when diplomatic relations with Northumbria were less than cordial, following the alleged murder of Peada by Oswiu's daughter and the expulsion of Oswiu's representatives from the province.[67] Seaxwulf, Æthelred, Cyneburh and Cyneswith were also listed among the signatories but not Merewalh.[68] Also absent from the list was Cyneburh's husband, Alhfrith, who according to Bede, as Peada's brother-in-law and friend, was instrumental in persuading Peada to embrace Christianity.[69] The charter was attested by Wilfrid, 'presbyter', rather than 'episcopus', and we are led to believe, before his visit to Gaul in the summer of 664 and therefore before Alhfrith's disappearance.[70] Nevertheless, the forger seems to have attempted to maintain some element of consistency among his *dramatis personæ*, as we shall discover in pseudo-Agatho's papal bull.

iii. 'Pope Agatho's bull, 680' (Appendix C)

Pseudo-Agatho's bull, which claimed to have been conferred upon *Medeshamstede* by Pope Agatho (678-81), was copied into the following manuscripts:

1. London, Society of Antiquaries, 60, f. 64r-68r [The *Liber Niger*] (s. xii$^{2/4}$)

2. Cambridge, University Library, Peterborough Dean and Chapter 1, ff. 73r-74v [The Book of Robert of Swaffham] (*c.* 1250)

3. London: British Library, Egerton 2733, ff. 99r-106v [The Book of Charters and Privileges of John of Threckingham] (post-1253).

Although it was intended to be perceived as an independent document, pseudo-Agatho's bull and Æthelred's appended land grants appear to the modern reader as continuation of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter. The decretal addressed a request purportedly

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[66] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 63r. For Æthelwold's planned retirement to Thorney, see BL, Harley, 3097, ff. 61v-64v, 'Prologue to ?Abbot Foucard's *Vita S. Botolphi*'; *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Britain and Ireland to the End of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. T. D. Hardy, RS 26, 3 vols. in 4, (London, 1862-71) I:1, pp. 373-4, note.
[67] Soc. Ant., f. 63v; *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 24,
[68] Soc. Ant., 60 f. 63v; *HE*, p. 279, note 3.
[69] *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 21.
[70] *HE*, Bk. III, chs. 25, 28.

made by Æthelred, upon his accession to the Mercian throne in 675, to obtain papal approval for pseudo-Wulfhere's edict that *Medeshamstede* should be exempt from all financial dues and military services from the monarch and his successors. Indeed, Pseudo-Agatho's bull went so far as stating that 'rege suo defensore non tyranno', the monks could concentrate solely upon their spiritual duties.[71] This was a crucial claim for *Burch* to make of the charter, given the climate of high taxation due to Henry I's ambitions in Normandy, coupled with failed harvests, pestilence and domestic unrest.[72]

There was also a stern message for the bishop, ostensibly Bishop Chad of Mercia and Lindsey (664-9), but in reality the unpopular Robert Bloet (1094-1123), the prelate of Lincoln and later the Henry I's justiciary, under whose jurisdiction *Medeshamstede* lay.[73] Bishop Robert was ordered to regard the abbot of *Medeshamstede* as 'secundum sibi socium . . . non subiectum', since the abbot also was the papal representative in Mercia.[74] The bishop was to meddle neither in the administration of *Medeshamstede*'s estates and parishes[75] nor in the free election of the abbot,[76] who was to be ordained by the Archbishop of Canterbury or 'aut a quo ipse modo in effication'.[77] Finally, as the first religious establishment in the province, *Medeshamstede* was granted supremacy over all churches north of the River Thames, once again a comment directed at Archbishop Thomas II of York and Bishop Bloet from whom post-Conquest *Burch* sought independence.[78] Pseudo-Agatho's bull concluded with the now familiar threat that anyone, regardless of their status, who violated these privileges would suffer excommunication by St. Peter, 'the gate-keeper of paradise'.[79]

Not satisfied with merely securing for *Medeshamstede* the confirmation of 'Wulfhere's' privileges, 'Æthelred' added an appendage, bestowing upon the abbey lands at *Bredune* [Breedon-on-the-Hill] in Leicestershire, *Hrepingas* [?Repton, Derbyshire], *Cedenac* and

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[71] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 65r. My translation: with the king as its defender and not a tyrant'.
[72] ASC (E), 1104-5, 1110, 1112.
[73] According to William of Malmesbury, Bloet 'was second to none in his knowledge of politics, but not so in church matters'. See *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Preest, ch. 177. Henry of Huntingdon described him as a worldly and ostentatious man. See *Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, Historia Anglorum*, ed. and tr. D. Greenway, (Oxford, 1996), pp. 586-9.
[74] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 65r. My translation: 'second only to him, his associate . . . not his subject'.
[75] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 65v. Canon III of the 672 Synod of Hertford declared 'that no bishop shall in any way interfere with any monasteries dedicated to God nor forcibly take any part of their properties.' See *HE*, Bk. IV, ch. 5.
[76] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 65r. The brethren's right to elect their own abbot was prescribed in *The Rule of St. Benedict of Nursia* (*c.* 480- *c.* 550). It also permitted the monks to eject an abbot who had proved to be unsuitable. See *The Rule of St. Benedict*, ed. Cardinal Gasquet (New York, 1966), ch. 64.
[77] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 65v; *HC*, p. 17. My translation: 'or anyone else who is suitable'.
[78] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 65v.
[79] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 66v.

Suuineshæfed [Swineshead] in Lincolnshire, *Heanbyrig*, *Lodeshale*, *Scæffenhalch*, *Costesford*, [Cosford], *Stretford* [Stretford] *Wetelleburig* [Wattlesborough] *Lusgard* [Lizard Hill] in Shropshire, *Æthelhuniglond* in ?Kent and *Barthanig* [Bardney] in Lincolnshire.[80] Although several of the thirteen estates can no longer be identified and none were claimed by *Burch* in 1086, four were listed in series of documents that are understood to have a genuine basis but survive only in copy form in the *Liber Niger*. They include a group of consecutively arranged charters dated 675 x 692, which are collectively known as the 'Breedon memoranda'.[81] The first documents the establishment of a satellite monastery to *Medeshamstede* by Friduric, *princeps*, to Æthelred through a grant of land at *Bredun*.[82] Friduric further endowed Breedon with an estate at *Hrepingas*,[83] whilst Æthelred bestowed upon Breedon land at *Cedenac*.[84] Swineshead also appears to have been a possession of *Medeshamstede* 786 x 796, when Abbot Beonna leased ten *mansas* of land to Ealdorman Cuthbert.[85]

Burch had a more tenuous connexion with Bardney, the last of the thirteen estates. According to Bede, it was to *Beardaneu* [Bardney] that Æthelred and his wife, Osthryth, another of Oswiu's daughters, sought to bestow the bones of her uncle, Oswald, who had been martyred and mutilated by Penda at *Maserfelth* [Oswestry] in 642.[86] Furthermore, after his abdication in 704, Æthelred became first a monk, then abbot at Bardney.[87] Therefore, it appears that among 'Æthelred's' gifts to Medeshamstede of thirteen estates, Bardney was the most significant, since he had chosen to endow it with prestigious relics before his retirement there, thus endorsing it as a royal foundation.

The forger offered another impressive list of witnesses to the confirmation, again probably sourced mainly from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. The testators included Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury (668-90), Wilfrid, now Bishop of York and Seaxwulf, 'eiusdem monasterii fundator' ['founder of the same monastery'], now elevated to the Mercian

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[80] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 67rv.
[81] All thirteen estates are listed *en bloc* in Version A of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter. See BL, Cotton Augustus ii. 5; S 68. The 'Breedon memoranda' also were copied consecutively into Swaffham's cartulary, ff. 132v-133r. See S 1803-5. See below, Chapter 3, pp. 85-7.
[82] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 44v-45r; B 841; S 1803.
[83] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 45rv. Alexander Rumble identifies *Hrepingas* as Repton. See '"*Hrepingas*" Reconsidered', in *Mercian Studies*, ed. A. Dornier (Leicester, 1977) pp, 169-71. See also B 842; S 1805.
[84] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 45v-46r; B 843; S 1804.
[85] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 41rv; ASC (E), 777; B 271; S 1412.
[86] *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 9, 11.
[87] *HE*, Bk. V, ch. 19, 24.

see.[88] By including 'Wilfrid' and 'Seaxwulf's' endorsements, the abbey could expect the support of successive primates of York and bishops of Mercia. Reminiscent of 'Hædda's' house-history and pseudo-Wulfhere's land grant, pseudo-Agatho's bull prepared to introduce the reader to the next document in the *Liber Niger*, pseudo-Eadgar's charter.

iv. 'King Eadgar's charter to *Burch*, 972' (Appendix D)

The final document in the quartet of forgeries was skilfully engineered to explain the restoration of *Medeshamstede*'s estates and privileges after a century of spiritual wilderness following its destruction by the Danes, in 870.[89] The Latin version of the charter is preserved in a single form with minor variations in the manuscripts listed below.[90] Those transcribed alongside a copy of the pseudo-Wulfhere charter are marked with an asterisk.

1. London, British Library, Additional 39758 ff. 196r-198v*
   [The Book of Walter of Whittlesey] (*c.* 1322-9)

2 London, British Library, Arundel 178, ff. 45v-46r
   [*Ingulphi Descriptio Abbatiæ Croylandensis*] (s. xvi)

3. London, British Library, Egerton 2733, ff. 21v-27v*
   [The Book of Charters and Privileges of John of Threckingham] (post 1253)

4. London, British Library, Harley Roll Z 17 (s. xiv)*

5. London, British Library, Lansdowne 207c, 114v-117 (s. xvii)

6. London, Lambeth Palace, 321, p. 62 (s. xvi; note)*

7. London, Society of Antiquaries., 60, ff. 68r-70v [The *Liber Niger*] (s.xii$^{2/4}$) *

8. Oxford, Queen's College, 368, pp. 198-203 (s. xvii)

9. Cambridge, University Library, Peterborough Dean and Chapter 1, f. 38v-39v*
   [The Book of Robert of Swaffham] (*c.* 1250)

10. Cambridge, University Library, Peterborough, Dean and Chapter 5, ff. 42r-44v*
    [The Book of Charters and Fees of Henry of Pytchley Junior] (s. xiii$^{4/4}$)

11. Cambridge, University Library Peterborough Dean and Chapter 6, ff. 10v-12r*
    [The Red Book of John of Achurch] (s. xiv$^{3/4}$).

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[88] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 67v-68r; *HE*, Bk. IV, ch. 6.
[89] ASC (E) 870. See also *HC*, p. 24.
[90] S 787. For the Old English version, see ASC (E), f. 37rv (963); B 1280.

Pseudo Eadgar's charter commenced with a reference to *Medeshamstede*'s seventh-century benefactors, 'Wulfhere' and '*Æ*thelred', almost as an *aide-mémoire* to its royal origins, before informing the reader of the abbey's devastation by 'pagans' and its restoration by *Æ*thelwold. Apparently unaware that *Medeshamstede* did not become a stronghold until it was fortified by Abbot Cœnwulf (992 -1005), the forger proclaimed that the monastery was to be renamed *Burch*.[91] A similar theme continued throughout pseudo-Eadgar charter, as in its predecessors. It strictly forbade any secular or episcopal intervention, other that by Archbishop Dunstan of Canterbury (960-88), to whom the abbot of the *Burch* offered his stalwart allegiance. The forger, whilst reminding the reader of St. Peter's monastery's close association with its namesake in Rome, developed the concept of *Burch* as a centre of pilgrimage.[92] Markets were to be held at *Burch* and Oundle under the strict control of the abbot of *Burch*, who also was to enjoy jurisdiction over a region known as the Eight Hundreds of Oundle. Provision for fisheries and rights of toll in the vicinity of the vast freshwater lake known as Whittlesey Mere and along the Rivers Nene and Welland were also stipulated, together with a licence to strike coins in Stamford.[93] The charter listed only twelve of the monastery's numerous estates, none of which were included in '*Æ*thelred's' appendage to pseudo-Agatho's bull.[94]

The forger added the now familiar threat of excommunication to those who ignored Eadgar's decree. The document concluded with a list of testators, this time extracted from a variety of sources, which appear to include Bishop *Æ*thelwold's 'List of sureties for Medeshamstede's estates',[95] √E, the common ancestor of ASC (EF)[96] and Wulfstan of Winchester's *Vita Sancti Aðelwoldi*, a copy of which was in *Burch*'s possession during the early twelfth century.[97] The list was headed by Eadgar, 'totius Albionis basileus' ['king of all Britain'], followed immediately by the Archbishops Dunstan of Canterbury and Oswald of York (961-92) and Bishop *Æ*thelwold. Mindful that the Mercian see was centred at

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[91] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 68v; ASC (E), 963.
[92] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 68v-69r.
[93] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 69rv.
[94] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 69r . The estates were Oundle, Barrow, Warmington, Ashton, Kettering, Castor, Ailsworth, Walton, Paston, Werrington, Eye and Thorpe. See below, Chapter 6, pp. 209-16.
[95] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 47r-49v; R 40, pp. 75-83.
[96] *MS F*, ed. Baker, pp. ix, xxviii-xxxvi, lxxvi. See below, Chapter 3, pp. 70-1.
[97] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 163; *Library Catalogues* 8, ed. K. Friis-Jensen and Willoughby, Bp2. 34.

Dorchester-on-Thames during Eadgar's reign, the forger cunningly excluded the bishop of Lincoln's name from the list.[98]

Pseudo-Eadgar was directly followed in the *Liber Niger* by a series of confirmations by Edward the Martyr (975-79), Æthelred II (979-1013, 1014-16), Cnut (1016-35), Edward the Confessor (1042-66) and finally by William I (1066-87), which survive only in the Peterborough archive.[99] Although ASC (E) Hand 1 and Hugh Candidus referred to William's charter, both recorded the necessity for Brand to pay William forty marks in order to be permitted to take up his appointment as the freely-elected abbot.[100] Therefore, it seems likely that William's charter was either drawn up by the monks of *Burch* for the king to sign upon payment of his dues or it was reworked after the production of the forgeries.[101]

The forgeries in context

A consistent theme ran throughout 'Hædda's' house-history and its associated forgeries.

i. *Medeshamstede* was a royal monastery, founded by Peada and Oswiu.

ii. Peada's brothers and successors, Wulfhere and Æthelred generously endowed *Medeshamstede* with estates and privileges.

iii. *Medeshamstede*'s royal status was unparalleled. Peada's other siblings, Merewalh, Cyneburh and Cyneswith, and Abbot Seaxwulf also acted as his advisors.

iv. The abbey was to become a centre of pilgrimage. Those, who could not visit Rome, could seek absolution from St. Peter at *Medeshamstede*. The church was to be second only to Christ Church Cathedral in Canterbury in England and therefore was completely immune from interference, especially from the king and bishops.

v. Pseudo-Eadgar's charter ensured that all earlier privileges were restored. Although the forgery acknowledged that some of *Medeshamstede*'s pre-870 territory had been reallocated to the rival establishments of Crowland, Thorney and Ramsey, the abbey was to compensated with the rights of market and toll, a licence to mint coins, control over half of Whittlesey Mere and jurisdiction over the Eight Hundreds of Oundle.

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[98] J. Blair, 'Dorchester', in *Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge, J. Blair, S. Keynes and D. Scragg (Oxford, 2001), pp. 144-5.
[99] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 71rv; *RRAN* 216. See also E. King, *Peterborough Abbey 1086-1310: A study in the Land Market* (Cambridge, 1973), p. 9, note 9.
[100] ASC (E), 1066; *HC*, pp. 74-5.
[101] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 71rv. See also M. Chibnall, 'Forging in Narrative Charters', in *Fälschungen in Mittelalter,* Tiel IV, *Diplomatische Fälschungen* 2 (Hanover, 1988), p. 331.

vi. Anyone who undermined *Medeshamstede*'s liberties would incite the wrath of God and St. Peter.

The continuity of the theme, the skilful introduction of the principal characters and the gradual increase in *Medeshamstede*'s authority through its privileges suggest that the quartet of forgeries were all the produced roughly at the same time and by the same author. The forger also appears to have adapted or completely revised an existing house-history or oral tradition regarding the foundation of *Medeshamstede.* Moreover, the preservation of 'Abbot Hædda's' writings and associated forgeries *en bloc* under the rubric, *Relatio Hedde Abbatis*, in the randomly-arranged *Liber Niger* implies that the 'originals' may have been stored as a single gathering between the 'Agreement recognizing Canterbury's supremacy over York' of 1072 and the confirmations by Eadgar's successors, culminating with William I's charter of 1067, before they were transcribed into the cartulary.[102]

Motives behind the Peterborough forgeries

An analysis of the *Burch* forgeries suggests that they were fabricated for historical, political and economic reasons. Firstly, the charters endorsed the antiquity of the twelfth-century monastery by establishing a sense of continuity with its seventh-century ancestor, purportedly founded by Kings Peada and Oswiu and enriched by Wulfhere and Æthelred. Relics of the royal saints, Cyneburh, Cyneswith and the 'martyred' Oswald, all of whom were understood to have directly and indirectly to have played a significant part in the abbey's foundation, served to enhance its claim to a seventh-century heritage.[103] In turn, the enshrinement of royal remains could generate reports of miracles occurring at the abbey, such as those relating to St. Oswald's arm, enthusiastically reported by Hugh Candidus.[104] *Medeshamstede* could then be developed as a centre of pilgrimage in competition with Ely, Thorney, Crowland and Ramsey, echoing pseudo-Wulfhere's aspiration that 'we, who cannot go to Rome, may seek the patron [St. Peter] here'.[105]

Privileges, allegedly granted by Anglo-Saxon kings and confirmed by papal bulls, were a means by which the monastery could claim exemption from taxation and military service and freedom from interference from subsequent kings and bishops. *Burch*'s desire for

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[102] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 56v-71v. See above, Chapter 1, pp. 11-2.
[103] *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 12. Oswiu's arm was procured from Bamburgh by the Peterborough monk, Wingot. See *HC*, p. 70.
[104] *HC*, pp. 105-8.
[105] Soc. Ant., f. 62r. See below, Chapter 4, pp. 135-40.

independence from the Henry I's favourite, Bishop Bloet of Lincoln, is also understandable.[106] Pseudo-Agatho's' decree endorsing *Burch*'s right to elect its own abbot or reject an undesirable candidate, as prescribed by the Rule of St. Benedict, attempted to ensure that never again would the monastery be subjected to a tyrannical rule such as that of Turold.[107] Unfortunately, the clause was ignored by Henry I, who in 1114 personally appointed John de Séez and in 1125 chose Henry d'Angély, notorious for his vain attempt to annex *Burch* to Cluny.[108]

Finally, the spurious charters were a means by which the abbey could claim that estates, which were now possessions of Thorney, Crowland and Ramsey, once were encapsulated within *Medeshamstede*'s seventh-century bounds. Therefore, as the oldest religious establishment in the region, *Burch* could assert its seniority and supremacy over its regional rivals.

Forging traditions: Ernulf and the Christ Church connexion

The date of the concoction of the four forgeries has been a matter of some debate but may be pinned down to the period of Ernulf's rule. Indeed, a close scrutiny of Ernulf's career may point to the abbot himself as the instigator and possibly even the author of the forgeries. We know that the *Burch* forgeries existed before *c.* 1121, when they were interpolated into ASC (E), which is understood to have relied upon the Christ Church text, √E, for its exemplar.[109] However, it appears that Abbot Turold (1069-98) was preoccupied with maintaining law and order in the region and advancing his own ambitions, while John de Séez (1114-25) was involved in the completion of Ernulf's refectory and his own rebuilding programme after the Nine Days' Fire.[110] The brevity of the abbacies of Godric (1099) and Matthias Ridell (1103-04) probably precluded the production of forgeries.[111] It is possible that the interregna after the expulsion of Godric and the death of Ridell may have presented a golden opportunity for the monks of *Burch*, still recovering from Turold's tyrannical rule, to commission their spurious charters in their desire to gain a measure of independence from

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[106] *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Preest, ch. 177.
[107] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 65r; *Rule of St. Benedict*, ed. Gasquet, ch. 64.
[108] ASC (E), 1127-1132: *HC*, pp. 99-104.
[109] BL, Cotton Domitian A. viii, ff. 30r-70r; *MS F*, ed. Baker, pp. ix, xxviii-xxxiv. See below, Chapter 3, pp. 70-1.
[110] *HC*, pp. 80-5; 97-9.
[111] *HC*, pp. 86-8.

King William and the bishop of Lincoln, whose see had been moved from Dorchester *c.* 1078.[112]

Nevertheless, the dogged support for Canterbury, which was featured throughout the *Burch* forgeries and the author's knowledge of Merewalh's relationship with Wulfhere Cyneburh and Cyneswith recorded in the 'Mildrith Legend' suggest that Ernulf was the driving force behind the forgeries. Furthermore, during Ernulf's abbacy the monks were furnished with the opportunity, ingenuity and possibly the expertise to produce convincing documents, which as far as we know, did not arouse suspicion until pseudo-Wulfhere's charter was exposed to Sparke's scrutiny in the early eighteenth century.[113]

Ernulf's career at Christ Church had been exemplary. He had been invited from St. Symphorien to occupy the post of school master by Archbishop Lanfranc *c.*1073 and was installed as 'prior de archiepiscopatu Cantie' by Anselm in 1096.[114] Ernulf was, in effect, 'acting' abbot at Christ Church, during Anselm's self-inflicted exiles of 1097-1100 and 1101-7.[115] During Anselm's absence, Ernulf proceeded to make radical changes to the cathedral fabric, demolishing the choir that Lanfranc had only completed in 1077 and beginning an even more impressive replacement with a new crypt below.[116] He also established the Christ Church *scriptorium*.[117]

Furthermore, during his sojourn at Christ Church, Ernulf would have encountered a series of forged charters, composed intermittently between *c.* 1010 and *c.* 1070, and nine spurious bulls claiming to date from the papacies of Gregory (*c.* 590-604) to Leo IX (1048-54).[118] It is possible that the nine decretals were fabricated during the archepiscopate of Lanfranc (1070-89) to be cited in his letter of May 1072 to Pope Alexander II in his petition to secure papal judgement in favour of Canterbury over York as well as superiority over the

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[112] *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Preest, ch. 72.

[113] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Top. Northants., c. 17, p. 121, 'Letter to John Bridges dated 19 January 1718/9. See also *The Cartularies and Registers of Peterborough* Abbey, ed. J. Martin (Kendall, 1978), p. xviii.

[114] *HC*, pp. 90-1; ASC (E), 1107; *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Preest, ch. 72. See also M. Gibson, *Lanfranc de Bec* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 36, 177; R. W. Southern, *St. Anselm and his Biographer* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 269-70; P. Cramer, 'Ernulf of Rochester and Anglo-Norman Canon Law, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 40:4 (Oct. 1989), pp. 483-4.

[115] Cramer, 'Ernulf ', pp. 487-8; Clanchy, *England and its Rulers*, pp. 65-7.

[116] *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Preest, ch. 72.

[117] Gibson, *Lanfranc*, p. 177.

[118] Eight of the 'original' forged bulls were copied into Æthelstan's Gospel Book. See BL, Cotton Tiberius A. ii; N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), No. 185. All nine are copied into BL, BL, Cotton Cleopatra E. i, ff. 41r-47v (Christ Church, Canterbury, 4 April 1120-July 1127) See R. W. Southern, 'The Canterbury Forgeries', *EHR* 187 (1958), pp. 217-20; Gibson, *Lanfranc*, p. 232.

neighbouring monastery, St. Augustine's.[119] However, Brooke suggested that some of decretals were fabricated as late as 1120, during the archiepiscopate of Ralph d'Escures (1114-22), by which time Ernulf was ensconced at Rochester.[120] We can only conjecture that Ernulf's exposure to at least some of the Christ Church forgeries and his tutelage under the legally-minded Lanfranc stimulated Ernulf's interest in Anglo-Norman canon law.[121]

At *Burch*, Ernulf continued in the same mode as at Christ Church, teaching the oblates, rebuilding the dormitory, reredorter and chapter house and commencing the refectory, all of which survived the 'Nine Days' Fire'.[122] Arriving at the monastery in 1107 at the age of sixty-eight, his contentment and his long-term regeneration projects suggest that he had hoped to die in office there.[123] Furthermore, the possible fear of detection may explain his reluctance to accept the appointment as bishop of Rochester in 1114.[124] Once elevated to the see, Ernulf continued his reconstruction schemes as at Christ Church and *Burch*, again rebuilding the dormitory, chapter house and refectory and organizing the compilation of a cartulary known as the *Textus Roffensis*, a cartulary which contains hitherto unrecorded Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman laws, records of judicial procedures and copies of several spurious charters in favour of Rochester.[125] Therefore, it appears that Ernulf's career followed a familiar progression from Christ Church via *Burch* to Rochester, as schoolmaster and builder. Described by Cramer as 'an accomplished lawyer and juridical thinker', it seems more than coincidental that forgeries were being produced at Christ Church shortly after his arrival *c.* 1070, were being copied into the *Textus Roffensis* at Rochester during his episcopate and

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[119] Guerno, the notorious forger, Eadmer, Archbishop Anselm's biographer, and even Lanfranc himself have all been proposed as authors of the papal bulls. See Southern, 'Canterbury Forgeries', pp. 193-4; Gibson, *Lanfranc*, pp. 231-7. When Ernulf arrived at Christ Church, the community had not yet recovered from the fire of 1067, whilst its neighbour, St. Augustine's was the more influential monastery, flourishing under Scotland's abbacy and enjoying the revenue from pilgrims visiting Mildrith's shrine. See R. Fleming, 'Christ Church Canterbury's Anglo-Norman Cartulary', in *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth-century Renaissance: Proceedings of the Borchard Conference on Anglo-Norman History, 1995* (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 98-9.

[120] C. N. L. Brooke, 'The Canterbury Forgeries and their Author', I and II, *Downside Review* 68 (1950), pp., 462-76; 69 (1951), pp. 210-31.

[121] Gibson, *Lanfranc*, p. 150; Cramer, 'Ernulf ', pp. 483-510.

[122] ASC (E), 1116; *HC*, pp. 90, 97.

[123] *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Preest, ch. 72; ASC (E), 1124; Southern, *Anselm*, pp. 269-70.

[124] ASC (E), 1114; *HC*, pp. 96-7.

[125] *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Preest, ch. 72; Cramer, 'Ernulf', p. 491. The *Textus Roffensis* was completed after 20 October 1122 and before 18 February 1123, during the episcopate of Ernulf. See Maidstone, Kent, Record Office, Rochester Dean and Chapter A. 3.5. [*Textus Roffensis*] (Rochester, *c.* 1122); *Textus Roffensis: Rochester Cathedral Library MS A.3.5*, ed. P. Sawyer, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1957-62) I, pp. 11, 18-9. Alistair Campbell considers Rochester charters Nos. 1, 11, 18, and 24 copied into the *Textus Roffensis*, to be suspicious. See his *Charters of Rochester* (London, 1973), pp. xxii-iv; S 1, 266, 271, 327.

probably were being fabricated during his abbacy at *Burch*.[126] Furthermore, Ernulf's interest in Anglo-Saxon traditions suggests that he may have been sympathetic to his brethren's indignation at the erosion of *Burch*'s professed monastic liberties.[127]

It may be possible to narrow the date of the *Burch* fabrications even further. *Burch*'s continued support for Canterbury throughout the forgeries suggests that they may have been produced upon Archbishop Anselm's return from exile at Ernulf's request in 1107. However, it is more likely that they were produced shortly after Anselm's death in 1109 upon Henry I's refusal to appoint a successor.[128] Furthermore, pseudo-Wulfhere's bounds were carefully contrived to avoid the *prouincia* of the bishopric of Ely, created by Henry in 1109, implying that *Burch*'s charters were produced after this event.[129] This would have allowed Ernulf at least two years to become acquainted with the anxieties of the brethren under his care and to diligently trawl through *Burch*'s archives for extant pre-Conquest charters, which could be used to add an air of authenticity to the forgeries.

Guerno, the forger of St. Médard and the St. Augustine's connexion

Although it may never be proven beyond all doubt, Ernulf's abbacy presented ideal conditions for the compilation of forgeries setting down the privileges allegedly granted to *Medeshamstede* during the reigns of Wulfhere (*c.* 657-75), Æthelred (675-704) and Eadgar (959-75), namely:

i. The brethren had the right to elect their own abbot.

ii. The abbot should be ordained in his own church, though not necessarily by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The abbot could choose 'aut a quo ipse modo efficacior'.[130]

iii. The monastery should enjoy freedom from interference by the king, bishop or any other secular lord. In effect, *Medeshamstede* should be independently governed solely by its own abbot.

iv. The abbey should be free from taxation, military service or any secular duties.

v. The abbot should be regarded as an associate of the bishop, not his subordinate.

vi. The abbey's estates were freehold and to be held *in perpetuam.*

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[126] Cramer, 'Ernulf', p. 484.
[127] Southern, *Anselm*. p. 270.
[128] See P. Cramer, 'Ernulf', p. 488; Clanchy, *England and its Rulers*, p. 67.
[129] *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake (London, 1962), hereafter *LE*, Bk. III, ch. 1. See below, Chapter 5, pp. 159-60.
[130] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 65v.

vii. As the first monastery to be founded in Mercia, *Medeshamstede* should be regarded as the most important abbey, north of the Thames and second only to Canterbury in England.

viii. *Medeshamstede* was to be a centre of pilgrimage for those who could not travel to Rome.

ix. Anyone who violated these privileges would be excommunicated.

Wilhelm Levison commented that *Burch*'s concessions bear a remarkable resemblance to those demanded by the monks of St. Augustine's [formerly SS. Peter and St. Paul's], Canterbury, in a series of post-Conquest forgeries known collectively as the 'St. Augustine foundation charters' and which survive only in copy form.[131] The group comprises five spurious land grants, the last concerning the island of Minster-in-Thanet, a privilege of 'St. Augustine' and five papal letters allegedly from Boniface IV, Adeodatus, Agatho and John XII.[132] Levison proposed that the St. Augustine's forgeries and the *Relatio* forgeries were all the work of Guerno, a monk of St. Médard de Soissons, a monastery infamous for its counterfeit documents and bogus relics. During the abbacy of Gaufrid de Châlons (1119-31), Guerno the master-forger apparently made a death-bed confession about the fabrication of numerous charters and papal bulls in favour of the abbeys of St. Ouen [Rouen], St. Augustine's and 'per diversas ecclesias'. Levison conjectured that *Burch* was one of the 'different churches' referred to by the dying monk. Basing his hypothesis upon the similarity of content and phraseology in the Canterbury and *Burch* documents, he concluded that St. Augustine forgeries were produced *c.* 1070.[133]

Kelly is dismissive of Levison's argument regarding the date of the St. Augustine forgeries on the grounds that Guerno would have been practising his art throughout a career spanning fifty years before his death between 1119 and 1131. Instead, she proposes that the St. Augustine fabrications were created for on different occasions 'by different agents, for different purposes' and that Guerno's involvement if any must have been limited to the later

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[131] W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), Appendix I, pp. 172-233. St. Augustine founded first Christ Church as his *cathedra* and then St. Peter and St. Paul's [later St. Augustine's] monastery where he was buried. See *HE*, Bk. I, ch. 33; Bk. II, ch. 3.

[132] Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 181-2; *Charters of St. Augustine's*, ed. Kelly, pp. lxiv-lxv.

[133] The St. Augustine's forgeries were discovered when Hugo III D'Amiens, Archbishop of Rouen, informed Pope Hadrian IV of events that took place at the Council of Rheims in 1131, presided over by Pope Innocent II, when Bishop Gaufrid of Châlons, the former abbot of St. Médard, described Guerno's death-bed confession. Guerno's compositions were eventually surrendered to Archbishop Hugo and were destroyed. A copy of Hugo's letter to Hadrian, dated 1155, is preserved in the St. Augustine's archive. See *Literæ Cantuariensis: The Letter Books of the Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. J. B. Sheppard, RS 85, 3 vols. (London, 1887-9) III, Appendix No. 21, pp. 365-6; Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 207-10, 217-20.

decretals.[134] However, she concedes that the 'Levison group' of papal privileges must have been in existence before 1120 and possibly as early as the first decade of the twelfth century.[135] Although she acknowledges that the second decretal of John XII (942-58) could have been used as a prototype for *Burch*'s pseudo-Agatho's bull, she has remained silent regarding the rest of the *Burch* forgeries.[136] However, both Levison and Kelly were writing from a St. Augustine perspective. Therefore, it is essential that we consider their arguments in the *Burch* as well as in the Canterbury context.

Like *Burch*, St. Augustine's fortunes had changed dramatically after the Conquest, when Abbot Æthelsige was exiled to Denmark and replaced by the Norman, Scotland de St. Michel (*c.* 1070-87). Following Scotland's death in 1087, Archbishop Lanfranc, determined to keep the once independent St. Augustine's under his control, appointed another Norman, Guy Wido, whom the monks rejected, evoking the right to elect their own leader. Violence erupted after the death of Lanfranc in 1089, when the townsfolk of Canterbury, provoked by the brethren of St. Augustine's, attempted to assassinate Wido, who narrowly managed to escape with his life. As a punishment the recalcitrant monks of St. Augustine's were dispersed among other abbeys.[137] Therefore, as at *Burch*, there appeared to have been no opportunity until possibly the late eleventh or early twelfth century to call upon a forger's dubious skills. However, the turbulence at both St. Augustine's and *Burch* created an atmosphere in which discontent could both fester and breed.

During Archbishop Anselm's exile from 1097 to 1100 and from 1101 to 1107, Ernulf was left in sole charge of Christ Church.[138] Therefore, it is possible that the brethren of St. Augustine's may have seized the opportunity to commission the production of papal privileges by which they could claim the independence and freedom from interference from the Archbishop of York and Henry II. Indeed, the two Canterbury establishments were interdependent as far as education, scholarship and the division of liturgical duties were concerned and by the late tenth century Christ Church may even have shared St. Augustine's extensive library.[139] Furthermore, Ernulf appears to have inspired the admiration of his fellow schoolmaster, Reginald of St. Augustine's, who wrote six poems in recognition of

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[134] S. E. Kelly, 'Some Forgeries in the Archive of St. Augustine's Canterbury', *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*, MGH Schriften 33:4 (Hanover, 1988), pp. 351-4. See also her *Charters of St. Augustine's*, pp. lxiv-lxv, 22.
[135] Kelly, 'Some Forgeries' p. 360.
[136] *Ibid.*, p. 352.
[137] Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 206; *Charters of St. Augustine's* ed. Kelly, pp. xxiii-xxiv.
[138] Clanchy, *England and its Rulers*, pp. 65-7; Cramer, 'Ernulf', p. 488.
[139] N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury from 597 to 1066* (Leicester, 1984), p. 277; *Charters of St. Augustine's*, ed. Kelly, p. xiii.

Ernulf's wisdom and integrity, suggesting that the two academics may have liaised upon educational matters.[140] Therefore, it is conceivable that Ernulf was aware that the monks of St. Augustine's had employed a master-forger but may have chosen to ignore their activities.

However, if Guerno of St. Médard was responsible for any of the St. Augustine's forgeries, an accusation that is based entirely upon hearsay, his connexion with *Burch* is even more tenuous. Although Ansketel de St. Médard held the fiefdom of Wittering from Abbot Turold in 1086 and by the mid twelfth century *Burch* possessed a relic of St. Médard, Bishop of Vermandous, (*c.* 470-*c.* 560), there is no evidence to suggest that *Burch* was one of the 'different churches' for which Guerno had allegedly produced forgeries.[141] It is also impossible to identify Guerno's presence at *Burch* on palaeographical grounds, since none of the St. Augustine's or the *Burch* forgeries attributed to him by Levison survives in its original form.[142] However, although it seems unlikely that Guerno was the culprit, we safely assume that someone, who appears to have strong Canterbury connexions, was producing the convincing forgeries at *Burch* prior to their interpolation into ASC (E) *c.* 1121.

The case for Ernulf as the forger

Since the involvement of Guerno or his students is inconclusive, perhaps, we also should consider Abbot Ernulf as the author as well as the instigator of the *Burch* forgeries. As a protégé of Lanfranc, Ernulf had become so expert in canon law that he questioned his master's judgement in a divorce case.[143] Furthermore, whilst at Christ Church he drew up at least one legitimate charter concerning a grant of land by William Cavellus to Archbishop Anselm.[144] Once installed at *Burch*, Ernulf would have enjoyed unlimited access to the community's archive and would have had the opportunity to practise his juridical skills without hindrance or fear of discovery.

If Ernulf was the author of the *Burch* forgeries, the similarity between John XII's bull to St. Augustine's and pseudo-Agatho's bull to *Medeshamstede* poses a problem. However, as

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[140] Cramer, 'Ernulf', pp. 489-90.
[141] *DB: Northants.*, 6a [4]; *HC*, p. 54; Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 211.
[142] The nearest we have to Guerno's handwriting of a 'facsimile' made by Thomas of Elmham, copied into his house-history, *Speculum Augustinianum* (*c.*1379-1414). See Cambridge, Trinity Hall, 1; M. Hunter, 'The Facsimiles in Thomas of Elmham's History of St. Augustine's , Canterbury', *The Library*, Fifth series 28 (1973), pp. 215-21; R. Emms, 'The Historical Tradition of St. Augustine's, Canterbury', in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars, 1066-1199,* ed. R. Eales and R. Sharpe (London, 1995), pp. 166-7; *Charters of St. Augustine's*, ed. Kelly, pp. lvii-lvix, xcvi-xcvii; Plates 1-2.
[143] Cramer, 'Ernulf', p. 486.
[144] W. Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings* (London, 1967), charter 3, p. 387; Cramer, 'Ernulf', p. 489.

we have discovered, by 1070 Christ Church was already in possession of a series of spurious papal decrees, which Ernulf doubtlessly had perused in the course of his studies, perhaps carefully noting their content and phraseology.[145] Moreover, as 'acting' abbot of Christ Church, held in high esteem by Reginald the schoolmaster of St. Augustine's, Ernulf also may have had the opportunity to scrutinize or perhaps out of his interest in history and law made copies of the abbey's foundation charters.[146] Indeed, Levison observed a resemblance between pseudo-Æthelberht's land grant of 605 to St. Peter's Abbey, later renamed St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and the spurious charter, allegedly granted by Sigered of Kent to the monastery at Rochester.[147] Furthermore, the inclusion of the boundary clause in Æthelberht's grant of land to the east of Canterbury may have prompted the *Burch* forger to clarify the limits of *Medeshamstede*'s territory in pseudo-Wulfhere's charter.[148]

Ernulf would not have been the only high-ranking cleric to have committed forgery for the benefit of his religious house. Soon after his retirement to Reading, Robert de Sigello, former holder Henry I's seal and controller his chancery, produced a 'royal' charter for his abbey,[149] whilst in 1139, Osbert de Clare, prior of Westminster, composed three charters, purportedly granted by Edward the Confessor (1042-66), which Osbert personally presented to Pope Innocent II for confirmation.[150] It can be argued that Ernulf may have carefully gathered appropriate data from extant pre-Conquest Peterborough documents, including the Æthelwold's 'Gifts to Medeshamstede', the 'List of sureties for Medeshamstede's estates', 'Abbot Ælfsige's Whittlesey Mere contract' and the 'Breedon memoranda', to present as source material to the forger in his employ.[151] However, the author's attention to detail gleaned from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, his knowledge of local history and the continuity of theme throughout the four documents of the *Relatio Hedde Abbatis* suggests that his relationship with *Burch* was of a more intimate nature than that of a mere temporary employee. Furthermore, Ernulf's apprenticeship under Lanfranc and his consummate legal

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[145] Southern, 'Canterbury Forgeries', pp. 217-20; Gibson, *Lanfranc*, p. 232.
[146] Cramer, 'Ernulf ', p. 489.
[147] Cambridge, Trinity College, 1, f. 21v (s. xv$^{1/4}$); Rochester Dean and Chapter, *Textus Roffensis*, ff. 122r-123r (s. xii$^{1/4}$); Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 184-6. See also *Charters of St. Augustine's*, ed. Kelly, No.1; S 2, 32.
[148] BL, Cotton Claudius D. x, f. 61r (s. xiv$^{1/4}$: copy); *Charters of St. Augustine's*, ed. Kelly, No.1; Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 60v-62r.
[149] N. Brooks, *Anglo-Saxon Myths: Church and State 400-1066* (London, 2000), p. 15.
[150] P. Chaplais, 'The Original Charters of Herbert and Gervase, Abbots of Westminster (1121-1157)', in his *Essays in Medieval Diplomacy and Administration* (London, 1981), XVIII, pp. 90-3; N. Brooks, *Anglo-Saxon Myths: Church and State* (London, 2000), pp. 15-6.
[151] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 41rv [Swineshead]; ff. 39v-40v [Æthelwold's 'Gifts']; ff. 47r-49v ['Sureties']; ff. 24r-35v [Whittlesey Mere]; ff. 44v-45v ['Breedon memoranda']. See S 1412, 1148, 1463, 1803-5.

expertise may have enabled him to produce forgeries, which were convincing enough to remain unchallenged for seven centuries.[152]

Conclusion

By the late eleventh century, the brethren of *Burch* had been driven to despair by Abbot Turold's systematic disposal of their abbey's portable assets and the granting out of fees to support his sixty knights, whilst consecutive rulers' campaigns in Normandy were stretching both the monastery's and the country's resources to their limits. Therefore, as the written word became more important than an oral tradition, the forged charters claiming ancient privileges purportedly granted by Anglo-Saxon kings may have been perceived as a means by which *Burch* could safeguard its property and demand exemption from taxation, military service and interference from both the episcopacy and the monarchy and, at the same time, appear to conform to Norman rule.[153]

Burch was not alone in commissioning professional forgers to practise their skills. As we have discovered, St. Augustine's,[154] Christ Church,[155] Rochester,[156] Reading[157] and Westminster,[158] also produced spurious charters in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, described by Levison as the 'golden age of forgers'.[159] However, in order to fabricate documents that could withstand judicial scrutiny, the compiler would need to have at his disposal some basic information regarding the early foundation of the monastery. Using Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* as his main source, supplemented by extant tenth- and eleventh-century transactions and local folklore, the forger appears to have reconstructed 'Abbot Hædda's' house-history and underpinned it with two charters and a papal bull. Thus, he was able to explain the continuity of coenobitic life at *Burch* from the abbey's foundation until its restoration by Eadgar, despite its alleged destruction by the Danes. His compositions were so convincing that, as Stenton speculated, the author may have had access to other pre-existing documents that have since been lost.[160]

Since the four forgeries preserved under the rubric, *Relatio Hedde Abbatis*, survive only in their earliest extant form as mid twelfth century copies in the *Liber Niger*, their date

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[152] For Ernulf's training and proficiency in legal matters see, Cramer, 'Ernulf', pp. 484-6.
[153] Clanchy, *England and its Rulers*, p. 47.
[154] *Charters of St. Augustine's*, ed. Kelly, pp. lxiv-lxv.
[155] Gibson, *Lanfranc*, pp. 168-9.
[156] *Ibid.*, pp. 231-7.
[157] Brooks, *Anglo-Saxon Myths*, p. 15.
[158] Chaplais, 'Herbert and Gervase', pp. 90-3.
[159] Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 178. See also Brooks, *Anglo-Saxon Myths*, p. 13.
[160] Stenton '*Medeshamstede*', pp. 179-80.

and authorship cannot be proven beyond reasonable doubt. However, it is unlikely that they were fabricated before *Burch* was ruled by an abbot who steadfastly supported the brethren's cause to the point of collusion. The arrival in 1107 of Ernulf, the former prior of Christ Church Canterbury, may have been perceived as an answer to their prayers. Ernulf, 'a Frenchman rather than a Norman' and 'an accomplished lawyer and juridical thinker', had a superlative knowledge of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman canon law and was 'commonly credited with antiquarian tastes and a sympathy for English traditions'.[161] His ability to compose *diplomata* is testified by a legitimate charter, drawn up for Archbishop Anselm during his residency at Christ Church.[162]

By the early twelfth century the brethren of *Burch* already had the motives to commission spurious charters in order to establish their monastery's seniority and supremacy over rival houses in the region and, as they perhaps perceived, to save it from further financial and spiritual ruin. In Ernulf, they were furnished with the opportunity, the incentive and, probably, the expertise of a master forger. In the following chapter we shall discover how the *Burch* forgeries were amended and manipulated by ASC (E) Hand 1 so that he could reconstruct his version of the abbey's pre-Conquest past.

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[161] *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Preest, ch. 72; Cramer, 'Ernulf', pp. 484, 491-3; Southern, *Anselm*, p. 270.
[162] Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings*, Charter 3, p. 387; Cramer, 'Ernulf', p. 489.

Chapter Three

Recording the Past I: The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Manuscript E

Introduction: the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is a collective term used to describe a group of annals, which are known to have existed in the forms presented by the following manuscripts, each containing a variant text:

1. [A] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 173, ff. 1r-32r, hereafter ASC (A)[1]
2. [B] London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. vi, ff.1r-35v, hereafter ASC (B)[2]
3. [C] London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. i, ff. 115v-64r, hereafter ASC (C)[3]
4. [D] London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. iv, ff. 3r-9v, 19r-86v, hereafter ASC (D)[4]
5. [E] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 636, ff. 1r-91v, hereafter ASC (E)[5]
6. [F] London, British Library, Cotton Domitian A. viii, ff. 30r-70v, hereafter ASC (F)[6]
7. [G] London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. xi, 2, hereafter ASC (G)
8. [H] London, British Library, Cotton Domitian A. ix, f. 9rv, hereafter ASC (H)[7]
9. [I] London, British Library, Caligula A. xv, ff. 120r-153r, hereafter ASC (I)

An analysis of these chronicles reveals that ASC (G) was an early twelfth-century direct copy of ASC (A). ASC (BC) shared a common ancestor, which Plummer named 'Γ'.[8] ASC (EF) also shared a common ancestor [√E], of which ASC (D) was a conflation. ASC (H) survives in the form of a mere fragment that records only the years 1113 and 1114, ending abruptly with the latter entry. However, ASC (ACDE) have distinctive characteristics which suggest

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[1] ASC (A) is also known as the Parker Manuscript because it formerly belonged to Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury (1159-75). See also *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A Collaborative Edition* 3, *MS. A*, ed. J. Bately (Cambridge, 1986), hereafter *MS A*, ed. Bately.

[2] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A Collaborative Edition* 4, *MS. B*, ed. S. Taylor (Cambridge, 1983), hereafter *MS B*, ed Taylor.

[3] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A Collaborative Edition* 5, *MS. C*, ed. K. O'Brien O' Keeffe (Cambridge, 1996, hereafter *MS C*, ed O'Brien O'Keefe.

[4] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A Collaborative Edition* 6, *MS. D*, ed. G. P. Cubbin (Cambridge, 1996), hereafter *MS D*, ed. Cubbin.

[5] ASC (E) is also known as the Laud Manuscript because it was once the property of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury (1633-1645). The manuscript was reproduced as *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile* 4: *The Peterborough Chronicle (Bodleian Manuscript Laud Misc. 636),* ed. D. Whitelock, (Copenhagen, 1954). See also *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A Collaborative Edition* 7, *MS E*, ed. S. Irvine (Cambridge, 2004), hereafter *MS E*, ed. Irvine.

[6] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A Collaborative Edition* 8, *MS. F*, ed. P. S. Baker (Cambridge, 2000), hereafter *MS F*, ed. Baker.

[7] *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, with Supplementary Extracts from the Others: A Revised Text on the Basis of an Edition by John Earle*, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1892-9; rev. imp., by D. Whitelock, 1952) I, pp. 243-5; II, p. xxxvii, hereafter Plummer.

[8] Plummer II, pp. cxviii-cxix.

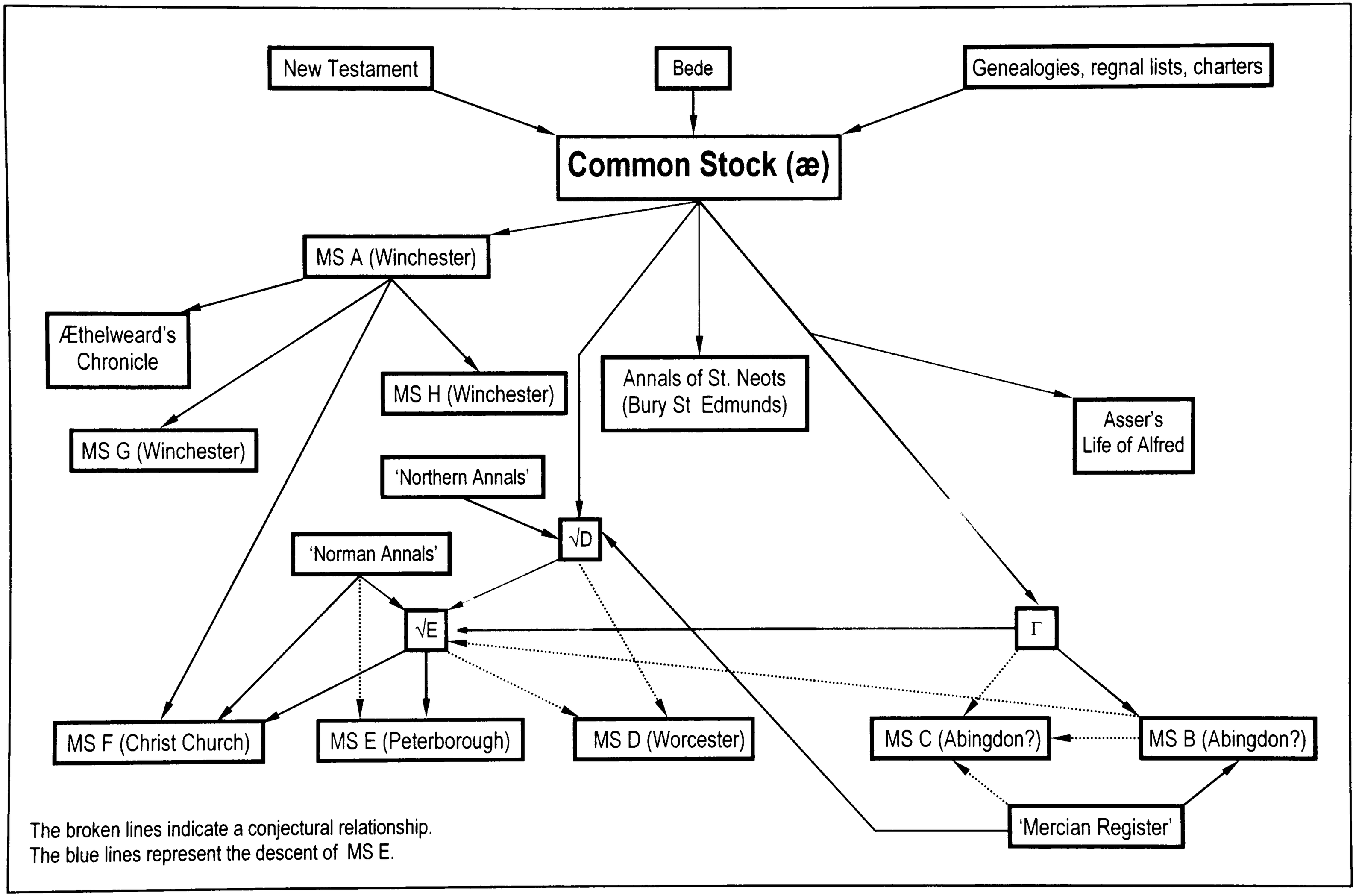

Figure 2: The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and its related texts

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that, although independent chronicles in their own right, they all descend from a 'common stock', which Plummer named 'æ'.[9] ASC [E], commenced at Peterborough *c.* 1121, was the latest and longest running of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles. Criticism of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and its origins before 890 is complex and a much debated topic. Broadly speaking historians and textual critics agree on the following points about its derivation.

The 'Alfredian' chronicle' (Figure 2)

It has been proposed that 'æ', the earliest European history to be written in the vernacular language, was initiated at Winchester either at the direct behest of King Alfred or one of his associates with the intention of generating a sense of national unity at a time when England was still in danger from Danish incursions. It is understood to have commenced at 60BC and culminated with Alfred's triumph over the Danes in Wessex and the baptism of their leader, Guthrum, at Wedmore in 878.[10] Even in the late ninth century, the chronicler of 'æ' had a selection of written source material available to him, including early theological books and Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Northumbrian,[11] West Saxon[12] and Mercian regnal

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[9] Plummer II, pp. cii.

[10] Plummer II, p. civ; F. M. Stenton, 'The South-western Element in the Old English Chronicle' in *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England: Being the Collected Papers of Frank Merry Stenton*, ed. D. M. Stenton (Oxford, 1970), p. 106; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, M. Swanton, (London; rev., 2000), p. xviii, hereafter *ASC*, ed. Swanton. Geoffrey Gaimar, writing 1135 x 1147 recorded that,

> 'Il [Alfred] fist escriuere un liure Engleis,
> E des auentures, e des leis,
> E de batailles de la terre,
> E des reis ki firent la guere.'

Lestorie des Engles: La Translacion Maistre Geffrei Gaimar, eds. T. D. Hardy and C. T. Martin, RS 91, 2 vols. (London, 1888-9) I, p. 144, lines 3451-4. My translation: 'He [Alfred] wrote a book about the English and their adventures and their lineage and about battles about the land and about kings who waged war'. See also *Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock, p. 32. ASC (A), 878. Asser (died 908/9) also used 'æ' as a source for *Vita Alfredi Regis Angul Saxonum*, which survives only as a copy (*c.* 1000). See *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of Alfred*, ed. S. Keynes and M. Lapidge (Harmondsworth, 1983), pp. 10, 65-110. See also *MS A*, ed. Bately, pp. lxxxviii-lxxxix; S. Keynes, 'Asser' in *the Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge, J. Blair, S. Keynes and D. Scragg (Oxford, 2001), pp. 48-9.

[11] Bede directly refers to 'unde cunctis . . . regum tempora computantibus.' Colgrave's and Mynors' translation: 'those who compute the dates of kings'. See *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, ed. and tr. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), hereafter *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 1.

[12] It is generally agreed that the West Saxon Regnal List commenced with Cerdic and concluded with the death of Æthewulf in 858. See F. M. Stenton, 'The Foundations of English History', in *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England: Being the Collected Papers of Frank Merry Stenton*, ed. D. M. Stenton (Oxford, 1970), pp. 119-21; K. Harrison, 'Early Wessex Annals in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', *EHR* 86 (1971), pp. 527-33; D. Dumville, 'The West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List and the Chronology of Early Wessex', *Peritia* 4 (1985), pp. 21. The genealogy of Alfred appears at the beginning of ASC (A), tracing his line back through Cerdic, one of the original Saxon settlers, to Woden. See also the entries for 552, 597, 648, 674, 685 and 855, the last of which claims that Alfred was a descendant of Noah and Adam.

lists.[13] Early Kentish records also are known to have existed. Bede recorded his debt to Abbot Albinus, a student of Archbishop Theodore (668-90) and Abbot Hadrian (*c.* 671-*c.* 709), who had discovered 'uel monimentis litterum uel seniorem traditione', data concerning the conversion of Kent and its neighbouring provinces.[14] If such accounts were kept in Canterbury and Northumbria during the seventh and eighth centuries, then it is reasonable to speculate that significant events pertaining to the West Saxons may also have been perpetuated by either oral tradition or in textual form.

Plummer and Parkes argued that the marginal notes on Pascal tables may have provided an *aide mémoire* for a prospective chronicler, while Bately is unconvinced.[15] Although there is no evidence to substantiate that this type of source was employed in ninth-century Winchester, short historical notes in Old English and Latin, now known as ASC (I), were added in different hands for the years 1058 to 1268 to Easter tables compiled at Christ Church, Canterbury, *c.* 1073.[16] Moreover, the first two folios of British Library Harley 3667 [*Computistica*.], composed at *Burch c.* 1100 x 1125, were edited with marginal notes recording events of local and national importance.[17]

The transmission of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

Although, 'æ', the archetype of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, no longer survives, Alfred sagaciously ordered duplicates to be made, which were distributed to other religious centres, including the Christ Church Cathedral community and royal monasteries, where they were continuously updated with national and regional news. Thus, he could ensure the Chronicle's continuity and survival in turbulent times.[18] The oldest extant copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, generally referred to as ASC (A) was probably compiled at Winchester *c.*

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[13] ASC (A) plots the genealogy of the Mercian Kings, Penda (626) and Offa (755) down to Woden.
[14] *HE*, Preface. Colgrave's and Mynors' translation: 'from written records or from the old traditions'.
[15] Plummer II, pp. cxiii-cxiv; M. B. Parkes, 'The Palaeography of the Parker Manuscript of the *Chronicle*, Laws and Sedulius, and the Historiography at Winchester in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries', *ASE* 5 (1976), p. 154; J. Bately, 'Manuscript Layout and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 70 (1998), pp. 22-3, 36-43.
[16] London, British Library [BL], Cotton Caligula A. xv [*Computistica*] (Canterbury, s. xi), ff. 132v-135r; Plummer II, p. xxxvii; N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd edn. (London, 1964), p. 35; R. Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (1066-1130)*, (Oxford, 1999), No. 370.
[17] Professor Elaine Treharne of Leicester University detected two different scribes for the gloss and marginalia of BL, Harley 3667. Hand 1 (f. 1rv) was active between 1140 and 1150, whilst Hand 2 (f. 2rv) was operating no later than 1160, pers. com. May 2003. See also Gameson, *Manuscripts*, No. 404; above, Chapter 1, pp. 8-9.
[18] *ASC*, ed. Swanton, p. xx.

891.[19] While Bede appears to have been the source of information relating to the invasions of 449 and the conversion and baptism of King Cynegils, ASC (A) Hand 1, also had access to a West Saxon regnal list and a set of annals, although it is impossible to ascertain in ASC (A) if or when they first were committed to writing.[20] After recording the arrival of Cerdic and Cynric, the founders of the West Saxon kingdom, ASC (A) continued to plot their exploits and those of their descendants until the reign of Alfred (871-99), suggesting that they had originally been learnt by rote for recitation on auspicious occasions.[21]

The inclusion of the military campaigns of Alfred's son, Edward the Elder (899-924) and the detailed account of the Danish raids on Hampshire and Devon in 1001 implies that ASC (A) remained in Winchester until the latter date.[22] However, the brevity of subsequent entries suggests that the interest in ASC (A) was beginning to wane. Before 1075, the manuscript was transferred to Christ Church, Canterbury, where it was known to have been consulted by the compiler of ASC (F).[23] Swanton theorizes that ASC (A) was acquired by Christ Church in order to replace a manuscript, which had been destroyed during the Danish occupation of Canterbury in 1011.[24] However, after this date only eleven main entries were made, none of which appear in any other version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.[25] ASC (A) was finally abandoned in 1093 with the obituary of Archbishop Lanfranc (1070-89), probably in order to make way for Christ Church's own chronicle, ASC (F).[26] Since Ernulf held office at Christ Church *c.* 1077, it is possible that that it was at his behest that ASC (A) was abandoned and ASC (F) was commenced.[27] Before ASC (A) was transferred to Canterbury between 1001 and 1012/3, a copy had been made, now known as ASC (G).[28] This manuscript was almost completely destroyed in the fire at Ashburnham House Library,

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[19] Corpus Christi College, Cambridge [CCCC], 173, ff 1v-32r (s. ix-x); Stenton 'South-western Element', p. 106; N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), p. 58; Ker, *Medieval* Libraries, p. 199; Parkes, 'Palaeography', pp. 153-4; *MS A*, ed. Bately, p. xxi.
[20] *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 7; ASC (A), Preface; 634, 635. See also Dumville, 'Regnal List', pp. 21-3.
[21] ASC (A), 495 *et seq.* See also K. Harrison, 'Early Wessex Annals', pp. 527-33; Dumville, 'Regnal List', pp. 44-9.
[22] Plummer II, p. xxvii; *ASC,* ed. Swanton, p. xxi-ii.
[23] *English Historical Documents, c. 500-1042*, ed. D. Whitelock, 2nd edn. (London, 1979), hereafter *EHD*, p. 110; *MS A*, ed. Bately, p. xiii.
[24]ASC (A), 1011; *ASC*, ed. Swanton, p. xxii.
[25] *MS A*, ed. Bately, p. xciii.
[26] BL, Cotton Domitian A. viii; Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 36; *MS F*, ed,. Baker, p. lxxvi.
[27] P. Cramer, 'Ernulf of Rochester and Early Canon Law', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 40:4 (Oct. 1989), p. 484. ASC (A) was also the source for Æthelweard's Latin conflation of ASC (*c.* 983). See S. Miller, 'Æthelweard' in *Encyclopaedia of ASE*, p. 18.
[28] BL, Cotton Otho B. xi 2. The ancestor of ASC (G) was probably copied at Winchester between 1001 and 1012/13. See *ASC*, ed. Swanton, pp. xxii-xxiii; *MS A*, ed. Bately, p. xiii.

Westminster in 1731. Fortunately, the Anglo-Saxon revivalist, Laurence Nowell, had made a transcript in 1562.[29]

ASC (BC): 'The Abingdon Manuscripts?'

Although it is by no means certain, Abingdon, on the boundary between Wessex and Mercia, may have been one of the recipients of a version of 'æ', which Plummer named 'Γ'. Between *c.* 977 and 979, this now lost exemplar was reproduced as a manuscript now known as ASC (B), terminating in 977 with the assassination of Edward the Martyr (975-98).[30] The single scribe who copied the manuscript also appears to have had access to a set of lost annals known as the 'Mercian Register', which he interpolated between the years 915 and 934.[31] No later than 1095, ASC (B) was transferred to Christ Church, Canterbury, where only amendments and insertions were made.[32] Plummer identified a similarity between the amending hand of ASC (B) and that, which compiled ASC (F). It also has been recognized as that of the continuator and interpolator of ASC (A).[33]

Like that of ASC (B), the provenance of ASC (C) is debatable. Arguments in favour of Abingdon are based primarily upon textual references to Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester's restored monastery.[34] Plummer claimed that two copies of ASC (BC)'s common ancestor [Γ] were made at Abingdon, ASC (B) *c.* 979 and ASC (C) during the eleventh century. He further conjectured that ASC (B) became a possession of Canterbury and 'remained a barren stock'. He also maintained that ASC (C) was retained by Abingdon, where it was continued until 1066, when it ended abruptly during an account of the battle of Stamford Bridge, implying that the remainder of the manuscript has since been destroyed.[35] Alternatively, as Whitelock proposed, ASC (C) may have been copied directly from ASC (B) up to 652 and again from 945 to 977, when ASC (B) was drawn to a close. A version of the 'Mercian Register', identical to that interpolated into ASC (B) was also integrated into ASC (C).[36]

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[29] BL, Additional 43703, ff. 200r-32r; *EHD*, p. 110; *MS A*, ed. Bately, p. xv. See also *ASC*, ed. Swanton, pp. xxii-xxiii.

[30] BL, Cotton Tiberius A. vi, ff. 1r-35v; Plummer II, pp. cxviii-cxix; Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 43; *MS B*, ed. Taylor, p. xi; *ASC*, ed. Swanton, p. xxiii.

[31] The 'Mercian Register' mainly related to the deeds of Alfred's daughter, Æthelflæd, the 'Lady of the Mercians' (died 918). Plummer believed that Henry of Huntingdon had a copy of the 'Mercian Register' in its original form. See Plummer II, p. lvii.

[32] *MS B*, ed. Taylor, pp. xxi-xxii. Plummer considered that ASC (B) was taken to St. Augustine's, Canterbury. See Plummer II, pp. cxviii-cxix.

[33] Plummer II, p. xxviii-xxix. See also *MS B*, ed. Taylor, p. xxi.

[34] *MS C*, ed. O' Brien O' Keeffe, p. lxxiv.

[35] Plummer II, pp. cxviii-cxix. For detailed discussions upon the relationship between the two manuscripts, see *MS B*, ed. Taylor, pp. xxxiv-l; *MS C*, ed. O' Brien O' Keeffe, pp. lvii-lxii.

[36] *EHD*, pp. 112-3.

Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe is sceptical of ASC (C)'s Abingdon origin.[37] Although she concedes that the manuscript shared a common exemplar with ASC (B), she proposes Christ Church, Canterbury, as an alternative place for ASC (C)'s composition. O'Brien O'Keeffe suggests that either 'Γ' and/or ASC (B) was transported to Canterbury after 979 or, alternatively, that ASC (B) was also compiled at Christ Church, where it would have been available as a source for √E. She bases her arguments upon the absence of references to Abingdon and its abbots after 982 in favour of London and Canterbury material. She also observes the 'anti-Godwine' element in ASC (C). While Abingdon was a beneficiary of Earl Godwine of Wessex (died 1053), and his heir, Harold II, Godwine allegedly had acquired his estates in Kent at the expense of Christ Church.[38] Nevertheless, it appears that during the latter half of the eleventh century, Christ Church had become a repository for the various conflations of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

ASC (DEF): textual relationships

It is widely accepted that ASC (D) was probably composed at Worcester since, after 1033, it recorded predominantly local events and was known to have been in the possession of Worcester Cathedral *c.* 1565.[39] However, because many of the earlier entries referred to Northumbrian activities, Plummer proposed York as the provenance of ASC (D)'s ancestor, which he called 'δ', now referred to as √D.[40] In addition to a version of 'æ', the chronicler of √D had direct access to a set of lost, Latin eighth-century 'Northern Annals', which had been compiled at York or Ripon.[41] The documentation of Carolingian events implies that the northern chronicler may have received his information through correspondence between

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[37] *MS C*, ed. O' Brien O' Keeffe, pp. xv-xvi, lxxxix-xcii. Simon Keynes proposes that ASC (C) was written in London between 1016 and 1023. See his 'The Declining Reputation of King Æthelred the Unready', in *Ethelred the Unready: Papers for the Millenary Conference*, ed. D. Hill (Oxford, 1978), pp. 232-3.

[38] *MS C*, ed. O'Brien O' Keeffe pp. lxxxix-xcii.

[39] BL, Cotton Tiberius B. iv, ff. 3,-9v, 19r-86v; N. R. Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 124. See *ASC,* ed. Swanton, p. xxv. Cubbin speculates that the D-text may have been taken to Worcester after either the 1113 or 1189 fires. See her *MS D*, p. ix.

[40] Plummer II, p. lxiii.

[41] *Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock. p. 29; *EHD*, pp. 113-4; *MS D*, ed. Cubbin, pp. lvi-lix. The lost 'York Annals' or 'Northern Annals', written *c.* 732 x *c.* 802, were integrated into Symeon of Durham's *Historia Regum*. See Plummer II, pp. lxix-lxxi; M. Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth of Ramsey and the Early Sections of the *Historia Regum* Attributed to Symeon of Durham' *ASE* 10 (1982), pp. 115-6; D. Rollason, 'Northern Annals' in *Encyclopaedia of ASE*, p, 333.

Alcuin of York (*c.* 735-804), one of Charlemagne's most prominent ministers, and his former colleagues at York.[42] The author of √D also substituted Alfred's genealogy with a description of the island of Great Britain based upon Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica.*[43] Furthermore, whilst the scribes of ASC (BC) interpolated the 'Mercian Register' into their manuscripts unaltered, the author of √D was more discerning in his data handling, placing the events in chronological order.[44]

Swanton postulates that √D may have been transferred to Worcester between 972 and 1016, when both the sees of Worcester and York were held by the same bishops, one of which was Eadwulf [Adulf], abbot of *Medeshamstede* from 972 to 992.[45] However, Cubbin supports Plummer's theory that √D remained in the north until as late as the 1050s, where it had been copied from a tenth-century manuscript compiled in the vicinity of York/Ripon. A reference to 'ealne þisne norðende' ['all this northern part'] in ASC (D)'s entry for 1052 adds weight to this theory.[46] By this date, Worcester's *scriptorium* had been firmly established, whilst at York, as Cubbin suggests, the constant threat of Danish incursions and a disastrous fire in 1069 may have rendered the monastic environment less conducive to serious record keeping.[47]

Moreover, Cubbin's hypothesis may be substantiated by the presence of another pluralist incumbent of York and Worcester, Ealdred [Aldred], a former monk of Winchester, who had been elevated to the see of Worcester in 1046 and translated to York in 1061.[48] Therefore, it is feasible that it was upon his instigation that √D was transmitted to Worcester for safekeeping. Indeed, Cubbin conjectures that Ealdred may have ordered the production of ASC (D) during his tenure of Worcester.[49] There, the manuscript was copied by several hands that had been trained during the latter half of the eleventh and the first decades of the twelfth century.[50] The original annals end abruptly in 1075, after which they are continued in a sixteenth-century hand until 1080.[51]

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[42] For the Carolingian connexion, see J. E. Story, *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia, c. 750-870* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 127-33.
[43] *HE*, Bk. I, ch.1.
[44] *EHD*, p. 113.
[45] *ASC*, ed. Swanton, pp. xxv; ASC (EF), 992.
[46] ASC (D), f. 73v (1052). Plummer II, p. lxx-lxxi; Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 124; *MS D*, ed. Cubbin, pp. lxii-lxiii.
[47] *MS D*, ed. Cubbin, pp. lxv-lxvi.
[48] ASC (D), 1047, 1060-1. For a summary of Ealdred's career, see *William of Malmesbury: The Deeds of the Bishops of England* (*Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*), ed. and tr. D. Preest (Woodbridge, 2002), ch. 115.
[49] *MS D*, ed. Cubbin, pp. lxxviii-lxxix.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. xi.
[51] ASC (D), f. 84r (1095); *MS D*, ed. Cubbin, p. 86, note 1.

ASC (DE)'s relationship is complex. Apart from several minor deviations and the inclusion of Latin entries in ASC (E), the annals up to 890 and again from 959 to 1022, ran parallel.[52] However, for the years 1056, 1057, 1059 and 1060, ASC (D) recorded events relating to *Burch* that were absent from ASC (E).[53] My own analysis of ASC (DEF) agrees with Irvine's in that up to 1058, ASC (E) bears a closer resemblance to the bilingual epitome, ASC (F), which was compiled at Christ Church, Canterbury *c.* 1080 x 1110, than to ASC (D).[54]

Plummer claimed that ASC (E) was not a direct transcript of ASC (D) but shared with ASC (F) a common ancestor, a version of either ASC (D) or of its parent, 'δ' [√D], which he names '∈' [√E], a theory supported by Baker.[55] In contrast, Cubbin speculates that the compiler of ASC (D) used √E as his source until 1031, after which the exemplar was despatched from York to Canterbury.[56] Whitelock also advocated that √E arrived in Canterbury before 1045, after which the activities of the abbots of St. Augustine's were recorded until 1061. After this date √E became available as an exemplar at Christ Church, its last known place before *Burch*.[57]

Nevertheless, the compiler of ASC (F) did not copy √E *verbatim*, but availed him of other manuscripts accumulated by Christ Church by the late eleventh century, including ASC (A), which he consulted for the period from 892 to 924, when other source material was in short supply. Although the 'Northern Annals' were incorporated into his work, he chose to ignore the 'Mercian Register' for 902-24, which was an integral part of ASC (BCD), whilst ASC (E) Hand 1 documented only two Mercian events, the deaths of Ealdorman Æthelred and his wife, Æthelflæd, in 910 and 918, which he could have learnt form ASC (A).[58] The compiler of ASC (F) also had access to a set of non-extant 'Norman Annals', written in Latin, which despite ASC (F)'s abrupt termination in 1058 extended as far as 1062, and which were available to the compiler of ASC (E). Dumville and Baker conclude that the 'Norman Annals'

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[52] Plummer II, p. lxiv. Whitelock proposed that ASC (CDE) agree until 1022 but claimed that ASC (DE) ran parallel as late as 1031. See *EHD*, pp. 113, 117.

[53] ASC (D), 1056. Æthelric resigned the bishopric of Durham and retired to *Burch*; 1057, Earl Ralph died on 21 December and was interred at *Burch*; 1059, the steeple was consecrated; 1060, Cynesige [Kensius], Archbishop of York died on 22 December and was buried at *Burch*.

[54] *MS E*, ed. Irvine, p. lxxix. See also Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 35; *MS F*, ed. Baker, p. lxxvi.

[55] Plummer II, pp. lxi-lxiii; *MS F*, ed. Baker, pp. xxix-xxxi. Conner proposes that ASC (C) was also a descendant of the same exemplar as ASC (E), which he names √CE. See his *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition* 10, *The Abingdon Chronicle AD 956-1066* (MS C with reference to BDE) (Cambridge, 1996), p. xvii.

[56] *MS D*, ed. Cubbin, pp. lii-liii.

[57] *EHD*, p. 115.

[58] *MS F*, ed. Baker, pp. xxix-xxx; ASC (AE), 911, 918.

may have been added to √E at Christ Church but copied independently at the discretion of the ASC (EF) chroniclers.[59] However, Irvine maintains that ASC (E) was a more faithful copy of √E than ASC (F), the Old English annals of which are understood to represent an abridged version of those recorded in √E.[60] √E also became the source for several twelfth-century Latin chronicles, including Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, written and revised between *c.* 1123 and 1154,[61] and the 'Waverley Annals', written at Waverley Abbey, near Farnham [Surrey], begun *c.* 1200 and continued until 1291.[62] However, both compilations ceased to correspond with ASC (E) after 1121, when the Peterborough manuscript became a 'living' or contemporaneous chronicle. After the discontinuation of √E, ASC (E) displayed an absorption in northern affairs for the years 1064 to 1080, in addition to entries pertaining exclusively to *Burch*. From 1081, there was a southern interest, which showed a marked resemblance to John of Worcester's chronicle (*c.* 1140) and William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (1125 x 1143). Thus, Dumville deduces that, after √E's conclusion, ASC (E)'s compiler referred to a set of 'Northern Annals' for the years 1065 to 1080, then to a lost 'Southern Chronicle' from 1081 to 1121.[63]

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Manuscript 'E': its significance as a historical document

Despite the fact that there is no reference to ASC (E) in any of the medieval library catalogues, there can be no doubt that it was copied in Peterborough. Palaeographical characteristics and the incorporation of a considerable amount of local material, confirm this statement. ASC (E) was commenced during the abbacy of John de Séez (1114-25) and continued 'in a uniform hand and ink' until the entry for 1121.[64] Initially, the chronicle was copied from an exemplar, which is generally understood to have been supplied by Christ

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[59] Dumville, "Some Aspects of Annalistic Writing in Canterbury in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries', *Peritia* II (1983), p. 36-7; *MS F*, ed. Baker, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv. The 'Norman Annals' also were incorporated into the 'Annals of St. Neots', written at Bury St, Edmunds *c.* 1120 x *c.* 1140. See *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition* 17, *The Annals of St. Neots with Vita Prima Sancti Neoti*, ed. D. Dumville and M. Lapidge (Cambridge, 1984), pp. xliii-xlvii.

[60] *MS E*, ed. Irvine, pp. lxxix-lxxxii.

[61] *Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, Historia Anglorum*, ed. and tr. D. Greenway (Oxford, 1996), pp. lxii, lxvi-lxvii; Plummer II, pp. lv-lviii.

[62] BL, Cotton Vespasian A. xvi. Waverley Abbey was founded in 1128 by Bishop William Giffard of Winchester, as a daughter house of the Cistercian monastery of Aumône, Normandy. The 'Waverley Annals' record the years from the Incarnation to 1291. See 'Annales de Monasterii Waverleia, AD 1-1291', in *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, RS 36, 5 vols. (London, 1864-9) II, p. xxxiii; Plummer II, pp. lii-liii. See below, pp. 81-2.

[63] Dumville, 'Some Aspects', p. 34.

[64] *The Peterborough Chronicle, 1070-1154*, ed. C. Clark, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1970), pp. xv-xvii; *MS E*, ed. Irvine, p. xiii.

Church, Canterbury.[65] After 1121, the annals were continued at intervals for the next decade by the same scribe.[66] In 1131 the chronicle concluded with a fervent plea for the survival of the monastery.

> 'Crist ræde for þa wrecce muneces of Burch 7 for þa stede nu. hem behafeð Cristes helpe 7 eall Cristenes folces.'[67]

Immediately after this entry, ASC (E) was abandoned, probably as a result of the chaotic rule of Henry d'Angély (1127-32), whose unsuccessful attempts to annex *Burch* to Cluny led to the loss of many of *Burch's* possessions.[68] Thus, Hand 1 may have become so disillusioned at the prospect of his abbey ceasing to function as an independent establishment that he considered it pointless to continue with his chronicle.

Despite the expulsion of Abbot Henry in 1132 and the subsequent appointment of the more compliant Martin de Bec (1133-55), ASC (E) was not resumed until *c.* 1155.[69] Plummer believed that the civil war between Stephen de Blois and the Empress Mathilda and its accompanying atrocities may have been the reason for the Chronicle's discontinuation.[70] However, according to Hugh Candidus, despite the general upheaval caused by the conflict, *Burch* thrived throughout Stephen's reign. Perhaps, it was Martin de Bec's preoccupation with his building and commercial enterprises that prevented the abbot from concentrating upon the more literary aspects of monastic life.[71] Alternatively, the services of ASC (E) Hand 1 may have ceased to be available due to either death or disability or the chronicle was hidden to prevent it from falling into the hands of Cluny and was not recovered until over two decades later.

Upon the death of Martin de Bec on 2 January 1155 and the immediate election of his successor, William de Waterville, ASC (E) was completed by Hand 2, who wrote sixteen annals from 1132 to 1154 retrospectively, concluding with a second prayer for the new abbot. Symbolically, the termination of the longest-running Anglo-Saxon Chronicle marked the decline of the use of the vernacular language in its written form at *Burch*, since after 1154 all

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[65] *Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock, p. 31; *Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. Clark, pp. xviii-ix; Dumville, 'Some Aspects', p. 34. For a summary of the relationship between ASC (EF), see *MS F*, ed. Baker, pp. xxix-xxxiv.

[66] *Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. Clark, pp. xvi-xviii.

[67] ASC (E), f. 88v (1131). Swanton's translation, *ASC*, p. 262: 'May Christ take measures for the wretched monks of Peterborough and for that wretched place. Now, they need the help of Christ and of all the Christian people'.

[68] ASC (E), 1130-2.

[69] ASC (E), 1132; *The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, ed. W. T. Mellows (Oxford, 1949), hereafter *HC*, p. 104; *Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. Clark, pp. xxv, xxxiv-xxxv.

[70] Plummer II, p. xxxv.

[71] Hugh named Stephen as one of the abbey's benefactors, who visited the monastery, giving a ring to St. Oswald's relic. See *HC*, pp. 104-106.

known surviving documents were composed in Latin. This transformation was possibly at the behest of the reforming Abbot William, during whose rule Hugh Candidus began his own house-history. However, the fact that ASC (E) was written mainly in the vernacular but copied from a bilingual exemplar, suggests that even as late as the fourth decade of the twelfth century Old English was still acceptable and in use at *Burch*.

It appears that Hand 2, who completed ASC (E), was less confident than his predecessor in the use of the vernacular language. His frequent mistakes and omissions imply the work of an Anglo-Norman, who had received his formal training in Latin, rather than in Old English.[72] However, Swanton cites the use of colloquialisms as an indication that the author was also familiar with the local dialect.[73] Furthermore, the manuscript of E from 1131 to 1154 was compressed into a mere four folios, conveying the compiler's sense of urgency to draw his chronicle to a close, perhaps, in order to embark upon a new assignment. Treharne argues that the latter section seems to have been composed without reference to an exemplar, although he may have relied upon eyewitness accounts rough drafts or even his own memory as his source.[74]

ASC (E): the Ernulf connexion

On 4 August 1116, the disastrous 'Nine Days' Fire' destroyed all of the monastic buildings except for 'capitulum et dormitorium et necessarium et refectorium nouum', as well as the whole of the 'vill' of *Burch*.[75] Consequently, it has been the general consensus, based upon palaeographical observations, that ASC (E) was commenced after 1121 and, therefore, upon the mandate of Abbot John de Séez (1114-25), to replace an earlier chronicle which, according to Whitelock, had been destroyed in the conflagration.[76] This suggests that the Christ Church exemplar, √E, from which ASC (E) was copied, was brought to *Burch* during John's abbacy. However, since neither ASC (E) Hand 1 nor Hugh Candidus stated that any books or documents were lost in the blaze, we should not entirely dismiss the possibility that some manuscripts, especially those which were in frequent use, may have been stored in the chapter house, refectory or elsewhere in the monastery, rather than in the church or

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[72] Treharne, pers. com., May 2003. Plummer also complained about 'the degeneracy of the language' after ASC (E), f. 88v10. See Plummer II, pp. lxvii-lxiii. See below, pp. 104-5.
[73] Swanton has identified the final continuation of ASC (E) as one of the earliest examples of Middle English. See his *ASC*, p. xxvii.
[74] Treharne, pers. com., May 2003.
[75] Apparently, only Ernulf's chapter house, dormitory and reredorter and Abbot John's newly completed refectory survived the blaze, which presumably destroyed Æthelwold's tenth-century church. See ASC (E), 1116; *HC*, pp. 90, 97.
[76] *Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock, p. 31.

scriptorium.[77] This may explain why copies of charters, including the *Relatio* forgeries, appear to have been available to the scribe who compiled the *Liber Niger*, 1125 x 1150.[78] Therefore, it is equally feasible that √E or a copy may not have been brought to *Burch* during the abbacy of John de Séez but during that of his predecessor, Ernulf (1107-14) and survived the fire of 1116. The following reasons are offered in support this hypothesis.

Ernulf was an academic who had studied under the tutelage of Lanfranc and Anselm at Bec, where he received the tonsure *c.* 1060.[79] He had also held the position of schoolmaster before becoming prior at Christ Church, Canterbury, where he probably established a library and *scriptorium*.[80] Furthermore, Hugh Candidus' anonymous biographer described Ernulf as one of the 'good counsellors' who had instructed Hugh as an oblate.[81] It was during Ernulf's abbacy, or at least under the conducive environment that he created, that Hugh's interest in history was kindled, later inspiring him to collect the materials for his own Peterborough Chronicle.[82] Therefore, Ernulf's regard for education and associated scholarly literature cannot be disputed.[83]

Following his elevation to the see of Rochester in 1114, Ernulf was accredited with commissioning a cartulary known as the *Textus Roffensis*, which was compiled in two parts and later bound together in a single volume. The first, folios 1r-118r, was completed between 20 October 1122 and 18 February 1123 and contained a series of Old English texts, including Alfred's Law Code.[84] Therefore, it appears that Bishop Ernulf encouraged the preservation and, perhaps, the promotion the vernacular language. If this happened at Rochester, then it is possible that Ernulf's interest in Old English was stimulated at Christ Church or at *Burch*, where charters compiled in both Old English or in Latin with vernacular bounds also survived.[85] At *Burch* and Rochester, Ernulf may have believed that through the perpetuation of the vernacular language, he was making a legitimate claim to ancient rights

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[77] ASC (E), 1116; *HC*, p. 97. See also F. M. Stenton '*Medeshamstede* and its Colonies', in *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. M. Stenton (Oxford, 1970), pp. 179-80.
[78] London, Society of Antiquaries, 60, ff. 6r-73r.
[79] Cramer, 'Ernulf', pp. 484-5.
[80] M. Gibson, *Lanfranc de Bec* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 36, 177; Cramer, 'Ernulf', pp. 484, 489.
[81] *HC*, p. 95.
[82] Hugh Candidus' biography was sandwiched between Ernulf's achievements, implying that it may have been Ernulf who first recognized Hugh's potential. See *HC*, pp. 90-6.
[83]Ernulf was an accomplished author in his own right. His most notable work was *De incestis coniugiis*, a letter to Walkelin of Winchester concerning a case of canon law, in which a woman had committed adultery with her stepson. See Cramer, 'Ernulf and the Problem of Remembrance', *Anselm Studies: An Occasional Journal* II (1988), pp. 143-163. See above, Chapter 2, pp. 53-6.
[84] *Textus Roffensis: Rochester Cathedral Library MS A.3.5*, ed. P. Sawyer, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1957-62) I, pp. 11, 18-9; Cramer, 'Ernulf', p. 483.
[85] BL, Cotton Cleopatra E. i, ff. 41r-47v (1120-27); Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 29r-35v; ff. 38r-40v; ff. 47r-55v. See above, Chapter 2, p. 55.

and privileges as well as instilling his monks with a sense of pride in their abbey's illustrious, pre-Conquest past. As a former schoolmaster, founder of the library and *scriptorium* and as prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, Ernulf would have had access to the common exemplar, √E, which was used as a source for the compilation of both ASC (E) at *Burch* and the late eleventh-/early twelfth-century bilingual ASC (F) at Christ Church. Since the production of ASC (F) coincided with Ernulf's residence at Christ Church, he would have known of its existence even if he had not been directly involved.[86] His presence at both Christ Church and *Burch* leads us to surmise that he brought √E, either in its original or copy form, with him upon his appointment as abbot. It is tempting to speculate further that that ASC (F) was compiled at Christ Church upon Ernulf's instigation and that he aspired to continue the Canterbury tradition of chronicle production at *Burch*.

Another pre-Conquest source for ASC (E) was the 'Norman Annals'. Probably compiled by the monks of Rouen during the mid eleventh century, the annals circulated throughout the religious houses of Normandy, including Bec and Fécamp as early as *c.* 1066.[87] In the past, it has been presumed that the 'Norman Annals' were added to √E at Christ Church. However, Julian Harrison advocates that more than one version of the annals was circulating in England before 1100 and that similar versions may have been introduced to the Christ Church texts, √E and ASC (F), and ASC (E) independently.[88] If his hypothesis were to be correct, then three abbots may have been in a position to convey a version of the 'Norman Annals' to *Burch*, namely:

a) Turold de Fécamp (1069-1098), the military monk, and an unlikely candidate
b) Ernulf, who had taken his vows at Bec, *c.* 1060, before proceeding to St. Symphorien, at Beauvais[89]
c) John de Séez (1114-25), a Norman monk, about whose pre-*Burch* career little is known.

Although there is no evidence that a set of the 'Norman Annals' existed at Séez, it may be argued that Abbot John acquired a copy expressly as a source for ASC (E). However, it is equally possible that Ernulf brought a copy, first to Christ Church via St. Symphorien from Bec, where a set were known to have existed, and from Canterbury to *Burch*.[90]

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[86] Gibson, *Lanfranc de Bec*, pp. 36, 177; Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 35; *MS F*, ed. Baker, p. lxxvi.
[87] *Annals of St. Neots*, ed. Dumville *et al.*, pp. xliv-xlvi.
[88] Dumville, 'Some Aspects', p. 36-7; *MS F*, ed. Baker, pp. xxxii-xxxiv; J. Harrison, 'The Norman Annals in England', Paper delivered at the History of the Book Conference, Leicester University, 6 July 2002, transcript, pp. 5-9, cited by permission of author and with thanks.
[89] Cramer, 'Ernulf', pp. 484, 487.
[90] *Annals of St. Neots*, ed. Dumville *et al.*, p. xliv-xlvi.

Debatably, √E and the 'Norman Annals' may have been procured for *Burch* by Ernulf for purely educational or sentimental reasons or even as an addition to his library, then set aside until the appointment of John de Séez. However, this appears to have been an unlikely option for the educationally minded Ernulf. It seems that Ernulf's *modus operandi* followed a similar pattern at all three churches where he had held office, namely as prior and 'acting' abbot at Christ Church (*c.* 1096-1107), abbot of *Burch* (1107-14) and Bishop of Rochester (1114-24). Upon each of his appointments, he had advanced education and had embarked upon an ambitious rebuilding scheme. Forged charters also may have been produced under his guidance.[91] In addition to his involvement in the *Textus Roffensis* in 1122-3, Ernulf had resided at Christ Church from *c.* 1077 to 1107, during the period when ASC (F) was compiled.[92] Therefore, it would not have been entirely out of character for Ernulf to have intended to commission a similar chronicle at *Burch* in order to complement his extensive reconstruction programme, an aspiration that may have been conveyed after his departure to Abbot John by the monks of *Burch*. Nevertheless, palaeographical evidence and the cessation of the first phase of ASC (E) in 1121 indicate a *terminus post quem* date for the chronicle.[93]

We should also consider the possibility that a version of ASC (E) may have been commenced during Ernulf's rule but was destroyed in the fire of 1116 whilst √E or its copy was saved. However, Ernulf may have deliberately postponed the commencement of the Peterborough version of chronicle. Arriving at *Burch* at the age of sixty-eight, he may have considered that this was to be his final appointment and that his first priority must be to improve the living conditions of the brethren under his care by reconstructing the claustral buildings before embarking upon a house-history.[94] Moreover, Ernulf would have needed to procure the forgeries so that they could be interpolated into ASC (E). This may have been a lengthy process if he were to examine the archive for information that would support the claims of his monastery and to convince those in authority of the 'authenticity' of his fabrications.

According to Hugh Candidus, John de Séez was involved with building projects throughout his entire abbacy. His initial plan had been to complete the chapter house and refectory that his predecessor, Ernulf, had begun.[95] However, after the fire of 1116, John's

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[91] *HC*, p. 90; Cramer, 'Ernulf', pp. 489-92. See above, Chapter 2, p. 55.
[92] Cramer, 'Ernulf', p. 484; Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 35: *MS F*, ed. Baker, p. lxxvi
[93] *Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. Clark, pp. xv, xxxvii. See also *MS E*, ed. Irvine, p. xiii.
[94] *HC*, pp. 90, 97-9.
[95] *HC*, pp. 90, 97.

immediate concern seems to have been the reconstruction of the abbey church, which he was determined to finish in his lifetime.[96] Yet, by 1121, he had decided to embark upon a concurrent project, to produce *Burch*'s own version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, commissioned, it is claimed, to replace an earlier house-history that had been destroyed in 1116.[97] However, there is no substantial evidence to suggest that an earlier chronicle existed at *Burch*. Unlike Ramsey, *Burch* was never renowned as a pre-Conquest centre of scholarship, while Turold had been appointed to suppress Anglo-Saxon resistance than to encourage a sense of pride in the monastery's heritage.[98] Furthermore, the omission of essential charters relating to *Medeshamstede*'s pre-Conquest estates, such as the 'Breedon memoranda' and the exclusion of material relating to St. Oswald's arm, leads us to speculate that prior to 1116, the monastery's archive may have simply consisted of a series of charters, both genuine and spurious, that were stored in various claustral buildings that survived the fire or that were perpetuated by oral tradition. Therefore, initially ASC (E) may have been the brainchild of Ernulf, who was prior at Christ Church when ASC (F) was produced and who may have brought either √E or a copy to *Burch*. Ernulf may not have remained in *Burch* long enough to fulfil his ambitions and it was not until the abbacy of his successor that Hand 1 was instructed to begin ASC (E).

The Annals up to 1131: Hand 1's ethnicity and politics

The inclusion of Norman affairs, from Rollo's invasion of Normandy in 876 until the conquest of England in 1066, and the accounts of William I and his sons' military campaigns in Normandy and in France, may be explained by John de Séez's enduring interest in his homeland.[99] Nevertheless, Hand 1, displayed local sympathies rather than towards William I and his successors, suggesting that he may have been of Anglo-Saxon rather than of Norman descent.

Unlike the Anglo-Norman historians, William of Malmesbury and Orderic Vitalis, who believed that the Norman Conquest heralded the salvation of a decadent and failing Anglo-

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[96] *HC*, pp. 98-9.
[97] *Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock, p. 31.
[98] J. Blair, 'Ramsey', in *Blackwell Encyclopaedia*, pp. 385-6; ASC (E), 1070; *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Preest, ch. 264; *HC*, pp. 77-80, 84-6.
[99] ASC (E), 876, 880-3, 910, 928, 942, 994, 1024, 1031, 1045, 1046, 1060, 1062 and 1064. See also M. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers, 1066-1272 with an Epilogue on Edward I (1272-1307)*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1998), pp. 45-6.

Saxon Church, ASC (E) Hand 1 was the only chronicler to proclaim Harold II as the lawful king of England.[100] He lamented the death of the Anglo-Saxon Abbot Leofric, who had followed his lord to Hastings, praising him for the harmony and prosperity he had brought to *Burch*.[101] In contrast, Hand 1's description of the Norman abbots, Turold de Fécamp (1069-98) and Henry d'Angély (1128-33), was far from complimentary. Turold was depicted as 'swiðe stynre man' ['a very stern man'], while Abbot Henry was portrayed as an avaricious despot and pluralist, who disposed of *Burch*'s assets with little concern for the welfare of the monastery and its brethren.[102]

Contrary to his treatment of the exemplary Anglo-Saxon rulers and professed benefactors of *Medeshamstede*, Peada, Wulfhere, Æthelred, and Eadgar, Hand 1 complained bitterly about William's ungodly conduct. He deplored the burden of taxation that the king imposed upon his subjects, even in times of famine and pestilence, in order to finance his expeditions to Normandy, and dismissed the *minutiæ* of the *Domesday* survey as disgraceful.[103] Furthermore, Hand 1 was appalled by William's atrocities against the Church and people of both England and abroad. He summarized William's tyrannical reign with an unflattering obituary, exclusive to ASC (E), cataloguing his shortcomings and concluding with a prayer for his soul.[104]

Initially, Hand 1 adopted a more positive approach to the reign of William's son and successor, William Rufus (1087-1100). He even showed sympathy towards the Conqueror when 'Francisce men' living in England rebelled against him, invoking the Anglo-Saxons to help him secure his kingdom.[105] However, once the king had resumed his father's policy of levying taxes upon a hard-pressed population, his attitude towards him changed, culminating in a disparaging epitaph, in which described him as 'swiðe strang 7 reðe ofer his land 7 his mænn 7 wið ealle his neahheburas 7 swiðe drædendlic'.[106] The chronicler was equally critical of Henry I (1100-35). Despite a reign punctuated by heavy taxation and hostilities,

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[100] *William of Malmesbury: Gesta Regum Anglorum* ed. and tr. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1998-9) I, Bk. III, chs. 245-6; *The Ecclesiastical History of Oderic Vitalis*, ed. and tr. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969-80) I (Books III and IV), hereafter *OV*, pp. 246-9; ASC (E), f. 57v (1066). See also A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550-1307* (London, 1970), p. 141. For the general attitude to Norman rule, see Clanchy, *England and its Rulers*, pp. 31-4.

[101] ASC (E), 1066.

[102] ASC (E), 1070, 1127-28, 1030-2.

[103] ASC (E), 1083, 1085-6.

[104] ASC (E), 1086.

[105] ASC (E), 1087.

[106] ASC (E), f. 73r (1100). Swanton's translation, *ASC*, p. 235: '[He was] a very strong and violent over his land and his men and all his neighbours, and very terrible.'

both in England and abroad, the king's gravest misdemeanour was to appoint as abbot his nephew, Henry d'Angély, whose attempts to annex *Burch* with Cluny almost precipitated *Burch*'s demise and undoubtedly prompted Hand 1 to abandon his Chronicle.[107] Thus, it seems that, although the chronicler was a faithful monk and servant of his monastery, he was less than a loyal subject to successive Norman kings, whom he regarded as cruel and unjust.

In contrast, the exploits of Hereward, the local warlord turned freedom fighter, and his followers are handled somewhat more sympathetically. They were described by the brethren of *Burch* as 'heora agene menne' ['their own men'], as indeed Hereward was, since he had held lands in Lincolnshire from the abbot of *Burch*.[108] Hereward's assault upon the monastery was recounted as justifiable because William had granted the abbey to Abbot Turold, whom Hand 1 mistakenly believed to be French, and that Hereward attacked 'for ðes mynstres holdscipe' ['out of loyalty to the minster'].[109] Although Hereward and his warriors are later referred to as 'ut laga' ['outlaws]' and subsequently were excommunicated by Bishop Æthelric, Hand 1 did not berate the fenlanders with the venom that he reserved for his elegy on William I.[110] Furthermore, the compiler's perceptions of the comparatively devout and compassionate pre-Conquest rulers such as Wulfhere and Eadgar, leads us to speculate that not only did his sympathies lie with the indigenous population, but also that England was his native land.

The writer's confusion of the terms 'French' and 'Norman', which he used synonymously, only serves to add weight to the theory that he may have been English by birth.[111] Clark has demonstrated that by the early years of the twelfth century, Francia and Normandy were recognized as distinctly separate kingdoms.[112] It is possible that Hand 1 was unable to differentiate between the two nationalities and territories or, alternatively, copied doggedly from his exemplar. Nevertheless, if his ancestors originated in Normandy,

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[107] ASC (E), 1102, 1105, 1110, 1118; 1127; *HC*, pp. 99-104.
[108] ASC (E), f. 59r (1070). Hereward held lands at Witham, Manthorpe, Toft and Lound. He was in dispute over land at Barholm, which was decided in favour of Asfrothr. He also held an estate at Rippingale from the abbot of Crowland but it was repossessed when he fled England. See *Domesday Book* hereafter *DB: Lincolnshire*, ed. J. Morris, P. Morgan and C. Thorn, 2 vols. (Chichester, 1986) I, 8 [34]); II, CK [4, 48]; C. R. Hart, 'Hereward the "Wake"', *PCAS* 65 (1974), pp. 29-30.
[109] ASC (E), f. 59r (1070).
[110] ASC (E), f. 59r (1070); 1086.
[111] Hand 1 recorded Turold as 'Frencisce abbot'. See ASC (E), f. 58v (1070). King Philip of France was described as 'his [William's] agenne hlaford' ['his own lord']. See ASC (E), f. 64r (1086). The chronicler detailed the rebellion of William's 'Frencisce menn' [Frenchmen]. See ASC (E), f. 66r (1087). See also Clanchy, *England and its Rulers*, pp. 21-2.
[112] C. Clark, '"France" and the "French" in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', *Leeds Studies in English*, New Series 3 (1969), pp. 37-8. See also ASC (E), 1087, 1090 and 1116, when the distinction between the kingdoms of Francia and Normandy is clearly established.

regional pride would have dictated that he should make the necessary amendments in his own chronicle.

Hand 1 produced a neat, regular, well-rounded English hand, conforming to that of a student of the *Burch scriptorium.*[113] He appears to have favoured the insular forms of the letters *a*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *i*, *r*, *s*, possibly to instil his readers with a sense of authenticity. Although he was familiar with the carolingian forms of these letters, he was inconsistent in their use, possibly because he was copying from exemplars where variations occurred in letter formation, rather than composing his own work.[114] Hand 1's use of the Old English runic letter *wynn* [*Þ*] is worthy of discussion since it betrays his ethnicity. It appears that he preferred to adopt this symbol instead of *w* or *uu* in Anglo-Saxon personal names, including *Þulfere* [Wulfhere],[115] *KynesÞið* [Cyneswith],[116]*ÆðelÞold* [Æthelwold][117] and *HeoÞa* [Hereward],[118] and in place-names, with which he may have been familiar, such as *Þelmesforde* [Wansford],[119] *Þindlesoure* [Windsor][120] and *Þinceastre* [Winchester].[121] Nevertheless, several anomalies occur. For example, Oswald was written as *Osuuald* on folio 13v17, but *OsÞaldes* was used for the genitive case at folio 14r20, while Cyneswith was also recorded as *Kynesuurth*, *Cynesurth* and *Kynesuið*.[122] Therefore, it appears that Hand 1 made little attempt to standardize his letter formation or spelling. However, since these discrepancies mainly arise in the sections that referred exclusively to *Burch*, it is possible that Hand 1 either relied upon oral history or consulted earlier documents, written in both the vernacular and Latin or that he had trained under both English and continental masters.

The Norman personal name, William, appeared in ASC (E) in three different forms, exclusive of cases and abbreviations. The Duke of Normandy was first introduced as *Willmus*, in 1031, but by 1062 he was referred to as *Þillmo*.[123] Immediately after the Conquest he became *Willme*.[124] However, *Þ* and *w* later seem to be interchangeable, with *Willelm* and *Þillelm*, being included on the same page in entries for the years, 1071 and

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[113] N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Old English* (Oxford, 1957), p. 425; Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1960), p. 34; Treharne, pers. com. May, 2003.
[114] *Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock, pp. 15-7; *MS E*, ed. Irvine, pp. xix-xxiii.
[115] ASC (E), f. 16r24; 18v14; 36v29.
[116] f. 14v 10; f. 16r17.
[117] f. 36v 7, 36v19, 36v24.
[118] f. 58v28.
[119] f. 15v4.
[120] f. 85r14.
[121] f. 74r14. Winchester also appeared in its earlier form of *Þintan* [Winton] at f. 13v17.
[122] f. 15r3 (*Kynesuurth*); f. 18v15 (*Cynesurth*); f. 38r5 (*Kynesuið*).
[123] f. 50r23; 57r1.
[124] f. 57v11.

1072.[125] After the entry for 1100, *wynn* appears to have been superseded by *w* in Norman personal names, although there were exceptions to the rule.[126] As late as 1129, when Hand 1 was writing his chronicle contemporaneously, *Waleran* appeared in both its Norman and vernacular form of *Þaleran* on folio 87r,[127] whilst Archbishop William of Canterbury was described on the same page as *Willm* and *ærcep. Þillm*.[128] However, regarding the spelling of English place-names, Hand 1 remained faithful to *Þ* throughout folios 1r to 87v, suggesting that this was the form with which he was most familiar and that perhaps he originally had been taught to write by an Anglo-Saxon master or that he was using a vernacular exemplar. His successor, Hand 2 was consistent in his use of *w* throughout the remainder of ASC (E).[129]

Clark observed that no Anglo-Norman would contemplate writing his chronicle in Old English when Latin was the 'fashionable language of historiography'.[130] Indeed, the bilingual ASC (F) may have represented a compromise between the indigenous monks of Christ Church and their continental masters. Furthermore, by the late eleventh century, the recruitment of novices from the local population to religious houses was common practice and it is quite possible that this system had been established earlier in the century.[131] One such monk, albeit probably of Norman extraction, was Galdfridus de Uffordi [Ufford], a witness with Hugh Candidus to Robert de Torpel's charter of 1147.[132]

Although this argument about Hand 1's ethnicity is based upon palaeographic and textual clues, he ostensibly offered one hint to his former career. As a prelude to his obituary on William I in 1086, he divulged that his insight into the character of the late ruler had been acquired during his sojourn at the Norman court.[133] Tantalizingly, the writer revealed neither the location of the royal residence, whether it was in Normandy or England, nor the capacity

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[125] f. 60r17 (*Willelm*,); f. 60r23, 60r27 (*Þillelm*).
[126] f. 73r.
[127] f. 87r2 (*Waleran*); 87r 4 (*Þaleran*).
[128] f. 87r8 (*ærcep. Þillm*); 87r20, 87r28 (*Willm*).
[129] The final place-name that Hand 1 recorded was *Þinceastre* [Winchester] in f. 87v13 (1130).
[130] *Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. Clark, p. xxviii. See also M. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record, 1066-1307*, 2nd edn. (Oxford 1999), pp. 211-2.
[131] Because of the terrain, novices probably were recruited from monastic estates to the north, south and west of Peterborough and from the Fenland Abbeys of Crowland, Ely, Ramsey and Thorney. See *Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. Clark, pp. xxxvii- xxxviii.
[132] Cambridge University Library [CUL], Peterborough Dean and Chapter [PDC] 1 [The Book of Robert of Swaffham] (Peterborough, *c.* 1250), hereafter Swaffham, f. 115r (old foliation).
[133] 'Gif hwa ge wilnigeð to ge witane hu gedon mann he wæs, oððe hwilcne wurðscipe he hæfde. oððe hu fela lande he wære hlaford, ðonne wille we be him awritan swa swa we hine ageaton, ðe him on locodan 7 oðer hwile on his hirede wunedon'. See ASC (E), f. 64r (1086). Swanton's translation, *ASC*, p. 219: 'If anyone wishes to know what sort of man he was, or what honour he had, or of how many lands he was lord, we will write about him just as we, who have looked upon him and at one time lived in his court, perceived him.'

in which he had been present. It is tempting to speculate he may have been employed at William's court as an English scribe who could write in the vernacular and whose services would have been in great demand in the years immediately following the Conquest. However, it seems unlikely, though not entirely impossible, that Hand 1 was attending the Conqueror's court before 1089 and continuing to write ASC (E) as late as 1131. Furthermore, an almost identical statement regarding the chronicler's attendance at court also appears as an entry in the 'Waverley Annals' for the year 1087.[134] Luard suggested that the Waverley chronicler may have referred to ASC (E) as his exemplar. Indeed, the 'Waverley Annals' closely resembled the Peterborough text for the years 1000 to 1121 with supplementary material from local sources.[135] However, while there was no evidence to suggest that either √E or a copy of ASC (E) was ever at Farnham, it is feasible that the compilers of the 'Waverley Annals' and ASC (E) were using a common source, from the closing decades of the eleventh century up to 1121, rather than having personally witnessed the events for which they condemn William.[136]

Nevertheless, Hand 1's sympathy for the indigenous population and disaffection with the Norman ruling classes coupled with his command of the vernacular language, palaeographical characteristics and limited knowledge of continental geography suggests that he was of Anglo-Saxon rather than Anglo-Norman stock. If so, Hand I's contribution to ASC (E) is of intrinsic value, since it represents our only known record of the indigenous monks' understanding of pre-Conquest *Burch*.

Hand 1's cognitive sources for additional material relating to Peterborough

The relationship between ASC (EF) and their common ancestor, √E, has already been discussed at length in this chapter. We must now examine the provenance of Hand 1's material relating exclusively to *Burch*. The sources that he appears to have consulted were as follows:

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[134] 'Si quis scire vult qualis ipse fuerit et quam honorificus et quot terrarum dominus, nos dicemus qui eum videmus, et in curia ejus alliquando fuimus'. See 'Annales de Waverleia', ed. Luard, pp. 196-7. My translation: 'If anyone wants to know what sort of countenance he had and what honours he had and what lands he was lord of, we will tell you, who saw him, when we were at his court'. Almost the entire entry for 1087, including William's obituary, seems to have been transcribed by the chroniclers of both ASC (E) and the 'Waverley Annals' from a common exemplar.

[135] 'Annales de Waverleia', ed. Luard, pp. xxxiii-xxxv; Plummer II, pp. lii-liii. Clark suggested that the 'Waverley Annals' compiler referred to a 'parallel version' of ASC (E). See her *Peterborough Chronicle*, pp. xix-xx.

[136] Plummer II, pp. lii-liii. Dumville claims that the lost source, known as the 'Southern Chronicle', was followed from 1081-1121. See his 'Some aspects', pp. 34-5.

1. Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*
2. The 'original' *Relatio Hedde Abbatis* forgeries
3. Additional land grants and rentals relating to *Medeshamstede*
4. A lost *Historia Abbatum Burgensis*
5. Oral tradition
6. Eye-witness accounts (Living memory)
7. Personal experiences.

1. Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*

Although Hand 1 did not acknowledge Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* as a source for his chronicle, it is cited by Hugh Candidus, writing 1155 x 1175.[137] Indeed, Bede's material relating to *Medeshamstede* was limited to a single reference describing Abbot Seaxwulf's elevation to the see of Lichfield *c.* 673, information which Hand 1 could have accessed from the list of testators to pseudo-Agatho's bull and appended land grants.[138] Nevertheless, Hand 1 seems to have consulted *Burch*'s copy of *Historia Ecclesiastica* as a source for additional material pertaining to the death of Oswald of Northumbria to enhance the accounts presented in √E, adding that Oswald was killed by Penda at *Maserfelth* [Oswestry] and that his body was interred at Bardney.[139] Emphasis was placed upon the miracles associated with Oswald's sanctity 'geond his egland' ['throughout the island'] that were not mentioned in any other version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Of course, there was an ulterior motive behind Hand 1's eulogy on Oswald. Firstly, Bardney was purportedly bestowed upon *Medeshamstede* in 'Æthelred's' appendage to pseudo-Agatho's bull.[140] Secondly, *Burch* claimed to possess Oswald's incorrupt right arm, acquired from Bamburgh by the monk, Winegot.[141] Furthermore, the vernacular spelling regarding Oswald's burial at *Bearðen ege* in ASC (E), folio 13v12-3, closely resembles Bede's Latin spelling of *Beardaneu*,[142] whilst *Barþanig* in folio 18v22, alluding to 'Æthelred's' appendages to pseudo-Agatho's bull, is similar to the vernacular form of the Latin *Barthanig* used by the *Liber Niger* copyist.[143] Thus, it appears that Hand 1 not only consulted Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* to supplement his

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[137] *HC*, p. 14.
[138] *HE*, Bk. IV, ch. 6.; Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 67v-68r.
[139] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 163. See *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues* 8: *Peterborough Abbey*, ed. K. Friis-Jensen and J. M. W. Willoughby (London, 2001), Bp2. 8; *HE*, Bk. III, chs. 9, 11; ASC (E) 641; ASC (AF), 642.
[140] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 67v; ASC (E), 675.
[141] *HC*, p. 70.
[142] ASC (E), f. 13v (641); *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 11.
[143] ASC (E), f. 18v (675); Soc. Ant., 60, f. 67v4.

information relating to Oswald, but he also used as his exemplar the 'original' version 'Æthelred's' appendage to pseudo-Agatho's bull.

2. The 'original' forged foundation charters

Textual evidence has proven beyond doubt that Hand 1 had access to versions of the following forgeries, the earliest copies of which survive in the *Liber Niger* under the rubric, *Relatio Hedde Abbatis*:

a) A house-history, purportedly compiled before 870

b) Pseudo-Wulfhere charter to *Medeshamstede*, relating to estates and initial privileges

c) The pseudo-Agatho's papal bull and 'Æthelred's' appended land grants, which introduced more extensive privileges and further endowments

d) Pseudo-Eadgar's charter, which re-aligned *Medeshamstede*'s boundaries and confirmed its ancient privileges, upon the abbey's restoration by Æthelwold.[144]

Since it seems likely that the *Relatio* forgeries were composed during the abbacy of Ernulf (1107-14), possibly by Ernulf himself, it is feasible that Hand 1 referred to them in their original form. Nevertheless, whilst interpolating them into his narrative he elaborated upon their content, perhaps, realizing that the nucleus of *Burch*'s house-history depended upon them. Therefore, at the point where he began to incorporate *Medeshamstede*'s history into his chronicle, Hand 1 ceased to be a mere copyist, but became an author in his own right.

3. Additional land grants and rentals relating to *Medeshamstede*

The compiler of ASC (E) also consulted the following documents, which survive only as copies in the *Liber Niger*:

a) 687 x 691 — 'Cædwalla's gift of Hoge [Hoo] on the island of Heabureahge [Avery, Kent], to Medeshamstede'[145]

b) 786 x 796 — 'Transaction between Abbot Beonna and Ealdorman Cuðberht, lease of land at Swinesheafde [Swineshead, Lincolnshire]'[146]

c) 757 x 796 — 'Ealdorman Broda's gift of the minster of Woking to Abbot Pusa of Medeshamstede'[147]

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[144] ASC (E), 654, 656, 675, 963.
[145] ASC (E), 686; Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 36r-37v; *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks VIII* (London, 1968); Electronic Sawyer, www.trin.cam.ac.uk/eSawyer [S] 233; S. Keynes, *The Councils of Clofesho*, Vaughan Paper No. 38 (Leicester, 1994), pp. 41-2.
[146] ASC (E), 777; Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 41rv; S 1412.
[147] ASC (E), 777; Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 37v-38r; S 144.

d) 852 'Lease of land at Sempigaham [Sempringham, Lincolnshire] to Wulfrede in exchange for land at Sleaford and annual provisions, by Abbot Ceolred of Medeshamstede'.[148]

The latter three documents, together with the so-called 'Breedon memoranda', represent seven of only eight pre-900 documents that may claim to have an authentic basis.[149] Indeed, Stenton observed that in the case of the Swineshead and Sempringham transactions, it is improbable that the monks of *Burch* should concoct documents that would, in effect, alienate its estates.[150] Stenton also conjectured that the Woking grant was genuine on the grounds that the legal phraseology corresponds with that of other pre-870 documents that he had examined. Only Cædwalla's gift of Hoo aroused Stenton's suspicions, leading him to conclude that it was probably a pre-Conquest forgery based upon an earlier, authentic charter. However, the fact that the grant was included in the Peterborough cartularly, *Liber Niger*, suggests an early connexion between *Medeshamstede* and Hoo.[151] None of the above endowments were recorded as possessions of *Burch* in *Domesday Book*.[152]

Nevertheless, there are several significant pre-870 documents which were preserved in *Liber Niger*, versions of which may have been available to Hand 1 in an earlier form but were not interpolated into ASC (E). The most prominent are known as the 'Breedon memoranda', which consist of the following charters:

a) 675 x 692 'Friduric, princeps, to Medeshamstede, grant of land at Breodune [Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire]'[153]

b) 675 x 692 'Friduric, princeps, to Abbot Hædda of Breodune, grant of land at Hrepingas [?Repton, Derbyshire][154]

c) 675 x 692 'King Æthelred of the Mercians, to Abbot Hædda of Breodune, grant of land at Cedenan ac [Cadney, Leicestershire]'.[155]

Although, Hand 1 did not mention the memoranda in detail, he acknowledged that Breedon, *Hrepingas* and Cadney were conferred upon *Medeshamstede* in the appendage to pseudo-Agatho's bull.[156] The following land grant, which also receives no reference in ASC (E), also may be added to the 'Breedon memoranda'.

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[148] ASC (E), 852; Soc. Ant., 60, f. 46rv; S 1440.
[149] N. Brooks, *Communities and Warfare, 700-1400* (London, 2000), pp. 59-60.
[150] F. M. Stenton, '*Medeshamstede*', pp. 179-80.
[151] *Ibid.*, pp. 185-92. See also S 233; Keynes, *Clofesho*, pp. 41-3.
[152] *DB: Kent*, ed. J. Morris, P. Morgan and V. Sankaran, (Chichester, 1983); *DB: Surrey*, ed. J. Morris and S. Ward (Chichester, 1983); *DB: Lincs.*
[153] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 44v-45r; Keynes, *Clofesho*, pp. 37-43; S 233.
[154] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 45rv; S 1805. For the identification of Repton, see A. Rumble, '*Hrepingas* Reconsidered', in *Mercian Studies*, ed. A. Dornier (Leicester, 1977), pp. 169-72.
[155] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 45v-46r; S 1804.
[156] ASC (E), 675; Soc. Ant., 60, f. 67v.

d) 708 x 715 'The Bull of Pope Constantine to Abbot Hædda of Breodune, confirmation of land at Vermundesei [Bermondsey] and Wocchingas [Woking] in the province of the West Saxons'.[157]

Although *Wocchingas* was mentioned in the entry for 777, Hand 1 was either unaware that Bermondsey was confirmed by Pope Constantine's bull as a colony of Breedon, itself a daughter house of *Medeshamstede*, or that he overlooked its significance.

The 'Breedon memoranda' may have represented *Medeshamstede*'s earliest recorded attempts to establish *coloniæ* beyond the boundaries laid down by pseudo-Wulfhere's charter.[158] They reveal that *princeps* Friduric invited the brethren of *Medeshamstede* to appoint a priest from their community in order to offer pastoral care to his subjects.[159] Hædda's ministry was obviously very successful since further land gifts followed. Moreover, the charters described in detail the ceremonies that took place to mark the occasions. Both King Æthelred and Bishop Seaxwulf were present at Breedon, when the gift of *Hrepingas* was solemnized by the joining of their hands on a piece of turf from *Hrepingas* placed on a Gospel book.[160] The grant of *Cedenan ac* purportedly was observed in Æthelred's chamber in his royal *vicus* of *Tomtun* [Tamworth] by the king laying hands with Seaxwulf and Queen Osthryth upon the turf and Gospel book.[161] Therefore, it is surprising that Hand 1 neglected to include these charters, which could only have served to promote the antiquity and royal patronage of his abbey even further. However, Hand 1 appears to have been aware of the existence of the some of the endowments, since Breedon, Cadney and *Hrepingas* were all included in his interpolation of 'Æthelred's' appendage to pseudo-Agatho's papal bull.[162]

Hand 1 also inexplicably failed to register Æthelred's visit to *Medeshamstede* (675 x 691) during which, it was claimed, that he conferred upon the abbey thirty *manentes* of land at *Leugttricdun* [Laughterton, Lincolnshire], when the ritual involving turf from the site and a Gospel book was repeated.[163] Since an account of the event would have demonstrated Æthelred's and Osthryth's enduring patronage to *Medeshamstede*, it appears that Hand 1 may have overlooked, rather than declined to include it in his chronicle, possibly because he

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[157] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 55v-56v; *Cartularium Saxonicum: A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History*, ed. W. de Gray Birch, 3 vols. in 7 (London, 1885-93) [B] 133. Stenton considered the contents of Constantine's bull to be authentic. See his '*Medeshamstede*', pp. 185-9. See also Keynes, *Clofesho*, pp. 42-3.
[158] Stenton, '*Medeshamstede*', pp. 181-4; S 1803-6.
[159] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 44v-45r.
[160] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 44rv; C. R. Hart, *Early Charters of Eastern England* (Leicester, 1966) [*ECEE*] 144, p. 98.
[161] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 45v-46r; *ECEE* 145, p 99.
[162] ASC (E), f. 18v (675).
[163] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 41r; *ECEE* 143, p. 98.

had insufficient time to trawl through the monastery's archives. Therefore, we may surmise that any pre-Conquest documents relating to *Burch* were stored in such a disorderly manner, possibly as a result of the fire of 1116, that they were not readily available to Hand 1. This also may account for the haphazard arrangement of *Liber Niger* and, perhaps, the very reason for its compilation. Alternatively, the 'Breedon memoranda' may have been preserved as oral tradition.

4. A lost *Historia Abbatum Burgensis*

Whitelock has conjectured that Hand 1 had at his disposal a history of the abbots of the abbey, similar to that which was produced by Bede for Wearmouth/Jarrow, and which may also have been consulted by Hugh Candidus.[164] There is no record of such a work in any medieval Peterborough library catalogue, although we must remember that ASC (E) also is absent.[165] Nevertheless, it is possible that such a text was compiled after the restoration of *Medeshamstede* by Bishop Æthelwold, whose gift of twenty books on religious treatises and saints' lives suggests that he hoped to foster an interest in education.[166] Since Hand 1 offered little information pertaining to the abbacies of Brand, Turold, Godric and Matthias Ridell, any existing *Historia Abbatum* may have concluded with the death of Leofric in 1066. The existence of a post-restoration *Historia Abbatum* may explain why there is a dearth of reliable information relating to the pre-870 abbots, whilst both Hand 1 and Hugh Candidus were considerably more conversant about their post-Æthelwold successors.[167]

5. Oral tradition

Hand 1 included data that does not appear to have been available to the forger. This implies that either a written source survived the 1116 fire or that he depended upon local legends, perhaps, perpetuated by the monks of his community. Hand 1's initial description of the Danish incursions into East Anglia and Mercia contained similar phraseology to that which appears in ASC (F), implying that for the year 870 entry both manuscripts shared a common source, √E.[168] However, ASC (E) then introduced a dramatic element to the

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[164] *Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock, p. 33.
[165] *Library Catalogues* 8, ed. Friis-Jensen and Willoughby.
[166] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 39v; R 39, pp. 72-3; *Library Catalogues* 8, ed. Friis-Jensen and Willoughby, BP1.
[167] See below, pp. 100-1; Chapter 4, pp. 112, 116, 118, 140.
[168] ASC (EF), 870.

invaders' activities at *Medeshamstede*, relating that they 'beorndon 7 bræcon, slogon abbot 7 munecas 7 eall þet hi pær fundon, macedon hit þa þet ær wæs ful rice, þa hit wearð to nan þing'.[169]

The statement regarding the total destruction of the monastery by the Danes was, in effect, a contradiction to the compiler's next possible reference to local folklore, in which he professed that the 'writings' of the martyred Abbot Hædda were found hidden among the ruined walls of *Medeshamstede* by the reforming Bishop Æthelwold in 963.[170] If the devastation of *Medeshamstede* had been so absolute, it is unlikely that anything as flimsy as documents survived. Therefore, we must conjecture that the miraculous discovery could have been invented to explain the emergence of 'Abbot Hædda's' writings, which promoted the site's antiquity and royal connexions.

Following the reconstruction of *Medeshamstede*, Hand 1's entries continued in a similar vein, extolling the achievements of Abbot Cœnwulf (992-1005), who constructed the curtain wall, causing the monastery to be known as *Burgh* or *Burch* [stronghold], and Ælfsige's procurement of the body of St. Florentine from Bonneval in Normandy, for the sum of £500, whilst in exile in France in 1013.[171] Hand 1 related that Ælfsige also was responsible for translating the remains of Penda's saintly daughters, Cyneburh and Cyneswith, from Castor, where it is claimed that they had founded a double monastery in the latter half of the seventh century.[172] However, 'Abbot John's Chronicle' offered an entirely different version of the princesses' elevation to *Medeshamstede*. He declared that they were already enshrined at the monastery by 870, when the Danes raided the abbey and desecrated their relics, which later were taken into the custody of the brethren of Thorney and returned to *Burch* at an unspecified date.[173] Due to these discrepancies, it is possible that two different versions of the saints' translation had disseminated, suggesting that their source lay in oral tradition rather than in text.

Hand 1 also approved of Abbot Leofric (1057-66), stating that during his rule *Burch* became so prosperous that it became known as *Gildene burh*.[174] This cognomen does not

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[169] ASC (E), f. 30v (870). Swanton's translation, *ASC,* p. 71: '[They] burned and demolished, killed abbot and monks and all that they found there, brought it about so that what was earlier very rich was as if it were nothing.'
[170] ASC (E), 963.
[171] ASC (E), 963; *HC*, p. 49.
[172] ASC (E), 963. See also Soc. Ant., 60, f. 60v; *HC*, pp. 50-1; *The Mildrith Legend: A Study in Early Medieval Hagiography*, ed. R. W. Rollason (Leicester, 1982), pp. 77, 115; *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Preest, ch. 180. See below, Chapter 5, pp. 175-7.
[173] *Chronicon Angliæ Petriburgense*, ed. J. A. Giles (London, 1845), pp. 19, 22.
[174] ASC (E), 1052; 1066.

appear in any other known twelfth-century text, except in the Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus, whose author used ASC (E) as one of his sources.[175] Therefore, we must consider that the name may have been an invention of Hand 1 in an attempt to contrast the opulence of his monastery's 'Golden Age' before it entered a period of decline under the 'Norman yoke', when the once 'golden borough' degenerated into a 'wretched borough'.[176] Alternatively, the cognomen may have represented the reflections of an elderly monk who remembered Abbot Leofric and his pre-Conquest monastery with affection.

Hand 1's final reference to oral tradition concerned the deeds of the Lincolnshire partisan, Hereward. For his account of Hereward's assault upon *Burch*, the monks' valiant defence of *Burch*'s eastern portal, the Bolhithe Gate, and the subsequent looting of the monastery's valuables, the chronicler relied upon the transmission of statements given by two named witnesses, Ivar [Yware], the sacristan, who carried the portable treasures to Abbot Turold in Stamford, and Leofwine Lange [Leofwine the Long], a patient in the abbey's infirmary.[177] Since Ivar the sacristan held a senior monastic position and Leofwine suffered ill health, it is improbable that either was still alive over fifty years later when ASC (E) was commenced. While Hand 1 gave a detailed description of events in *Burch* and the destruction left in the marauders' wake, information about their withdrawal to Ely was sparse. Unlike Hugh Candidus, the compiler of ASC (E) did not appear to have had the benefit of the testimony of Prior Æthelwold who, with some of his fellow brethren, was abducted to Hereward's stronghold at Ely, where he was instrumental in the rescue of St. Oswald's arm, stolen by Hereward to prevent from becoming Turold's possession.[178]

Moreover, there was no reference in ASC (E) to Turold's alienation of *Burch*'s estates, details of which seem to have been readily available to Hugh Candidus.[179] The brief abbacy of Turold's successor, Godric, was completely ignored, although Matthias Ridell's reception on 21 October 1103, his death exactly a year later his and burial at Gloucester received a little more attention.[180] Therefore, it appears that either Hand 1's research was less thorough than that of Hugh Candidus, possibly due to the limitations of readily available sources or the urgency to bring his chronicle up to date.

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[175] *HC*, pp. 38, 66.
[176] ASC (E), 1066.
[177] ASC (E), 1070. See also D. Mackreth, 'Recent Work on Monastic Peterborough', *Durobrivæ* 9 (1984), pp. 18-21.
[178] ASC (E), 1070; *HC*, pp. 79-84.
[179] *HC*, pp. 84-6.
[180] ASC (E), 1103.

6. Eye-witness accounts (living memory)

It is unlikely that any of *Burch*'s residents who had experienced the Norman Conquest and the rebellion of Hereward in 1070 were alive when Hand 1 commenced his Chronicle in 1121. However, the election of Godric, brother of Brand (1066-9), implies that by the end of the eleventh century there were surviving monks who remembered the contrasting abbacies of Leofric (1057-66) and Turold (1069-98) and who, doubtlessly, enjoyed sharing their reminiscences with their younger brethren. They, in turn, would have been in a position to convey this information to the compiler of ASC (E). Therefore, it is surprising that Hand 1 did not exploit this valuable resource, making only a single reference to Turold after the Hereward episode and then only to announce his death in 1098. This suggests that Hand 1 had no personal recollections of the military monk or his ignominious rule and, perhaps, had little time for research before embarking upon his chronicle.

However, Hand 1 did record one event, which occurred during the interregnum between the abbacies of Godric and Matthias. In 1101, thieves, 'sum of Aluearnie, sum of France 7 sum of Flanders' entered the monastery and stole gold and silver crucifixes and candlesticks.[181] Therefore, Hand 1's interest in the incident and its inclusion in his text suggest that he may have arrived at *Burch* either shortly before or soon after the theft occurred, after the disposition of Godric in 1099 but before the appointment of Matthias in 1103.

7. Personal experiences

With the appointment of Ernulf in 1107, Hand 1's mood changed from offering a detached, almost reserved, account of post-Conquest events to the adoption of a more positive attitude to the new abbot of *Burch*'s rule. The enthusiasm that he had once exhibited for Anglo-Saxon abbots such as Seaxwulf, Ælfsige and Leofric was rekindled. It appears that Hand 1 personally knew, respected and even may have grown to love Ernulf, sharing in the grief of his fellow monks upon his abbot's departure for Rochester. Thus, he gave the impression that he was now an established member of the community. Furthermore, Hand 1's description of John de Séez's appointment by Henry I in 1114 and his subsequent

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[181] ASC (E), ff. 74v-75r (1102). Swanton's translation: 'some from Auverge, some from France and some from Flanders.'

journey to Rome to receive the pallium, suggest that he had observed the abbot's departure.[182]

Hand 1 probably witnessed the fire of 1116, recording not only the date, Friday 4 August, but also that it occurred ironically on St. Oswald's Eve, and that all the monastic buildings except for the chapter house and dormitory and most of the 'vill' of *Burch* was destroyed. Unlike Hugh Candidus, he did not attach blame to either John de Séez, who had allegedly expressed his dissatisfaction with monks and cursed the monastery on the morning of the blaze, or upon the abbey baker, who apparently had induced the Devil to light his fire.[183] However, Hand 1 probably considered that it would have been unwise to criticize Abbot John, who presumably was monitoring the progress of his chronicle.

Throughout the inglorious rule of Henry d'Angély (1127-32) ASC (E) was a contemporaneous chronicle, which recorded the abbot's pre-occupation with his affairs in St. Jean d'Angély, Poitou and Cluny and his attempts to annex to *Burch* to the latter establishment.[184] Perhaps, Henry's general disinterest in *Burch* and protracted absences afforded Hand 1 the opportunity to express his unbridled feelings in his chronicle, almost as adolescent would in his diary, perhaps, hiding it away from prying eyes in emulation of 'Hædda's writings' to be forgotten and only recovered over twenty years later.

Hand 1's career at *Burch*

Unlike Hugh Candidus, who had been collecting data throughout his career, the annals up to 1121 do not represent a culmination of many years of research by Hand 1, but were copied probably in haste at the behest of Abbot John de Séez.[185] Consequently, Hand 1 may not have had the opportunity to scrutinize all the available documents that were later preserved in *Liber Niger*. Instead, it appears that he was merely presented with the materials, which he was directed to interpolate into his Chronicle. The pressure to complete ASC (E) to quote Whitelock, 'at one stretch', could also be the reason why he did not consult his fellow brethren, who were acquainted with Turold and Godric and who had witnessed the shortcomings of their abbacies, a resource that Hugh Candidus was later to exploit to perfection.[186]

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[182] ASC (E), 654, 656 (Seaxwulf); 963, 1013 (Ælfsige); 1052, 1066 (Leofric); 1107, 1114 (Ernulf).
[183] ASC (E), 1116; *HC*, pp. 97-8.
[184] ASC (E), 1128-31.
[185] *HC*, p. 93.
[186] *Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock, p. 14.

Astonishingly, Hand 1 failed to mention the procurement and veneration of *Burch*'s most auspicious relic and only tangible symbol of the Christian conversion of the Middle Angles, the arm of St. Oswald, brother of the purported co-founder of *Medeshamstede*, Oswiu of Northumbria. Hand 1 doubtlessly was aware of the significance and alleged properties of the relic, since it was exhibited during the abbacy of Matthias Ridell, who encased it in a reliquary.[187] Was his omission because he had no time to research the limb's provenance and associated miracles in detail? Or, like William of Malmesbury, did Hand 1 doubt the relic's authenticity and decide not to include it?[188] Even more astounding is the fact that the chronicler made no references to the extensive building projects of Ernulf (1107-14) and John de Séez (1114-25), the latter of whose schemes were in progress while he was writing his house-history.[189] Therefore, it is tempting conclude that Hand 1 was, perhaps, following John's specifications by only including the prescribed data until the abbot's death in 1125.

Nevertheless, the lack of knowledge of the abbey's late eleventh-century history suggests that Hand 1 had not spent the formative years of his monastic career at *Burch*, but may have been recruited from a neighbouring monastery after his noviciate. It was during Ernulf's rule that he probably developed an affinity with his monastery and sense of loyalty to his abbot, allowing his personal feelings to be displayed for the first time upon Ernulf's departure to Rochester.[190] ASC (E) may not have been the only work produced by the chronicler. Clark observed that the script of ASC (E), from folios 1r to 88v10, closely resembled that of the early twelfth-century Peterborough manuscripts, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C. i [*Computistica*] and British Library, Harley 3667. The same hand also wrote marginal notes next to the Pascal tables in British Library, Harley 3667, folios 1r to 2r.[191] If Clark is correct, Hand 1 was already employed as a scribe at *Burch* during the first two decades of the twelfth century.

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[187] *HC*, p. 83.
[188] *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Preest, ch. 180.
[189] *HC*, pp. 90, 98-9.
[190] ASC (E), 1114.
[191] *Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. Clark, p. xvii. BL, Cotton Tiberius C. i and Harley 3667 were both originally part of the same Peterborough manuscript. See Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 259-60; Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 151; Gameson, *Manuscripts*, No. 404. See above, Chapter 1, pp. 8-9.

Hand 1's interpretation of pre-Conquest Peterborough material

Plummer commented that 'all the Peterborough entries, up to 1121 inclusive, are interpolations'.[192] Nevertheless, Hand 1 did not reproduce his data impassively, but was somewhat selective, editing his exemplars and introducing supplementary material. Furthermore, Hand 1 realized the significance of *Relatio Hedde Abbatis* forgeries upon which the entire pre-Conquest history of *Medeshamstede* was hinged, skilfully interweaving them into his text and adding dialogue where necessary.[193] However, unlike Hugh Candidus, Hand 1 did not copy tracts from the spurious documents *verbatim*, but condensed them, ensuring that the salient points, such as royal endowments and privileges, could be observed by his readers at a glance.

i. 'Abbot Hædda's' House-History

Hand 1's earliest reference to *Medeshamstede* was conveniently inserted immediately after the death of Penda, an event which gave his son, Peada, the freedom to establish the first Christian monastery within his province. Although Hand 1 probably consulted Bede regarding the conversion of the Middle Angles, he seems have used a version of 'Hædda's' house-history to briefly describe the co-foundation of the monastery by Peada and Oswiu and the appointment of Seaxwulf as its first abbot. Hand 1 also supplied the additional information that *Medeshamstede* derived its name from a spring, known as *Medeswæl*, possibly referring to a pool or holy well, which still existed in the twelfth century and to which his audience could easily relate.[194] Thus, Hand 1 rendered a plausible introduction to the most important section of his Chronicle in order to establish the antiquity of his monastery. In doing so, he insinuated that the site of the abbey already was significant before Christianity was introduced to the area.

ii. Wulfhere's Charter of '664'

Pseudo-Wulfhere's charter provided Hand 1 with his first real opportunity to exercise his authorial skills and powers of invention. His contracted version of the forgery ensured that his audience concentrated not only upon the *Medeshamstede*'s vast estates but also, more crucially, upon monastic rights which were vital to its survival in a climate of onerous taxation imposed to finance Henry I's military campaigns. The privileges are as follows:

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[192] Plummer II, p. liv.
[193] ASC (E), 654, 656, 675, 963.
[194] ASC (E), 654; *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 21; Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 58v-59v.

a) The abbey and its brethren were to be free from taxation and rent from both spiritual and secular lords.

b) *Medeshamstede* was subject only to Rome's jurisdiction.

c) *Medeshamstede* was to be a centre of pilgrimage so that 'hider ic wille þ we secan Sce Petre. Ealle þa þa to Rome na magen faren.'[195]

d) Thorney was to become an anchorites' cell.

e) Anyone who disregarded these privileges would suffer eternal damnation, whilst those who increased *Medeshamstede*'s wealth would receive their reward in Heaven.

Unlike the versions of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter preserved in the *Liber Niger* and in Hugh Candidus' Chronicle, Hand 1 did not specify that *Medeshamstede* should embrace the Roman form of Christianity as prescribed by the Synod of Whitby, which according to Bede took place in 664 but which was not recorded in any version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.[196] Instead, in his preamble to the charter, Hand 1 introduced the additional dedications to SS. Paul and Andrew to that of Peter. The triple consecration was recorded only once in ASC (E). Hand 1's subsequent references emphasized that *Medeshamstede*'s special relationship with its namesake in Rome and, indeed, with St. Peter himself.[197] To include SS. Paul and Andrew would serve only to detract from Peter's pre-eminence but would conform to *Medeshamstede*'s Roman identity.

The motives behind the chronicler's inclusion of the subsidiary saints merit consideration. St. Paul is frequently associated with St. Peter and we learn from Bede that St. Augustine's, Canterbury, Winchester [Old Minster] and Wearmouth/Jarrow were all dedicated to the two apostles. Therefore, it is possible that Æthelwold of Winchester added the 'Paul' dedication in honour of his former monastery.[198] Perhaps, Hand 1 was attempting to emphasize that, by sharing the same patronage with these important seventh-century establishments, *Medeshamstede* was equally prestigious. Although Andrew was another saint venerated in Rome during the seventh century, we may conjecture that Hand 1 endeavoured to establish a tenuous connexion with St. Wilfrid, testator to pseudo-Wulfhere's

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[195] ASC (E), f. 15v (656). Swanton's translation, *ASC,* p. 31: 'I want all of us who cannot go to Rome to seek out St. Peter here.' This is almost a direct translation from the version of document, which appears as 'hic quæramus patronum qui Romæ non possumus' in Soc. Ant., 60, f. 62r.
[196] Soc., Ant., 60, f. 62r; *HC*, p. 11; *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 25. See also C. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650-c. 850* (Leicester, 1995), p. 289.
[197] ASC (E), 675, 777, 963, 1013, 1066, 1072.
[198] *HE*, Bk. I, ch. 33; Bk. II, ch. 3 (Canterbury); Bk. III, ch. 7 (Winchester); Bk., V, ch. 24 (Wearmouth/Jarrow).

charter and the courier of pseudo-Agatho's bull, who was known to favour both Andrew and Peter dedications.[199]

Hand 1 also claimed that the ascetic monks of *Ancarig* [Thorney] were to be honoured with a *mynstre* dedicated to St. Mary, information that is missing from the Latin versions of the charter. According to Eadgar's foundation charter of 973, the abbey church was indeed consecrated to the Virgin. However, by declaring that the dedication was 'Wulfhere's' concept rather than that of its patron, Æthelwold, Hand 1 was eroding Thorney's reputation and reinforcing *Burch*'s seniority over its rival.[200]

After pseudo-Wulfhere's charter was witnessed, Hand 1 added a further piece of information, which is exclusive to his chronicle. He revealed that a messenger was dispatched to Pope Vitalian (657-72), Agatho's predecessor, in order to seek confirmation of 'Wulfhere's' grant. It was duly returned with a codicil that the abbot of *Medeshamstede* should bow only to the authority of the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury and with the dire warning that anyone, who contravened the monastery's privileges, would suffer the judgement of St. Peter himself.[201] The inspiration for Hand 1's inclusion of 'Vitalian's' bull, appears to have been a statement by pseudo-Agatho that *Medeshamstede*'s extensive liberties already had been determined by his forerunner.[202] Therefore, Hand 1 may have added the bull as an appendix or conclusion in order to accentuate the solemnity of the charter, especially if it were intended to be read to a listening audience in an age when memory was still as important as the written word.[203]

iii. The Bull of Pope Agatho of '680'

Hand 1 adeptly introduced pseudo-Agatho's bull by explaining that, upon the death of Wulfhere in 675, his successor, Æthelred, wished to reaffirm the pledge his brother had made to *Medeshamstede*. Thereupon, he consigned Bishop Wilfrid of York to Rome for Agatho's confirmation of the charter.[204] Hand 1 was less inventive, adhering more strictly to his exemplar, but still presented only an abridged version of the bull that was copied into the

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[199] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 63v; *HE*, p. 68, note 2; *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, ed. and tr. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927), hereafter *VW*, chs. 5, 56.
[200] ASC (E), f. 15v (656); CUL, Add. 3020, [The Red Book of Thorney] (Thorney, s. xiv), ff. 12r; 14v.
[201] ASC (E), 656; B. 839. 'Vitalian's' confirmation was recorded in neither Soc. Ant., 60 nor Hugh Candidus' chronicle.
[202] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 66v.
[203] Clanchy, *From Memory*, pp. 77, 263. See below, pp. 102-4.
[204] ASC (E), 675. By 678, Wilfrid had been expelled from York by Ecgfrith and had been appointed bishop of Selsey by Wulfhere. See *HE*, Bk. V, chs. 18-19; *VW*, ch. 24.

Liber Niger and interpolated into Hugh Candidus' Chronicle, perhaps, to ensure his audience's close attention whilst he acquainted them with the severe limitations of episcopal and temporal authority over *Medeshamstede*, which were as follows:

a) 'Neither king nor bishop nor ealdorman nor any man' was to exert jurisdiction over the monastery.
b) No tax, rent or any form of service could be extracted from the monastery.
c) The diocesan bishop could not conduct any service in the abbey church or hold a synod there without first seeking the permission of the abbot.
d) The abbot was to be freely elected by the brethren of *Medeshamstede* and should be consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury.[205]

Hand 1 presented a fairly accurate translation of these four concessions laid down by the spurious papal bull. However, on the following elements, the writer clearly amended the original text, presumably to enhance his readers' knowledge of the monastery's status.

a) The abbot was to be the papal legate 'ofer eal þet iglande' ['over the whole island'], an honour conferred upon the Archbishop of Canterbury. Here, Hand 1 differed from Hugh Candidus' and *Liber Niger*'s version of the bull, which granted the abbot primacy over only Æthelred's territory north of the River Thames.[206] In *Liber Niger*'s version of the document, Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury also identified himself as 'romana legatione', a testimony that Hand 1 conveniently omitted from his text.[207]
b) Emphasis was placed upon Seaxwulf's determination to free the minster from interference by all bishops, a situation that Paxton observed, would have rendered Seaxwulf, as bishop of Mercia, subordinate to the abbot of *Medeshamstede*.[208]
c) Absolution could be granted to a penitent by the abbot of *Medeshamstede* instead of the Pope if he were unable to make the pilgrimage to Rome. Again, Hand 1 version differed from that preserved in *Liber Niger* and in Hugh's account, which stated that sinners could only *hope* to find salvation by seeking absolution at *Medeshamstede*.[209]

The inclusion of Wilfrid as papal emissary may be viewed as a masterstroke on behalf of Hand 1. He appears to have consulted the list of testators to pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, in which Wilfrid described himself as 'Ego Wilfrid, presbyter famulus ecclesiarum et baiulus

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[205] ASC (E), f. 18r (675); Soc. Ant. 60, f. 65r.
[206] ASC (E), f. 18r (675); Soc. Ant., 60, f. 65v; *HC*, p. 18.
[207] ASC (E), f. 18r (675); Soc. Ant.. 60, f. 67v.
[208] J. Paxton , 'Forging Communities: Memory and Identity in Post-Conquest England', *The Haskins Society Journal*, 10 (2001), p. 102.
[209] ASC (E), f. 18r (675); Soc. Ant,. 60, ff. 65rv; *HC*, pp. 18-9.

Evangelii Dei in gentes affectavi', and decided to maximize Wilfrid's 'presence' at the Mercian court.[210] Perhaps, Hand 1 intended that Wilfrid's signature as 'priest' would suggest to his audience that the charter was signed *after* the Synod of Whitby of 664 but *before* Wilfrid's departure to Gaul, since Bede tells us that he 'lingered' abroad both before and after his consecration.[211]

Both Bede and Stephen of Ripon, Wilfrid's biographer, vouched for Wilfrid's presence in Rome from 678 to 680, during which time Æthelred's confirmation was allegedly submitted to Pope Agatho. However, both authors suggested that Wilfrid's prime concern was to advance his own plea for his re-instatement to the see of York, after his expulsion by Ecgfrith and Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury. Furthermore, neither Bede nor Stephen mentioned Wilfrid's request for the confirmation of the *Medeshamstede* privileges and endowments, but merely discussed the proceedings of the synod, which had convened to establish the orthodoxy of the Christian faith and to judge Wilfrid's appeal, and the subsequent decision in his favour.[212]

The possibility that Wilfrid attended Æthelred's court during part of the period from 675 to 679 merits further discussion. We learn from Stephen that *c.* 666 Wilfrid was in Mercia carrying out 'officia diversa episcopalia' '[various episcopal duties]' at the behest of King Wulfhere.[213] However, during the reign of Æthelred, relations between Wilfrid and the kings of Mercia and Northumbria and their respective consorts were strained. Ecgfrith of Northumbria was ever mindful of the part that the bishop had played in encouraging his first wife, Æthelthryth, to desert him in order to become a nun.[214] Therefore, it is scarcely surprising that Ecgfrith rejected Agatho's decree and imprisoned Wilfrid. He was released after nine month's confinement, following the miraculous recovery of Ecgfrith's second consort, Iurminburh, from a sudden and debilitating illness in 681. Having regained his freedom, Wilfrid hastened to Mercia, where a fragile but enduring truce with Northumbria had been secured following the battle of the River Trent in 679. After staying long enough to found a monastery on land endowed by Æthelred's nephew, Berhtwald, Wilfrid was expelled from the province by Æthelred and because Queen Osthryth was Ecgfrith's sister.[215]

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[210] ASC (E), f. 18r (675); Soc. Ant., 60, f. 63v. My translation: 'I, Wilfrid, have aspired to be priest of the community of the church and letter bearer of the Gospel of God among the people'.
[211] *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 28. A copy of *Vita Wilfridi*, probably by Stephen of Ripon, is included in the early twelfth-century Peterborough library catalogue, Oxford, Bodleian Library, 163. See *Library Catalogues* 8, ed. Friis-Jensen and Willoughby, Bp2. 36.
[212] *HE*, Bk. V, ch. 19; *VW*, chs. 24, 29-32.
[213] *VW*, ch. 14.
[214] *HE*, Bk. IV, ch. 19 [17].
[215] *HE*, Bk. IV, ch. 21 [19]; *VW*, chs. 34, 39-40.

Therefore, according to Stephen, it was not until 691/692 that Wilfrid enjoyed the patronage of Æthelred, who bestowed upon him the see of Leicester.[216]

Both Bede and Stephen reported that in 679 Wilfrid returned to Northumbria with his letter of authority from Pope Agatho, to request his reinstatement as bishop. Instead, ASC (E) allowed Wilfrid to tarry in Mercia in order to attend the Council of *Hæthfeld* [Hatfield], summoned by Theodore for the proclamation of 'Agatho's' decree and the approval the confirmation of Æthelred's further endowments to *Medshamstede*.[217] Indeed, Wilfrid was listed among the testators to pseudo-Agatho's bull, elevated by Hand 1 to 'ærcebiscop of Æferwic [York]', signing immediately after Theodore, who with Ecgfrith had been responsible for Wilfrid's expulsion from that see.[218] However, in the *Liber Niger* version, Wilfrid signed after Seaxwulf, identifying himself as 'apostolico fauore sedem Eboracensem'.[219]

Like Agatho's synod of 680, Theodore's well-documented Council of Hatfield was called expressly to discuss the orthodoxy of the catholic faith. Unfortunately, there is no reference to *Medeshamstede* in the conference agenda listed by Bede. However, it transpires that John, precentor of St. Peter's Church at Wearmouth, had recently returned from Rome seeking Theodore's approval of Agatho's decree, protecting the liberties of the monastery that Benedict Biscop had founded and Ecgfrith had endowed in 674.[220] It is tempting to conjecture that this extract for *Historia Ecclesiastica* inspired the forger of the bull to substitute Wearmouth with *Medeshamstede* and replace John with Wilfrid. Alternatively it is possible that Wilfrid did procure a papal bull in favour of *Medeshamstede* in an attempt to ingratiate himself with Æthelred and Osthryth at a time when he had fallen from grace in Northumbria. Thus, his signature, 'baiulus' ['letter-bearer'] in pseudo-Agatho's papal bull may possibly be explained.

After recording Wilfrid's death at Oundle in 709, Hand 1 gave a résumé of his career.[221] The reference to Oundle is important. Bede related that at this time the monastery was ruled by Cuthbald, a testator of pseudo-Agatho's bull and cited in ASC (E) and Hugh Candidus' chronicle as Seaxwulf's successor.[222] Furthermore, the 'vill' of Oundle was

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[216] *VW*, ch. 45. See also R. Bailey, *The Christian Church in Leicester and its Region* (Leicester, 1980), pp. 7-9.
[217] *HE*, Bk. V, ch. 19; *VW*, chs. 33-4; ASC (675). See also Cubitt, *Church Councils*, p. 301.
[218] ASC (E), f. 19r; Soc. Ant., 60, f. 68r; *HC*, p. 21; *VW*, ch. 24.
[219] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 68r. My translation: 'by the good-will of the papacy, returning to the see of York'.
[220] *HE*, Bk. IV. chs. 17 [15], 18 [16]. See also Cubitt, *Church Councils*, p. 289.
[221] ASC (E), 709.
[222] *HE*, Bk. V, ch. 21 [19]; ASC (E), 656, 675; Soc. Ant., f. 68r; *HC*, p. 22.

claimed in pseudo-Eadgar's charter of 972 as a possession of *Medeshamstede*.[223] The inclusion of the obituary is also significant in that it demonstrates a sustained local interest in Wilfrid beyond his presence in the Mercian court as testator to pseudo-Wulfhere's charter and pseudo-Agatho's bull.

iv. 'Eadgar's charter of 972'

After the Danes alleged destruction *Medeshamstede* in 870, Hand 1 remained silent regarding the abbey's history. However, his entry for 963 stated that, shortly after his elevation to Winchester, Æthelwold arrived at *Medeshamstede* and found 'an þing buton ealde weallas' ['nothing but old walls'], among which he discovered the 'writings of Abbot Hædda', prompting him to restore the monastery to its former glory.[224] Hugh Candidus, writing *c.* 1155 x *c.* 1175, offered a different order of events, stating that it was not until after the completion of the monastery that the documents were found.[225]

Characteristically, Hand 1 also condensed pseudo-Eadgar's restoration charter of 972, possibly in order to keep his audience's attention focussed.[226] Pseudo-Eadgar's privileges were conveniently summarized as 'þet ealle þa freodom 7 ealle þa forgiuenesse þe mine forgengles geafen'.[227] It appears that Hand 1 assumed that by now his audience would be well acquainted with the liberties prescribed by pseudo-Wulfhere's charter and pseudo-Agatho's bull, possibly because they had been proclaimed earlier in his chronicle. The bounds of Whittlesey Mere that feature so prominently in the Latin text preserved in *Liber Niger* and Hugh Candidus' chronicle were also ignored.[228] Furthermore, whilst conforming to the order of the Latin texts, Hand 1 gave only a précis of the liberties enjoyed by the abbot of *Burch* within the Eight Hundreds of Oundle but intriguingly, he added the estate of Æstfeld [Eastfield] to the list of *Medeshamstede*'s possessions. He also omitted the section of the toll route from Wansford to Stamford.[229] The reason for Hand 1's contraction of pseudo-Eadgar's charter is obscure. However, when taken out of context, the history of *Medeshamstede* from 654 to 963 reads like a four-part serial, perhaps intended to be recited to an assembly.[230]

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[223] ASC (E), f. 37r (963); Soc. Ant., 60, f. 69r. See below, Chapter 6, pp. 206-7.
[224] ASC (E), f, 36v (963).
[225] *HC*, pp. 27-31.
[226] ASC (E), 963.
[227] ASC (E), f. 37v (963). Swanton's translation, *ASC*, p. 117: 'all the freedoms and all the exemption that my predecessors granted.'
[228] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 69v; *HC*, p. 35. See below, Chapter 6, pp. 224-38.
[229] ASC (E), f. 37rv (963). See below, Chapter 6, pp. 201-3, 241.
[230] See below, pp. 102-4.

v. The pre-Conquest abbots of *Burch*

With the exception of Seaxwulf, Hand 1's knowledge of the pre-870 abbots of *Medeshamstede* appears to have been severely limited and mainly related to transactions that are known to have been carried out, copies of which survive in *Liber Niger*. He mentioned only in passing the Seaxwulf's six successors, namely Cuthbald (*c.* 675), Egbald (*c.* 686), Pusa (*c.* 777), Beonna (*c.* 777), Ceored (*c.* 852) and Hædda (?*c.* 870).[231] However, after Æthelwold's reformation of *Medeshamstede*, Hand 1 seems better informed, implying that he possibly had access to a now lost history of the post-restoration abbots.[232] He selected the following abbots for their outstanding achievements:

a) Eadwulf (972-92), who purchased many estates, which he bestowed upon the abbey
b) Cœnwulf (992-1005), who surrounded the monastery with a wall causing it to be renamed *Burh* or *Burch*
c) Ælfsige (1006-41), who promoted *Burch* as a centre of pilgrimage by accumulating numerous relics
d) Leofric (1057-66), the pluralist, during whose abbacy *Burch* reached its zenith regarding its affluence and equanimity.[233]

The death in 1066 of Abbot Leofric, the last of the great Anglo-Saxon abbots, was perceived by Hand 1 to herald the passing of *Burch*'s 'golden age', since 'he dyde swa mycel to gode into þet mynstre of Burh . . . swa nefre nan oðre ne dyde toforen him ne nan æfter him'.[234] Brand, Leofric's successor, despite being 'swiðe god man 7 swiðe wis' ['a very good and very wise man'], in Hand 1's opinion, proved to be a poor substitute. Unfortunately, he had made the mistake of pledging himself to Eadgar Ætheling and was obliged to appease the Conqueror with forty golden marks.[235] Nevertheless, Hand 1 appears to have overlooked the possibility that *Burch*'s increased prosperity during the rule of Leofric was probably due the generous endowments of Lincolnshire estates which Brand and his

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[231] For Seaxwulf, see Soc. Ant. 60, ff. 58v, 59v [*Relatio Hedde Abbatis*]; ff. 60r, 62v-63v [Pseudo-Wulfhere's charter]; ff. 64rv, 66r, 67r-68r [Pseudo-Agatho's bull]; ASC (E), 654; 664; 675. For Cuthbald, see, f. 68r; ASC (E), 675. For Beonna, see f. 41v ['Swineshead transaction']; ASC (E), 777. For Pusa, see f. 37v ['King Offa's gift of the church at Woking']; ASC (E), 777. For Ceolred, see f. 46rv ['Sempringham transaction']; ASC (E), 852. For Hædda, see ASC (E), 963.
[232] See above, p. 87.
[233] ASC (E), 963 (Eadwulf, Cœnwulf, Æflsige); Leofsige (1066).
[234] ASC (E), f. 58r (1066). Swanton's translation, *ASC*, p. 198: 'he did more to enrich the minster of Peterborough . . . as no man ever did before him or after him'.
[235] ASC (E), f. 58r (1066).

brothers, Askytel, Siric and Siworth, conferred upon the abbey and confirmed as its possessions in 1086.[236]

Hand 1's judgement of the Norman abbots who followed Brand was even less flattering. Although, he refrained from openly criticizing Turold, unlike Hugh Candidus, he has little to say in his favour, whilst John de Séez was remembered not for his rebuilding accomplishments but for the Nine Days' Fire.[237] Understandably, Hand 1's contemporaneous account of Henry d'Angély's rule showed nothing but contempt for the man who almost succeeded in bringing about *Burch*'s demise, and probably caused him to abandon his Chronicle in 1131.[238] By singling out, Eadwulf, Cœnwulf, Ælfsige and Leofric, Hand 1 provided his audience with a sharp contrast to the Norman despots, Turold and Henry d'Angély, perhaps evoking a sense of nostalgia for *Burch*'s autonomous and prosperous pre-Conquest past.

Although the compiler of ASC (E) was content to re-invent pseudo-Wulfhere's charter and the pseudo-Agatho's bull, he volunteered only meagre information regarding his understanding of *Medeshamstede*'s pre-870 history. Unlike Hugh Candidus, he offered his readers no description of the early monastery except to explain the significance of the *Medeswæl*.[239] Indeed, Hand 1 recorded the monastery's early possessions, royal connexions and privileges with only the minimal amount of detail. Nevertheless, his narrative concerning *Medeshamstede*'s destruction by the Danes and the revelation of 'Abbot Hædda's' writings among the ruins conveniently bridges the gap of almost a century before its restoration by the reforming Æthelwold, after which it began flourish once more. In contrast, the chronicler knew that after the Norman Conquest *Burch* had entered a spiral of decline, a situation from which despite the efforts of Abbot Ernulf he believed it could never recover.[240] ASC (E) represents, among other things, a catalogue of events relating to the monastery from 654 to 1131. Although Hand 1 was far from unbiased in his opinions and displays a certain amount of license when interpolating the Peterborough forgeries, he avoided writing descriptive passages, preferring to record the deeds of those who shaped its history.

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[236] For the complete list of *Burch's* Lincolnshire estates, see *DB: Lincs.* I, 8 [1-39]; *HC*, pp. 71-2. Copies of several of the endowments were recorded in Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 23r-24r, 26r-28r. See below, Chapter 4, p. 118.
[237] ASC (E), 1070, 1116; *HC*, pp. 84-5.
[238] ASC (E), 1127, 1130-1. See above, p. 72.
[239] *HC*, pp. 4-6; ASC (E), 654.
[240] ASC (E), 1114, 1132.

Motives behind the commencement of ASC (E)

We can only surmise John's de Séez's reasons for commissioning a chronicle, written in the vernacular language at least a decade after the last of its extant predecessors had been discontinued and when Latin was increasingly becoming the fashionable diplomatic language.[241] Perhaps, it was because, as Clanchy comments, Anglo-Saxon writers were more practised at composing house-histories than their Norman counterparts, or because Abbot John simply wished to perpetuate *Burch*'s connexion with its pre-Conquest past.[242] Nevertheless, the very existence of ASC (E) affirms that the vernacular language was still in vogue and that there was at least one English scribe at *Burch* who was experienced in both translating documents from Latin and interpolating them into his chronicle.

John de Séez probably had several reasons for proceeding with a Peterborough version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. It is possible that it was already on the monastery's agenda to write down events that were hitherto remembered as oral tradition. Abbot John also may have felt that the annals would fill the vacuum created by the discontinuation of the earlier Anglo-Saxon Chronicles. ASC (E) would, in effect, be a medieval reference book in which the history of the community could be laid out in context with national events. Indeed, the house-history was a medium through which the antiquity of the community, the continuity of the site and its alleged royal privileges could be preserved in a single manuscript for posterity and sceptics alike.

Clark has identified homilies within the text of ASC (E), which she believed were intended to be read as sermons.[243] However, although they are not marked out in the text, there are other sections of the Chronicle, which could be presented orally in the church, chapter house or refectory, for the enlightenment of both monks and guests. Thus, visiting dignitaries could be encouraged to follow the example of their forebears and become generous patrons. The brief entry for 654, which described the conversion of the Middle Angles and the establishment of *Medeshamstede* seems to be especially suitable for instructional purposes, either as a separate entity or in conjunction with the entry concerning Wulfhere's completion of the monastery and his subsequent endowments. The explanation of the name, *Medeshamstede* and its association with the *Medeswæl* spring would have provided a local interest for new recruits, native brethren and visitors alike. The entry

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[241] Clanchy, *From Memory*, pp. 200-1.
[242] *Ibid.*, pp. 26-7.
[243] *Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. Clark, pp. lxxv-lxxix.

concluded with an element of suspense, upon the murder of Peada by his wife, implying that the future of the monastery may have been uncertain.[244]

In the next instalment *Medeshamstede*'s survival was ensured by Wulfhere's decision to complete the abbey and confer upon it vast estates and privileges. Wulfhere was portrayed as warmly greeting the abbot with 'La leof Sæxulf' ['Oh beloved Seaxwulf'] before thoughtfully providing a summary of the abbey's foundation by Peada and Oswiu.[245] Hand 1 then launched into a description of the consecration ceremony, followed by a contracted version of the land grants and privileges and its confirmation by distinguished signatories. The episode was drawn to a dramatic close with a dire warning from 'Pope Vitalian', that anyone who disregarded 'Wulfhere's' charter would die on St. Peter's sword, whilst those who upheld it would receive heavenly rewards.[246] This was a direct appeal to potential benefactors to bestow further gifts upon the monastery.

Pseudo-Agatho's bull of 680 was featured as the next stage in *Medeshamstede's* history. The narrative continued with a review of the monastery's royal foundation and liberties, perhaps, for the benefit of those who had either forgotten or were not present at the previous readings. Hand 1 related how Wilfrid was despatched to Rome by Æthelred for the ratification of 'Wulfhere's' charter. Thus, Hand 1 demonstrated that not only did *Medeshamstede*'s liberties have the endorsement of Archbishop Theodore but also that of Wilfrid, described by Hand 1 as the Archbishop of York.[247]

Hand 1 introduced the last chapter by announcing the arrival of Æthelwold and his 'discovery' of the 'writings of Abbot Hedde' among the ruins of *Medeshamstede*. The content of these documents provided an excellent opportunity for Hand 1 to give another synopsis of the proceedings so far, regarding the foundation of the monastery and its subsequent endowments, before presenting his abridged version of pseudo-Eadgar's charter. Finally, he brought his audience up to date by explaining *Medeshamstede*'s name-change to *Burch* and finally to *Gildene Burch*. The translation of the relics of Cyneburh and Cyneswith, now elevated to sainthood, were featured at end of the entry, almost as an invitation to listeners to visit the shrine of the local ladies who, according to the forgeries, had played such an important role in the foundation and development of *Medeshamstede*.[248] Indeed, before the

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[244] ASC (E), f. 14r (654).
[245] ASC (E), f. 14v (656).
[246] ASC (E), f. 16v (656).
[247] ASC (E), f. 18v (675).
[248] ASC (E), 963.

arrival of Abbot Æflsige and the acquisition of St. Oswald's arm, the royal sisters together with their kinswoman, Tibba, would have been the main attraction.[249]

Thus, Hand 1 provided his listeners, both scholarly and illiterate, with a complete reconstruction of *Burch*'s history from its inception by Peada, Oswiu and Wufhere to its destruction by the Danes and its resurrection by Æthelwold and Eadgar. Indeed, placed in this context, the pre-Conquest history of *Medeshamstede* markedly resembles the life of Christ, an allegory that may have been recognized by his twelfth-century audience. The theory that parts of ASC (E) were intended to be read aloud is reinforced by *Historia Cœnobii Petriburgensis versibus rhythmicis Gallicanis*, an Anglo-Norman rhyme, which is believed to have been composed for a secular audience rather than for the benefit of monks and clerics. Although the verses were written approximately eighty years after ASC (E) was commenced, the message they convey is the same.[250] Moreover, it appears that it was customary at *Burch* to entertain visiting celebrities with recitations relating to the monastery's past, promoting its reputation in order to encourage largesse.

The Annals up to 1154: Hand 2

Hand 2's contribution to ASC (E) was brief. Written 'as a single block' and, as Ker observed, in 'a more compressed and later style of script', it amounts to less than four folios of text.[251] Ker deduced that the compiler commenced his work early in 1155, since his final entry described the death of Martin de Bec on 2 January 1155, the election of William de Waterville (1155-75) and confirmation of the abbacy by Henry II.[252] Like his predecessor, Hand 2 appears to have been employed in *Burch*'s *scriptorium* prior to his completion of ASC (E). Bishop noticed a marked similarity between Hand 2's script and that of the scribe who complied the *Liber Niger* folios 6r-73r, as well as to the correcting hand of the twelfth-century Peterborough manuscript preserved as Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 134 [Berengaudus' *Super Apocalypsim*].[253] Furthermore, whilst agreeing with Bishop, Treharne detected that Hand 2 closely resembled that of the mid twelfth-century correcting scribe and annotator who wrote in sepia ink in the early twelfth-century Peterborough manuscript known

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[249] See below, Chapter 5.
[250] *La Geste de Burch*, ed. A. Bell, in *HC*, pp. 175-218. See above, Chapter 1, p. 17.
[251] ASC (E), ff. 88v10 to 91v; *Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. Clark, p. xxv; Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 246; *MS E*, ed. Irvine, pp. xxii-xxiii.
[252] N. R. Ker, 'Some Notes on the Peterborough Chronicle', *Medium Ævum* 3 (1934), p. 136; ASC (E), 1154.
[253] T. A. M. Bishop, 'Notes on Cambridgeshire Manuscripts', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 1 (1949-53), p. 440; Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 151.

as British Library Harley 3097 [*Jeronimus* etc.], folios 2r-127v.[254] If ASC (E) Hand 2, the *Liber Niger* scribe, the corrector of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 134 and the corrector and annotator of British Library Harley 3097 were the same person, Hand 2 probably was a permanent resident at *Burch* rather than a visiting historian. Treharne also argues that, similar to the Latin hand of the *Liber Niger*, folios 6r-73v, the final section of ASC (E) was written in a 'well-turned, archaic script'. This suggests that Hand 2 had received his training during the early decades of the twelfth-century and, despite his transition from Old to Middle English, had not adopted mid twelfth-century palaeographical trends.[255] Therefore, it is tempting to conjecture that Hand 2 also may have learnt his calligraphic skills during the abbacy of Ernulf.

Hand 2's approach to the chronicle was entirely different from that of his predecessor, arranging his material according to subject rather than in chronological order, reminiscent of the style adopted by Hugh Candidus for his Peterborough Chronicle.[256] Hand 2's eloquent yet, at times, intense entries were mainly concerned with the death of Henry I, the military campaigns of Stephen and Mathilda and the atrocities that ensued during the Civil War. Clark dismissed Hand 2's brief account of the anarchy as of little historical value and on occasions 'unreliable' in comparison with those produced by his contemporaries Orderic Vitalis and Henry of Huntingdon.[257] Throughout his continuation of ASC (E) Hand 2 made three references to events at *Burch*, relating to the rule of Martin de Bec and to the election of William de Waterville, concluding with an air of excitement at Abbot William's appointment and his anticipation for his forthcoming rule.[258]

Conclusion

Commenced *c.* 1121, during the abbacy of John de Séez, ASC (E) is the earliest extant Peterborough manuscript that can be dated accurately. It was also the longest-running Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. ASC (E)'s existence demonstrates the significance of the written vernacular, which apparently was still used at *Burch* as late as the fourth decade of the twelfth century, when Latin was becoming the accepted written diplomatic language.[259]

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[254] Treharne, pers. com., May 2003; BL, Harley 3097, ff. 2r-127v (Peterborough, s. xii$^{1/4}$). See also Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 151; Gameson, *Manuscripts*, No. 448. See also *Library Catalogues* 8, ed. Friis-Jensen and Willoughby, BP21.9.

[255] Treharne, Pers. com., April 2002. See also Clark, *Peterborough Chronicle*, p. lii; Swanton, *ASC*, p. xxvii.

[256] See below, Chapter 4, pp. 120-1.

[257] *Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. Clark, p. xxxv.

[258] ASC (E), 1132, 1137; 1154.

[259] Clanchy, *From Memory*, pp. 200-1.

Whitelock proposed that ASC (E) was compiled to replace a set of annals, which were lost in the 1116 fire.[260] However, there appears to be no evidence to support the presence of an earlier text. Therefore, it is likely that ASC (E) was ordered by Ernulf, who was installed at Christ Church, Canterbury, when ASC (F) was compiled. Indeed, Ernulf would have needed time to procure the necessary foundation documents to support his house-history. His appointment to the Bishopric of Rochester in 1114 may have forced him to postpone his project.

The motives behind Abbot John's authorization of ASC (E) are open to speculation. It is possible that he had hoped that his set of annals would fill the void that had been left by the cessation of the earlier versions. Alternatively, he may have believed that a history of his religious community in relation to events on a national scale would be a valuable source of reference and an educational aid. However, it is more feasible that ASC (E) was created as an attempt to validate the antiquity of *Burch* by emphasizing its seventh-century royal connexions and the continuity of its site and as a declaration of the monks' pride in their Anglo-Saxon heritage.

Hand 1 may have realized that certain elements of the Chronicle had the potential for adaptation for a listening audience. With a little authorial license, extracts could be read aloud in the refectory, chapter house or church for the enlightenment of brethren and visitors alike. Hand 1 appears to have selected the quartet *Relatio Hedde Abbatis* forgeries for his special treatment, adding direct speech to enhance the narrative. Thus, the Anglo-Saxon tradition of story telling was preserved at *Burch*, with Hand 1 conveying to his audience his own reconstruction of his pre-Conquest monastery. In the course of his interpolation of the forgeries, Hand 1 ceased to be a copyist, but became an author in his own right, editing, abridging and manipulating his exemplars to ensure the sustained concentration of his audience. Like all good storytellers, he commenced each episode with a recapitulation of previous events and artfully drew it to a dramatic conclusion, perhaps, leaving his participants with a sense of anticipation for the next instalment. Unfortunately, Hand 1's embellishment of the 'original' forgeries revealed little information concerning pre-Conquest *Medeshamstede* that cannot be learnt from the versions preserved in the *Liber Niger*. Nevertheless, his management of the forgeries serves to reiterate that it was upon these texts that the twelfth-century brethren of *Burch* based their entire claim to their monastery's antiquity and royal patronage.

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[260] *Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock, p. 31.

Apart from transitory references mainly relating to transactions, which again were recorded in *Liber* Niger, Hand 1 volunteered nothing regarding the seven pre-870 abbots of *Medeshamstede*, whilst his data relating to post-Æthelwold abbots was limited to Eadwulf, Cœnwulf, Ælfsige and Leofric.[261] The death of Leofric in November 1066 was perceived by Hand 1 as symbolizing the passage of *Burch*'s 'golden age', after which 'gidene burh' became 'wrecce burh'.[262] Following the installation of the military abbot, Turold de Fécamp (1069-1098) with his retinue of 'French' knights, the chronicler had nothing positive to report until his eulogy on Ernulf in 1114.[263]

After continuing his account contemporaneously from 1121 to 1131, Hand 1 finally abandoned his chronicle, probably, because he realized the futility of continuing with the prospect of Henry d'Angély's annexation of *Burch* with Cluny, machinations that almost resulted in the loss of *Burch*'s independence. However, ASC (E) was resumed and updated early in 1155 by Hand 2, presumably at the behest of William de Waterville. The final continuation marked the transition from Old to Middle English, whilst its termination matched the demise of the vernacular language in its written form at *burch*.

Burch's relationship with its Anglo-Saxon heritage must have been considered a matter of paramount importance to the brethren of the post-Conquest abbey, since forgeries were produced in order to 'legitimize' *Medeshamstede*'s claim to royal patronage and its almost uninterrupted occupation of the site since its foundation. Although we cannot tell whether Hand 1 was aware of the documents' dubious origins, it is evident that he maximized their impact by adapting them and enhancing them with direct speech. In doing so, he offered a valuable insight into how the indigenous monks of *Burch* understood their abbey's Anglo-Saxon past. Nevertheless, apart from the brief glimpses provided by Orderic Vitalis and William of Malmesbury, it was Hugh Candidus, writing his own Peterborough Chronicle during the abbacy of William de Waterville, who supplied us with the most detailed twelfth-century reconstruction of pre-Conquest *Burch*.[264]

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[261] ASC (E), 963, 1066.
[262] ASC (E), f. 58r (1066).
[263] ASC (E), 1070, 1114.
[264] *OV*, pp. 244-5, 344-5; *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Preest, ch. 180.

Chapter Four

Recording the Past II: The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus

Introduction: Hugh Candidus and his text

The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus, compiled in Latin between *c.* 1155 and *c.* 1175, is the only known work that has been attributed to a monk who resided at the monastery throughout the abbacies of Ernulf (1107-14), John de Séez (1114-25), Henry d'Angély (1127-32), Martin de Bec (1133-55) and William de Waterville (1155-75).[1] When Hugh became too old or sick to write or died, an unidentified scribe edited and copied his manuscript or the materials that he had assembled into a cartulary known now as Cottonian Library Otho A. xvii. Although the cartulary was lost in a fire at the Ashburnham House fire in 1731, Davenport's transcript of 1652 survives as Cambridge University Library, Dd. 14. 28. 2.[2]

Immediately after Hugh's death, his anonymous biographer embedded in the section of the text relating to Abbot Ernulf, a résumé of Hugh's career in such intimate detail that it appears that he had known Hugh personally, either as his protégé or his amanuensis. He revealed that Hugh was introduced to *Burch* as a child oblate by his brother, a monk called Reinaldus Spiritus. Despite the debilitating bouts of excessive and spectacular haemorrhaging that plagued his childhood and which earned him the soubriquet 'Hugo albus' or 'Hugh Candidus' ['Hugh the White'] because of his pallor, Hugh miraculously recovered to become a model pupil, studying under the tutelage of Ernulf, his brother and other senior monks.[3]

Hugh earned the respect and friendship of his abbots and his peers, holding office as sub-prior during the abbacies of Martin de Bec and William de Waterville.[4] Such was his status in the community that whilst Abbot Martin was in Rome during the winter of 1146/7, as Hugo Albus he witnessed an agreement by which Robert de Torpel relinquished his lands to Glapthorn and Cotterstock [Northamptonshire] to the infirmary of *Burch*.[5] Furthermore, after the death of Martin de Bec in January 1155, Hugh was one of the twelve 'seniores et

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[1] *The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, ed. W. T. Mellows (Oxford, 1949), hereafter *HC*, p. 95.
[2] *HC*, p. xvii; *The Cartularies and Registers of Peterborough Abbey*, ed. J. Martin (Kendall, 1978), pp. 34-5.
[3] *HC*, pp. 92-5.
[4] *HC*, p. 95.
[5] Cambridge University Library [CUL], Peterborough Dean and Chapter [PDC] 1 [The Book of Robert of Swaffham] (Peterborough, *c.* 1250), f. 115r (old foliation).

sapientes' selected to choose his successor. Afterwards, he accompanied the abbot-elect, William de Waterville to the court of Henry II at Oxford in order to seek royal and episcopal approval of the appointment.[6] Like that of his birth, the date of Hugh's death is unknown except that, since his Chronicle concluded with William de Waterville's deposition in 1175, it occurred after William's abbacy, possibly during the interregnum before the appointment of Abbot Benedict (1177-93).[7] Nevertheless, Hugh's Chronicle was considered important enough to be transcribed, edited and continued seventy-five years later by Robert of Swaffham. Although Swaffham did not openly acknowledge Hugh's authorship, in his prologue he vouched for the integrity of his edition of the Chronicle by claiming he wrote nothing 'nisi quod in ueteribus scriptis scriptum reperi uel antiquorum et fidelium narracione dideri'. Indeed, Swaffham informed cynics that his exemplars were available for inspection, suggesting that Hugh's 'original' sources were still extant *c.* 1250, when he compiled his register.[8]

Hugh Candidus' philosophy

Hugh Candidus' Chronicle offers the reader an insight into its author's character and philosophy. While William of Malmesbury (*c.* 1095-1143), the self-appointed successor to Bede, believed that the decadent English Church could only benefit from the re-organization effected by abbots and bishops appointed by William I, Hugh thoroughly disapproved of the Norman invasion and the tyranny of Turold's long regime (1069-98), vividly describing the manifestations of the Devil that heralded their arrival.[9] He emphasized the antiquity of *Medeshamstede* and the qualities of Turold's Anglo-Saxon predecessors, especially the relic collector Æflsige (1006-41), Earwig (1041-55), Leofric (1055-66), who accompanied Harold II to Hastings, and Brand (1066-9), who with his brothers, Askil, Syric and Siworth, generously bestowed vast Lincolnshire estates upon *Burch*.[10] Indeed, Hugh appears to have judged the success of an abbot's rule by the number of possessions that he acquired for his monastery.

Nevertheless, Hugh did not consider that all of the abbots appointed by successive Norman kings were of Turold's ilk. He remembered Ernulf, his old mentor, with great

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[6] *HC*, pp. 124-6. See also ASC (E), 1154.
[7] *HC*, pp. 131-2; Swaffham, f. 19v.
[8] Swaffham, f. 1r; *HC*, pp. 3-4. My translation: 'except what I found written in ancient writings or heard from old and faithful witnesses'.
[9] *HC*, pp. 74-6; 84-6; *William of Malmesbury: Gesta Regum Anglorum* ed. and tr. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. OMT (Oxford, 1998-9) I, Bk. III, chs. 245-6.
[10] *HC*, pp. 48-52 (Ælfsige); pp. 65-7 (Leofric); pp. 71-6 (Brand).

affection and recorded their mutual sadness when he was elevated to the see of Rochester.[11] Despite the disastrous conflagration of 1116, Hugh also praised John de Séez and Martin de Bec, both of whom increased the abbey's lands and embarked upon ambitious building projects. Moreover, despite the tribulations of Stephen's reign, Abbot Martin succeeded in redesigning the 'vill' of *Burch*, constructing a wharf by the River Nene and establishing a lucrative market at the abbey gates.[12] However, Hugh was extremely disparaging about Henry d'Angély, whom he regarded as a despot of Turold's proportion, but without his military prowess.[13] In brief, Hugh was fair-minded but understandably was prejudiced in favour of his monastery since his life was centred round the abbey precincts. This probably explains his materialistic approach regarding the procurement and retention of the abbey's assets and privileges and his determination to emphasize the continuity from its foundation in *c.* 655 until his own day.

Hugh Candidus' sources

Hugh's anonymous biographer recorded that Hugh assiduously 'etiam hunc libellum collegit, collectumque scripsit'.[14] Analysis of his Peterborough Chronicle has revealed that his research was undeniably thorough and incorporated information derived from a variety of sources including,

1. Pre-Conquest literature
2. Twelfth-century manuscripts
3. Oral tradition
4. Eye-witness accounts (living memory)
5. Personal experiences.

1. Pre-Conquest literature

Although neither Hugh's editor nor Swaffham specify the sources consulted, Hugh referred to Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* for information regarding the subjugation of the kings Sebbi and Sighere of the East Saxons to *Medeshamstede*'s alleged benefactor, Wulfhere of Mercia.[15] He listed the seven earliest Mercian bishops, namely Diuma, Ceollach,

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[11] *HC*, pp. 90-1, 96-7.
[12] *HC*, pp. 97-9 (John); pp. 105-23 (Martin). See below, Chapter 6, p. 247.
[13] *HC*, pp. 100-4.
[14] Swaffham, f. 17r; *HC*, p. 93. My translation: 'Indeed, [he] collected [information] for this book and when it was collected, he wrote.'
[15] *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, ed. and tr. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), hereafter *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 30; *HC*, p. 14.

Trumhere, Jaruman, Cedd [Chad], Winfrith and Seaxwulf, data also supplied by Bede.[16] Moreover, Hugh directly acknowledged his dependency on Bede's *Historia* for his account of the circumstances surrounding the appointment of Seaxwulf to the Mercian see, quoting almost *verbatim* from his exemplar in his description of Seaxwulf as 'abbas et constructor monasterii Medeshamstede in regione Giruiorum'.[17] Bound in the same manuscript as the early twelfth-century Peterborough library catalogue and the version of Bede's *Historia* was a *c.* 1100 copy of Wulfstan of Winchester's *Vita Æthelwoldi*, from which Hugh extracted portions from several chapters relating to the foundation or reformation of Abingdon, Winchester Old and New Minsters, Nunnaminster, Ely, Thorney and other unspecified monasteries, after describing the restoration of *Medeshamstede*.[18]

Although Hugh relied heavily upon Bede for information pertaining to the conversion of Kent and Northumbria, he inserted in his inventory of *Burch*'s relics a detailed account of pedigree of the Kentish princess, Domne Eafe, wife of Penda's son, Merewalh, and mother to St. Mildrith. This suggests that, like the author of the pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, he had knowledge of the 'Mildrith Legend', versions of which had disseminated from neighbouring Ramsey in the late tenth-century and from Canterbury by *c.* 1100.[19] Nevertheless, whilst Merewalh featured in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Manuscript E, hereafter ASC (E), and the *Liber Niger* versions of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, curiously he was omitted from Hugh's text, which cited only Wulfhere's siblings Æthelred, Cyneburh and Cyneswith.[20] As sub-ruler of the *Magonsæte*, a Mercian province on the Welsh borders, Merewalh's credentials as a patron of *Medeshamstede* would have been impressive.[21] Therefore, it is difficult to assess why Hugh excluded him. Since his name is also missing from the list of testators in both the ASC (E) and the *Liber Niger* versions of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, we may speculate that more than one version of the 'original' forgery was in circulation by the time ASC (E) Hand 1 commenced his chronicle *c.* 1121.

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[16] *HE*, Bk. III, chs. 21, 24; Bk. IV, ch. 6; *HC*, p. 14.
[17] *HC*, p. 14. My translation: 'abbot and founder of the monastery of Medeshamstede in the region of the Gyrwe'. Compare with Bede's 'constructor et abbas monasterii quod dicitur Medeshamstedi in regione Gyruiorum', in his HE, Bk. IV, ch. 6.
[18] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 163 (Peterborough, s.xi$^{4/4}$/s.xii$^{1/4}$); *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues* 8: *Peterborough Abbey*, ed. K. Friis-Jensen and J. M. W. Willoughby (London, 2001), BP2. 8, 34; *Wulfstan of Winchester: The Life of St. Æthelwold*, ed. M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1991), pp, clxi-clxii; chs. 11, 13, 20-3, 27; *HC*, pp. 43-6.
[19] *HE*, Bk. I, ch. 25; Bk. II, chs. 5, 9, 20; *HC*, pp. 56-8; *The Mildrith Legend: A Study in Early Medieval Hagiography in England* ed. D. W. Rollason (Leicester, 1982), pp. 15-21, 77, 114-5. See above, Chapter 2, p. 44.
[20] Oxford Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 636, f. 14r (656); London, Society of Antiquaries, 60 (Peterborough, *c.* s. xii$^{2/4}$), ff. 63v-64r; *HC*, p. 13.
[21] B. Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1990), pp. 107-8.

Hugh's extensive knowledge of the abbots Cœnwulf [Kenwulf] (992-1006), Æflsige, Earnwig (1041-55), Leofric and Brand, implies that accounts of their activities were preserved in oral or written form.[22] With the exception of Seaxwulf (*c.* 655-*c.* 673) and Cuthbald (*c.* 673), Hugh volunteered scant information about the pre-870 abbots, merely supplying us with a list of their names, Egbald (*c.* 686), Pusa (*c.* 777), Ceolred (*c.* 852) and Hædda (?*c.* 870), suggesting that by the twelfth century virtually nothing was known of their rules.[23] Indeed, this is the only reference to Hædda in Hugh's entire chronicle. Hugh did not portray him as a Christian martyr, slaughtered with his monks by the Danes, as featured in 'Abbot John's' Chronicle. Before lapsing into a lengthy homily about the Apocalypse, Hugh simply stated that 'in hac ergo procellosa tempestate, et ipsum famosissimum monasterium Medeshamstede sicut et ceteri cum monachis igne consumptum est'.[24]

2. Twelfth-century sources

i. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 636 [ASC (E)]

In his introduction to Mellows' 1949 edition of *The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, Alexander Bell maintained that rather than Hugh using ASC (E) as his exemplar up to the year 1066, both Hugh's Chronicle and ASC (E) 'are independent of each other but have made use of certain materials in common'.'[25] However, Bell did not specify whether he believed Hugh's source was the lost Canterbury exemplar, √E, which was used by the compilers of the Christ Church version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, hereafter (ASC F), and ASC (E) Hand 1.[26] Although Bell offered a convincing argument based on subtle textual differences, his theory is perplexing since by the time Hugh was compiling his own house-history ASC (E) would have been completed and presumably at his disposal.[27] If Bell's hypothesis were correct, either a copy √E or the original text must have been retained at *Burch* after ASC (E) Hand 1 had completed the annals up to 1121. However, unless Hugh insisted upon consulting a version of √E, which was unlikely to have contained data relevant to *Medeshamstede*, it would have been much more practical to use the ASC (E) as his major

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[22] *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile* 4: *The Peterborough Chronicle (Bodleian Manuscript Laud Misc. 636),* ed. D. Whitelock, (Copenhagen, 1954), p. 33.
[23] *HC*, pp. 8, 15; 22-3. See also ASC (E), 656; 675; 686; 777; 852; 963.
[24] *HC*, p. 24. My translation: 'In these stormy times, the most famous monastery of Medeshamstede with all the monks was consumed by fire just like the others.' See also *Chronicon Angliæ Petriburgense*, ed. Giles (London, 1845), p. 19.
[25] *HC*, pp. xxiii. See also A. Gransden, *English Historical Writing, c. 530-1307* (London, 1970), pp. 273-4.
[26] London, British Library [BL], Cotton Domitian, A. viii, (s. xi$^{3/4}$/xii$^{1/4}$), ff. 30r-70v. See above, Chapter 3, pp. 70-1.
[27] *HC*, pp. xxi-xxii.

pre-Conquest reference, adapting the text in order to produce his own account of events as he perceived them.[28] Although he did not mention ASC (E), Hugh appears to have meticulously examined all the available sources including ASC (E) and a version of √E in conjunction with other Peterborough documents, both genuine and spurious, in their earliest written form. Whilst some of these transactions cited by Hugh had been copied into the *Liber Niger* by the mid twelfth century, others appear to have been lost.[29]

ii. Documents preserved in London, Society of Antiquaries 60, ff. 6r- 73r

A. The Peterborough forgeries

Hugh's description of the events leading to establishment of *Medeshamstede* by Peada, son of Penda of Mercia, and his father-in-law, Oswiu of Northumbria, suggests that he examined an early twelfth-century house-history either in its original form or preserved together with pseudo-Wulfhere's, pseudo Agatho's bull and pseudo-Eadgar's charter in the mid twelfth-century cartulary, the *Liber Niger*, under the rubric *Relatio Hedde Abbatis*.[30] However, unlike his contemporary, ASC (E) Hand 1, Hugh did not acknowledge Hædda's 'authorship'. Neither did Hugh credit Hædda with hiding the 'antiqua priuelegia', discovered in the walls of the church by Bishop Æthelwold but instead claimed that they had been deposited by 'monachi iam mortui' ['by monks now dead'].[31] It is tempting to conjecture that, while both ASC (E) Hand 1 and Hugh consulted the 'original' house history in its pre-rubricated form, the concept of Hædda as its author was Hand 1's innovation.

Hugh's portrayal of the foundation of *Medeshamstede* was similar in content, though entirely different in approach, from those presented by the ASC (E) and *Relatio* versions.[32] His detailed and imaginative account extolled the abbey's prime location, the antiquity of its site and productivity of its estates. However, his claim that it was 'a second Rome' implies that he visualized not a seventh-century monastery staffed by pioneering monks on the edge of a hostile fen but a flourishing twelfth-century establishment similar to that which Ernulf and John de Séez had reconstructed and Martin de Bec had enhanced. It appears that Hugh's objective was first to generate the impression of a landscape ripe for colonization by a Christian community, then to introduce the concept of the Mercian and Northumbrian royal families' role in the foundation of the province's earliest religious house. Significantly, unlike

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[28] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 58v-59v.
[29] See below, pp. 115-20.
[30] Soc. Ant., ff. 58v-59v; *HC*, pp. 7-8.
[31] *HC*, p. 31. See also ASC (E), 963.
[32] *HC*, pp. 7-8; ASC (E), 654, 656; Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 58v-59v.

'Hædda's' house-history, which was based upon Bede's account of the conversion of the Middle Angles and the elevation of Seaxwulf to the bishopric, neither Hugh nor ASC (E) refer to the evangelization of the province by the four Northumbrian priests, possibly in order to minimalize the extraneous influence upon the course of events.[33] Furthermore, whilst Hugh consulted a version of 'Hædda's' house history in conjunction with Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, he manipulated its contents in order to create his own version of events, in which the monastery rather than its founders are the focal point of the story.

Although here can be no doubt that Hugh examined a version of the *Relatio Hedde Abbatis* documents, it is impossible to assess whether he was aware that they were spurious.[34] Over forty years had elapsed since their production, during which time they had been transcribed into the *Liber Niger*. If, as Mellows proposed Hugh was born *c.* 1100, he would have been too young to appreciate their significance.[35] Indeed, since they were fabricated during the abbacy of his mentor, Ernulf, he probably believed that they were legitimate, forged out of necessity to satisfy the Norman demands for written proof of pre-Conquest possessions and privileges.[36] Nevertheless, he skilfully and convincingly interpolated the most relevant details into his narrative, adding direct speech when appropriate, thus giving the charters an air of authenticity. Pseudo-Wulfhere's charter bounds and large tracts from pseudo-Agatho's bull and pseudo-Eadgar's charter were copied *verbatim*, which is somewhat surprising, since Hugh had taken the trouble to compose an alternative version of the abbey's foundation from those recorded by 'Abbot Hædda' and ASC (E) Hand 1. Although this may signify a sense of urgency to transcribe the documents as swiftly as possible, it is more feasible that Hugh felt it imperative to reproduce accurate copies of the deeds relating to *Medeshamstede*'s seventh-century estates and privileges so that sceptics, who challenged his authority, could be referred to the 'originals'.

An analysis of pseudo-Wulfhere's and pseudo-Eadgar's charters and pseudo-Agatho's bull suggest that despite the minor discrepancies, ASC (E) Hand 1 and Hugh were consulting similar, though not necessarily identical source material. Curiously Hand 1 omitted the western section of pseudo-Eadgar's toll route from Wansford to Crowland.[37] Although this may be dismissed as a scribal error, it is possible that in this instance Hand 1 may have referred to an earlier exemplar either in its original or copy form, which had first been drawn

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[33] *HE*, Bk. III, chs. 21, 24, Bk. IV, ch. 6; ASC (E), 654, 656; *HC*, pp. 4-8.
[34] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 58v-70v; *HC*, pp. 7-22; 33-38.
[35] *HC*, p. xvii.
[36] M. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1993), p. 7.
[37] ASC (E), f. 37rv, (963); Soc. Ant., 60, f. 69v; *HC*, p. 36. See below, Chapter 6, p. 241.

up when part of *Medeshamstede*'s territory was lost to Thorney.[38] These inconsistencies suggest that more than one pre-*c.* 1121 version of pseudo-Eadgar's charter existed.

B. *Medeshamstede*'s pre-Conquest estates

Immediately after Hugh's interpolation of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, Hugh related that during the abbacy of Seawulf's successor, Cuthbald, *coloniæ* were established at *Ancarig* [Thorney],[39] *Brichesuuorth* [Brixworth],[40] *Bredun* [Breedon-in-the-Hill],[41] *Wermundeseya* [Bermondsey],[42] *Repingas* [?Repton][43] and *Wochingas* [Woking],[44] all of which, with the exception of Brixworth were named as possessions of *Medeshamstede* or its satellite at Breedon in documents transcribed into the *Liber Niger*. Like ASC (E) Hand 1, Hugh mentioned the foundation of Breedon and its dependencies, *Repingas*, Bermondsey and Woking, only in passing, while *Cedenan ac* [Cadney, Leicestershire] was cited only alongside Breedon and *Repingas* in Æthelred's appendage to pseudo-Agatho's papal bull. It is surprising that such a consummate narrator as Hugh neglected to describe the consecration ceremony in Æthelred's apartment at *Tomtun* [Tamworth].[45] Hugh also failed to acknowledge Æthelred's and Osthryth's visit to *Medeshamstede* during which they bestowed upon the monastery *Leugtticdun* [Laughterton, Lincolnshire].[46] Therefore, we may speculate that since the 'Breedon memoranda' and the Laughterton grant were already recorded in detail in the *Liber Niger*, fleeting references to Breedon and its colonies would suffice. Alternatively, since none of the above possessions were claimed by *Burch* in 1086, Hugh may have seen little point in dwelling upon the abbey's lost estates.

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[38] CUL, Additional 3020 [The Red Book of Thorney] (Thorney, s. xiv), f. 14v (new foliation); C. R. Hart, *Early Charters of Eastern England* (Leicester, 1966) [*ECEE*], pp. 163, 178; D. Whitelock, Introduction to *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake (London, 1962), hereafter *LE,* pp. xii-xiii, xv. See below, Chapter 5, pp. 170-1.

[39] *HC*, p. 15; Soc. Ant., 60, f. 63r.

[40] For the relationship between *Medeshamstede* and Brixworth, see D. Parsons, 'St. Boniface - *Clofesho* - Brixworth', in *Baukunst des Mittelalten in Europa*, ed. F. J. Much (Stüttgart, 1988), pp. 378-80; Canon J. Higham, 'The Abbey of *Medeshamstede* [Peterborough] as a Seventh-Century Centre of Evangelism with Particular Reference to Brixworth: A Lecture given to the Friends of All Saints', Brixworth on June 7 1993' (Northampton, 1993), pp. 35-6.

[41] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 44v-45r; *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks VIII* (London, 1968); Electronic Sawyer, www.trin.cam.ac.uk/eSawyer [S] 1803.

[42] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 55v-56v.

[43] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 45rv; S 1805. For the identification of Repton, see A. Rumble, '*Hrepingas* Reconsidered', in *Mercian Studies*, ed. A. Dornier (Leicester, 1977), pp. 169-72.

[44] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 55v-56v.

[45] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 41r , 44v-46r, 55v-56v; See above, Chapter 3, pp. 85-7.

[46] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 41rv; S 1806.

Hugh also hinted that he consulted the following *Liber Niger* documents, possibly in an earlier form:

a) 963 x 972 'Æthelwold's gifts to Medeshamstede'[47]

b) 972 x 992 'List of sureties for the Medeshamstede's estates'.[48]

Hugh declared his intention to omit from his inventory of monastic estates 'which were acquired by St. Æthelwold and Adulf [Eadwulf], that we have written about elsewhere', presumably referring to the *Liber Niger* versions.[49] However, he drew his audience's attention to the following estates obtained by Leofric, which Edward the Confessor and Queen Edith had attempted to confiscate, but were retained for the *Burch* by the indomitable abbot:

c) 1055 x 1066 'Abbot Leofric's payment to Leuiua [Luviva] of London for Fiskertona [Fiskerton, Lincolnshire]'[50]

d) 1055 x 1066 'Abbot Leofric's payment to Leuiua for Flettune [Fletton, Huntingdonshire] and Burchlee [Burghley, Northamptonshire].'[51]

Immediately after Leofric's transactions, Hugh listed other estates, the names of their donors and of the abbots who received them for 'ne obliuioni tradantur'.[52] Indeed, he complained that there were many more endowments but 'nec scimus possimus omnia scribere quia scriptorium negligentiam and nostrum noticiam non uenerunt'.[53] Thus, Hugh intimated that these were originally verbal agreements, some of which were committed to writing at a later date. Nevertheless, although it was interrupted after Turkil Hoche's endowment by a reference to Wingote's procurement of St. Oswald's arm from *Bebeburch* [Bamburgh], Hugh's non-chronological inventory of *Burch*'s pre-Conquest estates, corresponds almost exactly, except for minor deviations, with a document copied into the *Liber Niger* as, 'In hac brevi cartula continentur eorum nomina qui terras et possessiones suas in nomine domini dederunt ecclesie sancti petri de burch'.[54]

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[47] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 39v-40v; *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A. J. Robertson, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1956) [R] 39, pp. 72-5; S 1448.

[48] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 47r-49v; R 40, pp. 75-83.

[49] *HC*, p. 68. My translation of 'eas que a sancto Æthuuoldo uel Adulfo adquisite sunt; quas alibi scripsimus.'

[50] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 27v-28v, 71r; *HC*, p. 67; *ECEE* 158, p. 104; S 1029.

[51] *HC*, p. 67; Soc. Ant., 60, f. 71rv; *ECEE* 358, p. 247.

[52] *HC*, pp. 67-8. My translation: 'lest they should pass into oblivion'.

[53] *HC*, p. 68. My translation: 'we cannot write about them all because they have not come to our notice due to the negligence of the scribes.'

[54] *HC*, pp. 67-72; Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 71r-73r. My translation: 'In this short list of charters are contained the names of the lands and their possessions, which they gave in the Lord's name to the St. Peter's church.' See below, pp. 137-9.

Hugh continued with his catalogue of benefactors, as follows, emphasizing that the gifts were to St. Peter, the gatekeeper of Heaven, rather than to the abbey, which held them for safe-keeping:

e)	*c.* 1020	'Halfdene, son of Brenting gave to St. Peter land at Walcote apud Trikingham [Walcote, near Threckingham], Brerchesthorp [Birthorpe, near Sempringham, Lincolnshire], Ryhale [Ryhall] and Belemesthorpe [Belmesthorpe, Rutland]'[55]
f)	*c.* 1050	'Ælfgar gave to St. Peter Dunesbi [Dunsby, Lincolnshire]'[56]
g)	*c.* 1066	'Ulf, son of Tope, gave to St. Peter Mannetorpe [Manthorpe] and Carletun [Carlton-le-Moorland, Lincolnshire]'[57]
h)	*c.* 1060	'Burred and his parents gave to St. Peter Bartune iuxta Ketteringe [Barton near Kettering, Northamptonshire]'[58]
i)	993 x 1006	'Ealdorman Ælfhelm gave to St. Peter Cotingham [Cottingham], Middletune [Middleton] and Benefeild [Benefield, Northamptonshire]'[59]
j)	1041 x 1057	'Raulf [Ralph], nephew of King Edward, gave Eston [Easton], Brinninghurst [Bringhurst], Prestegraue [Prestgrave] and Dreiton [Drayton, Northamptonshire] and Glatherstun [Glaston, Rutland]'[60]
k)	*c.* 985	'Frane æt Rokingham [Rockingham, Northamptonshire] gave to St. Peter Langtun [Langton, Leicestershire]'[61]
l)	*c.* 1024	'Turkil Hoche gave to St. Peter Colingeham [Nottinghamshire], a moneyer in Stanford [Stamford] and 'on this side of the water' [the south bank of the River Welland, Northamptonshire]'[62]
m)	1042 x 1055	'Lady Godgifu gave to St. Peter Hah [Haugh], Langeledenham [Leadenham], Wassingburche [Washingborough, Lincolnshire], Binitum [Binington, Yorkshire (West Riding)], Cunningsburch [Conisbrough, Yorkshire (West Riding)], land at Bernuele [Barnwell, Northamptonshire] and a chasuble'[63]

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[55] *HC*, p. 68. The *Liber Niger* recorded the estates as 'Walcote iuxta Thricingham, Breidestorp, Rihale and Belemestorp'. See Soc. Ant., 60, f. 72r; *ECEE* 350, p. 245. For the history of Belemesthorpe and Ryhall, see Soc. Ant., 60, f. 28v; *ECEE* 160, pp. 107-8; S 1481.
[56] *HC*, p. 69; Soc. Ant., 60, f. 72r. See also; *ECEE*, p. 246, No. 354, p. 247.
[57] *HC*, p. 69. The *Liber Niger* claimed Ulf also gave 'Bartum iuxta Ketering'. See Soc. Ant., 60, f. 72r; *ECEE* 359, p. 247.
[58] *HC*, p. 69; Soc. Ant., 60, f. 72r; *ECEE* 356, p. 247.
[59] *HC*, p. 69. The *Liber Niger* recorded that Ælfhelm gave only 'Cottingham'. See Soc. Ant., 60, f. 72r; *ECEE* 347, p. 344.
[60] *HC*, p. 69; Soc. Ant., 60, f. 72r; *ECEE* 352, p. 246.
[61] *HC*, p. 70. The *Liber Niger* named the donor as 'Frane de Rokyngham', who gave 'Langetune' to *Burch*. See Soc. Ant., 60, f. 72r; *ECEE* 345, p. 244.
[62] *HC*, p. 70; Soc. Ant., 60, f. 72r; *ECEE* 351, p. 245.
[63] *HC*, p. 70. The *Liber Niger* stated that 'Godgytha' gave 'Hah, Langeledenham, Wassingburhc, Biningtun, Cuningesburhc and land at Bernuuelle' but no chasuble. See Soc. Ant., 60, f. 72rv; *ECEE* 353, p. 246.

n)	1000 x 1066	'Wluric [Wulfric Cild] gave to St. Peter Martham [Marholm, Northamptonshire]'[64]
o)	*c.* 1060	'Earl Harold [Godwinson] gave Clifetune [Clifton, Warwickshire] and land next to St. Paul's monastery in London called Etheredeshythe'[65]
p)	*c.* 1020	'Elfsi [Ælfsige] gave Turlebi [Thurlby, Lincolnshire]"[66]
q)	*c.* 990	'Fredgist gave Guedhauringe [Quadring, in Holland, Lincolnshire]'.[67]

Of these estates, only Fiskerton, Thurlby, Osgdby, Walcot and Manthorpe in Lincolnshire,[68] Fletton in Huntingdonshire,[69] Cottingham in Northamptonshire[70] and Collingham and [North] Muskham in Nottinghamshire were retained by *Burch* in 1086.[71]

Hugh resumed his inventory by listing estates bestowed upon *Burch* by Brand and his brothers, Askytel, Siric and Siworth, during the abbacy of Leofric, namely *Muscham* [North Muskham] in Nottinghamshire and the Lincolnshire manors of Scotter with its outlier of *Scalkestorpe* [Scalthorpe], *Scottunei* [Scotton], and lands at *Torp* [Northorpe], *Lolethorp* [Yawthorpe], *Messingham* [Messingham], *Risum,* [Riseholme], *Malmetone* [Manton], *Cletham* [Cleatham], *Hibaldestou* [Hibaldstow] with 'quartem partem ecclesiæ', *Rachenildtorp* [Raventhorpe], *Holm* [Holme-in-Bottesford], *Risebi* [Riseby], *Walcote* [Walcot-upon-Humber], *Alchebarue* [Alkborough] with its church, *Normannabi* [Normanby], *Aletorp* [Alethorp] and in *Linconia* [Lincoln].[72] An abbreviated list of the Lincolnshire estates, dated *c.* 1100 was copied into the *Liber Niger* under the rubric, 'Hec est descriptio terrarum abbatie burch in vicecimitatu Lincolnie.'[73] All of these estates, with the exception of Normanby, Althorp and Lincoln were held by Abbot Turold in 1086, whilst all but Lincoln was claimed by Version A of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter.[74]

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[64] *HC*, p. 70; Soc. Ant., 60, f. 72v; *ECEE*, p. 113.
[65] *HC*, p. 70. The estate was described as 'Paulesbiri iuxta portam Headredi' in Soc. Ant., 60, f. 72v; *ECEE* 357, p. 247.
[66] *HC*, p. 71. The *Liber Niger* claimed that Alfsi gave 'Osgotebi [Osgodby, Lincolnshire]'. See Soc. Ant., 60, f. 72v; *ECEE* 349, p. 245.
[67] *HC*, p. 71. The *Liber Niger* claimed that Fredgist held land in 'Turlebi and Guedhafring in Hollandia to the same church [Burch]'. See Soc. Ant., 60, f. 72v; *ECEE* 346, p. 244.
[68] *Domesday Book* hereafter *DB: Lincolnshire*, ed. J. Morris, P. Morgan and C. Thorn, 2 vols. (Chichester) I, 1986, 8 [1, 4, 8, 9, 34, 39].
[69] *DB: Huntingdonshire*, ed. J. Morris and S. Harvey (Chichester, 1975), 8 [1].
[70] *DB: Northamptonshire*, ed. J. Morris, F and C. Thorn (Chichester, 1979), 6 [2].
[71] *DB: Nottinghamshire*, ed. J. Morris, C. Parker and S. Wood (Chichester, 1977), 8 [1, 5].
[72] *HC*, pp. 71-2; Soc. Ant., 60, 72v-73r; *Registra Regum Anglo-Normannorum: the Acta of William I (1066-1087),* ed. D. Bates (Oxford, 1998) [*RRAN*] 216. The *Liber Niger* omitted the names of Brand's brothers and the land at Lincoln. *Malmetone*, *Hibaldestou* and *Rachenildtorp* were recorded as 'Malmigtun, Hibaldestouei' and 'Ragenildetor' in Soc. Ant., 60, f. 72v.
[73] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 23r-24r. My translation: 'This is a description of the lands of the Abbey of Burch in the County of Lincoln.' See also *Cartularies*, ed. Martin, p. 2.
[74] *DB: Notts.*, 8 [2]; DB: *Lincs.* I, 8 [1-25, 27-29, 31]; BL, Cotton Augustus ii. 5 (Peterborough, xiii$^{4/4}$/xiv$^{1/4}$).

Both Hugh and the *Liber Niger* recorded the confirmation of Brand's and his siblings' endowments by Edward the Confessor earlier in their texts.[75] However, the *Liber Niger* presented a more elaborate version of the transactions. It revealed that Brand leased to Askytel the manors of Scotton, which he had purchased, Scotter, which Siric gave him, and Manton, which his father had given him 'viva voce', hinting that that Brand's other Lincolnshire contracts had been preserved in written form. Askytel agreed to pay an annual rent during his lifetime, after which Scotton and Scotter reverted to the abbey, together with Northorpe *in lieu* of Manton.[76] Apparently, Asketyl had made a similar arrangement regarding Walcot-upon-Humber, which he granted to *Burch* before embarking upon a pilgrimage to Rome.[77]

Hart considers that Edward's confirmation charters were late eleventh-century forgeries, the work of a monk of *Burch*, who had access to both *Domesday Book* and 'to material lying behind the Chronicle of Hugh Candidus.'[78] Nevertheless, in view of the irrefutable *Domesday* evidence, it is possible that verbal agreements had been reached between Abbot Leofric and Brand, which were not committed to writing until several decades later, perhaps during the brief abbacy of Godric (1098-9), another of Brand's brothers, who may have been anxious to see the family assets settled upon his monastery. Furthermore, Scotter, Scotton and Walcot, together with Raventhorpe, Messingham, Cleatham, Hibaldstow and Muskham also were confirmed to *Burch* in William I's charter of 1087. The charter survives in its earliest known form in the *Liber Niger* and was interpolated with minor only amendments in Hugh's Chronicle, suggesting that on this occasion Hugh was copying directly from the *Liber Niger*.[79]

Hart proposes that Hugh's sources for his inventory of post-restoration estates were 'original documents rather than a list of benefactors'.[80] His theory may explain why Hugh included the following endowments that were absent from the *Liber Niger* version of the inventory:

r) 1017 x 1023 'Ealdorman Leofwine gave to St. Peter Aðeluuolune [Alwalton, Huntingdonshire]'.

Æthelwoldingtune was recorded in the *Liber Niger* as the gift of 'King Eadred to his thegn,

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[75] *HC*, pp. 40-1; Soc. Ant., 60, f. 25v-27r.
[76] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 26r; *ECEE* 159, p. 105; S 1059.
[77] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 26v; *DB: Lincs.* I, 8 [28]; *ECEE* 157, p. 104; S 1060.
[78] *ECEE*, p. 106.
[79] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 71rv; *HC*, p. 42; *RRAN* 216.
[80] *ECEE*, p. 243.

Ælfsige Hunlafing, 955'. However, according to Hugh, a century later Alwalton was confirmed with Fiskerton, Osgodby, *Astuna* [Ashton, near Bainton, Northamptonshire] and Fletton and *Ouertuna* [Orton, Huntingdonshire] to Abbot Leofric by Edward the Confessor. All three Huntingdonshire estates were held by *Burch* in 1086.[81]

s) 1051 x 1060 'Archbishop Kinsius [Cynesige] of York gave Tinewell [Tinwell, in Rutland] of his patrimony'.[82]

Later in his chronicle Hugh claimed that in addition to Tinwell, also a possession of *Burch* in 1086, Kinsius bestowed upon the abbey a text of the Gospels decorated with gold and ornaments worth £300, but these portable gifts were confiscated by Edward's consort, Edith. However, Archbishop Cynsige's relationship with *Burch* was reinforced, when he bequeathed his body to the monastery.[83]

Spelling variations and discrepancies over Elfsi's and Fredgist's donations with those recorded in the *Liber Niger* suggest that both compilers were either using independent sources or that the land grants survived until the second decade of the twelfth-century as verbal agreements or that Hugh amended the *Liber Niger* inventory. However, we should not dismiss the possibility that Hugh's declining health or failing eye-sight may have forced him to dictate to a scribe, thus causing the inconsistencies. Nevertheless, the depth of Hugh's research is beyond doubt. It appears that where possible he consulted manuscripts and individual charters in their earliest form. In the instance of the *Relatio* forgeries and William I's confirmation of the abbey's pre-Conquest estates, he shared a common exemplar with the *Liber Niger* copyist. For other documents, including the 'List of benefactors', their sources were independent.

Since the *Liber Niger* has been dated to the second quarter of the twelfth century and we know that Hugh's Chronicle was written after 1155, it is not impossible on the grounds of chronology and content that Hugh may have been involved in the compilation of the *Liber Niger* and the closing stages of ASC (E), folios 88v10 to 91v. Hugh's interest in his monastery's history and research skills must have been observed by William de Waterville, who may have felt that he was a suitable candidate to bring the vernacular Chronicle to a

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[81] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 51r-52r; S. 566; *HC*, p. 40; *DB*: *Hunts*. 8 [1-4].
[82] *HC*, p. 70; *ECEE* 355, pp. 246-7.
[83] *HC*, p. 73; BL, Tiberius B. iv [ASC (D)], f. 77v (1060).

close and embark upon a new house-history in Latin. Thus, it is possible that Hugh contributed to all three of *Burch*'s twelfth-century manuscripts.[84]

3. Oral tradition

The prologue to Swaffham's edition of Hugh's Chronicle stated that the author wrote 'nothing except what I found written in ancient writings or heard from old and faithful witnesses'.[85] Indeed, at no point in his edition, except in Hugh's biography, did Swaffham give Hugh credit for his work.[86] Swaffham's prologue was not included in Davenport's transcript, which merely bore the English title, 'Hugo the White wrote this little Manuscript'.[87] Therefore, it seems unlikely that Hugh wrote the preamble or that either he or his editor intended that there should be an introduction. It appears that the preamble was Swaffham's composition, upon realizing that it was crucial to claim that his version of the house-history was based upon both primary documentary evidence and eye-witness accounts.

Hugh's biographer stated that 'in his childhood and youth, he was a son to the older monks.' Therefore, it is possible that the elderly brethren of *Burch* delighted in regaling the oblate with stories from the monastery's past, including anecdotes that they had heard from *their* elders.[88] As a receptive student, Hugh would probably have remembered these tales and, perhaps, since he had an acute sense of history, written them down as an *aide mémoire* for his later work. Given his contact with the older monks, it is not surprising that the pre-Conquest section of his Chronicle contained several references to oral tradition that do not appear in any earlier known text.

Although there was no mention of the *Medeswæl* spring in 'Hædda's' house-history, it was briefly mentioned by ASC (E) Hand 1.[89] However, in his topographical description of *Medeshamstede*, Hugh described the *Medeswæl*'s remarkable properties, claiming that it was of unfathomable depths, of constant temperature throughout the seasons and that

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[84] For the relationship between the *Liber Niger* scribe and ASC (E) Hand 2, see above, Chapter 3, p. 105. Howarth proposed that Hugh wrote the compiled ASC (E) in its entirety, a theory that was refuted by Clark. See H. H. Howorth, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, its Origin and History, Part 1: The So-called "Peterborough Chronicle", Manuscript E', *AJ* 65, Second series (1908), pp. 203-4; *The Peterborough Chronicle, 1070-1154*, ed. C. Clark, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1970), p. xxviii. The possibility that Hugh completed ASC (E) and the first section of the *Liber Niger* will be the subject of discussion in my forthcoming publication, 'Hugh Candidus: The Father of Peterborough History'.

[85] Swaffham., f. 1r, 'Prologus narrationis Medeshamstede qui nunc consuete Burch uocatur'.

[86] Swaffham., f. 14r.

[87] *HC*, pp. 3-4; CUL, Dd. 14. 28. 2., f. 1r.

[88] *HC*, p. 95.

[89] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 58v-59v; ASC (E), 654.

its source was 'in huius medio amnis' ['in the middle of this river'].[90] It is possible that the *Medesuuelle* still existed in the twelfth century and that it was thought to be a sacred spring. However, there are other occasions when it is difficult to distinguish between local folklore and Hugh's embellishment of his source materials.

Hugh recorded Bishop Æthelwold's divine mission to restore St. Peter's monastery, his mistaken identification of Oundle as the site of *Medeshamstede*, his second vision in which God revealed the actual site of the monastery and the intervention of Queen Ælfryth on Æthelwold's behalf.[91] The reformation of *Medeshamstede* was followed by an account of the inspection of the abbey by Eadgar and the Archbishops Dunstan of Canterbury and Oswald of York and 'cum omnibus episcopis et abbatibus et ducibus totius et optimatibus Anglie'.[92] Although it is tempting to suspect that Hugh may have been exaggerating, it is quite possible that a huge assembly had gathered to the consecration ceremony. As a climax to the auspicious occasion Hugh announced the discovery of 'antiqua priuilegia, que monachi iam mortui in ipsis parietibus ecclesie inter petras absconderant'.[93]

Hugh introduced the concept that before the remains of the royal saints, Cyneburh and Cyneswith were translated from their ruined church at *Kyneburgensis castri* [Castor] an attempt was made to purloin them by the monks of Ramsey. Fortunately, Leofwine, the sacrist of *Burch*, was warned in a dream of the impending crime and of the princesses' yearning to be buried at *Burch*. Thus, the disaster was averted.[94] The enshrinement of the Castor saints and their kinswoman, Tibba of Ryhall, is well documented.[95] However, there is no evidence in any other written source to connect the brethren of Ramsey with the foiled robbery while, as we shall discover, Hugh held the rival fenland abbey in disdain. Therefore, it is difficult to assess whether this section of his Chronicle was a figment of Hugh's imagination, invented to discredit the community of monks who he claimed were reluctant to part with St. Oswald's arm and other priceless relics after it had been placed in their safekeeping following their rescue from Hereward's troops in 1069.[96] In contrast, Wingote's

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[90] *HC*, p. 6.
[91] *HC*, pp. 27-9.
[92] *HC.*, p. 31. My translation: 'with all the bishops, abbots, ealdormen and dignitaries of England.'
[93] *HC*, p, 31. My translation: 'ancient privileges, which monks now dead had hidden in the walls of the church.'
[94] *HC*, pp. 50-1.
[95] BL, Stowe 944, 'Secgan be þam Godes Sanctum þe on Engla lande ærost reston' (*c.* 1031), f. 38r; D. Rollason, 'List of Resting Places in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 7 (1978), p. 90; Rollason, *Mildrith Legend*, pp. 77, 115; ASC (E), 963.
[96] *HC*, pp. 80-1. See below, pp. 137, 142.

initial procurement of the arm from Bamburgh by nefarious means, according to Reginald of Durham, was glossed over in a single sentence.[97]

Hugh related how Æthelric [Egelric] a former monk of *Burch* and erstwhile bishop of Durham (1042-56) sought refuge at *Burch*, during which time he received three visitations from the Devil, who threatened to burn the abbey down three times. Hugh commented that the first two prophesies had already come to pass, presumably referring to the destruction of *Medeshamstede* by the Danes in 870 and in the 1116 fire but failing to mention the third occasion, when the abbey was sacked by Hereward, 'a man of the monks'.[98] However, Symeon of Durham was less complimentary about Æthelric, declaring that he had resigned from his see and appointed his brother Æthelwine (1056-71) in his place. Æthelric then fled to *Burch*, his former monastery, with gold, silver and other valuables, which he used to finance the construction of fen causeways. He was arrested by William I and died in custody at Westminster.[99]

Hugh's post-Conquest research appears to have been based less upon oral tradition and more reliant upon documentary evidence, the testimonies of named individuals and his own personal experiences, thus lending his writing an air of credibility. Although a number of Hugh's 'eye-witness' accounts referred to incidents that took place after 1066, they offer an insight into how the indigenous population strove to preserve their Anglo-Saxon heritage and therefore merit inclusion in this thesis.

Hugh's description of the aftermath of the battle of Bolhithe Gate contained details of incidents that were absent from ASC (E). These include the abduction of Prior Æthelwold and other elderly brethren by Hereward and his Danish allies and the dispersal of the remainder of the community. Conveniently, Leofwin Lange, a patient in the infirmary, survived to describe the sacking of *Burch*, whilst Æthelwold was able to bear witness to events in Ely, where he and his fellow hostages had been taken.[100] Hugh also was indebted to Prior Æthelwold's presence in Ely for his exposé of the rescue of St. Oswald's arm, the shoulder blade of one of the Holy Innocents and other unspecified treasures, as well as their placement at Ramsey for safe-keeping and their eventual restoration to *Burch*. Hugh claimed that the return of the relics was inspired by an appeal by one of the Holy Innocents to the sacrist of Ramsey, but it was more likely to have been the result of Turold's threat to raze

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[97] *HC*, p. 70; *Vita Sancti OswaldiRegis et Martyris*, in *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omina Historia Ecclesiæ Dunhelmensis*, ed. T. Arnold, RS 53, 2 vols. (London) II, pp. 374-5.
[98] *HC*, pp. 75-6; pp. 77-9. See above, Chapter 2, pp. 34-5 and below.
[99] *Symeon of Durham: Libellus de Exordio atque Procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis Ecclesie,* ed. and tr. D. W. Rollason, OMT (Oxford, 2000), Bk. III, ch. 9; *HC*, pp. 82-3.
[100] *HC*, pp. 78-80; ASC (E), 1070. See above, Chapter 3, p. 79.

Ramsey Abbey to the ground.[101] Hugh dealt more sympathetically with Hereward, stating that he had no alternative other than to liberate the abbey's treasures in order to prevent them falling into Turold's hands. Indeed, Hugh hinted that the now Christian Danes, whom he had condemned earlier in his Chronicle, were a preferable occupying force to the Normans.[102] Hugh's account of the election of and expulsion of Godric, Brand's brother, information that was also missing from ASC (E), revealed that in 1098 there were surviving monks who remembered the halcyon days of pre-Conquest *Gildineburch* before the arrival of Turold with his knights.[103] Furthermore, Godric's abbacy was only three generations of monks away from the time when Hugh's chronicle was being complied and possibly less than a generation from the period during which he began conducting his research.

It is worthwhile to consider why the oral traditions to which Hugh referred were absent from ASC (E). Hugh's anonymous biographer suggested that his research was thorough and, therefore, probably was conducted over a considerable period.[104] His oblacy and noviciate at *Burch* would have offered him the opportunity to glean information from the senior monks under whose care he had been placed and who may, in *their* youth, have learnt from their elders.[105] In contrast, palaeographical evidence shows that ASC (E) Hand 1 copied his Chronicle over a shorter interval.[106] Therefore, writing at John de Séez's behest, circumstances may not have allowed Hand 1 time for rigorous investigations, obliging him to rely mainly upon √E, the *Relatio* forgeries and any other documents that he was given, together with his limited knowledge of local folklore. The time factor and Hugh's access to oral tradition may explain why his account for the period up to 1121 was less regimented and more detailed than the corresponding years in the annalistic ASC (E), resulting in a more leisurely and entertaining narrative. However, Hugh's Chronicle relating almost exclusively to events at *Burch*, may have had a narrower appeal than its more 'national' counterpart.

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[101] *HC*, pp. 80-1, 83-4. For events in Ely, see *LE*, Bk. II, chs. 101-2, 105-7.
[102] *HC*, p. 79, 'Tamen dixerunt quia pro fidelitate ecclesie hoc facerent, et melius illa Dani seruarent ad opus ecclesie quam Franci'. My translation: 'Yet they said that they were doing it out of loyalty to the church and that the Danes would protect the needs of the church better than the French'. Nevertheless, before their conversion to Christianity, Hugh condemns the Danes as 'ministri diaboli' ['ministers of the Devil']. See *HC*, p. 23.
[103] *HC*, pp. 38, 86.
[104] *HC*, pp. 92-3.
[105] *HC*, p. 95.
[106] *Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock, p. 31; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A Collaborative Edition* 7, *MS E*, ed. S. Irvine (Cambridge, 2004), pp. xiii, xviii-xvix.

4. Eye-witness accounts (living memory)

Although the post-1121 section of Hugh's Chronicle relied less upon oral tradition and more upon living memory and personal experience, it is difficult to distinguish between Hugh's eye-witness accounts and his own reminiscences and interpretations of events. Nevertheless, it is conceivable that Hugh consulted his fellow brethren in order to hear their recollections. Indeed, there are several occasions when Hugh admitted that he had received contemporary information from a secondary source as well as incidents that he could not have possibly witnessed at first hand. For example, he described the portents which were seen soon after Henry d'Angély was installed at *Burch* in 1127, claiming that they were witnesses at Lenten time in the woods and plains as far away as Stamford by a number of men of sound reputation.[107] A second incident concerned the miraculous powers of the water used to wash Oswald's arm that restored the sanity a woman from *Wdestune* [Woodston, near Peterborough], after she drank the panacea. Several days later, other members of the community found her at home sewing and praising God and St. Oswald for her remarkable recovery. Hugh also recorded further miracles relating to the water that had occurred in London and 'throughout many other regions' that he could only have learnt about from a secondary source.[108]

5. Personal experiences

According to his biographer, Hugh was in the enviable position of having resided at *Burch* throughout the rules of five abbots, a period of over sixty years.[109] Although it is impossible to anticipate how much he recalled of his years as an oblate, his memories of Ernulf, his mentor, were filled with fondness and admiration.[110] Hugh's accounts of the accomplishments and shortcomings of Ernulf's successors, although undoubtedly biased in favour of his monastery, suggest an honest appraisal of their administrations. Whilst Henry d'Angély was portrayed with the contempt he probably deserved, Hugh acknowledged that towards the end of his life the recalcitrant abbot redeemed himself by generously giving alms to the poor.[111] Obviously, the building projects of the Abbots Ernulf, John, Martin and William were enduring testaments to their achievements. However, Hugh also displayed an insight into the more confidential matters of the monastery, such as pensions, knights' fees, rentals,

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[107] *HC*, p. 101.
[108] *HC*, pp. 107-8.
[109] *HC*, p. 95.
[110] *HC*, pp. 96-7.
[111] *HC*, pp. 97-104.

tithes and other financial transactions, which would only have been divulged to a trustworthy and esteemed member of the community.[112]

Although he described the causes and devastation of the fire of 1116, including John de Séez's admonishment of the monks, his curses upon the abbey on the morning of the blaze and the carelessness of the cook, who had invited the Devil to 'blow the fire', he did not acknowledge that he had witnessed the event, possibly because it had been such a traumatic experience.[113] The statement that the fire was so intense that it revealed the massive foundation stones of Peada's monastery appeared in Swaffham's edition of the Chronicle but was absent from Davenport's transcript. Since these authors presumably were using the same exemplar, it is difficult to assess whether the statement was erroneously omitted by Davenport or was Swaffham's confection.

Nevertheless, Hugh related that he actually had observed events in the abbey's history that were inextricably linked to its pre-Conquest past. Hugh recounted that Oswald's incorrupt arm was displayed on three occasions. He probably learnt of its exhibition during the abbacy of Mathias Ridell from his elders who had witnessed the event.[114] However, Hugh doubtlessly was present when the relic was shown to Martin de Bec, Bishop Alexander of Lincoln and an 'assembly of clergy and laity' because he described the ritual in astonishing detail.[115] This rare exposure of the arm, said to be complete with sinews, flesh and nails, evidently made a lasting impression upon Hugh, since he composed a verse and referred to the event twice in his narrative. However, in his first citation, he showed some confusion over the date, stating that the rites took place on 25 March 1129, which would have occurred during the abbacy of Henry d'Angély. Finally, the incorrupt limb was shown to King Stephen (1135-54), who presented it with his ring. Again, Hugh appears to have participated in the ceremony.[116]

Following the ritual cleansing of the relic, many miracles were alleged to have happened as a result of patients drinking water in which it had been washed. Hugh personally testified to having observed some of the phenomena. In addition to the episode involving the Woodston woman during Ernulf's abbacy, Hugh and his fellow monks witnessed a man, who had been possessed by the Devil make a remarkable recovery after Reinaldus

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[112] *HC*, pp. 67-73; 88-9; 127-31.
[113] *HC*, p. 8.
[114] *HC*, pp. 105-6.
[115] *HC*, p. 52, 'quod nos occulis nostris inspeximus et osculati sumus et manibus tractauimus et lauimus'. My translation: 'We have seen this with our own eyes and have kissed it and examined it in our hands and washed it.'
[116] *HC*, pp. 52, 105-6.

Spiritus administered St. Oswald's water.[117] Since Hugh did not record that the arm was examined during Ernulf's rule, it appears that some of the water was saved from the previous ritual during the abbacy of Mathias Ridell for future use. The final miracle concerning a paraplegic is reminiscent of Christ's healing of the paralysed man at Capernaum.[118]

Hugh appears to have exploited most of the documentary sources that were available to him at the time of writing. These included Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Wulstan of Winchester's *Life of Saint Æthelwold* and the twelfth-century *Relatio Hedde Abbatis* forgeries. He also used to his advantage oral tradition, eyewitness accounts and his own personal experiences. Unfortunately, like many of his contemporary house-historians, Hugh tended to accept without question local folklore and the reports of professed 'ueracissimi homines' ['very wise men'].[119] His description of the portents that were allegedly witnessed by reputable men as far away as Stamford may be viewed at best with suspicion and at worst as propaganda to discredit Henry d'Angély. Indeed, the omens seem to reflect those allegedly seen by Bishop Æthelric upon the death of Abbot Leofric, which appeared to proclaim the end of *Burch*'s golden age.[120]

It is impossible to know whether Hugh realized that the documents known collectively as *Relatio Hedde Abbatis* were forgeries, since Hugh was too young to have been party to their fabrication. However, if he discovered their dubious origins later, he may have decided to include them in order to connect *Medeshamstede* with its royal founders, Wulfhere of Mercia and Oswiu of Northumbria, rulers of the two most powerful seventh-century kingdoms. In this way, he could both establish the antiquity and continuity of the site and assert the monastery's ancient privileges. Hugh realized that, apart from a single reference in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the entire early history of his abbey was based upon a version of the *Relatio*. Therefore, it was imperative that he included his own interpretation into his Chronicle.

Hugh Candidus' reconstruction of seventh-century *Medeshamstede*

i. The monastic site

Whilst setting the scene for his version of the foundation of the seventh-century monastery, it becomes apparent that Hugh visualized the event from a twelfth-century

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[117] *HC*, pp. 106-7.
[118] *HC*, pp. 106-7; Mark, II: 1-5.
[119] *HC*, p. 101. See also A. Gransden, 'Prologues in the Historiography of Twelfth Century England', in *England in the Twelfth Century*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 58-9.
[120] *HC*, pp. 75-6.

perspective, claiming that the high ground upon which *Medeshamstede* stood must have been fashioned by God specifically for the construction of a prestigious monastery. He eulogized about its location 'in regione Gyriorum', explaining to his readers that 'Gyvrii' ['Gyrwe]' was the Old English word for 'swamp dwellers'. To the west lay rich pastures, meadows, woods and fertile ploughlands, while to the east a deep marsh fed by several rivers rendered the terrain unfit for human habitation except of course by the monks of Crowland, Ramsey and Thorney, over whose houses *Burch* claimed seniority.[121] However, Hugh was writing in mid twelfth century, by which time the abbey estates had been cultivated for 500 years. When the first brethren arrived on site during the second half of the seventh century, climatic changes and the lack of maintenance of Roman drainage system had rendered the area much less hospitable.[122] Hugh may have asserted that the water margins were abundant with fish and fowl but the colonizing monks of *Medeshamstede* must have found life exceedingly challenging.[123]

If, as Hugh believed Peada had been a co-founder of the monastery, as sub-ruler of the Middle Angles he would have preferred to build his monastery within his own region, possibly on the edge of the vast fen that separated the provinces of Mercia and East Anglia.[124] Seaxwulf, the Mercian nobleman, acknowledged by Bede as co-founder and first abbot of *Medeshamstede*, also may have been consulted.[125] It was not unusual for seventh-century coenobic sites to be constructed in insalubrious places. Bede described *Læstingæi* [Lastingham] as 'better fitted for the haunts of robbers and the dens of wild beasts than for human habitation'. He also disclosed that it was at Oswiu's behest that such a remote site had been chosen.[126] Furthermore, after his defeat of Penda, Oswiu had founded twelve Northumbrian monasteries. Therefore, it would not have been out of character for him to establish another religious house in the recently converted Mercia, the former kingdom of his vanquished foe, in order to control his new subjects and prevent them from apostatizing. The site would have been equally attractive to Wulfhere, who succeeded his brother, Peada, after the cessation of Northumbrian rule *c.* 658.[127] Thus, the location of the first Mercian monastery may have been a strategic rather than the spiritual choice, as Hugh leads us to believe. Indeed, *Medeshamstede* was probably raised by the secular warlords Oswiu or

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[121] *HC*, pp. 4-5. See also *HE*, Bk. IV, ch. 6.
[122] D. Hall, *The Fenland Project* No. 2*: Cambridgeshire Survey, Peterborough to March* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 11.
[123] *HC*, p. 5.
[124] *HE*, Bk. III. ch. 21.
[125] *HE.*, Bk. IV, ch. 6.
[126] *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 23.
[127] *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 24.

Wulfhere, as a symbol of power and status close to the eastern boundaries of Mercia as much as it was an expression of faith.

ii. The early monastic buildings

Hugh congratulated the first architects upon their endeavours to build a second Rome set in an earthly Paradise.[128] Writing in the twelfth century, it must have been tempting for him to envisage a monastic establishment similar to his own, containing a church designed in the form of a basilica, with an apsidal east end and a western narthex or perhaps cruciform with a central tower, such as that which was commenced by William de Waterville *c.* 1155.[129] The foundations of a pre-Conquest chancel and transept were revealed in 1883, when restorations to the central tower of the Cathedral tower was undertaken by J. T. Irvine, clerk of the works to the architect, J. L. Pearson. Irvine was convinced that he had discovered the remains of Æthelwold's church with a square-ended choir in the style of Escomb (Figure 3).[130] However, the architect and local antiquarian, J. T. Micklethwaite, who dug a trench in the north-west corner of the cloister next to the Romanesque south transept, considered the walls to be of seventh-century date and that the original church had been built to the plan of Old St. Peter's in Rome and similar to that at Brixworth, although a ring crypt would suggest an eighth-century building.[131] Taylor and Taylor, referring to Butterick, offered a compromise, stating that that 'the tenth-century walls incorporated earlier fabric and were in part built upon the remains of Seaxwulf's seventh-century church'.[132] Fortunately, Irvine ordered the construction of a passage beneath the south transept and central crossing to allow visitors to inspect the foundations.

The pre-Conquest walling discovered by Irvine and Micklethwaite was re-examined during the 1982 excavation of the cloisters under the supervision of Callum Rollo and Donald Mackreth of the Nene Valley Research Committee. Mackreth, whilst admitting that it was impossible to date the foundations accurately, speculated that the walling represented part of a seventh-century church with an apsidal sanctuary, which by the late eighth or early ninth-

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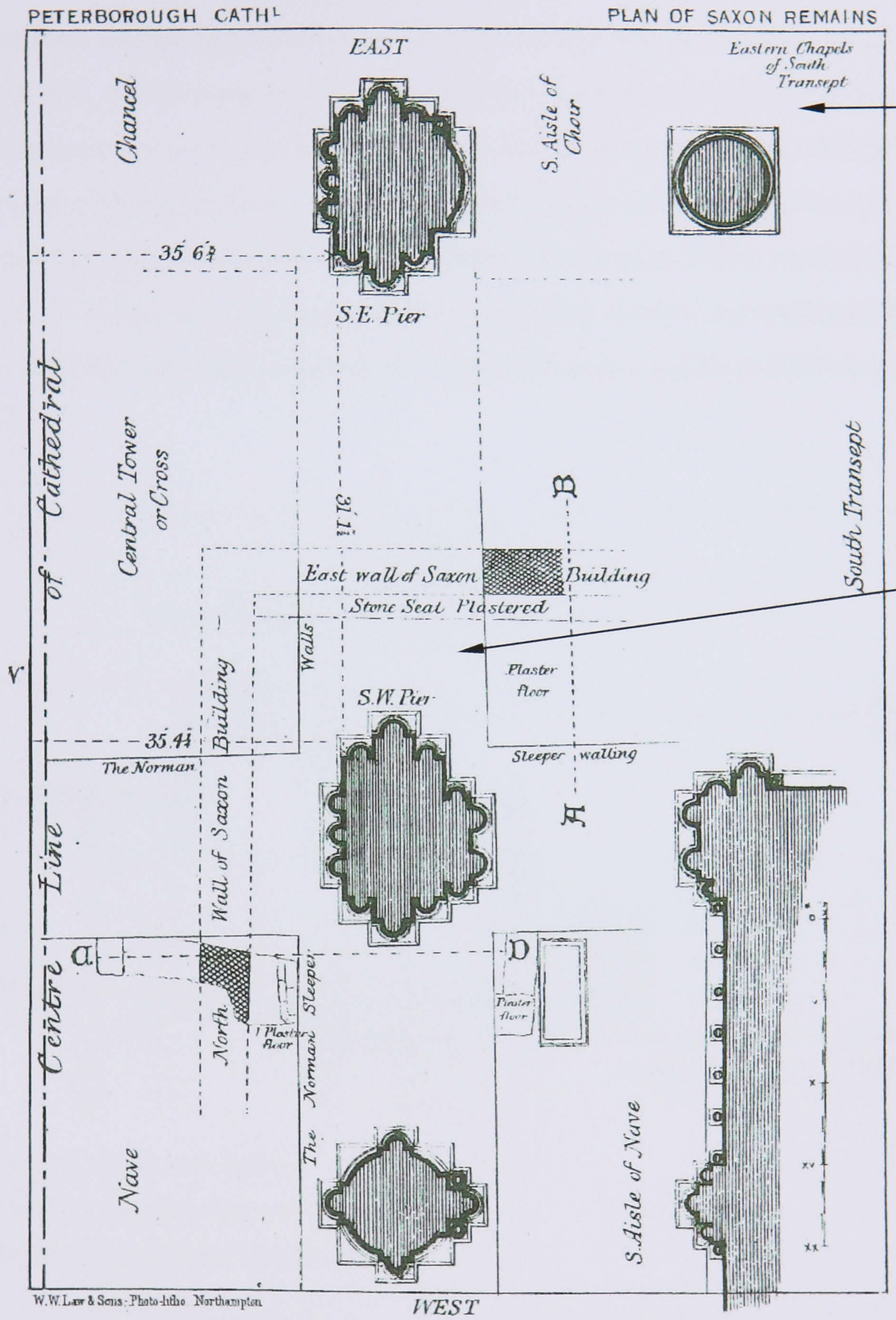
[128] *HC*, p. 6.
[129] *HC*, p. 130.
[130] J. T. Irvine, 'Account of the Pre-Norman Remains Discovered at Peterborough Cathedral in 1884', *JNAS* 50 (1894), pp. 279-81; Peterborough Dean and Chapter Library, The unpubl. Irvine Papers, 11 vols. (1883-9) I, 'Plan of excavation made to discover whether Saxon church was square ended', August 1887, p. 2; Draft in Irvine's hand to an unnamed recipient regarding the location of the Saxon church, August 1887, p. 3.
[131] J. T. Micklethwaite, 'Something about Saxon Church Building', *AJ* 50 (1896), pp. 299-303.
[132] T. C. Butterick, *Builder* (14 March 1903), p. 269; H. M. and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1965-79) II, p. 492.



St. Oswald's Chapel in the post-Conquest church

Chancel of the pre-Conquest church

The hatched areas represent upstanding masonry incorporated into the present building.

Figure 3: Irvine's plan of the Anglo-Saxon remains beneath Peterborough Cathedral (reproduced from *JNAS*, 1894)

century was circumnavigated by an ambulatory so that pilgrims could catch a glimpse of *Medeshamstede*'s relics (Figure 4).[133]

Although Mackreth's theory supported Hugh's vision of a 'second Rome', it is difficult to comprehend how he reached this conclusion from the restricted cloister excavation and from Irvine's drawings and the foundations exposed in his passageway, both of which suggest a square east end. Furthermore, Mackreth was adamant that the church did not replace a timber predecessor on the flimsy grounds that 'no burials were found inside the first building and none was cut by the foundations'.[134] If a church *had* been erected during Peada's brief reign, it may have been a temporary structure resembling that which Edwin constructed at York *c.* 627.[135] Furthermore, the original structure was likely to have been fashioned from timber and thatched with reeds, materials that Hugh told us were readily available in the vicinity.[136]

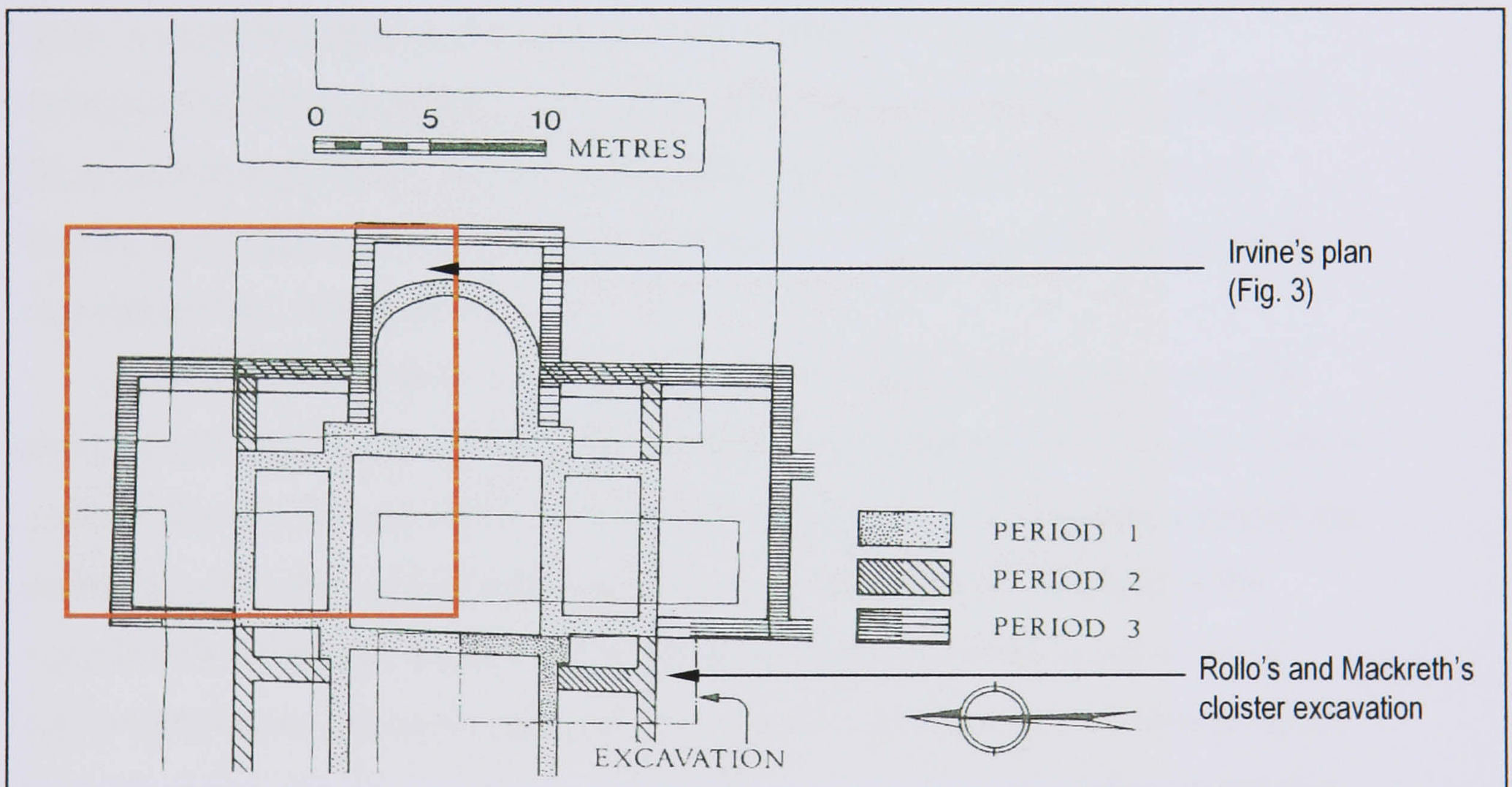


Figure 4: Mackreth's reconstruction plan of the pre-Conquest church [1983]

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[133] D. Mackreth 'The 1982 Cloisters Excavation', *Friends of Peterborough Cathedral Journal*, (1983), pp. 11-3.
[134] Mackreth, 'Cloisters Excavation', p. 11; Mackreth, pers. com., March 2003.
[135] *HE*, Bk. II, ch. 14.
[136] *HC*, p. 5. See also C. Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850-1520*, 2nd edn. (London, 2003), p. 168.

Archaeological and documentary evidence has demonstrated that high status churches were erected in stone at the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, in Canterbury, *c.* 604, and at York between 627 and 633. However, these were Roman foundations built under the influence of St. Augustine and Bishop Paulinus, in areas where stone was readily available or could be salvaged from pre-existing Roman buildings.[137] If Oswiu and Peada were indeed the co-founders of *Medeshamstede*, as suggested by 'Abbot Hædda's' house-history, it would have unquestionably have been built *before* the Synod of Whitby of 664, at which a decision was reached in favour of the Roman cause.[138] Since Peada and his entourage were baptized into the Christian faith at Oswiu's court by the Irish-trained Bishop Finan of Lindisfarne, Peada may have been in agreement with his father-in-law relating to the site and the materials used for the church and the necessity to construct it in haste before the newly converted Middle Angles had the opportunity to apostatize.[139] Furthermore, if *Medeshamstede*, had been founded by Peada during his brief client kingship of Southern Mercia, it would have been constructed before the introduction of stonemasons to Northumbria from Gaul by Wilfrid at Ripon (664) and Hexham (672 x 678) and by Benedict Biscop at Wearmouth (674). However, it should be noted that Ripon, Wearmouth and Hexham, were erected on land granted not by Oswiu but by his sons, Alhfrith and Ecgfrith, and Ecgfrith's wife, Æthelthryth.[140]

Therefore, it seems likely that if there was a stone church in the seventh century, it would not have been constructed until after Wulfhere had assumed supreme power in Mercia *c.* 658. In this way, the new king could make his own statement in the landscape through the erection of a permanent edifice, which would signify the perpetuity of Christianity in the region and the stability of his rule. Hugh's declaration that the earliest monastery was a Roman establishment appears to have been derived from pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, which was conveniently claimed to have been compiled in 664, the year when Bede recorded that the Synod of Whitby convened.[141]

According to Bede, after Peada's death in 655, Oswiu placed Southern Mercia under his direct rule. Upon Wulfhere's accession *c.* 658, he appointed at least three Irish-trained bishops to offer spiritual guidance to his subjects, which scarcely appears to be the actions of

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[137] *HE*, Bk. I, ch. 33; Bk. II, ch. 14; Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* I, pp. 143-4.
[138] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 58v; *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 25.
[139] *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 21.
[140] Bede, 'Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow', in *The Age of Bede*, ed. D. Farmer, tr. J. F. Webb (London, 1998), ch. 5 (Wearmouth); *VW*, chs. 17 (Ripon); 22 (Hexham).
[141] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 62r; *HC*, p. 11. See also C. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650-c. 850* (Leicester, 1995), p. 289.

a devotee to the Roman cause.[142] Therefore, we may conclude that contrary to Hugh Candidus' allegations *Medeshamstede* originally was an Irish foundation.

iii. The founding fathers of *Medeshamstede*

Hugh promoted the image of the harmonious, Christian extended family of the royal houses of Mercia and Northumbria, with Oswiu as its patriarch offering fatherly support to Peada.[143] Bede related that a brief *entente* had existed before the death of Penda, through the marriages of Alhfrith and Alhflæd of Northumbria and Cyneburh and Peada of Mercia. However, Oswiu had ulterior motives in his evangelization of first the Middle Angles and then the South Mercians in that he was also furthering his own political interests within the province, through the sub-kingship of Peada.[144] Christianity was a means of bringing his subordinates, at least theoretically, under his control whilst, through the intermarriage of his heirs, he could hope to found a new dynasty in the kingdom of his former arch-rival, Penda.

In reality, diplomatic relations between Mercia and Northumbria were not as cordial as Hugh portrayed. Although there is no reason to doubt that the union between Alhfrith and Cyneburh enjoyed some degree of success, Peada was less fortunate in his choice of spouse, since Alhflæd was alleged to have murdered him in 655. After Peada's death, Oswiu's domination of Mercia ended abruptly when the ealdormen, Immin, Eafa and Eadberht, rebelled against their Northumbrian overlords, drove them from the territory and appointed as their king Peada's younger brother, Wulfhere.[145] In the manner of the *Relatio* house-history and ASC (E), Hugh glossed over the uprising in order to present Oswiu and his usurper, Wulfhere, as being on the friendliest of terms, consulting each other regarding the completion of *Medeshamstede* and upon the privileges that it was to enjoy.[146]

Whatever arrangements had existed between Peada and Oswiu, neither Wulfhere nor Æthelred, his brother and successor, had any reason to ingratiate themselves with Oswiu. Oswiu had killed their father in battle and the Northumbrians had represented a subjugating force, which had divided Penda's hard-won kingdom.[147] Although a marriage was arranged between Æthelred and Osthryth, another of Oswiu's daughters, this did not prevent hostilities erupting between the two provinces, culminating in the death of Osthryth's younger brother,

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[142] *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 24.
[143] *HC*, pp. 7-8.
[144] *HE*, Bk. III, chs. 21, 24.
[145] *HE*, Bk. III, chs. 21, 24. See also ASC (E), 656; *HC*, p. 8.
[146] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 58v-59v; ASC (E), 656; *HC*, pp. 12-13.
[147] *HE*, Bk. III, ch, 24.

Ælfwine, in the battle of the River Trent 679.[148] Furthermore, when in 697 Osthryth was murdered by Mercian noblemen, there is no evidence that Æthelred attempted to exact retribution.[149] Since Hugh had access to Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, he must have been mindful of the political situation in Mercia following the death of Peada.[150] Thus, his depiction of an acquiescent Wulfhere and a paternal Oswiu bound together in genial kinship may be viewed as an attempt to emphasize the connexion between the two most powerful mid seventh-century royal houses and the foundation of *Medeshamstede*. Moreover, the professed Christian camaraderie was a means by which Hugh could develop the tentative link with Oswiu's brother, Oswald, whose arm was venerated at post-Conquest *Burch*.

iv. *Medeshamstede*'s destruction by the Danes and the dereliction of the site?

Hugh did not elaborate upon the destruction of *Medeshamstede* by the Danes in 870. Before lapsing into a sermon about the downfall of mankind, he simply stated, 'In these stormy times, the most famous monastery of *Medeshamstede* was consumed by fire, just like the others'.[151] ASC (E) also has little to offer on the subject, claiming that 'the Danes burned and demolished, killed the abbot and monks and all that they found there, brought it about so that what was earlier very rich was as if it were nothing'.[152] Both chroniclers maintained a silence regarding the wilderness years that allegedly followed. No transactions involving *Medeshamstede* survive in either original or copy form to suggest that coenobic life continued at the site in the intervening years before the restoration of the abbey *c.* 963. Indeed, the alienation and redemption by Æthelwold of *Medeshamstede*'s estate at Ailsworth is well documented in the *Liber Niger.*[153] Furthermore, the legend of 'antiqua priuilegia' lying hidden in the walls for nearly a century served to reinforce the concept that the site remained unoccupied until the advent of Æthelwold.[154]

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[148] *HE*, Bk. IV, ch. 21 [19].
[149] *HE*, Bk. V, ch. 24; H. P. R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester, 1972), pp. 176-7.
[150] *HC*, p. 14; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 163. See *Library Catalogues* 8, ed. Friis-Jensen and Willoughby, BP2. 8.
[151] *HC*, p. 24. My translation of 'In hac ergo procellosa tempestate, et ipsum famosissimum monasterium Medeshamstede sicut et ceteri cum monarchis igne comsumptum est.' See above, Chapter 6, pp. 198-200.
[152] ASC (E), f. 30v (870).
[153] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 30r-31r, 'King Eadred to Ælfsige, land at Ailsworth' (948); *Cartularium Saxonicum: A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History*, ed. W. de Gray Birch, 3 vols. in 7 (London, 1885-93) [B] 871; S 533; ff. 54v-55r, 'Æthelwold and Wulfstan Uccea, exchange of land at Washington, Sussex, for land at Yaxley, Hunts. (given to Thorney) and Ailsworth, Northants., (given to Peterborough)' (963 x 975); R 37, pp. 68-9; S 1377.
[154] *HC*, p. 31.

Nevertheless, it is generally understood that the Danish invaders made no attempts to suppress the practice of Christianity. As Stafford observes, the objectives of the initial attacks were to extract booty and demoralize the indigenous population and that the total destruction of *Medeshamstede* was exceptional. Within a generation of settlement most of the Danes had been converted and there is every reason to believe that religious life was flourishing elsewhere in the region long before the ascendancy of Æthelwold.[155] We discover from Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Manuscript D, hereafter ASC (D), that Archbishop Wulfstan of York was buried in Oundle in 957, testifying that a high status church already existed within the 'vill'.[156] In 967, Eadgar bestowed upon Æthelwold the church at Breedon-on-the-Hill, which the bishop declined to restore to *Burch*.[157] The pre-existing 'monasteriolum' ['little monastery'] dedicated to the Virgin at Huntingdon was conferred upon Thorney by Eadgar in his charter of 973.[158] Furthermore, we learn from Hugh that, contrary to 'John de Caux's' account of the despoliation of *Medeshamstede*, the remains of Cyneburh and Cyneswith rested undisturbed at Castor until their elevation to *Burch* by Ælfsige, leading us to wonder if their church was in such a ruinous state as Hugh described.[159]

Wulfstan of Winchester's *Vita Æthelwoldi*, which Hugh used as a direct source, categorically stated that Æthelwold expelled communities of secular canons from Winchester Old Minster.[160] Moreover, William of Malmesbury related that secular clergy had been installed at his monastery by King Eadwig (955-9) and also were practising at Ely before its restoration.[161] Therefore, it is difficult to accept that religious life ceased completely at *Medeshamstede* after the Danish incursions. The presence of secular priests on the site would explain why transactions relating to several pre-870 *Medeshamstede* estates, including 'Breedon memoranda' and the Sempringham contract survived either in oral or written form to be recorded in the *Liber Niger* during the second quarter of the twelfth century.[162]

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[155] P. Stafford, *The East Midlands in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester, 1985), pp. 128-9. See also D. Whitelock, 'The Conversion of Eastern Danelaw', *Saga Book of Viking Society for Northern Research* 12 (1937-45), pp. 169, 172-3; C. R. Hart, *The Danelaw* (London, 1992), p. 24.
[156] London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. iv, (Worcester, s. xi), f. 52r.
[157] Aberystwyth, N. L. W., Penarth 390, pp. 354-5 (s. xiv); B 1298; S 749.
[158] Swaffham, f. 125v; CUL, Add. 3020, ff. 12v-13r; *ECEE*, pp. 168, 181-2; S 792.
[159] *Chronicon Angliæ*, ed. Giles, pp. 19, 21.
HC, pp. 50-1.
[160] *Æthelwold*, ed. Lapidge *et al.*, chs. 16-8; *HC*, pp. 45-6.
[161] *William of Malmesbury: The Deeds of the Bishops of England* (*Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*), ed. and tr. D. Preest (Woodbridge, 2002), chs. 183 (Ely), 251 (Malmesbury). See also *LE*, Bk. II, ch. 3.
[162] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 44v-45r (Breedon); f. 46rv (Sempringham).

Three priests, Sumerlyda, Fastulf and Oswig, were named as testators, in Æthelwold's 'List of sureties for Medeshamstede's estates' (972 x 992).[163] Since Wittering, Oxney and Thorpe were recorded together in the document as purchases from private individuals, we may presume that this section of the original list was compiled before the death of Eadgar in 975, after which the group of estates was temporarily lost to Thorney.[164] It is difficult to narrow down the date of the 'Sureties' further, but it seems that they were most likely to have been transacted soon after that restoration of *Medeshamstede* before Æthelwold turned his attentions upon Thorney. Therefore, it appears that at least three clerics, who were known and probably respected and trusted by the local population, were operating in the area. Although it maybe argued that Sumerlyda, Fastulf and Oswig were based at Oundle or that they were appointed by Æthelwold or by Eadwulf [Adulf], the first post-reformation abbot, we should not entirely dismiss the possibility that the tenth-century *Medeshamstede* may have been functioning as a secular minster offering pastoral care to the local community.[165] Perhaps, as Hugh's homily implied, he believed that to record the continued occupation of the site would detract from the parallel of the destruction of *Medeshamstede* with the Christ's passion, whilst the years of desolation represent his descent into Hell.[166] Thus, the restoration of the monastery could be interpreted as the Resurrection and a symbol of eternal life.

v. The significance of *Burch*'s relics

After its restoration, *Burch*'s ability to compete with the neighbouring Fenland monasteries of Ely, Crowland, Thorney and Ramsey as a centre of pilgrimage was of paramount importance. Therefore, it was essential that the monastery obtained relics of saints in order to draw visitors and revenue. Hugh implied that Æflsige began his collection *c.* 1013, whilst taking refuge from the Danes with Emma, Æthelred II's queen, and the æthelings at the court of her brother, Robert of Normandy. Whilst in exile, Æflsige purchased the body of St. Florentin from Bonneval Abbey, although Bonneval retained the head.[167] Soon after Æflsige's return to *Burch*, he translated the remains of Cyneburh, Cyneswith and

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[163] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 47r2; f. 49r14-15; f. 49v11 (Sumerlyda); f. 47v13 (Fastulf); f. 47v16 (Oswig).
[164] Soc. Ant., 60 f. 48v-49r; *LE*, Bk. II, ch. 11; CUL, 3020, f. 12v; *ECEE*, pp. 168, 178; *Councils and Synods and other Documents Relating to the English Church* I, *AD 871-1204*, Part 1, *871-1066*, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. N. L Brooke (Oxford, 1981), pp. 155-7. See below, Chapter 5, pp. 170-1.
[165] J. Blair, *The Church and Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 295-7.
[166] *HC*, pp. 24-7.
[167] *HC*, pp. 48-9. See also ASC (E), 1013.

Tibba.[168] However, the three royal ladies could have been considered no more than local saints, whilst rival fenland establishments could boast the relics of nationally acclaimed pioneers of the early Christian church.

Bede documented Ely's veneration of St. Æthelthryth, daughter of King Anna of the East Angles, and enhanced her reputation by composing a hymn in her honour. Furthermore, the remains of her sisters, Seaxburh and Wihtburh, Seaxburh's daughter, Eorminild, wife of Wulfhere, and their daughter, Werburh, provided an additional attraction for pilgrims.[169] Crowland, founded *c.* 971 possibly by Thurkytel, its first abbot, could indisputably lay claim to St. Guthlac (*c.* 673-714), a Middle-Anglian nobleman, former monk of Repton and *confidante* of the future Æthelbald of Mercia (716-57). An account of the hermit's self-inflicted martyrdom and the miracles that allegedly occurred at his tomb were meticulously recorded by Felix during the mid eighth century.[170] In contrast, Hugh ignored Guthlac except to acknowledge his sainthood and that he was interred at Crowland.[171]

Ancarig, 'the isle of anchorites' [Thorney], declared as *Medeshamstede*'s earliest colony by pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, was obliged to obtain prestigious relics by nefarious means.[172] Not content with the enshrinement of the three martyred anchorites, Tancredus, Torhtredus and Tona [Toua], who had supposedly been slaughtered by the Danes in 870, Æthelwold ordered his agent, Ulfkitel, to exhume St. Botulph's remains from his abbey at Icanho.[173] In 980, Æthelwold also secured for Thorney, legitimately but at great expense, the body of Benedict Biscop (628-89), founder and first abbot of Wearmouth, and in doing so 'added a brilliant light to its more obscure saints'.[174] Despite the fact that Hugh referred only to the resting places of the Thorney and Crowland saints, the *Vitæ Botulfi* and *Guthlaci* and an account of the translation of the Thorney trio were copied *en bloc* into an early twelfth-

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[168] *HC*, pp. 50-1; ASC (E), 963.
[169] *HE*, Bk. IV, chs. 19 [17], 20 [19]. See also *LE.*, Bk. I, chs. 35, 37, 43; *HC*, pp. 58, 62.
[170] Felix, *Life of St. Guthlac*, ed. and tr. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1956), hereafter *VG*, chs. 1, 20, 49. By 1091, Crowland was also the burial place of Waltheof, Earl of Huntingdon and Northumbria, who had been executed by William I. After 'miracles' occurred at his tomb, Waltheof was revered as an English martyr. See ASC (E), 1076; *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Preest, ch. 282; Oderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Oderic Vitalis*, ed. and tr. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. OMT (Oxford, 1969-80) I (Books III and IV), pp. 346, 348.
[171] *HC*, p. 63.
[172] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 63r; ASC (E), 656; *HC*, p. 12.
[173] Swaffham, ff. 124v-125r; CUL, Add. 3020, ff. 12r; *ECEE*, pp. 165-7; *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Preest, ch. 74; *HC*, p. 63. See also *Nova Legenda Anglie*, ed. Horstman, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1901) I, pp. 132-3; D. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 4, 57.
[174] *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Preest, ch. 186.

century Peterborough manuscript, London, British Library, Harley 3097 [*Jeronimus* etc].[175] Therefore, we must concede that the hagiographies of the Crowland and Thorney saints must have been at Hugh's disposal before he commenced upon his Chronicle but he understandably preferred not to comment upon the lives of those whose remains were enshrined at rival establishments.

Ramsey was held in contempt by Hugh, possibly because the monastery could not claim the occupation of the site by pre-870 hermit-saints.[176] Nevertheless, by 1000 Ramsey had become one of the most prosperous houses in England, mainly due to the generosity of its founders, Bishop Oswald of Worcester and Ealdorman Æthelwine of East Anglia, whose endowments included the relics of the murdered Kentish princes, Æthelred and Æthelberht. Despite their pedigrees, the princes may have been regarded as only minor saints. This problem appears to have been rectified when the body of St. Ivo, a Persian bishop turned hermit, was discovered at neighbouring *Slepe* [St. Ives] and enshrined in 1002.[177]

By the end of first decade of the eleventh century, Ely, Crowland, Thorney and Ramsey all had shrines dedicated to either their founders or the prime movers of the early Christian church. However, there is no evidence to suggest that, at this time, *Burch* had any comparable relics. Although Æthelwold endowed Thorney with SS. Botulf and Benedict Biscop, his gifts to the reformed monastery appear to have been in the form of land grants, books, liturgical garments and instruments.[178] If Peada had founded *Medeshamstede*, the earliest known Mercian monastery, he probably would have been interred there. However, according to Bede, Peada had been ignominiously murdered by his Christian wife, possibly for political rather than religious reasons and could not be regarded as a major pilgrim attraction. Therefore, *Burch* desperately needed a credible seventh-century icon and miracle worker who could provide a regular source of income. During the early decades of the eleventh century, Abbot Ælfsige's attention turned to St. Oswald.

According to 'Hædda's' house-history, *Medeshamstede* was co-founded by Peada and Oswiu, following the introduction of Christianity to the Middle Angles and the death of

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[175] *HC*, p. 63; BL, Harley 3097, ff. 61v-67v. See also N. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd edn. (London, 1964), p. 151; R. Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England* (*c.* 1066-1130) (Oxford, 1999), No. 448; *Library Catalogues* 8, ed. Friis-Jensen and Willoughby, BP21. 9.
[176] *HC*, pp, 50-1; 81-2.
[177] *Chronicon Abbatiæ Rameseiensis*, ed. W. Dunn Macray, Rolls Series 83 (London, 1886), pp. 55, 114-5, 127-8; *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Preest, ch. 181; Lapidge, M., 'Byrhtferth of Ramsey and the Early Sections of the *Historia Regum* Attributed to Symeon of Durham' *ASE* 10 (1982), pp. 119-20; J. Blair, 'Ramsey', in *Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, eds. M. Lapidge, J. Blair, S. Keynes and D. Scragg (Oxford, 2001), pp. 385-6.
[178] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 39v-40v; R, pp. 72-5.

Penda.[179] Although ostensibly devout, Oswiu could have been discounted as an appropriate candidate for sainthood since he had orchestrated the murder of his cousin, Oswine, in 651.[180] In comparison, his brother, Oswald, whose kingliness and martyrdom were emphasized by both Bede and in 'Hædda's' house-history, would have presented a far more suitable choice despite the albeit tenuous connexion with *Medeshamstede*.[181]

Hugh recorded in his catalogue of *Burch*'s relics, part of Oswald's ribcage and some of the curative soil from the site of his martyrdom, although he did not reveal how they came into the abbey's possession.[182] It is possible that, if *Medeshamstede* had been jointly founded by Peada and his father-in-law, Oswiu may have bestowed a minor primary or secondary relic of his brother upon the monastery. However, the incorrupt right arm would have presented a far more imposing trophy, the sanctity of which was beyond doubt. Indeed, Bede informed us that, when Oswald was celebrating Easter Day with Bishop Aidan of Lindisfarne, one of the royal retinue alerted them to the crowds of paupers who were waiting for alms in his courtyard. Oswald immediately ordered the food to be taken from the table, together with pieces of the silver salver upon which it was served and distributed amongst the needy. Aidan was so impressed that he grasped Oswald's right arm and uttered, "Numquam inveterescat hæc manus".[183] Upon Oswald's defeat at *Maserfelth* [Oswestry] in 642, Penda hacked off his head and hands and set them up on a stake, possibly to emulate the crucifixion or as a sacrifice of a king to a king. A year later, after the battle of *Winwæd*, they were retrieved by Oswiu who gave Oswald's head to the monks of Lindisfarne and enshrined the arms within the royal church at Bamburgh, also dedicated to St. Peter.[184]

Bede related that shortly after *Maserfelth* both a horse and an innkeeper's niece were miraculously restored to health on the very spot were Oswald had perished. Furthermore, soil from the site, when diluted in holy water and consumed, had the power to heal the sick and expel demons.[185] According to Hugh, similar phenomena took place at *Burch* after the infirm drank the water in which the arm had been washed.[186] Indeed, the monastery could consider itself fortunate also to have in its possession an incorrupt limb of the saint from which a perpetual supply of the elixir could be produced. Both Bede and Hugh maintained that monks recovered from their afflictions by simply resting in the presence of Oswald's

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[179] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 58v-59. See also *HE*, Bk. III, chs. 21, 24; ASC (E), 654, 656; *HC*, pp. 4-7.
[180] *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 14; Bk. V, ch. 24.
[181] *HE*, Bk. III, chs. 6, 9; Bk. IV, ch. 14; Soc., Ant., 60, f. 58v-59v.
[182] *HC*, p. 53.
[183] *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 6. Colgrave's and Mynors' translation: "May this arm never decay".
[184] *HE*, Bk. III, chs. 6, 12.
[185] *HE*, Bk. III, chs. 9-11.
[186] *HC*, pp. 106-8.

relics. At Bardney, an oblate was cured of a recurring fever by waiting quietly by Oswald's tomb.[187] According to Hugh, at *Burch* a number of ailing brethren were revived upon entering the church where the arm was venerated.[188] Moreover, divine intervention allegedly prevailed in two instances when Oswald's relics were in danger of being either rejected or lost to a rival abbey. At Bardney, a column of heavenly light finally persuaded the brethren to accept the remains of a former enemy of Mercia, whilst the voice of one of the Holy Innocents prevented the monks of Ramsey from retaining the hallowed arm after it had been placed under their temporary guardianship.[189] However, there is no record of a heavenly intercessor at Bamburgh attempting to prevent the theft of Oswald's incorrupt right arm by Wingote.[190]

Hugh did not specify where Oswald's relic was stored. Nevertheless, we may presume that, by the time his work was edited, it had been translated to its own chapel in William de Waterville's south transept to be guarded by a *horespex* in a stone tower, which overlaid Mackreth's hypothetical apse (Figure 4).[191] Although it is impossible to speculate upon the earliest site of Oswald's shrine, his reputation as a miracle worker and his relationship with Oswiu, the purported co-founder of *Medeshamstede*, would have assured that his incorrupt arm would have occupied a prominent position in the abbey church from the onset. Hugh's preoccupation with Oswald's relic bordered upon obsession. Unfortunately, in his determination to emphasize its significance, he overlooked the fact that although Oswald was killed in battle against the heathen Penda, in reality he was fighting over territory rather than defending his faith. Therefore, Oswald technically was not a martyr.

Hugh also took stock of numerous other relics, both primary and secondary, and of international, national and local significance, including splinters from Christ's manger and Aaron's rod, three fragments of the Virgin's clothing, crumbs from the loaves used to feed the 5,000, teeth from St. Christopher, Edward the Martyr (975-79) and Seaxburh of Ely and the scapula of the Holy Innocent. Two pieces of the True Cross, the head of St. George and the arm of St. Sebastian and an unspecified memento of Bishop Wilfrid were stored in the high altar, whilst the silver tower housed parts of Christ's sepulchre and a lock of Bishop Æthelwold's hair.[192] Unfortunately, except for those of the Holy Innocent, Oswald, Florentin and Cyneburh and her kin, Hugh did not specify which of the remains had survived the fire of

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[187] *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 12.
[188] *HC*, p. 106.
[189] *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 11; *HC*, pp. 81, 83-4.
[190] *Reginald of Durham: Oswald* II, ed. Arnold, pp. 374-5.
[191] *HC*, p. 130.
[192] *HC*, pp. 52-6.

1116 and which had been among Abbot Martin's many acquisitions.[193] Nevertheless, it appears to have been Hugh's intention to echo pseudo-Wulfhere's vision of *Medeshamstede* as a centre of pilgrimage that would surpass all its rivals and be second only to Rome, with relics for every occasion and individual need, so that 'hic queramus ipsum patronum qui Rome non possimus'.[194]

vi. *Medeshamstede* and its colonies

Hugh supplied us with scant information about *Medeshamstede*'s pre-870 *coloniæ*, possibly because his source material was limited to little more than the *Relatio* forgeries and a version of the 'Breedon memoranda'. From these he produced a list of satellites, namely *Ancarig* [Thorney], Brixworth, Breedon-on-the-Hill, Bermondsey, *Repingas* and Woking 'and many others', of which only Brixworth was not documented as a possession of *Medeshamstede* or its satellite, Breedon, in the *Liber Niger*.[195] Although, Hugh did not reveal how these estates became the abbey's property, it is clear that he believed that it had been Wulfhere's intention that subsequent abbots and monks should found satellites of *Medeshamstede* 'tanquam huius fecunde matris filias'.[196] Thus, Hugh demonstrated *Medeshamstede*'s pre-870 sphere of influence stretched far beyond its own region.

In contrast, Hugh was more specific in defining *Burch*'s post-Æthelwold estates that were located in six counties, naming the benefactors as if he were referring to a written source.[197] Great emphasis was placed upon the generosity of Brand and his brothers, all but three of whose gifts of land remained the possessions of *Burch* in 1086.[198] Hugh also applauded the enrichment of *Burch* by Leofric, the last of the great pre-Conquest abbots who, it is claimed, ruled over five religious houses, *Burch*, Thorney, Crowland, Burton [Staffordshire] and Coventry, the latter two having been conferred upon him by his uncle, Earl Leofric. Moreover, Hugh reflected with nostalgia that it was during Leofric's rule that *Burch* apparently earned its nickname, *Gildine burch*.[199]

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[193] *HC*, pp. 49-52, 83, 106.
[194] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 62r. My translation: 'We, who cannot go to Rome, can seek the patron [St. Peter] here.'
[195] *HC*, p. 15.
[196] *HC*, p. 14. My translation: 'Like daughters of a fertile mother'. See also Soc. Ant., 60, f. 59r.
[197] *HC*, pp. 67-73. The estates were in Huntingdonshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire and Rutland.
[198] *HC*, p. 77; *DB:* Notts., 8 [2]; *DB: Lincs.* I, 8 [2, 1-25, 27-29, 31].
[199] *HC*, pp. 66-7; ASC (E), 1066. See also *The Heads of Religious Houses of England and Wales*, I: *940-1216*, ed. D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke and V. London (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 30-1, 40-2, 74.

Dating and motives behind Hugh Candidus' Chronicle

The brief period from October 1154 to January 1155 was one of considerable significance to *Burch*. On 25 October 1154, Stephen died after a turbulent reign and was succeeded by his second cousin, Henry II. Less than three months later on 2 January Martin de Bec also died and was immediately replaced by William de Waterville. Initially a popular choice, William proved to be an ambitious and vibrant reformer, who made radical improvements to the abbey and its financial status. He settled the debts accrued by Abbot Martin, increased the monastery's estates and revenues and made structural alterations to both the church and claustral buildings.[200] Moreover, Abbot William instructed Hand 2 to bring to a conclusion ASC (E), the last recorded use of Old English at *Burch*.[201] It seems likely that it was William's objective to supersede the ASC (E) with a Peterborough-focussed house-history compiled exclusively in Latin. Thus, William de Waterville's modernization programme of *Burch* could commence.

Abbot William's choice of author would have been obvious. We learn from his biographer that Hugh had been collecting materials for his house-history for some time, whilst his progress from model pupil to sub-prior and probable archivist testified to his integrity and scholarship.[202] Ostensibly, Hugh's Chronicle was intended to record for posterity the major events in the history of the monastery and to instil a sense of pride to future generations of monks. Nevertheless, at a time when Henry II was planning to overhaul the legislative system, there appears to have been several underlying reasons for the compilation of Hugh's house-history.[203]

Primarily, it was crucial that Hugh's Chronicle reiterated the antiquity and continuity of the monastic site and its relationship with the ruling families of Mercia and Northumbria. As a royal foundation, purportedly the first in the province, he could emphasize its superiority to other religious communities in the area and encourage successive kings to offer financial support to the abbey and refrain from interfering in its affairs. Fortunately, Hugh had at his disposal a version of *Relatio* with its quartet of forgeries, which he could weave into his narrative and offer for inspection to those who doubted his word.

Hugh used his Chronicle to remind kings, bishops and even future abbots of their duties to *Burch*, by emphasizing the ancient rights and privileges purportedly prescribed by

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[200] *HC*, pp. 127-31; ASC (E), 1154.
[201] ASC (E), 1154.
[202] *HC*, pp., 92-3, 95.
[203] Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 269; M. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 100-2.

the pre-Conquest rulers, Wulfhere in 664 and their confirmation by Pope Agatho in 680.[204] At the same time, Hugh skilfully managed to explain the interval between the destruction of *Medeshamstede* in 870 by supplying his readers with a description of Æthelwold's eventual discovery and resurrection of the ruined abbey almost a century later. Hugh drew this section of *Medeshamstede*'s history to a close by introducing the revelation of a cache of 'ancient privileges' hidden in the old walls of the church that supposedly inspired Eadgar to restore a proportion of pre-Conquest estates and all its former privileges to the monastery. [205]

Hugh promoted his monastery as a centre of pilgrimage through its impressive inventory of relics. With such a spectacular array and the added possibility that miracles may occur at St. Oswald's shrine, *Burch* could perhaps surpass its rivals as a spiritual attraction. Indeed, some sections of Hugh's house-history appear to assume the role of a medieval guidebook. In a literary and probably physical sense, the visiting dignitary would have been provided with a list of relics then taken upon a perambulation of the places where they are stored, first to the shrine of St. Oswald, past the various relics within the high altar and the Silver Tower. [206] Architectural features were also pointed out, including Martin de Bec's chancel and William de Waterville's tower and transepts, complete with chapels to Oswald and the Castor saints, and finally the claustral renovations.[207]

Hugh's Chronicle provided him with the opportunity to discredit the rival establishment and centre of scholarship at Ramsey by accusing its brethren of the attempted theft of the remains of the royal Castor ladies and the detention of St. Oswald's arm after it had been placed in their safekeeping.[208] Furthermore, he intimated that members of their community had committed an unspeakable crime and were only reprieved through the intercession of Abbot Ælfsige. Consequently, Ramsey was placed under *Burch*'s jurisdiction, after which, Ælfsige magnanimously allowed the recalcitrant monks their independence.[209] Since none these events have been recorded in *Chronicon Abbatiæ Rameseiensis*, written *c.* 1170, we may wonder whether the alleged misdemeanour was a figment of Hugh's imagination or if he was merely recording hearsay. Nevertheless, the inclusion of sinister exploits of the Ramsey brotherhood suggests that, although it was unlikely that Hugh was compiling his Chronicle of his own volition, he was allowed a certain amount of latitude regarding its contents.

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[204] *HC*, pp. 9-10, 16-21.
[205] *HC*, pp. 24, 27-9.
[206] *HC*, pp. 49-56.
[207] *HC*, pp. 105, 130-1.
[208] *HC*, pp. 50-1; 80, 83-4; J. Blair, 'Ramsey', in *Blackwell Encyclopaedia*, pp. 385-6.
[209] *HC*, p. 50.

Conclusion

Hugh appears to have followed the course set by his predecessors, Bede (673-735) and William of Malmesbury (*c.* 1095-1146), by entering his abbey as a child oblate and displaying remarkable academic potential.[210] Unlike his fellow historians, only a single text, his Peterborough Chronicle, can be safely attributed to his career at *Burch* spanning at least sixty years. Nevertheless, Hugh's work was considered to be such a valuable asset to his monastery that the version produced by an anonymous editor was copied and brought up to date some seventy years after Hugh's death by Robert of Swaffham *c.*1250 and again by Walter of Whittlesey for the years 1246 to 1331.[211]

Hugh's Chronicle contained all of the typical ingredients of a twelfth-century house-history. He described the perfection of the site and monastic buildings, likening it to 'secundam Romam'. He emphasized that his abbey was the royal foundation, built by Peada and Oswiu and that its earliest benefactors were Wulfhere and Æthelred, the Christian sons of the heathen Penda, and that it was restored by Eadgar. He reminded his audience of *Burch*'s ancient privileges, freeing it from interference from both secular and temporal lords, with allegiance only to Canterbury and Rome. He promoted *Burch* as a centre of pilgrimage, with an unsurpassable collection of relics, including the right arm of St. Oswald, Oswiu's 'martyred' brother, and recorded in detail the miracles associated with the saint's presence at *Burch*. Hugh listed the monastery's numerous and, sometimes, remote colonies, conferred upon the monastery by both religious and secular lords. With the exception of Turold and Henry d'Angély, he extolled the wisdom and propriety of the abbots from Seaxwulf to William de Waterville and praised the piety and obedience of the monks.[212]

Hugh singled out the nobleman, Leofric, the last of the pre-Conquest abbots, for special commendation, looking back upon the golden age that Leofric created at *Burch* with nostalgia. He described the confederation of monasteries of Crowland, Thorney, Burton and Coventry, which fell under his jurisdiction, reminiscent of the time when the seventh-century Abbot Cuthbald supposedly ruled the colonies of Thorney [*Ancarig*] Brixworth, Breedon-on-the-Hill, *Repingas*, Woking and Bermondsey.[213] Hugh congratulated Leofric upon his promotion of the monastery as a burial place for its patrons Archbishop Cynesige of York and

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[210] *HE*, Bk. V, ch. 24; *HC*, pp. 92-3; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 166.
[211] Swaffham, ff. 1-19r; London, British Library, Additional 39758 [The Book of Walter of Whittlesey] (Peterborough, *c.* 1322-9), ff. 20r-115v (new foliation).
[212] *HC*, pp. 6, 14; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 269-70, 272-4.
[213] *HC*, pp. 15, 66-7.

Ralph, nephew of Edward the Confessor.[214] Above all, he admired Leofric's loyalty to Harold II, when he accompanied him into battle against the Duke of Normandy.[215] In contrast, Hugh bewailed the tyranny of Turold's and Henry d'Angély's rules and the brethren's despair, when the abbey's estates were alienated and its treasures dispersed.[216]

Hugh appears to have analysed most of the available sources, including Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, documents which have since been lost, oral tradition and eye-witness accounts and personal experiences. Evidence suggests that, where possible, he preferred to consult charters in their earliest form instead of the versions that had been copied into the *Liber Niger*, which would have been available by the mid twelfth century. Variations in accounts of events such as the foundation of *Medeshamstede* and the discovery of 'Abbot Hædda's' writings imply that Hugh consulted a version of the *Relatio* forgeries in conjunction with ASC (E). Thus, Hugh's house history complements ASC (E) in that it is set in a Peterborough, rather than a national context.

Hugh probably was unaware that the *Relatio Hedde Abbatis* documents were spurious. Since they were composed in the early twelfth century, it is unlikely that Ernulf would have taken the youthful Hugh into his confidence. It is also doubtful that Hugh would have believed that the abbot, who was 'like a father to the monks', would have been involved in any malpractices, even for the benefit of his abbey. Furthermore, Hugh appears to have accepted the phenomena associated with Oswald's relics. Indeed, Hugh also had made a miraculous recovery from what seems to have been a life-threatening illness.[217] However, it must also be remembered that neither his memory nor those of the elderly monks were infallible and that he may have recorded data that he genuinely believed to be factual. There also were occasions, such as the foundation of *Medeshamstede* and Hereward's attack on *Burch*, when Hugh blatantly exaggerated or manipulated his source material either to enhance the reputation of his monastery or to excuse the deeds of those whom he perceived to have acted in his abbey's best interests.

There appears to have been a variety of post-870 charters, preserved either by memory or in written form, on which Hugh could draw. In contrast, his knowledge of pre-870 *Medeshamstede* was limited to versions of the four *Relatio Hedde Abbatis* forgeries and brief lists of the abbots of *Medeshamstede* and its colonies, all of which except Brixworth lay beyond tenth-century Northamptonshire. Other significant documents such as the 'Breedon

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[214] *HC*, pp. 72-3.
[215] *HC*, pp. 74-5.
[216] *HC*, pp. 84-6.
[217] *HC*, pp. 92-5.

memoranda' were ignored or their endowments mentioned only in passing, possibly because they were not available in written form at the time when Hugh began to conduct his research.[218] Furthermore, apart from defining the boundaries of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, Hugh offered no information regarding the pre-870 estates that lay within *Medeshamstede*'s immediate vicinity.[219] However, by careful examination of pseudo-Wulfhere's bounds in relation to twelfth-century landscape features, *Domesday* records and etymological and contemporary documentary evidence, it is possible to determine the territory that the forger claimed as *Medeshamstede*'s seventh-century possessions.

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[218] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 41r; 44v-46r; S. 1803-6. See above, p. 118.
[219] *HC*, pp. 10-1.

Chapter Five

Perambulating the Past I: Pseudo-Wulfhere's Boundaries Revisited

Introduction: the landscape of the Fens

The Fenlands that drain into the Wash constitute part of the modern counties of Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Suffolk cover an area of approximately 4,000 square kilometres (1,000,000 acres).[1] They contain a wealth of archaeological sites, the importance of which was recognized as early as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by antiquarians such as William Dugdale (1605-1683) and Reverend William Stukeley (1687-1765).[2] Research by H. C. Darby, H. E. Hallam and the Cambridgeshire Archaeological Committee Fenland Project has served to develop our understanding of the pre-Conquest settlement of the region and the post-Conquest exploitation of the environment.[3]

The prehistoric landscape to the south and east of Peterborough was not entirely flat but contained a myriad of islands, which varied considerably in shape and size. They emerged during the Pleistocene Age, approximately 10,000 years ago, when a ridge of chalky boulder clay stretching from south-west Lincolnshire to north-west Norfolk was eroded, allowing the sea to inundate the low-lying terrain, thus forming the Wash. It has been suggested that, during intervals of extreme cold of the Devensian period, the Wash became choked with ice and the area to the south became a vast lagoon. During the post-glacial era, gravel deposits from rivers accumulated in this fen basin, creating islands in the peat fens, including those that later became known as Ely, Thorney, and Whittlesey, while ridges and peninsulas, such as March, Peakirk and Crowland, were formed along the margins (Map 1).[4]

Evidence suggests that, during the Roman occupation of the region, the water table had dropped to such an extent that some of the islands became habitable. A drainage system appears to have been installed and land was assarted in order to provide pasture for cattle and for the production of grain. However, by the seventh century, it is likely that climatic changes and a lack of maintenance of the Roman catchwater channels such as Car Dyke

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[1] *The Fenland Project* 2: *Cambridgeshire Survey, Peterborough to March*, East Anglian Archaeology Report No. 35, ed. D. Hall (Cambridge, 1987), p. 2.
[2] W. Dugdale, *The History of Imbanking and Drayning of Divers Fennes and Marshes*, 2nd edn. (London, 1772); W. Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum*, 2nd edn. (London, 1776).
[3] H. C. Darby, *The Medieval Fenland*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1974); *The Changing Fenland* (Cambridge, 1983); H. E. Hallam, *Settlement and Society: A Study of Early Agrarian History in South Lincolnshire* (Cambridge, 1965); *Fenland Project* 2, pp. 1-2.
[4] *Fenland Project* 2, pp. 2, 4.

had caused much of the cultivated land to be submerged once more.[5] Nevertheless, according to the twelfth-century Peterborough chronicler, Hugh Candidus, the islands and oscillating margins of the Great Fen continued to be occupied throughout the centuries following the evacuation of the Roman army by small-holders, who sustained themselves through fishing, wild-fowling, animal husbandry and the cultivation of crops.[6] It seems that the inhabitants also made their own attempts at land reclamation. Archaeological evidence suggests that the Catswater Drain that flowed between the Rivers Nene and Welland and formed the early eleventh-century boundary between Northamptonshire and Cambridgeshire was constructed during the late Anglo-Saxon period.[7] Despite these efforts, it was not until the early nineteenth century with the invention of the steam pump that the Great Fen was deemed to have been drained satisfactorily.[8]

The seventh-century boundaries of *Medeshamstede*

Unfortunately, from the local historian's viewpoint, successive drainage projects have resulted in either the re-routing or total obliteration of several of the watercourses that may have formed part of the original monastic boundaries of *Medeshamstede*. However, through the careful examination of surviving sixteenth- and seventeenth-century maps in conjunction with extant landscape features, place-names, *Domesday Book* and twelfth-century documentary evidence, it may be possible to determine the territory bestowed retrospectively upon the seventh-century monastery by the early twelfth-century forgery known as pseudo-Wulfhere's charter of 664, which is preserved in copy form in the mid twelfth-century Peterborough cartulary, the *Liber Niger* (Appendix B).[9]

The most recent studies of *Medeshamstede*'s boundaries have been conducted by W. T. Potts in the 1970s and Cyril Hart in the late 1990s.[10] Both historians have concentrated their research upon onomastic and topographical evidence relating to the seventh century, in their attempts to prove that pseudo-Wulfhere's charter was based on an earlier, and possibly authentic document, rather than the landscape features that existed at the time when

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[5] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[6] *The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, ed. W. T. Mellows (Oxford, 1949), hereafter *HC*, pp. 4-5. See also *Fenland Project* 2, p. 11.
[7] *Fenland Project* 2, pp. 36-7; P. H. Reaney, *The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge, 1943), pp. 3-4.
[8] Darby, *Changing Fenland*, pp. 173-9.
[9] London, Society of Antiquaries, 60 (Peterborough, s. xii$^{2/4}$), ff. 59v-64r. See above, Chapter 2, pp. 43-6.
[10] W. T. W. Potts, 'The Pre-Danish Estate of Peterborough Abbey', *PCAS* 65 (1973-4), pp. 13-27; C. R. Hart, pers. com., Nov. 1998.

pseudo-Wulfhere's charter was fabricated. However, neither Potts nor Hart considered the monks of *Burch*'s determination to establish seniority and supremacy over the rival fenland houses of Crowland, Thorney and Ramsey, which is apparent from the privileges allegedly conferred upon *Burch* in pseudo-Wulfhere's grant.[11] Therefore, it is imperative to examine the document from a twelfth-century perspective, taking into account not only the sources available to the forger, but also the contemporary landmarks, with which the brethren of *Burch* were undoubtedly familiar, and the political climate that motivated the charter's production.

After listing the abbey's privileges, pseudo-Wulfhere's author invited his readers to progress around the eastern monastic limits, in a clockwise direction, commencing and concluding at *Medeshamstede* as follows:

> 'Ab ipso Medeshamstede ad Norburch, et inde usque ad locum quem uocant Folies, et inde totam paludem in directum usque ad Esendic, et de Esendic ad locum quem Fæòermuòe dicunt, et inde in directum usque ad locum uia x leugiarum quem Cuggedic nominant, et inde ad Raggeuuilhc; et de Raggeuuilhc quinque miliariis ad magistram aquam que ducit ad Elm, et ad Wisbece, atque inde sicut itur tribus leugiis contra cursum magistre aque ad Trekenholt, et de Trekenholt in directum per immensam paludem ad Dereuorde longitudine uirginti leugiarum, et inde ad Gretecross, et de Grætecross per unam pulcram aquam Bradanea nomine vi leugiis ad Paccelade, et sic in mediis partitis stagnis plurimis et immensis paludinis cum habitatoribus Huntedunensis prouincie una cum stagnis et lacis, Scælfremere, et Witlesmere, et alius quam plurimus ad hæc pertinentibus cum terris quoque et mansionibus, que adiacent in australi parte Scælfremere, et cum infra septa undique palude usque ad Medeshamstede. '[12]

The compiler then began a second perambulation to include the western settlements of Wansford, King's Cliffe, Easton-on-the-Hill and Stamford, this time terminating at Northborough as follows:

> 'et de Medeshamstede usque ad Welmesfordæ, et de Welmesforde usque ad Cliue et inde ad Astune, et de Astune ad Stanford, et de Stanforda sicut aqua decurrit ad superdictam Norburhc' (Map 2).[13]

The implication of the two separate circuits will be discussed below. First it is necessary to explore and where possible identify the charter's boundary points. The numbers in brackets correspond with those on Maps 2 and 7. My use of the term forger

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[11] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 62r; *HC*, p. 11.
[12] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 60v-62r; *HC*, pp. 10-11; *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks VIII* (London, 1968); Electronic Sawyer, www.trin.cam.ac.uk/eSawyer [S] 68. For translation, see below.
[13] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 62r.

applies to the author of the entire document, known as Version B of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter to *Medeshamstede* (Appendix B).[14]

i. The eastern section of the charter bounds

'From Medeshamstede (1) to Northborough,' (2)

It was obviously the forger's intention to begin the perambulation at the abbey itself, the spiritual and administrative centre of the monastic estate. Northborough ['North *Burch*'], situated approximately six miles north-north-west of *Medeshamstede*, represented the northernmost limits of the monastery's jurisdiction after its reformation by Bishop Æthelwold. Although there was no entry for Northborough in *Domesday Book*, in 1189 two-and-a-half hides of land at Northborough, Maxey and Woodcroft in Northamptonshire, and two-and-a-half carucates at Thurlby in Lincolnshire, were held by Galfridus de la Mare from Abbot Turold in return for the service of three knights.[15] Since identical holdings of unspecified land in Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire were confirmed for three knights' fees to Galfridus' ancestor, Radulfus, *c.* 1100 x 1110, it is reasonable to speculate that the de la Mare dynasty held the Northborough estate during the early twelfth century.[16] It is also conceivable that, as Turold's representative, Radulfus would have been obliged to provide his tenants with either a parish church or chapel of ease, if one did not exist already in this strategically placed settlement.[17]

The route taken from Northborough is by no means straightforward. It seems unlikely that the Roman thoroughfares of either Ermine Street or King's Street formed part of the bounds, since neither pass near the village. The frontier probably followed the course of the old Lincoln Road [the modern B1443], which continues through the low-lying parishes of Werrington and Glinton, before deviating round the western edge of Northborough [the modern B 1162] to reach the River Welland (at TF 151- 096-), as shown on Eyre's and Jefferys' 'Map of the Soke of Peterborough' of 1791 (Map 3).

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[14] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 59v-64r; S 68.
[15] Cambridge University Library [CUL], Peterborough Dean and Chapter [PDC] 1 [The Book of Robert of Swaffham] (Peterborough, *c.* 1250), hereafter Swaffham, ff. 45v, 267v-268r (old foliation).
[16] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 12v, 'Descriptio militum de abbatiæ de Burgo.' See also *The Cartularies and Registers of Peterborough Abbey*, ed. J. Martin (Kendall, 1978), p. 2.
[17] The church was dedicated to St. Andrew before the Reformation. See M. A. Serjeantson and H. Isham Longden, 'Parishes and Religious Houses of Northamptonshire: Dedications, Altars, Images and Lights', *AJ* 70 (1919), p. 382; J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), p. 369.

'and thence as far as the place that they call Folies,' (3)

The Follies River leaves the Welland to the north of Peakirk Parish (at TF 179- 073-) and was redirected through the artificial channels, known as the Follies River Cut, excavated *c.* 1637 to link Car Dyke with the rivers Follies and Welland, and the Maxey Cut, dug between 1954 ad 1965 to prevent flooding in the Market Deeping area.[18] Eyre's and Jefferys' 'Map of the Soke' shows that the earlier course of the Follies River ran through the parishes of Northborough, Maxey and Helpston as far as the Long Ditch [Langdyke], on the boundary with Ufford (Map 3).

By following the Welland as far as its confluence with the Follies River, the forger provided *Medeshamstede* with access to the Wash. He also included within the monastery's bounds the hermitage of St. Pega, sister to St. Guthlac of Crowland. According to the fifteenth-century Crowland chronicler, pseudo-Ingulph, Pega lived as an anchoress in **Peakirk**, four miles west of Crowland, before embarking upon a pilgrimage to Rome, where she died *c.* 718.[19] Orderic Vitalis, writing at Crowland *c.* 1123, was the earliest known historian to introduce the concept that *Pegelande Cœnobium* had been established on the site of Pega's cell and that it was united with Crowland Abbey, upon the death of its abbot, Wulfgeat, in 1048.[20] After this date, the history of Peakirk Monastery is obscure and there is no reliable documentary evidence to suggest that a religious community continued at Peakirk after the Norman Conquest. Nevertheless, it is possible that the remnants of Wulfgeat's foundation and of an Anglo-Saxon cross, the shaft of which is now preserved in the Hermitage Chapel (at TF 169- 068-), were visible from the Welland silhouetted against the stark fen landscape.[21] Therefore, it was of paramount importance that *Burch* laid claim not only to the site of St. Pega's anchorage but also the tradition of a local saint and miracle worker.[22]

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[18] W. H. Wheeler, 'The Reclaimers of the Fens', *FNQ* 3 (1895-7), pp. 159-60; Darby, *Changing Fenland*, p. 231. Hart suggests that *Folies* was derived from the Old English, *fulan ea* meaning 'foul river', pers. com., Nov. 1998.

[19] *Felix's Life of St. Guthlac,* ed. and tr. B. Colgrave (Oxford, 1956), hereafter *VG*, ch. 50. See also *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland*, ed. and tr. H. T. Riley (London, 1854), hereafter *Ingulph*, pp. 9-10. The name 'Peakirk' ['Pega's Church'] is Scandinavian in origin. See *The Place-Names of Northamptonshire*, ed. J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1975), p. 241.

[20] *The Ecclesiastical History of Oderic Vitalis*, ed. and tr. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969-80) I (Books III and IV), hereafter *OV*, pp. xxvi-xxix, 342-5. See also *Ingulph*, pp. 81-2, 126-7; D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales*, 2nd edn. (London, 1971), p. 479.

[21] Peterborough City Council [PCC] Sites and Monuments Record [SMR] Nos. 000637, 000637a.

[22] Pega healed a blind man with salt that Guthlac had blessed. See *VG*, ch. 53.

By 1146 a parish church had been erected at Peakirk (at TF 168- 067-). It was confirmed to *Burch* in Eugenius III's first papal bull of 1146, together with 'capellis cum theloneo de Depinges et Peikirce, cum piscatura et ceteris appendiciis suis'.[23] It is feasible that the fishery existed in the vicinity of Peakirk by the early twelfth century, established at the behest of Abbot Ernulf (1107-14), in order to supplement the monastic diet. A document known as the 'Descriptio Maneriorum Abbatiæ de Burhc', originally compiled *c.* 1125 but which only survives in copy form in the *Liber Niger*, recorded that three fisherman were to render 'fifteen shillings worth of fish' towards the maintenance of the patients at St. Leonard's leper hospital in *Burch*, an institution that appears to have been founded by Ernulf.[24] Moreover, a fishery was already operational at neighbouring Glinton, presumably on the Follies River, *c.* 1125, for which Eilmer was obliged to pay an annual rent of six shillings plus an additional twelve pence for his house.[25]

Although the precise location of the Peakirk fishery is unknown, an entry in *Rotuli Hundredorum*, *c.* 1274, stated that Peter de la Mare, lord of the manor of Northborough, and Joanna Wake had unwittingly allowed the rent on their fishery at *Walraund* [Walderam Hall] to lapse.[26] Furthermore, during the reign of Henry VII (1485-1509), Robert Hochyn of Helpston was paying an annual rent of 33s 4d 'for the fishery between Walderam Hall and the cross in *Le Edye*, there in the Welland'.[27] Therefore, it is conceivable that the wholesale harvesting of fish was being practised near the confluence of the Welland and Follies Rivers possibly before pseudo-Wulfhere's grant had been fabricated. However, although the local population was likely to have exploited the river's resources, it is improbable that the fishing took place on such a large scale during the seventh century (Maps 3-5).

'and thence across the whole fen directly to Esendic,' (4)

'The cross on Le Edye' mentioned in Hochyn's rental was traditionally known as '**Kenulph's Stone**'. Its successor has been placed on Alderman's Drove, two-and-a-half miles north-east of Peakirk parish, on the boundary between Newborough and Crowland (at

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[23] *HC*, p. 110. My translation: 'with the chapels and toll of Deeping and Peakirk, with the fishery and their other appendices.' By 1528, Peakirk church was dedicated to All Hallows, but received its 'Pega' consecration before 1791. See Serjeantson *et al.*, 'Parishes and Religious Houses', p. 388; Bridges, *History of Northants.* II, p. 575. For tolls see below, Chapter 6, pp. pp. 238-50.
[24] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 10v. My translation of 'Et iii piscatores qui reddunt xv solidos in piscibus'. See also Martin, *Cartularies*, p. 2. See also, Chapter 6, p. 243.
[25] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 12r.
[26] *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ed. W. Illingworth, 2 vols. (London, 1812-8) II, p. 14.
[27] W. T. Mellows, *The Local Government of Peterborough* (Peterborough, 1909), p. 44.

TF 215- 093-).[28] According to Orderic Vitalis, the original cross was raised by Kenulph, the first abbot of Crowland, *c.* 719 to mark his monastery's frontier with Deeping St. James' Priory, a dependency of Thorney.[29] By 948, the cross had been washed away by a flood tide and purportedly was replaced with one erected by Abbot Turketyl (*c.* 975).[30] Although theoretically any boundary cross that existed in the early twelfth century would have been visible from the Welland, its very acknowledgement by the forger of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter would have been tantamount to recognizing the presence of Crowland Abbey, over which he was attempting to claim seniority. Therefore, he disregarded it and chose as his next landscape feature, the *Esendic* [Asendyke], an artificial watercourse of indeterminable date, which joins the Welland at Brotherhouse (at TF 260-250-) and which, according to pseudo-Eadgar's charter to Crowland of 966, constituted the Crowland's northern boundary.[31] The broken shaft of a post-Conquest wayside cross, known locally as 'St. Guthlac's Cross,' stands by the road junction (centred at TF 2602 1494), possibly a replacing for an earlier boundary stone (Maps 4, 6).[32]

By following the main course of the River Welland downstream as far as the Asendyke, pseudo-Wulfhere's charter forger was encapsulating within the seventh-century bounds of *Medeshamstede*, **Crowland Abbey** 'on middan gyrþan fenne', the site of Guthlac's shrine.[33] The forger may have known that Guthlac already had a tenuous link with *Medeshamstede*, since he had received his tonsure at Repton,[34] a possible satellite of Breedon-on-the-Hill,[35] which in turn was a daughter house of *Medeshamstede*.[36] Therefore, it was feasible that

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[28] 'Kennulph's Stone' is described as 'Crosse on the Eye' on John Blaeu's 'Map of *Regiones Inundatæ*' [1648]. See Map 6. *Le Edye* appears to be a corruption of 'ea', Old English for river. See also Dugdale, *Imbanking*, p. 380.

[29] *OV*, pp. 340-1. See also Knowles and Hadcock, *Religious Houses*, p. 63. It is possible that the boundary marker became associated with Abbot Cœnwulf [Kenulf] of Peterborough (992-1005). See ASC (E), 963.

[30] *Ingulph*, p. 78.

[31] *Ingulph*, pp. 85; S 741. *Esendike* was probably a corruption of 'Esa's Dyke', Dr. Jayne Carroll, Department of English, University of Leicester, pers. com., April 2006.

[32] P. Everson and D. Stocker, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* 5: *Lincolnshire* (London, 1999), pp. 323-5.

[33] London, British Library [BL], Stowe 944, f. 37rv, 'Secgan be þam Godes Sanctum þe on Engla lande ærost reston', (*c.* 1031); D. Rollason, 'List of Resting Places in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 7 (1978), p. 89.

[34] *VG*, chs. 19-24. For Repton's relationship with Breedon, see A. Rumble, '"*Hrepingas*" Reconsidered', in *Mercian Studies*, ed. A. Dornier (Leicester, 1977), pp. 169-172.

[35] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 45rv, 'Friduric, *princeps*, to Abbot Hædda of *Breodune*, grant of land at *Hrepingas* (Repton)'; S 1805.

[36] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 44v-45r, 'Friduric, princeps, to Medeshamstede, grant of land at Breodune'; S 1803. A copy of *Vita Guthlaci* was produced at *Burch* during the early twelfth-century. See BL, Harley 3097, ff. 67v-84v; *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England, c. 1066-1130*, ed. R. Gameson, London, 1999, No. 448; *Corpus of Medieval Library Catalogues* 8: *Peterborough Abbey*, ed. K. Friis-Jensen and J. M. W. Willoughby, (London, 2001), Bp2. 15e.

Guthlac may have been directed by his abbess, Ælfthryth, to lands owned by *Medeshamstede* in order make a legitimate claim.

There is no reliable documentary evidence to suggest that coenobic life continued at Crowland after Guthlac's death *c.* 714 and it seems that that Turketyl was actually the founder rather than the restorer of the abbey.[37] However, if the forger was aware of this, it was of little importance, since he was primarily concerned with recording the estates, which were professed to have belonged to *Medeshamstede* during the seventh and eighth centuries, when Guthlac had founded his cell.

'and from *Esendic* to the place that they call Fæðermuðe,' (5)

After *Esendic*, the charter bounds become somewhat vague and therefore remain open to conjecture. Potts proposed that the compiler may have intended that the Asendyke marked the northern limits of *Medeshamstede*'s territory.[38] However, by choosing this route, the compiler would have been ignoring the washland saltmarshes, shown on John Blæu's 'Map of *Regiones Inundatæ*' of 1648, which provided a commodity that was as valuable for the preservation of fish and meat to post-Conquest monasteries as it had been to the Roman legionaries, part of whose 'salary' was paid in salt.[39] Therefore, it is conceivable that the Ernulf, the likely instigator of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, would have urged his compiler to push *Medeshamstede*'s seventh-century frontiers to the very edge of the salterns, as far as it was geographically possible (Map 6).

Nevertheless, the boundary point, *Fæðermuðe*, remains an enigma. Hart suggested that it could mean 'feather-mouth', perhaps, a colloquial term applied to the Welland delta, to the north-east of **Spalding**, where the creeks and runnels of the undrained saltmarsh may have resembled the downy feathers or plumules of a young bird.[40] By progressing from *Norburch* to *Esendic* and, debatably, as far as the mouth of the Welland, the compiler was using the river as the demarcation line for his charter. Thus, he may have been respecting

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[37] D. Whitelock, 'The Conversion of Eastern Danelaw', *The Viking Society Saga Book* 12 (1937-41), pp. 174-5; Hallam, *Settlement and Society*, p. 165; *OV*, pp. xxvii-xxviii. See also Knowles and Hadcock, *Religious* Houses, p. 63. Crowland Abbey church is dedicated to SS. Mary, Bartholomew and Guthlac.
[38] Potts, 'Pre-Danish Estate', p. 17; OS Explorer Map 249.
[39] N. Brooks, *Church, State and Access to Resources in Early Anglo-Saxon England*, Twentieth Brixworth Lecture, Second Series, No. 2 (2003), pp. 4, 20-1.
[40] Hart, pers. com., Nov. 1998; Carroll, pers. com., April 2006.

the seventh-century tribal division between the *Spalda* and North *Gyrwe*.[41] In doing so, he was also excluding from his claim the original settlement of *Spaldingis*, on the west bank of the river, part of which allegedly was bestowed in the dubious land grant of 1051 by Thorold de Bokenhale [Bucknall] upon Crowland Abbey for the purpose of founding a monastic cell (Maps 4, 6, 7).[42]

Although there is no direct reference in *Domesday Book*, it is possible that by the end of the eleventh century a church also had been established at Fulney, an island to the east of Spalding, where the abbot of Crowland held two *caracutes* of land.[43] *Chronicon Angliæ Petriburgense*, purporting to be the work of Abbot John de Caux (1250-62), claimed that in 1059 Ealdorman Lugar petitioned Abbot Wulfketyl of Crowland (1051-1085) to instruct the monks of St. Nicholas Priory, Spalding, to provide for a 'ligneam capellam suam ejudem villæ'.[44] The story is modified in pseudo-Ingulph Chronicle, in which the bogus charter of King Burgred [Beorred] of Mercia of 868, confirmed the 'vill' of Spalding to Crowland, as well as 'the little wooden chapel of St. Mary, on the same side of the river at Spalding, together with four carucates of land on the other side of the river, in the fields of Pinchebek'. Since Pinchbeck is situated to the west of the River Welland (centred at TF 2342 2554), it appears that pseudo-Ingulph, writing *c.* 1415, believed that the chapel of ease was located to the east of the mainstream on Fulney Island, possibly on the site occupied by the thirteenth-century parish church of SS. Mary and Nicholas (centred at TF 2515 2238).[45] Indeed, a church consecrated to St. Mary had been appropriated by the monks of Spalding by the mid twelfth century, after which the priory adopted the joint dedication to SS. Mary and Nicholas.[46] After the Norman Conquest, landlords were encouraged to provide places of worship for their tenants.[47] Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that a chapel may have existed on Fulney

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[41] The *Spalda* and the North *Gyrwe* were each allocated 600 *hyda* in the Mercian Tribal Hidage. See BL, Harley 3271, f. 6 [Version A]; D. Dumville, 'The Tribal Hidage: An Introduction to the Texts and their History', in *The Origins of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, ed. S. Bassett (Leicester, 1989), pp. 226-7; C. R. Hart 'The Tribal Hidage', *Transactions of the Royal Society*, Fifth Series 21, (1971), pp. 144-5; W. Davies and H. Vierck, 'The Contexts of "Tribal Hidage": Social Aggregates and Settlement Patterns', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 8 (1974), p. 283.

[42] BL, Arundel 178, f. 59rv; *Ingulph*, pp. 131, 145; *Chronicon Angliæ Petriburgense*, ed. J. A. Giles (London, 1845), p. 49; S 1230. See also *Domesday Book*, hereafter *DB*: *Lincolnshire*, ed. J. Morris, P. Morgan and C. Thorn, 2 vols. (Chichester, 1986) I, 14 [97]; Knowles and Hadcock, *Religious Houses*, p. 77.

[43] *DB: Lincs.*, I, 11 [2].

[44] *Chron. Angliæ*, ed. Giles, p. 52. My translation: 'a timber chapel in the same vill'. See also Knowles and Hadcock, *Religious Houses*, p. 77.

[45] BL, Arundel 178, ff. 35v-36r; *Ingulph*, pp. ix-xi, 37; S 213.

[46] *English Episcopal Acta*: *Lincoln*, ed. D. M. Smith, 2 vols. [I and IV; Lincoln] (Lincoln, 1980-6), hereafter *Acta*, ed. Smith, I, Nos. 248 (1148 x 1157), 250 (1148 x 1166).

[47] D. Owen, *The Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1971), p. 2; Blair, *Church in Society*, p. 369.

Island by the early twelfth century, which the composer of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter used as a landmark in his perambulation of *Medeshamstede*'s bounds. This may explain the inclusion of the events leading up to the foundation of the wooden chapel in 'Abbot John's' Chronicle (Maps 4, 6).

'and from there along a road ten leagues in length directly to a place which they call Cuggedic,' (6)

It is tempting to agree with Hart's theory that the bounds next progressed along the *Heregate* [Hargate], the ridgeway that linked the pre-Conquest washland settlements of Spalding,[48] Weston,[49] Moulton,[50] Whaplode,[51] Holbeach,[52] Fleet[53] and Long Sutton [Sutton St. Mary][54] with the Sutton Wash Way to [Kings'] Lynn.[55] According to folklore, the late tenth-/early eleventh-century 'Elloe Stone' that marked the meeting place of the Elloe Wapentake of South Holland, once stood by the side of the *Heregate* in Ellowstone Field, on the parish boundary between Moulton and Whaplode (at TF 3155- 2482).[56] However, if the forger were aware of the names of the settlements along the *Heregate*, why did he decline to include them in his charter? Was he deliberately being obscure in order to avoid offending the king and the powerful knights who held estates along its course?[57] Or did the composer select a more northerly route, the boundary points of which were landscape features or isolated farmsteads rather than communities? If so, we must question the forger's knowledge of Old English place-names and whether it is possible that he had at his disposal an earlier exemplar that had been compiled before the nucleated settlements along the *Heregate* had been established between the ninth and twelfth centuries (Maps 6, 8).[58]

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[48] Spalding [*Spaldingas*], 'the settlement of the people of the Spalde'. See K. Cameron, *Dictionary of Lincolnshire Place-Names* (Nottingham, 1998), p. 114.
[49] Weston [*Westune*], 'the farmstead or village to the west [of Moulton]'. See *ibid.* p. 137.
[50] Moulton [*Multune*], 'the farmstead or village of Mūla'. See *ibid.* p. 89.
[51] Whaplode [*Copelade, Quaoplode*], from *cwappa*, 'an eel-pout' and *lade*, 'a watercourse'. See *ibid.* p. 137.
[52] Holbeach [*Holobec*], from *hol*, 'a hollow' and *bæc* meaning 'back'. See *ibid.*, p. 64.
[53] Fleet [*Flæt*], 'an, the inlet, creek or stream'. See *ibid.*, p. 45.
[54] Long Sutton [*Suðtune*], 'the farmstead or village to the south'. See *ibid.*, p. 120.
[55] Hallam, *Settlement and Society*, Map 6: South Lincolnshire in 1307.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 143. The stone was restored and relocated in 1992, possibly to its original site. Everson and Stocker, *Corpus*, pp. 162-4; A. Meaney 'Gazetteer of Hundred and Wapentake Meeting-Places in the Cambridge Region', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 82 (1993), p. 76; *Place-Names: Lincs.*, p. 41.
[57] In 1086, William held land in Tydd St. Mary, Gedney, Lutton, Holbeach, Whaplode and Fleet. See *DB: Lincs.* I [28-34]. Ivo de Tallboys held land in Spalding and Moulton. See *ibid.* I, 14 [97-8, 100]. Guy de Craon held land in Whaplode, Holbeach, Moulton, Spalding. See *ibid.* II, 57 [50-1, 53-4]. Count Alan held land in Whaplode, Holbeach and Gedney. See *ibid.* I, 12 [83-4]; II, CK [71]. Ketill de Sutton held land at [Long] Sutton. See *ibid.* II, CK [70].
[58] C. Dyer, *Everyday Life in Medieval England* 2nd edn. (London, 2000), p. 48.

The *Heregate* with its Wapentake Court may have had a certain appeal to pseudo-Wulfhere's author. Nevertheless, it should also be considered that he may have preferred to include within his charter bounds the salt marshes on the seaward side of the road as far as the so-called 'Roman' or Sea Bank, coastal defences of indeterminable date, which still survive intermittently from Cowbit to Spalding, then eastwards past Long Sutton as far as Tydd St. Mary.[59] A metalled roadway has been constructed along part of the remaining Sea Bank, which in some places still rises to a height of about five metres, above the surrounding fields. It is possible that the Sea Bank, the most direct and driest route along the northern limits of the medieval salt marshes, was also used as a causeway by workers involved in salt production from the late eleventh century.[60]

So little is known of the pre-Conquest history of Elloe that the nature of Roman activity in the area is debatable. Finds on the seaward side of the townships of Spalding, Holbeach, Fleet, Long Sutton and Tydd St. Mary suggest that the high ground along the road known as the *Heregate* was occupied and the lands immediately to the north may have been exploited for cultivation and animal husbandry during the Roman period.[61] It is possible that, motivated by the freely available supply of fish and salt, the legions were responsible for the earliest land reclamation and sea banks.[62] H. E. Hallam concluded that, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, extensive drainage schemes were undertaken both to the north of the *Heregate* into the washlands and to the south into the fens.[63] Furthermore, *Domesday Book* declared that by 1086 fisheries and salthouses had been established at Tydd St. Mary, Lutton, Gedney, Fleet and Spalding, implying that the washlands to the north of the *Heregate* were already being exploited at least a generation before pseudo-Wulfhere's charter was fabricated.[64]

Pseudo-Wufhere's charter stipulated that *Cuggedic* was 'decem leugarium' ['ten leagues'] from *Fæðermuðe*. Unfortunately, a league was a variable unit of length, ranging from 1.5 to 3 miles.[65] It also seems that to the Peterborough forger, the mile and the league were interchangeable, as we shall discover in the next element of the bounds. Indeed, Hand

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[59] The earliest known reference to the Sea Bank appears in deed of 1182-8, in which Ranulph, chaplain of Sibsey, agreed to repair at Weston 'dimidiam perticatum fossati maris 7 dimidiam perticatum fossati marisci' ['half a perch of sea bank and half a perch of fen bank']. See BL, Harley 742, f. 130r; Hallam, *Settlement and Society*, p. 223.
[60] P. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1998), pp. 13-6.
[61] S. Hallam, 'Settlements round the Wash', in *The Fenland in Roman Times*, ed. C. W. Phillips (London, 1970), pp. 24-7, 42, 98-105.
[62] J. Coles and D. Hall, *Changing Landscapes: The Ancient Fenland* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 56.
[63] Hallam, *Settlement and Society*, pp. 3-39.
[64] *DB: Lincs.* I, 1 [28] (Tydd); 1 [29] (Lutton); 1[31] (Gedney); 1 [34] (Fleet); 14 [97] (Spalding).
[65] Simon James, Department of Archaeology, Leicester University, pers. com., Jan. 2006.

1 of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Manuscript E, hereafter ASC (E), recorded exactly the same distances in miles throughout his perambulation of pseudo-Wulfhere's vernacular bounds.[66] Moreover, since the Elloe Wapentake lay beyond the *Burch*'s post-Æthelwold jurisdiction, it is unlikely that the forger actually paced his route. Therefore, the distances between the boundary points are unlikely to correspond with modern units of measurement. The distance between Spalding and Long Sutton following the modern course of the *Heregate*, [the modern A 151] is approximately fourteen miles, equivalent to anything between 4.6 and 9.3 leagues. The distance between the mouth of the Welland to the north of Spalding along the Sea Bank to its easternmost limit at **Lutton Hirne** (at TF 432- 283-) is approximately 19.5 miles, between 6.5 and thirteen leagues. Since these calculations can only be conjectural, the exact route recorded by the forger may never be satisfactorily identified. The name, *Cuggedic*, suggests a landscape feature associated with an individual named Cugga. Carroll proposes that the *dic* element referred to the earthwork known as the Sea Bank rather than to the Sea Dyke, a drainage ditch that ran parallel with the Sea Bank from Spalding to Tydd Gote (Maps 2, 6, 8).[67]

'and from there to Raggeuuilhc (7) and from Raggeuuilhc five <u>miles</u> to the main stream which leads to Elm and Wisbech,' (8)

If the boundary point, *Cuggedic*, represented Lutton Hirne, the easternmost limits of the Lincolnshire saltmarshes during the early twelfth century, the only direction in which the compiler of pseudo-Wufhere's charter could travel was south, perhaps, via the Sea Bank towards the settlement of **Long Sutton** [Sutton St. Mary]. As at Spalding, the forger possibly intended to use another parish church consecrated to the Virgin as his boundary marker. Whilst Lutton with its dedication to St. Nicholas appears to be the exception to the rule, an alternative name for the settlement was Sutton St. Nicholas, originally a chapelry of Long Sutton.[68] Although St. Mary the Virgin is the most common of medieval church dedications, the proliferation of 'Mary churches' in the area appears to indicate *matrix ecclesiæ*. Indeed, by the mid twelfth century parochial chapels had been established in outlying settlements in the washlands and reclaimed fens to the north and south of the

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[66] ASC (E), 656.

[67] Carroll, pers. com., April 2006. The earliest reference to the Sea Dyke is recorded *c.* 1220-30, when Gilbert, son of Lambert, of Spalding and his wife, Kinna, bestowed all their lands which belonged to 'foueam forinsecam maris' ['the observation of the sea dyke'] at Gedney upon Thorney Abbey. See CUL, Additional 3021 [Red Book of Thorney] (Thorney, s. xiv), f. 248r. Hallam, *Settlement and Society*, p. 12. *Hirne* or bend in the river' is Old English in origin. 'Lutton' is Old English for 'the farmstead or village by a pool'. See *Place-Names: Lincs.*, pp. 83-4.

[68] *Place-Names: Lincs.*, pp. 83-4. Owen, *Church and Society*, p. 10.

Heregate at Holbeach Hirne (St. Nicholas), Fleet Hargate (St. Nicholas), Whaplode St. Katherine and Sutton St. James (Map 8).[69]

Watts' 'Map of the Wisbech Hundred' shows a tree-lined watercourse labelled *Rackewillowe Rowe* stretching from Tydd St. Giles [Cambridgeshire] almost of far as *Clowes crosse* at Trockenholt (Map 9). The same watercourse is described as the 'Shire Dreane' on Hexham's 'Map of the Fenland' (Map 10).[70] Therefore, it is tempting to concede that *Rackewillowe Rowe* was a corruption of *Raggeuuilhc*, and that the author of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter was using the Shire Drain, the early eleventh-century boundary between Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire and possibly the boundary between Mercia and East Anglia, to mark the limits of *Medeshamstede's* seventh-century territory.[71] However, as we shall discover, unless Watts' map is inaccurate this interpretation of *Raggeuuilhc* would make the next two sections of the charter bounds unworkable. Hart suggests that the name *Raggeuuilhc* was derived from the Old-English elements *ragu* ['moss or lichen'] and ***wylle*** ['a stream'], implying the boundary point was close to a 'sluggish, weedy river', similar to the brackish creeks that fed the Lincolnshire salt marshes.[72]

All evidence of a slow-moving stream has been obliterated by post-medieval drainage campaigns. However, a broad channel is shown on Hexham's map as flowing into the old Shire Drain. The watercourse also appears on Dugdale's 'Map of South Holland' [1662] as a continuation of the Sea Dyke' which enters the Shire Drain at Tydd Gote to the south-south-east of the parish church of **Tydd St. Mary**. Therefore, it seems likely that *Raggeuuilhc*, Hart's 'sluggish weedy river' began at Long Sutton and emptied into the Shire Drain at Tydd Gote (Maps 8, 10).

The Old-English word *tydd* refers to a 'salt-hill', whilst *gote* is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *geat*, meaning 'gate' or 'sluice'. The term may equally have been adopted by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century engineers from the Low Countries as by pre-Conquest drainage pioneers. I tend to favour that the former derivation. Since, as charter evidence testifies, that the Sea Dyke was in existence from at least the early thirteenth century, some form of mechanism would have been necessary to regulate the flow of water into the Shire Drain and *vice versa*.[73] Moreover, Dugdale recorded that it was not until February 1617 that

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[69] Owen, *Church and Society*, pp. 5, 10-2. See also Blair, *Church in Society*, p. 368-9.
[70] Hatfield House, CPM Supp. 29. A copy of Hexham's map is held at Peterborough Central Library.
[71] *Place-Names: Cambs.*, pp. 10-1, 15. *Raggeuuilhc* was recorded as *Raggeuuilh* in the vernacular version pseudo-Wulfhere's charter. See ASC (E), f. 15r (656).
[72] Hart, pers. com., Nov. 1998.
[73] BL, Harley 742, f. 130r; Hallam, *Settlement and Society*, p. 223; OS Explorer Map 235.

the Commissioners for the Draining of the Fens decreed that the [Old] South Eau or Shire Drain should be 'scoured [secured]. . . from Clowes Cross [Throckenholt] to Halgates, by the landowners of Sutton, *cum membris*, and Tyd St. Marie's, their tenants etc on the north part; and the lord of Trockenholt on the south.'[74] Thus, it appears that the north-eastern corner of Cambridgeshire was not targeted by the Commissioners until the early seventeenth century and may have changed little since the early thirteenth century (Map 8).

'and from there, for three leagues against the current of the main stream to Throckenholt,' (9)

If the latter section of the perambulation has been correctly interpreted, the author of pseudo-Wulfhere's' charter did not instruct his readers to cross the Shire Drain at Shire Gote [Tydd Gote], then follow the route of the Nene [Wisbech River] which ran parallel with Watts' 'Magna Ripa de Wisbec' ['Great Wisbech River Bank'] and Hexham's 'Sea Bancke', eventually continuing to Wisbech. Instead, he directed them to turn right or westwards 'contra cursum' into the section of the Shire Drain known as the Old South Eau, then to follow its course as far as Throckenholt.[75] Thus, the charter bounds appear to have encompassed the entire Elloe Wapentake from the Welland at the *Esendic* to the Shire Drain at Tydd Gote. In doing so, the composer perhaps acknowledged what were understood to be the seventh-century boundaries between the North *Gyrwe* and the *Wigesta* folk, who are thought to have occupied the Norfolk Washland, and the East *Þixna* [*Wissa*] folk, whose power-base was associated with Wisbech (Maps 7, 9, 10).[76]

Moreover, the forger also ensured that he did not encroach upon the estates of Ely abbey, which had been reformed by Bishop Æthelwold in 970.[77] The reasons for his decision were probably two-fold. Firstly, Ely, the mausoleum of three generations of East Anglian royal saints, enjoyed an even more impressive pedigree than *Medeshamstede*. It had been founded *c.* 672, by Æthelthryth, the daughter-in-law of Oswiu of Northumbria (641-70), professed co-founder of *Medeshamstede*. While Bede was so inspired by Æthelthryth's piety that he devoted two chapters to her in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, *Medeshamstede* received only a single reference that simply implied that the monastery had been established by 673,

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[74] Dugdale, *Imbanking*, p. 397.
[75] *Place-Names: Cambs.*, pp. 10-1, 15.
[76] BL, Harley 3271, f. 6 [Version A]; Hart 'Tribal Hidage', 143-5. See also Davies and Vierck, '"Tribal Hidage"', p. 232; Darby, *Changing Fenland*, p. 5.
[77] *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake (London, 1962), hereafter *LE*, Bk. I, Preface; Bk. II, ch. 1-5. See also Whitelock's Introduction to *LE*, p. xxxiv; *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. B. Yorke (Woodbridge, 1988), p. 3.

at least three years after Ely.[78] Secondly, in 1109 Henry II created the Diocese of Ely, appointing Bishop Hervey of Bangor, as the first diocesan incumbent.[79] If pseudo-Wulfhere's charter had been fabricated after this date, the author would have been obliged to take particular care that he offended neither king nor bishop. By claiming Ely's post-Æthelwold territory, he would have been inviting scrutiny of the document and possibly his own exposure and consequent punishment (Maps 10, 11).

No such concession was granted to Thorney. By including in his charter bounds Throckenholt, formerly *Enderwicke* (at TF 363- 093-), traditionally the retreat of the hermits Godric and Trokenholus, the forger was pushing *Medeshamstede*'s frontier to the very edge of Ely's post-Æthelwold territory to envelope within its bounds Thorney, another monastery dedicated to the Virgin Mary.[80] Thus, he was blatantly reminding the brethren therein of his codicil to pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, in which a group of ascetics were despatched to *Ancarig*, the 'Island of Anchorites'.[81] In brief, Thorney Abbey owed its very existence to *Burch* (Map 9).

Less than a quarter of a mile to the east of the hermitage, on the eastern bank of the Shire Drain, stood Clowes [Clough's] Cross, which marked the boundary between Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire (at TF 3631 0944).[82] It is represented on Watts' and Dugdale's maps as a substantial stone structure, set in a square base, near the confluence of the Shire Drain and the High Fen Dyke. According to an inset in Watts' Map of the Wisbech Hundred', the cross was erected during the reign of Eadgar (957-75), shortly after Thorney's reformation by Æthelwold. It is tempting to conjecture that our forger adopted the cross, if it existed during the early decades of the twelfth century, as a landmark in his perambulation of *Medeshamstede*'s bounds. However, since Bishop Nigel of Ely (1133-65) confirmed the hermitage of Throckenholt, on the west bank of the Shire Drain, to Thorney Abbey, it is equally possible that the cross was installed, on the east bank, some time after

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[78] *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, ed. and tr. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), hereafter *HE*, Bk. IV, chs. 6; 19 [17], 20 [18].

[79] *LE*, Bk. III, ch. 1.

[80] *VCH*: *Cambs.*, II, pp. 212-4; IV, p. 198; CUL, Add. 3020, ff. 12r; 168rv, 169v; C. R. Hart, *Early Charters of Eastern England* (Leicester, 1966) [*ECEE*], p. 166. See also *The Victoria History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*, ed. L. F. Salzman *et al.*, 10 vols. (London, 1938-2002), hereafter *VCH: Cambs.*, IV, p. 198; PCC SMR No. 09944; Knowles and Hadcock, *Religious Houses*, p. 78; S. Raban, *The Estates of Thorney Abbey* (Cambridge, 1977), p. 31. Odo of Whittlesey, Abbot of Thorney (1293-1305), decided that 'duos vel tres monachos' ['three or four monks'] should reside there and that masses should be said for his soul and those of his parents. See CUL, Add. 3021, f. 450v. The site of the cell is now occupied by Throckenholt Farm. For Thorney's dedication, see ASC (E), 656; CUL, Add. 3020, ff. 12r, 14v.

[81] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 63r; ASC (E), 656; *HC*, p. 12.

[82] *Place-Names: Cambs.*, pp. 277-8; PCC SMR No. 01857.

this event by a subsequent bishop of Ely in order to establish the limits of his territory (Maps 8, 9).[83]

'and from Throckenholt directly across a vast marsh to Dereuorde, a distance of twenty leagues,' (10)

The next boundary point, *Dereuorde*, 'the ford of the wild animals', has been identified by Potts as **Dartford Road**, which once crossed the Nene near the centre of the modern town of March (at TL 416- 947-).[84] Again it is necessary to speculate regarding the route adopted by the forger in order to reach his destination. Watts' 'Map of the Wisbech Hundred' delineates the course of a substantial waterway, labelled 'Le High Fenn Dike', running from *Clowes Crosse* [Clough's Cross] to **Guyhirn**, where it enters the River Nene.[85] A similar feature with a parallel earthwork, described as the 'South Ea Bancke', is shown on Hexham's 'Map of the Fenland' (Map 10). The High Fen Dyke or South Eau [a branch of the Old South Eau] and the South Eau Bank still appear to have been functioning as defences against fresh-water floods when Dugdale compiled his 'Map of South Holland' in 1662. Furthermore, Dugdale stated that this stretch of the South Eau was one of the old courses of the River Nene, which joined the Welland beneath the triangular bridge at Crowland, 'but this chanel of Nene is now decayed, and likewise that of *Weland*; now *Weland* maketh a fall backwards, by the same course, to *Nomans land* and the South *Ea* to *Dowesdale*, *Clowescrosse* and *Guyhirne*'.[86] Hexham's map corroborates this information. Therefore, it appears that the South Eau was understood by the forger as the seventh-century boundary of *Medeshamstede* as well as the boundary between Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire (Maps 5, 9, 10).

Parts of the South Eau have been reduced to a mere trickle since the North Level Main Drain (1832-4) was excavated from Tydd Gote (at TF 468- 183-) to Clough's Cross/Trockenholt and the Old Wryde Drain was 'improved' from Murrow to Thorney and renamed the North Level Drain (1831-4).[87] Nevertheless, the South Eau Bank, now know as the Gull Bank which carries the modern B1187, continues to dominate the landscape between Clough's Cross and Guyhirn for a distance of distance of 4.8 miles, perhaps

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[83] CUL, Add. 3020, f. 168r-169v; *VCH: Cambs.* II, p. 212; IV, p. 198.
[84] Potts, 'Pre-Danish Estate', p. 18.
[85] The 'hirne' element in Guyhirn is derived from the Old-English for 'a bend in the river'. See *Place-Names: Cambs.*, p. 293.
[86] Dugdale, *Imbanking*, p. 176; A. E. B. Owen, 'A Fenland Frontier: The Establishment of the Boundary between Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire', *Landscape History* 4 (1982), p. 41.
[87] Darby, *Changing Fenland*, p. 163; R. L. Hills, *Drainage of the Fens* (Ashbourne, 2003), p. 102.

indicating the post-Æthelwold boundary between the estates of Thorney and Ely.[88] Dugdale also referred to a cross at Guyhirn that was still standing in 1617.[89] However, it is shown on neither Hexham's nor Watts' maps, which merely acknowledge the presence of the 'Towerhouse', erected by Bishop John Morton of Ely (1479-86) so that he could oversee the construction of the New Leam [Moreton's Leam], through which the Nene was diverted from Stanground, near Peterborough, to Ring's End, near Guyhirn (at TF 394- 025) (Map 10).[90]

Hexham's map shows that, after the excavation of Moreton's Leam, the old course of the Nene continued to follow its meandering path downstream from Peterborough through the fens and meres of Huntingdonshire via Benwick and March, then northwards to Guyhirn and thence to Wisbech (Map 10). Thus, it appears that pseudo-Wulfhere's compiler may have taken a route upstream from Guyhirn to March. Unfortunately, the distance between Throckenholt and *Dereuorde*, by modern roads, measures only approximately 9.8 miles, some distance short of the twenty leagues described in the charter. To deviate eastwards would have meant encroaching upon the Bishop of Ely's post-1109 territory; to digress into the marshes to the west of the river would have conceded land to Thorney, which the pseudo-Wulfhere's charter claimed as satellite of *Medeshamstede* (Map 11).[91] Is it possible that the South Eau and the Nene followed a more circuitous route at the time when the forger was at work, as is suggested by Christopher Saxton's somewhat stylized 'Map of Cambridgeshire' [1607] (Map 12). Alternatively, was the forger relying upon a vernacular version of the bounds perpetuated through generations of monks by oral tradition and perhaps misremembered or lost in translation? Or was the distance originally recorded in Roman numerals and 'x' was mistranscribed as 'xx'? Due to successive drainage programmes, the Guyhirn to March section of the charter bounds can only be conjectural. However, if *Dereuorde* has been correctly identified as Dartford Road, March, then as a boundary point it is extremely significant.[92]

Research by the Fenland Project has concluded that during the Roman era, the course of the Nene flowed to the north of the island of Stonea, upon which March, Doddington and Wimblingdon are situated.[93] At some time during the Anglo-Saxon period, the river was

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[88] Dugdale, *Imbanking*, p. 304; OS Explorer Map 227.
[89] Dugdale, *Imbanking*, p. 396.
[90] Morton's Leam proved to be ineffective and was replaced by the Nene Cut in 1728. See Darby, *Medieval Fenland*, pp. 167-8.
[91] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 63r; *HC*, p. 11.
[92] *Place-Names: Cambs.*, p. 253; Potts, 'Pre-Danish Estate', p. 18.
[93] *Fenland Project* 2, pp. 40-1; Fig. 23.

diverted through the centre of March, thus dividing the island in two.[94] Therefore, it is conceivable that the ford referred to as *Dereuorde* in pseudo-Wulfhere's charter bounds was created at this time. Before 1066, the community moved from March to Doddington, when a parish was established to include the whole of Stonea Island.[95] The hamlet of March is shown on Hexham's, Watt's and Saxton's maps as partially occupying the north bank of the Nene, while the main settlement is located two miles to the south, on the opposite bank of the river, in the vicinity of the parish church with its unique dedication to St. Wendreda (at TL 413-954-) (Maps 10, 12, 14).[96] Little is known about Wendreda's life, except that local legend dictates that she was a kinswoman of Æthelthryth and Seaxburh, the daughters of King Anna of the East Angles (633-54). According to the *Liber Eliensis*, written in the mid twelfth century by Richard of Ely, a contemporary of Hugh Candidus, Wendreda's body was translated to Ely by Abbot Ælfsige during the reign of Æthelred II (979-1013, 1014-6), and placed in an elaborate sarcophagus. Her tomb became a centre of pilgrimage, enjoying the patronage of Æthelred II and Queen Emma.[97] In 1016, the monks of Ely carried Wendreda's feretory into battle at Ashingdon [Essex] against Cnut of Denmark, in a vain attempt to provide spiritual support for Edmund Ironside. The monks were slain and the saint's relics were captured by Cnut, who eventually bestowed them upon Canterbury.[98] Although the life of Wendreda is based entirely upon folklore, Æthelred and the brethren of Ely clearly must have believed in her aristocratic status, sanctity and potential as a miracle worker to warrant, first her elevation to an abbey church already rich in royal saints, and secondly to take her relics into to war.

The location of St. Wendreda's Church, in the tenth-century North Witchford Hundred of the Isle of Ely, and the accessibility of her remains confirm that her church lay within the jurisdiction of the monastery of Ely, which according to Bede lay within the 600 hides of the South *Gyrwe* tribal unit.[99] Therefore, pseudo-Wulfhere's forger did not attempt to claim the site of Wendreda's cell, which traditionally was located on the margins of East Anglian

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[94] *Ibid.*, p. 46; Fig. 25.
[95] *Ibid.*, p. 46. By 1001, *Merch*, to the north of River Nene was among the estates bestowed upon Ely by Oswi and Leofflæd, when their son, Ælwin, entered the convent. See *LE*, Bk. II, ch. 65; *ECEE* 62, pp. 46-7. In 1086, the abbot of Ely continued to hold an outlier of Doddington called *Mercha*. See *DB: Cambridgeshire,* ed. J. Morris and A. Rumble (Chichester, 1981), 5 [45].
[96] *Fenland Project* 2, p. 46. A copy of this section of Watts' map is not available.
[97] *LE*, Bk. II ch. 76.
[98] *LE*, Bk. II, ch. 79.
[99] *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, ed. and tr. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), hereafter *HE*, Bk. IV, ch. 19 [17]. See also D. Dumville, 'Essex, Middle Anglia and the Expansion of Mercia in the South-East Midlands', in *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, ed. S. Bassett (Leicester, 1989), pp. 130-1.

territory. Instead, he was merely asserting what the twelfth-century brethren of *Burch* understood to be the seventh-century limits of *Medeshamstede*, which ran along the north bank of the re-routed Nene that bisected Stonea Island. Consequently, we may deduce that, if the author did use an earlier source as his exemplar, it must have post-dated the diversion of the Roman course of the River Nene during the late tenth or early eleventh centuries (Map 14).[100]

The name March was derived from an Old-English word, *mearc*, meaning 'boundary'.[101] Situated on Stonea Island, it probably represented the easternmost extent of Ely's seventh-century *prouincia*. Furthermore, Potts concluded that the northern fen edge of the Nene also may have been the demarcation line between East Anglia and Mercia and possibly between the tribal units of the North and South *Gyrwe*.[102] If so, the forger not only appeared to have been acquainted with the pre-Conquest monastic boundaries but he also recognized the ancestral territories of the people who may have occupied the region before the foundation of the monasteries of Ely and *Medeshamstede* (Map 7).

'and from there to the Great Cross,' (11)

From *Dereuorde* the navigation of the charter bounds is less complicated. The *Gretecrose* is depicted on Hexham's 'Map of the Fenland' as a significant landmark rising from the north bank of the diverted course of the River Nene (at TL 377- 963-) (Maps 10, 14).[103] The reference to a stone cross in the charter bounds is an anomaly. Until now, the forger, who professed to be writing in 664, had used as his boundary markers only settlements, roads, watercourses and a ford, all features that could reasonably have been expected to exist before the Middle Angles had been converted to Christianity by Peada and his Northumbrian evangelists.[104] The very suggestion that any other symbol of Christianity existed before the completion of *Medeshamstede*, Wulfhere's bastion of Mercian piety, would have seriously compromised the integrity of the charter. Unless, of course, the cross was deemed to be so ancient that it believed to have been erected by Wulfhere himself to mark the frontier of his province with East Anglia. Alternatively, the forger perhaps was subtly acknowledging the fact that the East Angles had adopted Christianity over twenty years

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[100] *Fenland Project* 2, p. 46; Fig. 25.
[101] Dugdale, *Imbanking*, p. 176; *Place-Names: Cambs.*, p. 253.
[102] Potts, ''Pre-Danish Estate'', p. 20. See also Hart, 'Tribal Hidage', pp. 142-3.
[103] *Fenland Project* 2, Figs. 23, 25.
[104] *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 21; ASC (E), 664; *HC*, pp. 7-8.

before the Middle Angles during the reign of Sigeberht (631-4) and thought that the cross could have been placed there by one of Bishop Felix's missionaries.[105]

'and from Great Cross along a beautiful stream by the name of Bradanea,' (12)

From the Great Cross, the charter bounds followed the course of the Nene upstream to a place where the river widens, described on Watts' 'Map of the Wisbech Hundred' as *Brandeswere*. A corruption of the name, *Bradanea*, or 'broad stream', still survives in Bradney Farm (at TL 373- 942-) and probably at Boardenhouse Farm (at TL 355- 905-), both of which are situated close to the old course of the Nene within the parish of **Benwick**, a former chapelry of Doddington and after 1109 the easternmost outpost of the Diocese of Ely (Map 13).[106]

The forger apparently was not alone in considering this stretch of the river called *Bradanea* to be attractive. It seems that the surrounding countryside also appealed to Bishop Hugh Balsham of Ely (1258-86). In 1275/6, he was accused of annexing a section of the Edward I's forest, including an area of Benwick that was considered to be part of Huntingdonshire and, therefore, most likely to lie within the domain of the *Hyrstinga* [*Herefina*] or 'woodland dwellers'.[107] The fact that the township of Benwick once straddled two shires is significant, suggesting that in the seventh century the tribal units of the North and South *Gyrwe*, the 'fen-dwellers', and the *Hyrstinga* may have converged here. The possibility that *Bradenea* lay on the pre-870 boundary between Mercia and East Anglia also should be considered. Its inclusion in the charter bounds implies that the author may have referred to either an earlier exemplar or oral tradition in an attempt to relate to the ancient territories of the Anglian settlers in the region. Furthermore, the forger's reference to the Nene as *Bradenea* suggests that, at the time when he was composing his charter, this section of the river was simply known locally as the 'broad stream'. Alternatively, he may have consulted an earlier version of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter that predated the diversion of

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[105] *HE*, Bk. II, ch. 15.
[106] *Bradan ea*, is Old-English, denoting a 'broad river'. The place-name, Benwick probably means 'bean farm'. See *Place-Names: Cambs.*, p. 247, 254. See also Potts, 'Pre-Danish Estate', p. 18; *VCH: Cambs.* II, pp. 143-4, 203. There is no *Domesday* Book entry for Benwick.
[107] *Rotuli Hundredorum* I, p. 197; *VCH: Cambs.* IV, p. 112. The *Hyrstinga* held 1,200 hides in Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire. See BL, Harley 3271, f. 6 [Version A]; Hart, 'Tribal Hidage', p. 145; Davies and Vierck, '"Tribal Hidage"', p. 284. See also A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton and J. P. McAleer, *Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire*, (Nottingham, 1926), pp. 203-4.

the Nene through the freshwater lake, Whittlesey Mere, during the late tenth or early eleventh century (Maps 7, 12, 14, 15).[108]

'then six leagues to Paccelade,' (13)

Potts conjectured that *Paccelade* may refer to the **High Lode**, an artificial channel that joined the old course of the River Nene to the west of Ramsey Mere (at TL 287- 875-).[109] His theory is plausible, since Dugdale described an artificial watercourse called *Pokeslade*, as one of the boundaries of King's Delph, a marsh between Whittlesey and the Nene.[110] The High Lode proceeds southwards from the Nene to Ramsey, where it once continued along the Great White, the main thoroughfare to the abbey (at TL 295- 812-), which was established *c.* 966 by Archbishop Oswald of Worcester and Ealdorman Æthelwine of East Anglia and dedicated to SS. Mary, Benedict and all the Virgins.[111] Therefore, it seems likely that the High Lode was constructed to facilitate the transport of building materials, including Barnack ragstone from the quarries to the north-west of *Medeshamstede* to the site of the new foundation at Ramsey, thus pre-dating the fabrication of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter.[112] However, since the forger was claiming to be writing three centuries earlier, he cunningly avoided making any reference to Ramsey, lest his charter should be immediately exposed as a counterfeit. Indeed, after *Paccalade*, the forger ceased to use the Nene as his boundary, probably realizing that its course had been altered after the late tenth-century monastic revival. Instead, his directions became somewhat vague, simply describing the terrain that a twelfth-century traveller would have encountered whilst perambulating the bounds of the marsh of Whittlesey Mere.[113] Nevertheless, he was not quite so artful when he described the next section of his bounds (Maps 12, 15).

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[108] *The Fenland Project,* No. 6: *The South-Western Cambridgeshire Fens*, ed. D. Hall (Cambridge, 1992), p. 22.
[109] Potts, 'Pre-Danish Estate', p. 18. A *lade* or *lode* is a colloquial term for an artificial fen drain.
[110] Dugdale, *Imbanking*, p. 365. See below, Chapter 6.
[111] *Chronicon Abbatiæ Rameseiensis*, ed. W. Dunn Macray, RS 83 (London, 1886), hereafter *Chron. Ram.*, p. 183; *The Victoria History of the County of Huntingdon*, ed. W. Page *et al.*, 4 vols. (London, 1926-38), hereafter *VCH: Hunts.*, I, pp. 377-8; II, p. 191; Knowles and Hadcock, *Religious Houses*, p. 73. The High Lode is now culverted beneath the Great White.
[112] *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, ed. F. Harmer, 2nd edn. (Stamford, 1989), No. 62, pp. 262-5, 478-82. See below, pp. 187-88.
[113] *Fenland Project* 6, p. 22. See below, pp. 167-9.

'and through the middle part of the many meres and vast fens with the inhabitants of the county of Huntingdon (14) with all the pools and lakes, Scælfremere and Whittlesey Mere and all the others, no matter how many, pertaining to these,' (15)

The compiler of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter seems to have been unaware that Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire were not created as administrative units until *c.* 1007.[114] Thus, he appears to have recorded his own understanding of the seventh-century fenland from a post-Conquest viewpoint. ASC (E) presented a slightly different version of this section of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, maintaining that the bounds extended "swa forð þurh ælle þa meres 7 feonnes þa liggen to ward Huntendune porte'.[115] It is possible that ASC (E) Hand 1 and the *Liber Niger* copyist interpreted the 'original' forgery differently or they may have consulted two separate sources.

By 1020 x 1023, the Nene had been diverted to flow downstream across Huntingdonshire through a series of fresh-water lakes, namely Whittlesey Mere,[116] *Scælfremere*,[117] Ugg Mere[118] and eventually Ramsey Mere.[119] The largest of the lakes, Whittlesey Mere, situated to the south of Whittlesey Island, covered an area of approximately 760 hectares and offered a valuable supply of fish, eels and wild fowl. Indeed, Whittlesey Mere appears to have been exploited by both the monks of *Burch*, Ramsey and Thorney and the lay population alike (Maps 12, 16).[120]

However, seventeenth-century land reclamation projects caused the water table to be lowered to such an extent that the smaller lakes dried up completely. By the early eighteenth century, Whittlesey Mere had become so stagnant and polluted that it was decided that it should be drained. The Nene was diverted through a new channel, the Black Ham River, which was connected to the seventeenth-century waterway known as Bevill's Leam.[121] While drainage operations were in progress from 1849-52, four enormous blocks of Barnack stone that apparently had fallen from a barge bound for either the abbeys of Ely or Ramsey

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[114] H. P. R. Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester, 1961), p. 230; A Reynolds, *Later Anglo-Saxon England: Life and Landscape* (Stroud, 1999), p. 75.
[115] ASC (E), f. 15r (656). My translation: 'through all the meres and fens that lie towards Huntingdon market'.
[116] The first element in Whittlesey Mere is derived from the Old-English personal name Witel or Wita, who may also a have been associated with Whittlesey Island. See *Place-Names: Beds. and Hunts.* pp. 191-2. See below, Chapter 6, pp. 220-1, 223-38.
[117] *Scælfremere*, meaning 'the mere of the diving birds', lay to the south-east of Whittlesey Mere (centred at TL 232- 870-). See *Place-Names: Beds. and Hunts.* pp. 188-9.
[118] The first element in Ugg Mere is derived from the Old-English personal name of Ubbe. See *Place-Names: Beds. and Hunts.*, p. 216.
[119] Ramsey Mere is probably derived from 'the mere of Hræfn', who gave his name to Ramsey. See *ibid.*, p. 215.
[120] *DB: Huntingdonshire*, ed. J. Morris and S. Harvey (Chichester, 1975) 7 [8].
[121] P. Middleton, ed., *Whittlesea Mere* (Ely, 1987), p. 19.

or a prestigious fenland church, were revealed on the lake-bed (at TL 232- 909-) (Map 17).[122] Furthermore, in 1850, an eel catcher discovered in the mud a silver censer of *c.* 1325 and an incense boat, dated *c.* 1350 and decorated with a ram's head, the symbol of Ramsey, together with several fifteenth-century pewter plates.[123] These finds imply that the Nene had been used over several centuries for the conveyance of a variety of commodities. It also appears that *Burch* managed to sustain control of this section of the Nene after the tenth-century, when parts of its Huntingdonshire estates had been allocated to Thorney by Æthelwold and Ramsey by Archbishop Oswald of York.[124] An agreement between Abbot Ælfwine of Ramsey (1043-80) and Leofric of *Burch* (1057-66) allowed the monks of Ramsey an unlimited supply of *wercstan* ['work-stone'], from Barnack quarries and *walstan* ['wall-stone'] from *Burch*. The contract stipulated that all of the consignments were to be exempt from payment of tolls 'be wæter 7 be lande' ['by water or by land'] in exchange for an estate at *Marholme* [Marholm] and for an annual gift of 4,000 eels at Lent.[125] By claiming that the fens and meres of Huntingdonshire were former possessions of *Medeshamstede*, the monastery may have hoped to continue to enjoy the same privileges, including the unhindered use of the watercourse and the right to charge tolls, after the appointment in 1109 of Hervey as bishop of Ely, whose jurisdiction extended as far as *Burch*'s twelfth-century boundary.[126]

The inclusion of all the pools and lakes in Huntingdonshire meant that pseudo-Wulfhere's author was staking an indirect claim to the former island of Whittlesey in the North Witchford Hundred of Cambridgeshire as a seventh-century possession of *Medeshamstede*. However, in 1086, Whittlesey was jointly controlled by the abbot of Ely, who held two hides in the parish of St. Andrew,[127] and the abbot of Thorney, who held four hides in the parish of St. Mary but which remained under the jurisdiction of Ely (Maps 2, 11, 12).[128]

Obviously, pseudo-Wulfhere's author was in no position to dispute *Domesday Book*. Nevertheless, the motive behind his subtle inclusion of Whittlesey within his bounds may have been intended to remind the monks of Thorney that the Whittlesey estate and the privileges relating to Whittlesey Mere originally had been granted to *Medeshamstede*, or so it

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[122] *Fenland Project* 6, p. 32.
[123] *The Art of the Middle Ages in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, ed. P. Williamson, 2nd edn. (London, 2002), pp. 220-1.
[124] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 40r. See below, Chapter 6, pp. 240-1, 146-7.
[125] *Writs*, ed. Harmer, No. 60, pp. 262-5, 478-82.
[126] *LE*, Bk. III, ch. 1; *VCH: Cambs.* II, p. 203.
[127] *DB: Cambs.*, 5 [44].
[128] CUL, Add. 3020, f. 13r; Swaffham, f. 125v; *LE*, Bk. II, ch. 60; *DB: Cambs.*, 8 [1].

was believed, before the first ascetic monks even had attempted to settle upon *Ancarig*.[129] Once again, the pre-eminence of *Burch* and its seniority over Thorney were being reaffirmed.

'also with all the lands and houses which lie next to the southern part of Scælfremere,' (16)

A discrepancy arises regarding the properties on the shore of *Scælfremere*. The Old-English version, interpolated into ASC (E) categorically stated that they were situated on 'æsthalfe' or 'eastern half' of the lake.[130] However, the Latin version, favoured by both the *Liber Niger* Hand 1 and Hugh Candidus maintains that the lands and houses were situated 'in australi parte' ['on the southern part'].[131] Therefore, it must be considered that if pseudo-Wulfhere's forger consulted either a pre-Conquest exemplar or relied upon oral tradition, as the proliferation of Old-English place-names throughout the document suggests, then he would have been presented with a perambulation of the bounds in the vernacular language. Thus, it is possible that the forger mistranslated 'æsthalfe' to 'australi', which in turn was copied into the *Liber Niger* and Hugh Candidus' chronicle, whilst ASC (E) Hand 1 may have interpreted the boundary points more accurately or simply referred to an exemplar written in Old English. Nevertheless, it is difficult to explain why the forger, having progressed as far as Whittlesey Mere, should later return to *Scælfremere*, almost as an afterthought (Maps 2, 12, 17). Is it possible that the earliest perambulation of *Medeshamstede*'s boundaries may have been perpetuated through oral tradition and that the properties on the shores of *Scælfremere* had been either added at a later date or initially overlooked when the charter was first committed to the written word?

If the compiler had adhered strictly to the Nene's early eleventh century course whilst plotting his bounds and had ignored the southern shore of *Scælfremere*, as directed by the ASC (E) version of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, then he would have excluded from his charter the tribal unit of the *Sweord ora*, part of whose territory is occupied the headland to the south of Whittlesey Mere, shown on John Bodger's eighteenth century chart of Whittlesey Mere as

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[129] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 63r.
[130] ASC (E), f. 15rv (656).
[131] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 62r; *HC*, p. 11.

Swere Point (Map17).[132] *Swere* Point was also cited in the Sawtry Abbey foundation charter of 1146 x 1153 that claimed 'usque in exteriorem locum Swedeshord super Withelesmere'.[133]

'and within the enclosed marshes on all sides as far as Medeshamstede.' (17)

It was probably the author's intention to complete the first phase of the perambulation of *Medeshamstede*'s seventh-century territory by following the northern bounds of the marsh of Whittlesey Mere described in an agreement of 1020 x 1023 between Abbot Ælfsige and Thored, the king's thegn, by which *Burch* acquired fenland at Whittlesey Mere in exchange for lands at Orton. The transaction did not actually name the estate of Farcet with its adjacent fen, which was encompassed within the bounds. However, it declared that the tract of land was contained between the late tenth-/early eleventh-century *Merelade* [Conquest Lode], an artificial watercourse through which the Nene was re-routed through Whittlesey Mere, and the King's Delph [King's Dyke], a canal that connected the upper and lower reaches of the river thereby by-passing Whittlesey Mere.[134] Nevertheless, since the forger may have been aware that his charter was purporting to have been compiled before the diversion of the river, he declined to use the *Merelade* as his demarcation line. Instead, he deferred the citation of the channel until pseudo-Eadgar's charter, purportedly written in 972 (Map 13).[135]

The Huntingdonshire parish of **Farcet**, which included both upland and fenland and stretches as far as Whittlesey Mere, was recorded among the 'Æthelwold's Gifts to *Medeshamstede*' as having been purchased by Earldorman Æthelwine and Bishop Eadwulf for *Burch*, 963 x 972.[136] However, it seems likely that, during a surge of anti-monasticism after the death of Eadgar in 975, Farcet [*Farresheasde*] was among *Burch*'s estates that were seized with Oundle and Kettering by Leofsige, son of Brixius.[137] Upon the intervention

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[132] BL, Harley 3271, f. 6 [Version A]; Hart 'The Tribal Hidage', p. 145; *Place-Names: Beds. and Hunts.*, pp. xviii-xix, 190-1.
[133] *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*, ed. W. M. Hart and A. L. Ponsonby, RS 79, 3 vols. (London, 1884-93), hereafter *Cart. Ram.*, I, p. 161. My translation: 'as far as the boundary of the place called Swerdeshord on Whittlesey Mere'.
[134] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 24r-25v; *Chronicon Petroburgense*, ed. T. Stapleton (London, 1845), pp. 182-3; S. 1463. See also *Fenland Project* 6, p. 22; Fig. 11. See below, Chapter 6, pp. 220-1, 223-4.
[135] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 69v; *HC*, p. 35.
[136] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 40; *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A. J. Robertson, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1956) [R] 39, pp. 72-5; S 1448. Until 1885, Farcet was part of Stanground parish. See *VCH: Hunts*. III, p. 166.
[137] *LE*, p. xv, Bk. II, ch. 11; *ECEE*, p. 178; C. R. Hart, 'Oundle: Its Province and Eight Hundreds', *NPP* 8:1 (1988-90), pp. 10-2. For evidence of anti-monasticism, see *Councils and Synods and other Documents Relating to the English Church* I, *AD 871-1204*, Part 1, *871-1066*, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford, 1981), pp. 155-7. See below, p. 190; Chapter 6, pp. 207-8.

by Earl Æthelwine, who controlled Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire, part of Farcet became a possession of Ely and was assigned to Thorney 1000 x 1025 by the abbot of Ely and confirmed by Bishop Nigel (1133-65).[138] The remainder of the estate probably was recovered with Yaxley by Æthelwold from Ealdorman Ælfric Cild of Mercia. However, Hart concludes that Æthelwold exchanged Farcet for Wittering, Oxney and Thorpe [Longthorpe] in an agreement with Thorney, which was omitted from the community's cartulary, known as the 'Red Book of Thorney'.[139] Such a transaction may explain a pre-Conquest arrangement with Thorney regarding *Burch*'s fishing rights on Whittlesey Mere.[140]

From the *Merelade*'s point of entry into the Nene at Farcet (at TL 207- 942-), we may presume that the charter bounds followed the old course of the Nene, now known as the Pigs' Water, upstream along Farcet's boundaries with Yaxley, Stanground and **Fletton**. Of these four estates, all of which lie within the Norman Cross Hundred of Huntingdonshire, only Fletton [*Fletuna*] could be claimed as a possession of *Burch* in 1086 (Map 13).[141] At Farcet, Stanground and Fletton, stone crosses were erected possibly in their original form by the monks of Thorney, as boundary markers. The square base of the Farcet cross, of indeterminable date, lies to the south of the road junction to the north-east of St. Mary's church and close to Farcet Bridge over the medieval course of the Nene (centred at TL 2091 9464).[142] The weathered late tenth-/early eleventh-century, wheel-headed 'Lampass Cross', now relocated in St. John's churchyard, Stanground (centred at TL 2000 9745), is understood to have originally stood at the junction of the Whittlesey and Farcet crossroads.[143] A second, badly defaced wheel-headed cross of similar date to that at Stanground stands to the immediate west of the tower of St. Margaret's church at Fletton (at TL 1973 9708).[144] The post-Conquest Latin inscription, 'RADULFI FILIUS [W]I[L]ELM', has been superimposed upon the west face, suggesting that the cross may have been transplanted from an earlier location for use as a memorial. If the original function of the crosses was as boundary markers, in acknowledging Thorney's territory south of the Nene, the forger also continues to respect the post-1109 diocese of Ely.

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[138] Swaffham, f. 125r [*Fearresheafod*]; CUL, Add. 3020, ff. 14v, 168v [*Farvesheued*].
[139] *ECEE*, pp. 178, 185. See below, p. 190.
[140] *DB: Hunts.*, 7 [8]; Swaffham, f. 126r; *ECEE*, p. 171. See below, Chapter 6, pp. 21-2.
[141] *DB: Hunts.*, 8 [1], D [28]. See also *HC*, pp. 40, 67; *ECEE* 358, p. 247.
[142] Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), hereafter RCHME, *An Inventory of Historical Monuments in Huntingdonshire* (London, 1921), p. 90; PCC SMR, No. 02913.
[143] RCHME, *Hunts.*, p. 248; PCC SMR No. 03152.
[144] RCHME, *Hunts.*, p. 97; PCC SMR No. 02973.

Conclusions pertaining to the eastern section of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter

In the course of his clockwise perambulation, it appears that the compiler of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter enclosed within the first section of the bounds, the entire territory of the seventh-century North *Gyrwe* as it was may have been perceived by the forger and the twelfth-century monks of *Burch*. At the same time, he seems to have respected the tribal units of the *Spalda*, the *Wigesta*, the East *Þixna* [*Wissa*], the *Hyrstinga*, the South *Gyrwe* and the *Sweord ora* peoples.[145] Taking into account only the boundary points that have been positively identified, namely Northborough, Follies River, the Asendyke, Trockenholt, *Dereuorde*, Great Cross, *Scælfremere* and Whittlesey Mere, *Medeshamstede*'s eastern *prouincia* was purported to have covered a vast area of mainly fenland (Map 7).

Pseudo-Wulfhere's author takes care not to encroach upon the post-Æthelwold estates of Ely, whose pedigree was as old, if not older, than *Medeshamstede*'s. However, he expressed total disregard for the lands of Crowland and Ramsey and for Thorney's possessions north of the Nene. In doing so, he implied that since their estates had been carved from *Medeshamstede*'s pre-870 territory, they were deemed to have been awarded to inferior establishments.

Enclosed within the charter bounds were the hermitages of St. Pega of Peakirk, St. Guthlac of Crowland and Godric and Trockenholus of Throckenholt, fenland ascetics who had attempted to emulate the desert fathers by retreating to be the utmost edge of civilization and society. Moreover, the twelfth-century brethren of *Burch* perhaps believed that these remote cells had been established upon the seventh-century frontiers of *Medeshamstede*'s estates and that recluses had withdrawn as far as it was geographically possible from their mother church. By declaring that *Ancarig* as *Medeshamstede*'s earliest colony and enclosing Thorney within *Medeshamstede*'s territory, the forger was indirectly claiming the three reclusive siblings, Thancredus, Torhtredus and Toua [Tona], who were supposedly martyred by the Danes in 870.[146] Thus, pseudo-Wulfhere's charter ensured that the neighbouring religious houses and centres of pilgrimage of Crowland and Thorney, which probably did not exist as conventional monasteries before the latter decades of the tenth century and to which *Medeshamstede* had conceded estates, were made aware of *Burch*'s seniority in the region.

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[145] BL, Harley 3271, f. 6 [Version A]; Hart, 'The Tribal Hidage', pp. 144-5; Davies and Vierck, '"Tribal Hidage"' p. 284.

[146] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 63r; CUL, Add. 3020, ff. 12r, 14v; *ECEE*, p. 166. Texts relating to the Thorney trio's enshrinement by Æthelwold were copied into a manuscript in Peterborough *scriptorium*, 1100 x 1125. See BL, Harley 3097, ff. 64v-67v; R. Gameson, *Manuscripts*, No. 448; *Corpus of Medieval Library Catalogues* 8: *Peterborough Abbey*, ed. Friis-Jensen and Willoughby, Bp2. 15e.

Although the forger used both natural and artificial watercourses, such as the Rivers Nene and Welland and the Shire Drain [Old South Eau] to plot his charter bounds, he did not always acknowledge the individual county and hundred apportionments. He undisputedly recognized the Welland as the demarcation line between Northamptonshire [the Nassaburgh Hundred or Soke of Peterborough] and Lincolnshire and the Shire Drain as the boundary between the Elloe Wapentake of Lincolnshire and the Wisbech Hundred of Cambridgeshire. However, he bisected the Wisbech and North Witchford Hundreds according to the twelfth-century estates of Thorney and Ely Abbeys as he progressed from Throckenholt to *Dereuode*, first through the South Eau and then along the old course of the Nene. Indeed, we should not dismiss the possibility that this natural division may have represented part of the seventh-century boundary between Mercia and East Anglia, which pre-dated the creation of the Wisbech and North Witchford Hundreds (Maps 10, 11).

Furthermore, as the author of pseudo-Wufhere's charter journeys through the meres and fens of twelfth-century Huntingdonshire, he included within *Medeshamstede*'s territory a proportion of the county that lay to the south of Whittlesey Mere. Therefore, it is tempting to conjecture that he may have referred to an earlier version of the charter bounds, preserved either by oral tradition or written in the vernacular language, and drawn up before the Midland shires were devised as administrative units *c.* 1007.[147] This may explain the preponderance of Old-English place-names, several of which may no longer be identified, throughout the eastern section of the document.

The profusion of churches 'Mary' dedications within the eastern section of *Medeshamstede*'s projected charter bounds, namely Crowland, Spalding, Long Sutton, Tydd St. Mary and Thorney, and within the neighbouring territories of Ramsey, Huntingdon and Ely, may be indicative of a *matrix ecclesia* from which chapelries were established in daughter settlements. However, it is possible that places of worship dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin were established shortly after the monastery's foundation to mark the boundaries of their monastic province.

ii. The western section of the charter bounds 'and from there as far as Wansford,' (18)

The western division of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter has been somewhat neglected by Potts possibly because the bounds are so clearly defined by settlements whose Old-English

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[147] Finberg, *Early Charters*, p. 230; Reynolds, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 75.

names have survived into the present day. However, each township is strategically placed in relation to the late tenth-century boundaries of the Nassaburgh Hundred and, therefore, is worthy of further discussion. The compiler began his perambulation of the western section of the bounds by continuing to follow the course of the Nene upstream as far as the river crossing at Wansford. As he progressed westwards through Northamptonshire, he would have encountered a series of pre-Conquest features along his route. The first significant landmark was the carved stone cross of late tenth/early eleventh century date, the shaft of which now stands in the garden on the eastern edge of **Longthorpe** village, three miles west of Peterborough (centred at TL 1655 9835). The sculpture may have represented a centre of worship for the local community before the construction of *Torp* chapel-of-ease and the provision of a resident priest during the abbacy of Ernulf (1107-14).[148] Alternatively, the monument may have stood at a crossroads, since a medieval base and socket of a second cross survives at the western end of the settlement (at TL 1610 9858) (Maps 12, 18).[149]

A traveller proceeding upstream along the course of Nene towards Wansford during the early decades of the twelfth century could not fail to notice the reconstruction of a church, in Romanesque style upon the escarpment at **Castor**, the site of an early fourth-century Romano-British *villa/prætorium* (centred at TL 1247 9859).[150] A damaged tympanum repositioned above the south doorway of the chancel proclaims that the Norman church was reconsecrated on 17 April 1124, although the latter four roman numerals carved in relief may be disputed.[151] The sophisticated architectural design of the edifice suggests that building work was probably in progress for a number of years, implying that the project could have been instigated by Ernulf, since his successor, John de Séez (1114-25) was preoccupied with the restoration of *Burch* after the fire of 1116.[152]

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[148] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 55r. See also PCC SMR No. 01657.
[149] PCC SMR No. 01662.
[150] D. Mackreth, 'Castor', *Durobrivæ* 9 (1984), pp. 22-5. For re-occupation of Roman sites by royal convents, see J. Blair 'Minster Churches in the Landscape', in *Anglo-Saxon Society*, ed. D. Hooke (Oxford, 1988), pp. 40-7; *Church in Society*, pp. 189-91; A. Reynolds, 'Boundaries and Religion: The Demarcation of Early Christian Settlements in Britain', in *Boundaries in Early Medieval Britain, Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 12, ed. D. Griffiths, A. Reynolds and S. Semple (Oxford, 2003), pp. 103-4.
[151] 'XV° KL
MAI DEDICA
TIO HVI ECLE
AD M°CXXIIII'.
See *The Victoria History of the County of Northampton*, hereafter *VCH: Northants.*, ed. W. R. D. Atkins and R. M. Serjeantson *et al.*, 5 vols. (London and Folkestone, 1902-2002) II, p. 479; M. Franklin, 'Minsters and Parishes' (unpubl. PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1982), pp. 148, 50.
[152] ASC (E), 1116; *HC*, pp. 97-9.

The Romanesque church was not the earliest building devoted to Christian worship at Castor. Hugh Candidus recorded that Abbot Ælfsige (1006-41) was obliged to translate the relics of SS. Cyneburh [Kyneburgha] and Cyneswith [Kyneswitha], daughters of Penda of Mercia, together with those of their relative, Tibba of Ryhall, to *Burch* because 'erat et in diebus eius ecclesia Kyneburgensis castri ualde destructa'.[153] While Bede testified to Cyneburh's lineage and her marriage to Alhfrith of Northumbria, the earliest reliable citation of her relationship with Castor appears in a twelfth-century copy of a charter of 948, in which the bounds of *Ægelswurð* [Ailsworth] were described as being coterminous with those of *Kyneburge cæstre*.[154] The document makes no allusion to a nunnery. It merely implies that a lady of consequence named Kyneburgha had once owned property in the neighbouring settlement and may have resided there herself.

The most dependable reference to a seventh-century convent at Castor appears in a version of the 'Mildrith Legend', written at St. Augustine's, Canterbury *c.* 1100. Both Cyneburh and Cyneswith are mentioned in the *vita* of their cousin, Mildrith. Indeed, it seems that Cyneburh's reputation reached beyond her own kingdom, since Mildrith's biographer declared that, 'Cineburga regina sui nominis castrum immo preclariora uirtutum insignia dereliquit'. Pseudo-Wulfhere's author was rather more precise in his biography of Cyneburh, stating in his preamble that 'Kyneburga . . . quarii prior mutauit impii in xpi ancillarii, presidens monasterio kyneburgensi quod suo nomine decoratur mater sacrarii uirginii'.[155] Thus, the tradition of Cyneburh's foundation of a nunnery at Castor appears to have endured at *Burch* as well as at Canterbury over four centuries after her death. It also is tempting to conjecture that the convent was consecrated in the honour of the Virgin Mary, as a declaration of her celibacy.[156] It would not have been appropriate for Cyneburh to dedicate a nunnery to herself and it may be assumed that her name was adopted through her perceived association with the site.

Nevertheless, there is no archaeological, architectural or documentary evidence to confirm that the Romanesque church occupied the site of Cyneburh's convent. However, the

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[153] *HC*, pp. 50-1. My translation: 'In his day, the church of Kyneburgha's Castor was completely destroyed'. See also ASC (E), 963.

[154] *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 21; Soc. Ant., f. 51r-52r; S 566. See also *Nova Legenda Anglie as collected by John of Tynemouth et al.*, ed. C. Horstman, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1901) I, p. 130; C. Dallas, 'The Nunnery of St. Kyneburgha at Castor', *Durobrivæ* I (1973), pp. 16-7; A. M. Morris, 'The Royal Ladies of Castor', in *Five Villages, their People and Places* (Ailsworth, 2004), pp. 46-8.

[155] BL, Cotton Vespasian B. xx, ff. 143r-63r; *The Mildrith Legend: A Study of Early Medieval Hagiography in England*, ed. D. W. Rollason (Leicester, 1982), p. 115. My translation: 'Queen Cyneburh left behind an illustrious sign of her virtue, more correctly, her own name, at Castor.'

[156] For 'Mary' dedications in seventh-century nunneries, see M. Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 129-30.

escarpment overlooking the Nene Valley and its associations with Roman authority would have been an attractive location for a royal foundation. Indeed, its strategic position may have been a personal choice of Wulfhere, rather than of Cyneburh, so that a royal presence could be maintained close to the eastern boundaries of his kingdom.[157]

Now dedicated exclusively to Kyneburgha, before the Reformation Castor parish church enjoyed a triple dedication to SS. Kyneburgha, Kyneswitha and their relative, Tibba of Ryhall [Rutland].[158] The 'Mildrith Legend' related that Cyneswith was betrothed to Offa of the East Angles (*c.* 674-709), when inspired by a vision of the Virgin Mary, she apparently managed to extricate herself from the relationship in order to take the veil, adding weight to the theory that the convent may have been dedicated to the Virgin.[159] The life of St. Tibba is shrouded in obscurity. There is no evidence to suggest that she was ever interred at Castor or to substantiate the existence of a shrine dedicated to her at Ryhall.[160] Nevertheless, it appears that Abbot Ælfsige must have believed in the sanctity of all three royal ladies in order to arrange for their translation to *Burch*. Therefore, it is possible that Ælfsige, upon his return from exile *c.* 1016, may have aspired to revive an earlier cult that had developed at Cyneburh and Cyneswith's tomb at Castor.[161] In 1924, a fragment of a slab, measuring 490 x 285 mm and of late eighth- or early ninth-century date, depicting a single nimbed figure and part of a second standing on tiptoe beneath an arcade, was discovered, beneath a paving stone in the chancel.[162] It is believed to have been part of an elaborate sarcophagus that may have been constructed for the princesses' remains. The carving bears a remarkable resemblance to the figures featured on the solid grave-marker of similar date in Peterborough Cathedral, known as the 'Hædda Stone'.[163]

Etymological, sculptural evidence and the unique pre-Reformation dedication to three Anglo-Saxon royal saints and the site's proximity to a navigable waterway and complex network of Roman roads, including Ermine Street, the Fen Road and King Street, all indicate that Castor, with its dependent hamlets of Ailsworth, Milton, Sutton and Upton, was an estate

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[157] For the role of royal abbesses, see Blair, *Church in Society*, pp. 85, 143-5.
[158] Serjeantson *et al.*, 'Parishes and Religious Houses', p. 295 [*c.* 1532]. For Tibba, A. M. Morris, 'Royal Ladies', p. 52.
[159] *Mildrith Legend*, ed. Rollason, p. 115; *Nova Legenda* I, p. 131; *The Deeds of the Bishops of England* (*Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*), ed. and tr. D. Preest (Woodbridge, 2002), ch. 180.
[160] For the history of Ryhall and Blemesthorpe, see Soc. Ant., 60, f. 28v; S 1481; *DB: Northamptonshire*, ed. J. Morris, F and C. Thorn (Chichester, 1979), 56 [1]; *ECEE* 160, pp. 107-8.
[161] ASC (E), 1013; *HC*, pp. 49-56.
[162] *Peterborough Advertiser*, 2 May 1924; PCC SMR No. 01891b.
[163] R. Cramp, 'Schools of Mercian Sculpture', in *Mercian Studies*, ed. A. Dornier (Leicester, 1977), pp. 192, 210.

of considerable significance during the pre-Conquest period.[164] Furthermore, the restoration of the parish church in grandiose style, during the early twelfth-century, and Hugh Candidus' revelation that John de Séez was attending the Court Baron at Castor when the 'Nine Days' Fire occurred, imply that Castor and that its 'vill' continued to be as important after the Norman Conquest as it had been during the Anglo-Saxon period (Maps 18, 22).[165]

The hamlet of **Sutton** lies one-and a half miles upstream to the west of Castor and six miles west of Peterborough.[166] The settlement is linked to the Roman thoroughfare of Ermine Street, by a medieval track, known as Sutton Crossways that leaves Ermine Street to the north of the King Street intersection (centred at TL 1075 9886). Until 1939, the track continued across the Nene to Stibbington by way of a ford, 150 metres to the west of Sutton church (at TL 095- 086-).[167] It is possible that Sutton crossways originated as a drove road along which cattle were taken to the water meadows and as a footpath linking the former chapel of ease with its mother church, at Castor (Maps 18, 22).[168] The earliest citation of *Suðtun* appears in a twelfth-century copy of a charter of 948, in which the contiguous boundary with Ailsworth is recorded.[169] Although there is no entry for Sutton in *Domesday Book*, it may have been included with the six hides at Ailsworth, since Anketil de Sutton held three hides and two knights' fees at Sutton *c.* 1125.[170]

The earliest tenuous reference to Sutton chapel does not appear until 1146, in Eugenius III's first papal bull, which referred to 'Castra cum ecclesia et capellis' and it was not until 1189 that Sutton chapel was mentioned by name in Richard I's confirmation charter to *Burch*.[171] Despite its chapel-of-ease status, the beaded interlace on the capitals of the chancel arch of chapel, which Pevsner dates as *c.* 1130, reflect those of its mother church at

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[164] RCHME, *Peterborough New Town* (London, 1969), p. 38-40; I. Margary. *Roman Roads of Britain*, 3rd edn. (London, 1973), pp. 224-5, 230, 232-4. In 1086, Abbot Turold held three hides of land at Castor and 6 at Ailsworth. The Knights of *Burch* held from the abbot, 3 hides at Castor, 2 at Milton and 3 at Ailsworth. See *DB: Northants.*, 6 [4-5]; 6a [1-3]. For dependencies, see Swaffham, 44r.

[165] *HC*, p. 97.

[166] The Old-English name, *Suðtun* represents the 'south farm' in relation to *Uptun* or 'higher farm' (at TF 016- 005-). See *Place-Names: Northants.*, pp. 243, 245.

[167] 'The Upper Lias at Flaxen Ford, NGR 85995', *Huntingdonshire Flora and Fauna*, 7th Annual Report (1954), p. 15.

[168] RCHME, *Peterborough*, p. 75; PCC SMR No. 00222. Before the Reformation, Sutton chapel was dedicated to St. Giles. See Serjeantson *et al.*, 'Parishes and Religious Houses', p. 412. It is now dedicated to St. Michael's and All Angels.

[169] Soc. Ant.,, 60, f. 30v, 'King Eadred to Ælfsige, land at Ailsworth' (Old-English bounds).

[170] *DB: Northants.*, 6a [5]; Soc. Ant. 60, f. 15r; Swaffham, f. 168v. See also CUL, PDC 7, [The Book of Fees of Henry of Pytchley] (Peterborough, *c.* 1391-1405), f. 65r; *Henry of Pytchley's Book of Fees*, ed. and tr. W. T. Mellows (Kettering, 1927), p. 154. See also *Acta* IV, ed. Smith, No. 155.

[171] Swaffham, f. 44r.

Castor.[172] The incorporation of a late tenth-/early eleventh century cross shaft into the eastern gable of an early eighteenth-century dovecote, which forms part of the southern boundary of Sutton churchyard (at TL 095- 984-), indicates that a centre of organized worship probably was established in the immediate vicinity soon after the restoration of *Medeshamstede* by Æthelwold, *c.* 963 x 972.

Wansford, the first defined boundary point in the western section of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, is situated two miles upstream from Sutton and appears to have attained strategic importance during the reign of Eadgar. By the late tenth century, the old river crossing at *Durobrivæ* had become redundant after Ermine Street was re-routed to traverse the Nene at Wansford (at TL 074- 990-).[173] A settlement developed at the contiguous boundary of the Nassaburgh, Willybrook and Norman Cross Hundreds, which also corresponds with the boundaries of the Soke of Peterborough, Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire.[174] By 1148 x 1166 a bridge connected Wansford with the village of Stibbington, in Huntingdonshire.[175] Its successor, rebuilt in 1795, continued to carry the Great North Road across the River Nene until the early twentieth century.[176] Markham related that as late as 1901 a stone socket was visible approximately in the middle of the bridge on the Northamptonshire side. According to John Bridges (1680-1740), this was once the receptacle for a cross, 'which divides the two counties'.[177] A modern marker, inscribed with the words 'Soke of Peterborough' and 'Huntingdonshire' stands on the site of its stone predecessor (Map 18).

Wansford was positioned at the junction of two Roman thoroughfares, Ermine Street and the road that connected Ailsworth with Kings Cliffe.[178] Although 'æt Dicon' [the Langdyke Bush] in Ailsworth parish (centred at TF 1140 0261) was recorded in the 'List of sureties for Medeshamstede's estates' as a primary meeting-place of the Nassaburgh Hundred, the same document stated that the Eight Hundreds of Oundle also met at Wansford.[179] The site of the Wansford Hundred court is unknown. The water meadows near

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[172] N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Bedfordshire and the County of Huntingdon and Peterborough* (London, 1968), p. 350.
[173] Hart, 'Oundle', p. 15. The place-name, Wansford means 'ford by the spring'. See *Place-Names: Northants.*, p. 246.
[174] C. Markham, *The Stone Crosses of the County of Northampton* (London, 1901), pp. 115-6.
[175] *Acta* I, ed. Smith, No. 63.
[176] *VCH: Northants.* II, p. 537.
[177] J. Bridges, *History of the Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, ed. P. Whalley, 2 vols. (London, 1791) II, p. 606.
[178] Margary, *Roman Roads*, p. 217.
[179] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 47r, 48r; R 40, pp. 76-9; Meaney 'Gazetteer', pp. 88-9, 90; PCC SMR No. 00786. See below, Chapter 6, p. 207.

the crossing-place would not have provided a reliable venue for regular assemblies, since the terrain was liable to flooding during the winter and spring months. A more appropriate location for assemblies would have been the ridge overlooking the Nene Valley, on the site now occupied by the mid twelfth-century St. Mary's church, a former chapel-of-ease to Thornhaugh (centred at TL 0734 9925).[180] Such a position would have commanded a spectacular view of the river-crossing, as well as the junction of Ermine Street and the road linking Ailsworth with King's Cliffe, two settlements that hosted the hundred courts of Nassaburgh and Willybrook.[181]

After the Norman Conquest, Wansford's significance appears to have been temporarily eclipsed by that of Thornhaugh. This may be explained by one of *Burch*'s foremost knights, Ansketil de St. Médard's decision to establish his estate centre at the neighbouring settlement of Thornhaugh that lay to the west of Ermine Street (centred at TF 0054 0662).[182] Neither Thornhaugh nor Wansford were mentioned in *Domesday Book* and it is possible that both hamlets were included in the nine hides of Wittering that Ansketil held from Turold.[183] Between 1148 and 1166, 'capella de Walmesforda' was constructed at an unspecified location.[184] However, by 1166 Gaufridus de St. Médard renounced in favour of Thorney Abbey all rights to Wansford chapel as well as claims to the tithes rendered by the congregation who lived on the south side of Wansford Bridge in Stibbington Parish.[185] Wansford's inclusion as a boundary point in both pseudo-Wulfhere's and pseudo-Eadgar's charters may be due to the settlement's strategic position within the Nassaburgh Hundred, at an important road junction and river crossing, and its former status as the site of an Anglo-Saxon Hundred Court (Maps 18, 22).

'and from Wansford as far as [King's] Cliffe,' (19)

At Wansford, the charter bounds ceased to follow the course of the River Nene and, respecting the limits of the Willybrook Hundred, appear to adopt the straight Roman road that

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[180] PCC SMR No. 00127.
[181] Meaney, 'Gazetteer', pp. 88-9, 90.
[182] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 19r; CUL, PDC 7, f. 12r. Thornhaugh Church was dedicated to St. Andrew before 1512. See Serjeantson *et al.*, 'Parishes and Religious Houses', p. 414. Architectural evidence, discovered during structural repairs in 1889, suggests that a pre-Conquest church stood on the site. See *VCH: Northants.* II, p. 53.
[183] *DB: Northants.*, 6a [4]. See below, pp. 190-1.
[184] CUL, Add. 3021, ff. 409v-410rv; *Acta* I, ed. Smith, Nos. 63, 268. St. Mary's Chapel was dedicated to the Holy Trinity before 1533. See Serjeantson *et al.*, 'Parishes and Religious Houses', p. 422.
[185] CUL, Add. 3021, f. 410rv; *Acta* I, ed. Smith, No. 268. Geographically the villagers from the south side of Wansford Bridge lived in the parish of Stibbington [Hunts.], where a church established by the abbot of Thorney already existed in 1086. See *DB: Hunts.*, 7 [7].

leads directly to King's Cliffe, terminating at the modern Huskisson's Lodge (at TF 012- 977-), and which forms part of the old county boundary between Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire.[186] If this hypothesis regarding the route were to be correct, the compiler of pseudo-Wulfhere's and pseudo-Eadgar's charters prudently made no attempt to encroach upon the royal manor of *Clive* that was held by William I in 1086 (Map 18).[187]

'and from there along to Easton-on-the-Hill,' (20)

From the periphery of King' Cliffe to Easton the bounds of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter are indistinct. However, the most likely progression would have been to follow the line of the old Cliffe Road, which leaves the Ailsworth to King's Cliffe Road at the T-junction (at TF 012- 977-) and proceeds in a northerly direction as far as the modern A 47 at Collyweston crossroads. The thoroughfare continues, partially as a track, to RAF Wittering Airfield, where it is obliterated by a redundant runway. It then crosses the Stamford Road [the modern A 43] due south of Easton-on-the-Hill (at TF 014- 001). Upon reaching the outskirts of Easton, Cliffe Road it appears to have been re-directed by way of New Road before crossing High Street, where it becomes Church Street, thus bisecting the village. (at TF 008- 052-) (Map 18).

Like Benwick, in 1086 the settlement of *Estone* spanned two separate hundreds.[188] Roland held, from Eudo Dapifer, son of Hubert, one-and-a-half hides in *Optonegrene* [Upton Green or Nassaburgh] Hundred, which was '[part] of St. Peter's [Church] of *Burch*'. Eudo also held and one-and-a-half hides from the same landlord in the *Wilebroc* [Willybrook] Hundred.[189] Fortunately, the 'Descriptio militum de Abbatia de Burgo', compiled 1100 x 1110 and preserved in copy form in the *Liber Niger*, helps to explain the situation. It states that Ansketil de St. Médard 'tenet x hidas et iii partes i virge' in Northamptonshire, nine hides of which were obviously included in his Wittering tenure.[190] However, William I conferred 'de feudo huius militis . . . in Estona i hidam dimidiam' upon Eudo Dapifer, ordering Abbot Turold to compensate Ansketil with an alternative allotment. Turold declined to honour the agreement.[191] Therefore, it is possible that Roland's holding to the eastern side of Cliffe Road in Easton-on-the-Hill may have represented part of Anketill's lost estate in the

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[186] Margary, *Roman Roads*, p. 217, 224-5.
[187] *DB: Northants.*, 1 [26]; *Place-Names: Northants.*, p. 198. King's Cliffe church was dedicated to All Hallows before 1510. See Serjeantson *et al.*, 'Parishes and Religious Houses', p. 353.
[188] The Old-English place-name, *Estone* ['east farm'], complements Collyweston to the south-west in the Willybrook Hundred. See *Place-Names: Northants.*, p. 20; OS Explorer Map 15.
[189] *DB: Northants.*, 42 [2-3].
[190] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 19r. *DB: Northants.*, 6a [4].
[191] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 19r. My translation: 'from this knight's fee . . . in Easton 1½ hides'.

Nassaburgh Hundred, since the boundary of Easton is coterminous with that of Wittering. All Saints' Church, situated close to the margins of the western sector (at TF 0555 0211), lies within the Willybrook Hundred of Northamptonshire.[192] The church was confirmed to Crowland Abbey by Pope Eugenius in 1147 and was beyond *Burch*'s jurisdiction.[193]

Easton-on-the-Hill's strategic position, spanning the Willybrook and Nassaburgh hundreds and the monastic estates of Crowland and *Burch*, probably warranted its inclusion as a boundary point in pseudo-Wulfhere's charter. The forger refrained from claiming Crowland's territory, suggesting that he was either respecting the early tenth-century hundred bounds or that his exemplar post-dated the foundation of Crowland during the mid tenth century.

'and from Easton to Stamford,' (21)

It is tempting to propose that the compiler of pseudo-Wulfhere's Charter may have intended that his reader should follow the course of the Cliffe Road [Church Street], which survives beyond Easton-on-the-hill Church in the form of a public footpath, as far as the Welland (at TF 008- 063-) (Map 19). From there his bounds continued downstream via Wothorpe towards Stamford, which in 1086 straddled the counties of Rutland, Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire.[194] Therefore, the western bounds of the Nassaburgh Hundred have remained unchanged since 1086, except for William's reallocation of the St. Médard fee at Easton to Eudo Dapifer. Gaches recorded in 1905 that 'the Liberty of Peterborough [the Nassaburgh Hundred] leaves the Nene just above Wansford, then passes along the King's Cliffe Road and northwards including the parishes of Thornhaugh and Wittering, then across the [Stamford] race-course and including Wothorpe Farm and so to the Welland', thus corresponding with the modern parish boundary.'[195] Therefore, it appears that the forger consulted an exemplar that pre-dated William's conferment of part of the de St. Médard estate upon Eudo Dapifer, after which the western bounds of the Nassaburgh Hundred were modified.

The place-name, Stamford, alludes to the stone or gravely ford by which the prehistoric track-way, known as the Jurassic Way, is believed to have crossed the River

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[192] Easton-on-the-Hill church was dedicated to All Hallows before 1523. See Serjeantson *et al.*, 'Parishes and Religious Houses', p. 316. See also PCC SMR No. 50039.
[193] *VCH: Northants*. II, p. 566.
[194] *DB: Rutland*, ed. J. Morris and F. Thorn (Chichester, 1980), ELc1 [1-2]; DB: *Lincs.* II, ER1 [21]; *DB: Northants*., ELc 1 [1]; Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincs.*, p. 195.
[195] L. B. Gaches, *History of the Liberty of Peterborough* (Peterborough, 1905), p. 50.

Welland a few metres downstream from the site of the medieval bridge, that carries the old the Great North Road into Lincolnshire (at TF 034- 069-).[196] **Stamford Baron** or **St. Martin's Without**, on the southern bank of the Welland in the Nassaburgh Hundred of Northamptonshire, was strategically positioned at the intersection of Ermine Street with the Jurassic Way (at TF 032- 064-) (Map 20).[197]

The earliest documentary evidence relating to *Stanford* is somewhat flimsy. Bede stated that Alhfrith, son of Oswiu of Northumbria and husband to Cyneburh, bestowed ten hides 'in loco qui dicitur Stanford' upon his friend, Wilfrid, witness to pseudo-Wulfhere's charter and purported courier of pseudo-Agatho's bull from Rome.[198] The eighteenth-century antiquarian, Francis Peck, promoted a lengthy and persuasive argument in favour of Stamford in Lincolnshire, proposing that Wilfrid had founded a religious house on the site of St. Leonard's Priory (at TF 040- 074-).[199] However, it is impossible to substantiate this theory. It is equally likely that the Stamford recorded by Bede may have been Stamford Bridge, in North Yorkshire, which was situated within Alhfrith's sub-kingdom of Deira.[200]

There are no conclusive archaeological finds to suggest any major development at Stamford during the seventh century. Nevertheless, given the critical position at a river crossing, it is understood that a settlement probably evolved, on the north bank of the river, within the vicinity of the sites of All Saints' and St. Peter's churches.[201] Shortly after 877, Stamford was established with Derby, Nottingham, Leicester and Lincoln, as one of the Five Boroughs of the so-called Danelaw.[202] A *burh* was constructed to accommodate the army of occupation on the north bank of the Welland, possibly to the east of any pre-existing habitation. Its ramparts appear to have been confined within the modern Broad Street, St. Mary's Street, Red Lion Square and Star Lane, with High Street as its axial road.[203] The

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[196] Stamford Baron allegedly received its name because it was held *per Baroniam* by the abbot of *Burch*. See *Place-Names: Northants.*, p. 242.

[197] The Jurassic Way linked north-east England with the south-west. Ermine Street crossed the River Welland approximately half a mile upstream from Stamford and continued following the course of the Jurassic Way via the fort at Great Casterton and thence to Lincoln and York. See W. F. Grimes, 'The Archaeology of the Stamford Region', in *The Making of Stamford*, ed. A. Rogers (Leicester, 1965), pp. 2- 6; Margary, *Roman Roads*, p. 225.

[198] *HE*, Bk. V, ch. 19; Soc. Ant., 60, f. 63v; ASC (E), 675; *HC*, pp. 16, 21.

[199] F. Peck, *Academia Tertia Anglicana* [1727], ed. A. Rogers and J. S. Hartley, facsimile edn. (Stamford, 1979), Bk. II, pp. 8-12; J. S. Hartley and A. Rogers, *The Religious Foundations of Stamford* (Nottingham, 1974), pp. 54-6; C. Mahany, 'St. Leonard's Priory', *South Lincolnshire Archaeology* I, pp. 17-22.

[200] *HE*, Bk. V, ch. 19.

[201] RCHME, *The Town of Stamford* (London, 1977), pp. xxxvi-xxxviii; C. Mahany, A. Burchard and G. Simpson, *Excavations in Stamford, Lincolnshire, 1963-1969* (London, 1982), p. 177.

[202] R. A. Hall, 'The Five Boroughs of the Danelaw', *ASE* 18 (1989), pp. 193-201; D. M. Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: Its Social Structure, c. 800-1100* (London, 2000), p. 10.

[203] Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincs.*, p. 194.

Danes were credited with introducing iron smelting to the region and importing potters from Northern France, culminating in the production of fine glazed ceramics known as Stamford ware.[204]

According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Manuscript A, hereafter ASC (A), a second *burh* was constructed in 918 by Alfred's son, Edward the Elder, on the south bank of the Welland, in Stamford Baron. The line of the fortifications appear to have been superimposed by the medieval thoroughfares of Park Lane, Pinfold Lane and Church Street, with High Street St. Martin's, preserved as the north-south axis. According to ASC (E), since Edward now controlled the river crossing, the inhabitants of the Danish *burh* rapidly submitted to his authority and duly were converted to Christianity.[205] However, the earliest reference to a church, dedicated to St. Martin in Stamford Baron appears in Hugh Candidus' Chronicle, written *c.* 1155 x 1175.[206]

Coin finds have proven that several moneyers were operating within Stamford during Eadgar's reign.[207] Indeed, pseudo-Eadgar's charter stated that 'unum monetarium' was under the control of the abbot of *Burch*, implying that the moneyer must have been employed on the south bank of the Welland, in the area that was later called Stamford Baron. The same forgery, whilst falling short of instituting a claim for *Burch*, also made a passing reference to a market in Stamford.[208] Although it is conceivable that a marketstead existed in the late tenth century, it was most likely to have been situated on the site of the modern Saturday market in Red Lion Square, between St. Peter's Church and the former Danish *burh*, rather than on the south bank of the Welland.

Stamford continued to prosper throughout the early eleventh century. By the eve of the Norman Conquest, the town probably surpassed *Burch* in size, prosperity and in its royal connexions.[209] Its tactical position, at the crossing of a navigable river and close proximity to Ermine Street, made it a prime location for a garrison, from which troops could be despatched to suppress any pockets of Anglo-Saxon resistance in the vicinity. Consequently, soon after 1066, William I constructed a small castle to the east of St. Peter's church, on the north bank of the Welland (centred at TF 0270 0785).[210] Presumably, Turold

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[204] *Ibid.*, p. 180; C. Mahany, *The Archaeology of Stamford* (Stamford 1969), p. 7.
[205] ASC (A), 918, 942; Hall, 'The Five Boroughs', pp. 197-8; Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincs.*, p. 194-5.
[206] *HC*, p. 128.
[207] Mahany, *Archaeology of Stamford*, pp. 6-7; Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincs.*, pp. 121, 125.
[208] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 69r; ASC (E), 963, *HC*, pp. 35-6. See below, Chapter 6, pp. 216-7.
[209] Stamford was described as 'burgis regis' ['the king's borough'] in 1086. See *DB: Rutland*, ELc1 [1-2].
[210] Mahany, *Archaeology of Stamford*, p. 8.

and his knights were ensconced there when they received the communiqué warning them of Hereward's attack on *Burch*.[211]

Despite its failure to attain shire-town status, Stamford probably was the most significant 'vill' to be mentioned in the bounds of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter. It represented both an administrative, commercial, industrial and military centre as well as a royal borough, a fact that the monks of *Burch* would have been obliged to acknowledge. Therefore, it was crucial that their monastery was perceived to have controlled at least the southern sector of Stamford *before* the Danish fortifications were constructed on the northern bank of the Welland and, moreover, to appear to have maintained a continuous presence from the time of pseudo-Wulfhere's endowments until the early twelfth century.

However, according to Peter de Blois' continuation of pseudo-Ingulph's Crowland Chronicle, a small Benedictine nunnery was founded during the reign of Henry II (1100-35) in Great Wothorpe, to the immediate west of Stamford Baron on the south bank of the River Welland (centred at TF 0250 0530).[212] It is feasible that the convent was a satellite of Crowland, since the abbey held one-and-a-half hides in Wothorpe in 1086.[213] By the mid twelfth century, *Burch* was also attempting to assert its presence in Stamford. Hugh Candidus related that the Benedictine Nunnery of St. Michael was established *c.* 1156 during the abbacy of William de Waterville (1155-75). Tithes collected from the pre-existing St. Martin's Church were to be given to the convent, which in turn was obliged to pay ten shillings per annum to the sacristy of *Burch*. A charter of Abbot William confirmed this arrangement.[214] Archaeological evidence suggests that St. Michael's nunnery was situated on the south bank of the Welland, to the west of High Street St. Martin's (centred at TF 0276 0651).[215] By 1189, the bridge was flanked on the Stamford Baron side by a church dedicated to All Hallows to the east and St. Thomas the Martyr's chapel and hospital to the west.[216] Thus, successive abbots of *Burch* ensured that their monastery was well represented on the

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[211] ASC (E), 1070; *HC*, pp. 77-8. See below, Chapter 2, pp. 34-5.
[212] *Ingulph*, p. 239-40; *Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Badinel., 6 vols. in 8 (London, 1817-30) IV, p. 267; Knowles and Hadcock, *Religious Houses*, p. 268; PCC SMR No. 00007.
[213] *DB: Northants.*, 11 [1]. See also *OV*, pp. 342-3.
[214] *HC*, pp. 128-9. The only copy of Waterville's charter was preserved in the lost *Breve registrum Abbattiæ Burgi S. Petri penes v[irum] cl[arissimum] Johannem Selden* (s. xvii$^{2/4}$), f. 63b. For transcript, see *Dugdale's Monasticon* IV, p. 260. See also Martin, *Cartularies*, pp, 46-7, note 5; Knowles and Hadcock, *Religious Houses*, p. 266.
[215] RCHME, *Stamford*, pp. 31-2; PCC SMR No. 50579.
[216] Swaffham, f. 44v-45r; S. Gunton, *The History of the Church in Peterburgh* [1686], ed. S. Patrick, facsimile edn. (Stamford, 1990), p. 328.

northernmost outposts of their twelfth-century territory, which they also may have regarded as *Medeshamstede*'s seventh-century frontier (Map 20).

'and from Stamford as the water runs down to the aforesaid Northborough.' (22)

As the boundaries of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter followed the course of the Welland downstream on the final stage of the perambulation of towards Northborough, they included the parish of **Barnack**. Place-name and archaeological, architectural and sculptural evidence within St. John the Baptist's church (centred at TF 0793- 0505) imply that *Bernake* was an important settlement during the pre-Conquest period. Restoration work, undertaken in 1854/5 within the church's early eleventh-century west tower revealed a stone *sedile* set in a gabled recess in the west wall.[217] After further investigations, more fragments of seating for an estimated forty people were exposed, as well as the threshold of the south door. The remains of a plaster floor with a pathway eroded in an east-west direction were also uncovered.[218] These finds and the presence of two aumbreys in the north and south walls imply that the ground floor of the tower may have been used as a western sanctuary with an altar positioned in front of the principal seat, similar to that in Eadmer's description of the Anglo-Saxon Cathedral at Christ Church Canterbury.[219] These discoveries led Dean Argles of Peterborough Cathedral, and Rector Haigh of Barnack (1852-92), to deduce that the church, or at least its predecessor, was one of Wilfrid's monastic foundations, built on part of *princeps* Alhfrith's 'Stanford' estate, and named after Alhfrith's ancestor, Beornec of Bernicia, promoting the theory that Wilfrid was responsible for raising the western tower.[220] Indeed, Wilfrid is documented as having been active in Mercia *c.* 666. His biographer, Stephen of Ripon, claimed that he conducted 'episcopal duties' for Wulfhere and had founded several monasteries in the province, including one dedicated to St. Andrew in the vicinity of Oundle. Although it is possible that Wilfrid may even have advised Wulfhere concerning liturgical matters, it is inconceivable that Wulfhere or Seaxwulf, in either his capacity as abbot of *Medeshamstede* or bishop of Mercia, would have encouraged Wilfrid to create a rival

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[217] H. S. Syers, 'The Building of Barnack Parish Church', *AASRP* 18:1 (1896), p. 145; PCC SMR No. 00082.
[218] The discovery of ash and molten lead led Syers to conclude that the church had been burnt by Swein of Denmark in 1013, as claimed by pseudo-Ingulph. See *ibid.*, p. 146; *Ingulph.*, p. 113.
[219] Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* I, p. 46; III, pp. 973, 1019. Barnack tower's south door would have precluded the structure's function as a narthex.
[220] *Nennius: British History and the Welsh Annals*, ed. and tr. J. Morris (London, 1980), ch. 57; Syers, 'Building of Barnack', pp. 146-7. See also *HE*, Bk. V, ch. 19; PCC SMR No. 00082.

establishment in such close proximity to *Medeshamstede*.[221] Furthermore, the earliest known place-name form of Barnack it thought to have been *Beornic*, a derivation of the Old-English *beorna-ac* ['warriors' oak'], which implies an assembly place for local warlords. Therefore, although the Wilfrid connexion must be dismissed, Barnack would have offered an optimum site for a religious establishment, possibly as a satellite of *Medeshamstede* (Map 18).[222]

Taylor and Taylor have concluded that the western tower, the oldest surviving section of Barnack Church was a pre-Conquest structure, suggesting that it could have been a response to Æthelwold's restoration of *Medeshamstede*.[223] Nevertheless, the stone panels, carved to resemble acanthus leaves and the intertwining openwork *transennæ*, incorporated into the north, south and west faces of the second stage of the tower, may have been salvaged from an earlier building, possibly of early tenth-century date.[224] A sundial, an indispensable ingredient for a monastic church, faintly incised with canonical hours with a design also resembling acanthus leaves, adorns the south face of the tower. The survival of the sculptures, together with an early eleventh-century, high-relief of Christ-in-Majesty and fragments of a cross-shaft of similar date, indicate that Barnack was an important pre-Conquest centre of worship that may have originally have developed from a *monasterium*.[225] Although there is no association with a local saint at Barnack, the remains of a blocked archway, in the north wall of the nave, suggest the existence of either a transept of an earlier cruciform church or the entrance to a *porticus* that may once have contained a shrine.[226] Evidence of a corresponding feature in the south wall of the nave could have been obliterated by the installation of the rood stairs.

Barnack's ownership during the late Anglo-Saxon period is subject to controversy. Orderic Vitalis, supported by pseudo-Ingulph, insisted that the estate had originally been a possession of Peakirk monastery until the Danish incursions of 1013 but was bestowed upon Crowland by Ealdorman Waltheof of Northumbria to celebrate its union with Peakirk in

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[221] *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, ed. and tr. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927), hereafter *VW*, chs. 14, 65; *HE*, Bk. V, ch. 19.
[222] Franklin, 'Minsters and Parishes', pp. 154-8.
[223] Taylor and Taylor, *Architecture* I, p. 43.
[224] Henderson, 'Anglo-Saxon Sculpture', pp. 227-8.
[225] *Ibid.*, p. 228; PCC SMR No. 00082b. The terms, 'minster' and 'monasterium' appear to have been interchangeable in pre-Conquest England. For a comprehensive definition, see S. Foot, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters: A Review of Terminology', *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, ed. J. Blair and R. Sharpe (Leicester, 1992), pp. 214-5; Blair, *Church in Society*, pp. 2-5. For evidence Barnack's pre-Conquest minster status, see Franklin, 'Minsters and Parishes', pp. 154-8.
[226] Taylor and Taylor, *Architecture* I, pp. 46-7.

1048.[227] However, the single entry in *Domesday Book* for Barnack stated that the settlement formerly had been held by Bondi, whilst its twelfth-century daughter settlements of Pilsgate and Southorpe were the property of the abbot of *Burch* in 1086.[228] Moreover, Eugenius III's papal bulls of 1146 pledged the advowson of Barnack church and a pension of ten shillings to the abbey of *Burch* and its Sacristy.[229] Indeed, Version A of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter claimed that 'villam de Bernake cu[m] appendiciis videlicit Suthorp [Southorpe], Walcote [Walcot] et Pilesgate [Pilsgate]' were all possessions of *Burch.*[230]

However, of equal importance to the ownership of the church and its associated tithes and pensions, was the control of Barnack stone quarries (at TF 076- 046-). Therefore, it was essential that they too should be included within *Medeshamstede*'s seventh-century boundaries. Oolite limestone had been extracted from the quarries during the Roman period and continued to be excavated intermittently until the fifteenth century, when supplies eventually became depleted.[231] The agreement between the Abbots Ælfwine of Ramsey (1043-80) and Leofric of *Burch* (1057-66), by which the brethren of Ramsey could extract building materials from the quarries, verified that Barnack ragstone had already become a valuable commodity before the Norman Conquest.[232] During the reign of William I, a dispute arose when the monks of Bury St. Edmunds obtained the right to remove stone from Barnack for the reconstruction of their abbey church but discovered that the transportation of the materials was being impeded by Abbot Turold, necessitating the king's intervention.[233] The problem was finally resolved during the abbacy of Alexander of Holderness (1222-6), who allowed the brethren of Bury to convey Barnack rag along 'viam publicam', possibly Ermine Street, to the River Nene and granted free passage for their barges between Alwalton and *Burch* for a yearly rent of six shillings.[234] By the early twelfth century, the Barnack quarries were providing building stone for the fenland abbeys of Crowland, Ramsey, Ely and Bury St. Edmunds, as well as *Burch* itself, with the tithes and pensions being shared by the abbot of

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[227] *OV*, pp. 344-5; *Ingulph*, p. 134.
[228] *DB: Northants.*, 36 [2]; 6 [6] (Pilsgate); 6a [6] (Southorpe). Richard I confirmed Pilsgate and 'appendiciis de Suthorpe' to *Burch.* See Swaffham, f. 44r. Chibnall suggested that Waltheof merely granted stone from the quarries to Crowland. See *OV*, p. xxviii.
[229] *HC*, pp. 110, 117. The advowson of Barnack church was later confirmed to *Burch* by Bishop Hugh of Lincoln, 1186 x 1200. See *Acta* IV, ed. Smith, No. 151.
[230] BL, Cotton Augustus ii. 5.
[231] *VCH: Northants.* II, p. 293; E. M. Jope, 'The Saxon Building-Stone Industry in Southern and Midland England', *Medieval Architecture* 8, pp. 99-100; PCC SMR No. 00071.
[232] *Writs*, ed. Harmer, No. 62, pp. 262-5, 478-2; *ECEE* 167, p. 112; S 1110.
[233] *RRAN* 44.
[234] CUL, PDC 39 [*Carte antiquorun registrorum precentoris*] (Peterborough, 1340-7), ff. 111v-112r; *Carte Nativorum*, ed. C. N. L. Brooke and M. M. Postan (Oxford, 1960), No. 533; Margary, *Roman Roads*, p. 225.

Burch and the rector of Barnack.[235] Therefore, in order to avoid any further altercations, it was imperative that both the Barnack quarries and the church were claimed as early possessions of seventh-century *Medeshamstede* before the monasteries of Crowland, Ramsey and Bury St. Edmunds were founded.

The village of **Bainton** lies to the immediate east of Barnack and was closely associated with its neighbour throughout the pre-Conquest period. Pseudo-Ingulph claimed that *Badington* [Bainton], like Barnack, was a possession of Crowland until destruction of both settlements by the Danes in 1013.[236] Nevertheless, according to Æthelwold's 'List of sureties' of 972 x 992, the estate of *Badingtune* was purchased by Abbot Eadwulf and Godwine, son of Ealdorman Ælfsige for *Medeshamstede*.[237] Although there is no reference to Bainton in *Domesday Book*, Swaffham recorded that the estate was part of the fee of Roger de Torpel, a descendant of one of Turold's knights (Map 18).[238]

The earliest surviving architecture suggests that St. Mary's parish church dates from the early thirteenth century.[239] However, the remains of a plain octagonal cross shaft, remounted and possibly re-sited at a later date upon four high steps, survive to the immediate west of the church (centred at TF 0941 0601).[240] A badly eroded block of stone, incorporated into the lowest step and carved with chevron and nail-head ornamentation, has led Markham to propose that it was of twelfth-century date. Since there is no evidence of a market ever being held at Bainton, it is likely that the monument represented a preaching cross that pre-dated the church.[241] Bainton's pre-Conquest development possibly was related to its proximity to the Roman road, now named King Street, an alternative route from Ailsworth to Lincoln.[242] The thoroughfare continues northwards from Bainton to cross the Welland at Lolham (at TF 112- 077-), a daughter settlement of Maxey.[243]

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[235] Swaffham, f. 199v; *VCH: Northants.* II, pp. 293-5, 301.
[236] *Ingulph*, p. 113. The place-name, *Badington*, is Old-English in origin, meaning 'Bada's farm'. See *Place-Names: Northants.*, p. 229.
[237] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 49r; R 40, pp. 80-1.
[238] Swaffham, f. 267v.
[239] Pevsner, *Beds., Hunts. and Peterborough*, p. 207. Bainton church was dedicated to 'Our Lady' before 1544. See Serjeantson *et al.*, 'Parishes and Religious Houses', p. 273.
[240] PCC SMR No. 00109.
[241] Markham, *Stone Crosses*, pp. 17-8.
[242] Margary, *Roman Roads*, p. 230; OS Explorer Map 235.
[243] Lolham is now a deserted village situated on a junction with King Street (at TF 111- 078-). It was taxed with Maxey and Nunton. See K. J. Allison, M. W. Beresford and J. G. Hurst, *The Deserted Villages of Northamptonshire* (Leicester, 1966), p. 42.

The polyfocal village of **Maxey** lies six miles to the east of Stamford, on the south bank of the Welland.[244] Archaeological evidence confirms occupation of an area between the present village and the isolated church of St. Peter from 'the late pagan or Middle Saxon' period.[245] Although claimed as a possession of Peakirk by pseudo-Ingulph, the earliest known, trustworthy reference to the two estates of *Macuseige* appears in Æthelwold's 'Gifts to Medeshamstede' (963 x 972).[246] Maxey was not included in the *Domesday* survey. However, the 'Descriptio Abbatia de Burgo', complied 1100 x 1110, related that Radulfus de la Mare held two-and-a-half hides in Northamptonshire and two-and-a-half *caracutes* in Lincolnshire for the service of three knights.[247] Swaffham, writing *c.* 1250, defined the de la Mare estates as *Makeseie* [Maxey], *Northburche* [Northborough] and *Wodecroft* [Woodcroft], in Northamptonshire, and *Thurlesby* [Thurlby] in Lincolnshire.[248] The Swaffham also recorded that Roger de Torpel held twelve hides of land in Northamptonshire, comprising *Torpel*, *Makeseye*, *Ufforde* [Ufford], *Pilketone* [Pilton], *Glapethorn* [Glapthorn], *Cotherstocke* [Cotterstock], *Northburche*, *Leaulme* [Lolham], *Badingtone* [Bainton] and *Estone* [Ashton, near Helpston] for the fee of six knights.[249]

The de la Mare dynasty appears to have adopted Maxey as their estate centre, possibly on the site of Castle Farm to the east of the modern village (centred at TF 1289 0879), while Roger de Torpel resided either at Ufford or at the so-called 'Torpel Manor' in the parish of Bainton (at TF 113- 050-).[250] Nevertheless, the Torpel family provided the parishioners of Maxey with a church that was built upon an artificial mound to the west of the settlement, possibly on the site of an earlier place of worship (centred at TF 1200 0792). The tower, completed before 1110, would have been visible from the Welland, at the time that the forger was at work.[251] Unfortunately, since he was purporting to write during the seventh century, he could make no references either to the recently constructed landmark or to the settlement of Maxey.

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[244] The earliest recorded form of the place-name of Maxey is *Macueige*, meaning 'Maccus Island'. See Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 40r, 47v, 48rv; *Place-Names: Northants.*, pp. 237-8.

[245] P. V. Addyman, K. R. Fennel and L. Biek, 'A Dark-Age Settlement at Maxey, Northamptonshire', *Medieval Archaeology* 8 (1964), pp. 20-73. See also P. Stafford, *The East Midlands in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester, 1985), pp. 24, 167-9.

[246] *Ingulph*, p. 113; Soc. Ant., 60. f. 40r; *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A. J. Robertson, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1956), 39, pp. 74-5.

[247] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 20r.

[248] Swaffham, ff. 267v-268r.

[249] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 19v; Swaffham, ff. 267v.

[250] Earthworks to the west of King Street in the parish of Bainton (centred at TF 1106 0535) represent the abandoned manorial site of the 'Honour of Torpel'. See Allison *et al.*, *Deserted Villages*, p. 47; PCC SMR No. 00621.

[251] *VCH: Northants.* II, p. 505.

The hamlet of **Deeping Gate** is situated between the villages of Maxey and Northborough (at TF 145- 097-). The place-name suggests that the settlement was Danish in origin, founded along the road leading to Market Deeping, on the south bank of the Welland.[252] The toll at Deeping was mentioned in both the first papal bull of Eugenius III of 1146 and in pseudo-Wulfhere's charter Version A.[253] Although these documents possibly referred to the river crossing between Market Deeping and Deeping Gate, it is more likely that the toll related to the stretch of Welland from Deeping Gate and Walderam Hall in Northborough (Maps 3, 5, 18).[254]

Thus, upon returning to Northborough, the forger completed his perambulation of the second section of the charter bounds. In doing so, he included within *Medeshamstede*'s purported seventh-century territory, the settlement of **Wittering** (at TF 057- 020-).[255] The earliest known reference to Wittering appears in the 'List of sureties' that recorded Æthelwold's purchase of *Wiðringaige* and *Oxenige* for £15.[256] However, according to Eadgar's charter to Thorney, Wittering, Oxney and Thorpe [Longthorpe, near Peterborough] became the property of Thorney.[257] Hart proposes that the three above estates may have been exchanged for Farcet in an agreement that no longer survives.[258] In support of his theory, *Wiðringaig*, *Oxanig* and *Þorp* were excluded from Bishop Nigel of Ely's confirmation of Thorney's possessions *c.* 1133, suggesting that the lands may have been returned to *Burch* prior to this date.[259]

Domesday Book corroborated that Ansketil de St. Médard held, for six knights' fees from the abbot of *Burch*, nine hides in *Witheringha* which, according to Swaffham included the estates of Thornhaugh and Wansford.[260] A further three virgates at Wothorpe, 'which belong to Wittering', were held from the abbot of *Burch* by Alwin.[261] We have learnt that an additional one-and-a-half hides at Easton-on-the-Hill was allotted to de St. Médard by Turold before it was requisitioned by William and bestowed upon to Eudo Dapifer.[262] Therefore, it is feasible that the de St. Médard tenements corresponded with a pre-Conquest landholding

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[252] *Place-Names: Northants.*, p. 234.
[253] *HC*, p. 110; BL, Cotton Augustus ii. 5; S 68.
[254] See above, p. 151. See below, Chapter 6, p. 243.
[255] The place-name *Wiðeringage* is derived from the Old-English for 'the people of the settlement of Wiðer'. See *Place-Names: Northants.*, p. 247; OS Explorer Map 15.
[256] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 48v-49r; R 40, pp. 80-1; S 1448.
[257] *LE*, Bk. II, pp. xv, ch. 11; CUL, Add. 3020, f. 12v; S 792.
[258] *ECEE*, p. 178. See above, pp. 170-1.
[259] CUL, Add. 3020, f. 168v. These estates are excluded from Swaffham's version of Eadgar's charter to Thorney, ff. 124v-126r.
[260] *DB: Northants.*, 6a [4]; Swaffham, f. 267v.
[261] *DB: Northants.*, 6a [9].
[262] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 19r.

that extended from the Welland to the Nene. The fact that *Domesday Book* specifically named Wittering suggests that it may have represented the manorial centre until it was abandoned by the de St. Médard family in favour of Thornhaugh (Map 18).[263]

Stenton was the first historian to recognize the relationship between *Wiðeringage* [Wittering] and *Wiðringtun* [Werrington], a village situated approximately seven miles to the east of Wittering on the outskirts of Peterborough (at TF 165- 032-), and the seventh-century *Wiðerigga* tribe. He expanded his theory by suggesting that a group of settlers may have migrated eastwards from Wittering to Werrington, taking their tribal name with them.[264] However, the tract of land on the westernmost part of the Nassaburgh Hundred appears to have represented only a small proportion of the 600 hides designated to the *Wiðerigga* in the 'Tribal Hidage' in comparison with the identical allotments awarded to the North and South *Gyrwe*. Hart hypothesizes that the *Wiðerigga*'s tribal unit may have extended to include the territory referred to by Bede as 'prouincia quæ uocatur in Undalum'.[265] The region is claimed for *Medeshamstede* in early twelfth-century pseudo-Eadgar's charter as the 'eahta hundred' ['Eight Hundreds'] of Oundle' (Maps 7, 21).[266]

The enigmatic *Wyðreðe* Cross is cited in only one known document, Æthelwold's 'List of sureties', when Abbot Eadwulf purchased one hide of land at Ashton, near Oundle, from Ælfwold 'with the cognissance of the three hundreds'. Presumably, the three hundreds alluded to in the document were the double hundred of Nassaburgh and the Polebrook Hundred in which both Ashton and Oundle were situated.[267] The site of the *Wyðreðe* Cross must be purely speculative. It was obviously not synonymous with the Langdyke Bush, which is mentioned on the same page of the document.[268] The word, *Wyðreðe*, implies a location within the *Wiðerigga*'s territory, which Hart conjectures was at Wittering.[269] Alternatively, the cross may have been erected to mark a meeting place within the Polebrook Hundred that, if Hart were to be correct, also lay within the former *Wiðerigga*'s tribal unit.[270]

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[263] Thornhaugh Church, rebuilt during the twelfth-century, became the mausoleum for the de St. Médard family. See *VCH: Northants* II, pp. 530-1.
[264] Stenton in *Place-Names: Northants.*, pp. xiv, 246-7; OS Explorer 235. See below, Chapter 6.
[265] *HE*, Bk. V, ch. 19; BL, Harley 3271, f. 6 [Version A]; Hart, 'Tribal Hidage', pp. 152-3.
[266] Soc. Ant., 60, 69r; ASC (E), 963; *HC*, p. 34. See below, Chapter 6, pp. 205-9.
[267] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 48r; R 40, pp. 78-9. Ashton was held by *Burch* in 1086. See *DB: Northants.*, 6 [12]; 6a [34].
[268] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 48r; R 40, pp. 78-9.
[269] *ECEE*, p. 111.
[270] Hart, 'Tribal Hidage', p. 153; Davies and Vierck, '"Tribal Hidage"', pp. 284-5.

Although it is generally understood that *monasteria*/minsters were often established at royal centres and their first *parochiæ* may have been equivalent to their tribal unit, there is neither archaeological nor documentary evidence to substantiate the existence of monastic foundation at Wittering during the pre-Conquest period.[271] All Saints' Church (centred at TF 0563 0200), originally a two-celled structure with a massive chancel arch, has been dated by the Taylors as *c.* 950 x *c.*1100. Therefore, the building possibly was erected at the behest of Æthelwold, either after the purchase of the estate or after its recovery from Thorney Abbey. Alternatively, it may have been the product of local stone masons commissioned by Ansketil de St. Médard, in order to remind his tenants that their new Norman master intended to stay.[272]

The twelfth-century monks of *Burch* may have regarded Wittering as an important estate during the pre-Conquest period. The intimation, as the name suggests, that it could have once been the power base of the seventh-century *Wiðerigga* folk, could have inspired Æthelwold to secure the settlement for the reformed monastery of *Medeshamstede*. The brethren of *Burch* would have been forced to acknowledge that Wittering and its appendages once had fallen into the hands of the rival monastery of Thorney. However, its undisputed return to *Burch* before 1086, as the principal manor of one of the abbey's foremost knights, may have been perceived as the triumph of good after the descent into anti-monasticism upon the death of Eadgar.[273]

Conclusions pertaining to the western section of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter

The morphology of the western portion of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter differed from that of the east on three accounts. Firstly, the boundary points are still easily identifiable today, whilst those described in its eastern counterpart are open to speculation. Secondly, instead of specifically describing the route to be followed, the author's directions were less precise throughout the western perambulation, referring not to landscape features but to frontier settlements, of which King's Cliffe and Easton were not recorded as possessions of *Burch* in

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[271] Franklin, 'Minsters and Parishes', pp. 158-9; M. Franklin, 'The Identification of Minsters in the Midlands', in *Anglo-Norman England: Proceedings of the Battle Conference*, ed. A. R. Brown (Woodbridge, 1984), p. 70; E. Cambridge and D. Rollason, 'Debate: The Pastoral Organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church: A Review of the "Minster Hypothesis"', *EME* 4:1 (1995), p. 87. The earliest record of a priory at Wittering was in 1308. See Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, p. 387; Knowles and Hadcock, *Religious Houses*, p. 462.

[272] Taylor and Taylor, *Architecture* II, p. 678-9. Wittering parish church was dedicated to All Hallows before 1512. See Serjeantson *et al.*, 'Parishes and Religious Houses', p. 435; PCC SMR No. 00032.

[273] *LE*, Bk. II, ch. 11; *ECEE*, p. 178.

Domesday Book.[274] There were references to neither roads nor rivers, almost as if the compiler lacked either the time to inspect the bounds or that he thought they were specific. Finally, as Stenton observed that if the estates enclosed within the western circuit of the charter represented the lands of a single seventh-century tribe, the *Wiðerigga*, their territory seems rather small in comparison with that of the neighbouring North *Gyrwe*, which seems to have been enclosed within the eastern sector.[275] These anomalies imply that the western element of the earliest version of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter or the exemplar consulted by the forger was formulated at a later date than the eastern component, perhaps after the nucleated settlements of Wansford, King's Cliffe and Easton had been established (Map 7).

Stenton identified a connexion between *Wiðrington* [Werrington], *Wiðeringage* [Wittering] and the seventh-century *Wiðerigga* folk.[276] However, Hart speculates that the *Wiðerigga*'s allotment of 600 hides extended to include the *eahta hundred* of Oundle mentioned in pseudo-Eadgar's charter.[277] Therefore, it is possible that the primary, tribal religious centre was not been situated at Wittering but in 'prouincia Undalum', where Wilfrid is claimed to have founded a monastery before 709.[278] Indeed, the twelfth-century monks of *Burch* understood that an early religious house, a possession of their monastery, had existed in the vicinity of Oundle, which Æthelwold mistook for *Medeshamstede* (Map 21).[279]

The western section of the charter bounds appears to be dominated by churches consecrated to All Hallows. The churches of King's Cliffe, Easton-on-the-Hill, Stamford and Wittering all bear this early dedication, although that it must be emphasized that neither the date of the buildings' construction nor their earliest consecration can be verified. Nevertheless, 'All Hallows' appears to have been a favoured dedication for churches within the eastern part of the *Wiðerigga*'s territory, in contrast to the 'Mary' dedications bordering the North *Gyrwe* tribal unit. It also may signify that the inhabitants of former *Wiðerigga*'s territory were provided with centres of worship at a slightly later date than their fellow-Christians in the east. Since there is no other known pre-Conquest dedication to St. Peter within the Nassaburgh Hundred, it is possible that *Medeshamstede* may have been recognized as the *matrix ecclesia* of the region.[280]

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[274] *DB: Northants*. I [26]; 42 [2, 3].
[275] *Place-Names: Northants.*, p. xiv.
[276] *Ibid.*, pp. 246-7.
[277] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 69r; ASC (E), 963; *HC*, p. 34; Hart, 'Tribal Hidage', p. 153.
[278] *HE*, Bk. V, ch. 19; *VW*, ch. 65.
[279] *HC*, p. 28.
[280] For pre-Conquest dedications, see W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 259-65.

Conclusion

Pseudo-Wulfhere's charter conferred upon *Medeshamstede* a vast *prouincia*, stretching approximately twenty-five miles from north to south and equidistant from west to east and encompassed by roughly a hundred miles of bounds, offering access to the saltmarshes of Elloe via the Rivers Welland and Nene. Whilst the privileges allegedly granted to *Medeshamstede* were blatant forgeries, it seems that certain elements of the charter bounds could have been sourced from earlier materials, as Stenton suggested.[281] Indeed, if transactions such as 'Æthelwold's gifts to Medeshamstede' (963 x 972), his 'List of sureties for Medeshamstede's estates' (972 x 992) and 'Ælfsige's contract with Thored' (1020 x 1023) survived until the twelfth-century, then it is conceivable that the bounds of the reformed monastery also were recorded in either oral or written form for posterity.[282]

The prototype of pseudo-Wufhere's charter probably was compiled as two separate entities, which may not have been assembled until the production of the forgery. Moreover, it appears that the eastern portion of pseudo-Wulfhere's bounds was formulated at an earlier date than its western counterpart. Indeed, the author's knowledge of the Old-English place-names in their earliest form implies that for the eastern section the forger may have had access to an exemplar presented in either written or oral form that had endured the Danish incursions of 870. Furthermore, the survival of the cognomen *Fæðermuðe*, *Cuggedic*, and *Raggeuuilhc* indicate that the eastern section of the bounds first may have been recorded in the vernacular language before the formation of nuclear settlements along the *Heregate* some time between the ninth and eleventh centuries.[283]

However, some of the names of the boundary points may have been revised at a later date. For example, Northborough, so strategic a boundary point that it was recorded twice, is unlikely to have received its nomenclature until after *Medeshamstede* was renamed *Burch*, during the abbacy of Cœnwulf (992-1005).[284] Therefore, it may have been deemed imperative that the place-name of the settlement that represented *Medeshamstede*'s northernmost twelfth-century frontier should be substituted for its contemporary and more recognizable form. The reference to the inhabitants of the County of Huntingdon also appears to have been a later insertion that is absent from the Old-English version contained

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[281] F. M. Stenton, '*Medeshamstede* and its Colonies', in *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. M. Stenton (Oxford, 1970), p. 179. See also S. Keynes, *The Councils of Clofesho*, Vaughan Paper No. 38 (Leicester, 1994), pp. 35-43.
[282] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 24r-25v; 39v-40v; 47r-49v.
[283] Dyer, *Medieval England*, p. 48.
[284] ASC (E), 963.

in ASC (E)[285] This suggests that ASC (E) Hand 1 may have preferred to use a vernacular form of the charter bounds recorded in a version that was composed before the early twelfth-century forger added his embellishments, thus avoiding the necessity to translate from Latin to Old-English. If such amendments can be detected by the modern historian, then we can only speculate upon the other alterations that could have been made from the exemplars in order to exalt *Burch*'s image during the early twelfth-century.

The boundaries of the western section of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter appear to have been congruent with those of the *næss* or *nass* component of the tenth-century Nassaburgh Hundred. However, the eastern limits were more complex and seem to have stretched northwards beyond the *burh* to include part of the Elloe Wapentake of Lincolnshire between the Welland and the Shire Drain, undisputedly up to the *Esendic* and arguably as far as the limits of the Washland. To the south, the proposed territory extended through Northamptonshire, down to the old course of the Nene, enveloping large tracts of Huntingdonshire and bisecting the Wisbech and North Witchford Hundreds of Cambridgeshire. Therefore, the purported seventh-century bounds of *Medeshamstede* appear to have encapsulated what is generally considered to have been the territory of the North *Gyrwe* or 'fen dwellers'.[286] The bounds also seem to have respected the seventh-century tribal units of the *Spalda*, the *Wigesta*, the East *Þixna* [*Wissa*], the *Hyrstinga*, the South *Gyrwe*, the *Sweord ora* and the *Wiðerigga* peoples, as well as perhaps the boundaries of Mercia and East Anglia (Map 7).[287]

The eastern charter bounds also avoided encroaching upon the post-1109 province of the Prior and Convent of Ely. This suggests that pseudo-Wulfhere's charter was compiled in its entirety *after* the creation of the Diocese of Ely by Henry I in 1109.[288] However, the late tenth-century *prouinciæ* of the religious houses of Crowland, Thorney and Ramsey tend to be disregarded, possibly because of the post-Æthelwold brethren of *Burch*'s resentment of the rival establishments whose lands they perceived had been carved from those of *Medeshamstede* during the monastic revival of Eadgar's reign (957-75). It is equally feasible that Crowland and Thorney as well as Ramsey did not exist as conventional religious foundations when the 'original' eastern section of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter was formulated.

The forger gave explicit directions for the eastern frontiers of pseudo-Wulfhere's land grant, whilst those of the western section are somewhat imprecise. Perhaps, this was

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[285] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 62r; *HC*, p. 11; ASC (E), 656.
[286] Hart, 'Tribal Hidage', pp. 142-3; Davies and Vierck, '"Tribal Hidage"', pp. 283-4.
[287] BL, Harley 3271, f. 6 [Version A]; Potts, 'Pre-Danish Estate', pp. 20-1.
[288] *VCH: Cambs.* II, pp. 143-4, 203.

because the western settlements and their connecting thoroughfares were familiar to the reader, implying that this element of pseudo-Wulfhere's exemplar was a later composition than the exemplar used for the eastern section. If so, the western portion of the charter may have been prepared after the acquisition of the Wittering estates, by Æthelwold, (972 x 992), and was probably amended when Northborough received its nomenclature some time after *Medeshamstede* was renamed *Burch* after the construction of Cœnwulf's curtain wall. However, it is impossible to assess when the two sets of bounds were amalgamated or whether they remained independent until the composition of the forgeries. Nevertheless, we should not dismiss the possibility that the eastern and western sections represented two separate pre-870 land grants.

The Castor estate, comprising the post-Conquest daughter settlements of Ailsworth, Milton, Sutton and Upton, topographically positioned astride the *nass* and the *burh*, is enigmatic (Maps 18, 22).[289] Eadred's charter to Ælfsige of 948 referred to the boundary of Ailsworth with *Kyneburge cæstre*, indicating a strong association with Cyneburh, daughter of Penda of Mercia, and sister to Peada, Wulfhere and Æthelred.[290] The relationship between Cyneburh and Castor is supported by an early eleventh-century version of the 'Mildrith Legend' and, less reliably, by pseudo-Wulfhere's charter.[291] If Cyneburh did establish a convent in the vicinity, it is tempting to speculate that Castor, overlooking the Nene Valley was a royal estate in the latter decades of the seventh century and, debatably, the *villa regalis* of her brother, Peada, when sub-king of the Middle Angles. Thus, Cyneburh would have upheld her family's authority in the region.[292] If so, this would add weight to Richard Morris' theory that some Roman estates 'survived on the ground until the early Middle Ages'.[293] Therefore, Castor may have been a separate and independent entity before the Danish incursions of 870, after which its boundary hamlets of Ailsworth, Sutton and Milton became detached.[294]

To summarize, the two separate perambulations of *Medeshamstede*'s purported territory may have been a deliberate amalgamation of two separate prototypes, which probably had been compiled on two different occasions. The eastern section corresponded with what it is generally believed to have been the territory of the seventh-century North

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[289] Swaffham, f. 44r; BL, Cotton Augustus ii. 5.
[290] Soc. Ant. 60, f. 30v.
[291] Rollason, *Mildrith Legend*, pp. 77, 115; Soc. Ant., 60, f. 60v.
[292] *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 21. For the relationship between *villæ regales* and nunneries, see Blair, *Church in Society*, pp. 85, 143-9.
[293] R. Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (London, 1989), p. 238.
[294] *DB: Northants.*, 6 [4, 5]; 6a [1-3].

Gyrwe folk and seem, as far as it can be ascertained to observe the neighbouring tribal units. Although explicit directions were given via roads and watercourses, the fen drainage projects of the intervening centuries have made them virtually impossible to follow with any degree of accuracy. Furthermore, the bounds may refer to landscape features that may have existed before the area was settled. Since their names probably were recorded in their earliest Old-English form, they also are difficult to identify. Therefore, there is valid reason to conjecture that the eastern element of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter bounds, as preserved in the *Liber Niger*, could have been based upon earlier and, possibly, genuine exemplars, compiled after the diversion of the Nene through March during the Anglo-Saxon period but before the formation of Huntingdonshire *c.* 1007.[295] The *burh* element may have represented the former North *Gyrwan* lands within the Nassaburgh Hundred, whilst the *Wiðerigga*'s territory was contained within the *nass*. Although the directions given for the western bounds are vague, the settlement names are as recognizable today as they may have been during the post-Æthelwold era. This suggests that the earliest compiler was inviting his audience to follow a well-known route. Thus, it is possible that the western section was composed at a slightly later date than the eastern component (Map 7).

It also must be considered that the two individual circuits of the charter bounds originally were never intended to deceive but simply to reconstruct *Medeshamstede*'s seventh-century territorial limits. It was not until the early twelfth century, after the disastrous abbacy of Turold (1069-98) that information supplied by early exemplars was collated in order to complement and enhance the privileges bestowed retrospectively upon the monastery. Moreover, it must be reiterated that pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, made no attempt to reclaim property that the twelfth-century monks of *Burch* understood to have been part of their pre-870 estate, a proportion of which had been surrendered to the fenland monasteries of Thorney, Crowland and Ramsey. When examined in context with the privileges prescribed by the twelfth-century forgery, the charter bounds simply declare that the enclosed lands were possessions of *Medeshamstede* long *before* the rival religious houses were established. Thus, they served as a tangible reminder of *Medeshamstede*'s lost estates and to confirm its antiquity, supremacy and status as 'principalis in regione'.[296]

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[295] *Fenland Project* 2, p. 46, Fig. 25; Finberg, *Early Charters*, p. 230; Reynolds, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 75.
[296] Soc. Ant., f. 62r; ASC (E), 656; *HC*, p. 11.

Chapter Six

Perambulating the Past II: Pseudo-Eadgar's Endowments Reviewed

Introduction: the wilderness years (870- *c.* 963)?

In 870, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Manuscript E, a Danish raiding party invaded East Anglia from Mercia, over-wintered in Thetford, murdered King Edmund and overran the countryside. Upon arriving in *Medeshamstede*, the Danes were said to have burned and demolished the monastery killed the abbot and his monks and 'macedon hit þa þet ær wæs ful rice, þa hit wearð to nan þing'.[1] Hugh Candidus, writing between 1155 and 1175, corroborated this account, stating that, 'in hac ergo procellosa tempestate, et ipsum famiosissimum monasterium Medeshamstede sicut et ceteri cum monachis igne consumptum est'.[2] He used the demise of his abbey as an opportunity to lapse into a homily, in which he declared that Man's downfall was the result of his own wickedness. Thus, Hugh compared *Medeshamstede*'s destruction with the Apocalypse yet to come.[3]

The most elaborate account of *Medeshamstede*'s devastation is preserved in the 'Chronicon Angliæ per Johannem Abbatem Burgi Sancti Petri', purportedly the writings of John de Caux (1250-62) but which survives only as a fourteenth-century copy. The author described, in lurid detail, the desecration of the monastery, the slaughter of Abbot Hædda and his brethren and their subsequent burial by a contingent of monks from Crowland and Thorney, concluding with the erection of the 'Hædda Stone' in their memory.[4] Although full of inaccuracies, 'Abbot John's' story demonstrates that post-Conquest historians generally believed that monastic life at *Medeshamstede* had been abruptly brought to a halt upon the death of Hædda and his monks in 870.

The restoration of *Medeshamstede* by Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester

Although it cannot be proven, it is possible that some form of communal religious life continued at *Medeshamstede* throughout the intervening century before the monastery was

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[1] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 636, hereafter ASC (E), f. 30v (870). My translation: 'made it so that, which was once very wealthy, was rendered as if it was nothing.'
[2] *The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, ed. W. T. Mellows (Oxford, 1949), hereafter *HC*, p. 24. My translation: 'In this tempestuous time, the most illustrious monastery of *Medeshamstede* with all its monks was consumed by fire, like all the others.'
[3] *HC.*, pp. 24-7.
[4] *Chronicon Angliæ Petriburgense*, ed. J. A. Giles (London, 1845), pp. 19-22. See also *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland*, ed. and tr. H. T. Riley (London, 1854), hereafter *Ingulph*, pp. 45-6, 48-9.

restored by Æthelwold *c.* 963. Both William of Malmesbury and Wulfstan of Winchester, Æthelwold's biographer, described the expulsion of secular clerics from both the Old and New Minsters at Winchester and at Ely.[5] Wulfstan's accounts were repeated *verbatim* in Hugh Candidus' Peterborough Chronicle, suggesting that Hugh consulted Wulfstan's *Vita Æthelwoldi*, a copy of which was held at *Burch* during the early twelfth century.[6] Hugh Candidus may have preferred to suppress evidence of the presence of clergy because it detracted from his vision of *Medeshamstede*'s phoenix-like ascent from the ashes. In the earliest known narrative of events preceding the restoration of the monastery, Hugh related how Æthelwold personally was commanded by God to restore St. Peter's monastery to its former glory. Whilst travelling along the River Nene, Æthelwold mistook some ruins at Oundle for *Medeshamstede* and, in his haste to carry out his instructions, began his rebuilding programme there. A second divine visitation, directed him to continue his journey downstream 'ad ipsos parietes ipsius combusti monasterii perueniret.' Fortunately, Eadgar's queen, Ælfthryth, overheard Æthelwold's urgent prayers for royal approval and financial aid to complete his work and managed to persuade her husband to provide both upon the assurance that he would receive his reward in Heaven.[7]

Curiously, neither Wulfstan of Winchester nor ASC (E) Hand 1 mentioned either Æthelwold's visions or Ælfthryth's intercession, but presented a basic and somewhat clinical description of the restoration of *Medeshamstede*.[8] The lack of detail in these earlier narratives prompts speculation that Hugh may have relied upon an oral tradition that already may have been enhanced by previous generations of monks and possibly Hugh's imagination to embellish his tale.[9] Nevertheless, both Hugh and ASC (E) Hand 1 agreed upon Æthelwold's timely revelation of 'antiqua priuilegia' that had supposedly lain hidden in the ruined walls of *Medeshamstede* for over a century. These 'ancient' writings apparently inspired Eadgar to restore to the monastery the privileges and some of the territory purportedly granted by Wulfhere of Mercia in 664. Thus, the interlude between *Medeshamstede*'s destruction by the Danes and its reformation by Æthelwold as a

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[5] *Wulfstan of Winchester: Life of St. Æthelwold*, ed. M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom, OMT (Oxford, 1998-9) I, ch. 18 (Old Minster, Winchester), ch. 20 (New Minster, Winchester); ch. 23 (Ely). See *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake (London, 1962), hereafter *LE*, Bk. II, ch. 3. *William of Malmesbury: The Deeds of the Bishops* (*Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*), ed. and tr. D. Preest (Woodbridge, 2002), ch. 75 (Winchester); ch. 183 (Ely). See below, Chapter 4, pp. 133-5.

[6] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 163 [Peterborough library catalogue, s. xii$^{1/4}$]. See also *Corpus of Medieval Library Catalogues: Peterborough Abbey*, ed. K. Friis-Jensen and J. M. W. Willoughby (London, 2001), BP2. 34.

[7] *HC*, pp. 27-8. My translation: 'until he arrived at the very walls of the burnt monastery.'

[8] ASC (E), 963.

[9] *HC*, pp. 27-8.

Benedictine monastery with Eadwulf, Eadgar's former chancellor, as its first abbot, was conveniently explained.[10]

'King Eadgar's charter of 972' (Appendix D)

Three versions of pseudo-Eadgar's charter are known to exist. The Old-English version, Version A, incorporated into ASC (E), represents a modified version of the Latin text, Version Bi that survives in its earliest form in the mid twelfth-century Peterborough cartulary, the *Liber Niger*.[11] Hugh Candidus' interpolation of pseudo-Eadgar's charter adhered faithfully to Version Bi, suggesting that Hugh consulted either the 'original' forgery, written in Latin, or the *Liber Niger* copy.[12] Hugh promoted the authenticity of the document by enthusiastically describing its confirmation by a succession of kings, namely Edward the Martyr (975-79), Æthelred II, (979-1013, 1014-16) Cnut (1016-35), Edward the Confessor (1042-66) and, finally William I (1066-87), whose affirmation was transcribed into the *Liber Niger*.[13] If Hugh had any misgivings regarding the origins of 'Eadgar's Charter', he chose not to disclose them within his *Chronicle*. Robert of Swaffham's version of the document [Version Bii] recorded a slight variation concerning the apportionment of land on the marsh known as Whittlesey Mere, but is otherwise identical to Version Bi.[14] The privileges said to have been bestowed upon the reformed *Medeshamstede* by Eadgar are discussed in detail in Chapter Two of this thesis. The remainder of pseudo-Eadgar's charter is divided into five elements, namely estates, the Stamford mint, markets, the bounds of Whittlesey Mere and tolls.

i. Estates

The forger divided his inventory of the possessions, allegedly confirmed at Æthelwold's request to *Medeshamstede* by Eadgar, into three parts. The first related to the estates that lay within the *banleuca* or immediate vicinity of the monastery, namely the *burh* element of the double Hundred of Nassaburgh. The second section claimed *Medeshamstede*'s jurisdiction over the 'vill' of Oundle, its market, toll and the court of the Eight Hundreds. The

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[10] ASC (E), 963; *HC,* pp. 31-8.
[11] ASC (E), ff. 36v-38r, 963; London, Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 68r-71v.
[12] *HC,* pp. 33-8.
[13] *HC,* pp. 40-2; Soc. Ant., 60, f. 71rv.
[14] Cambridge University Library [CUL], Peterborough Dean and Chapter [PDC] 1 [The Book of Robert of Swaffham] (Peterborough, 1250-62), hereafter Swaffham, ff. 38v-39v (old foliation); *Historiæ Coenobii Burgensis Scriptories Varii e Codibus Manuscriptis,* in *Historia Anglicanæ Scriptores Varii e Codibus Manuscriptis*, ed. J. Sparke, 2 vols. in 1 (London, 1723), hereafter *CB*, pp. 1-122.

final list contained sections of waterways and roads along which the abbot of *Burch* had right of toll.

i. a) Eastfield, Dogsthorpe, Eye and Paston

ASC (E) Hand 1 offered a slightly different version from those preserved in the *Liber Niger* and presented by Hugh Candidus and Robert of Swaffham, adding the estate of Eastfield to the list of berewicks, as demonstrated below:

Version A	**Version Bi and Bii**
'Ic Ædgar geate 7 gife to dæi toforen Gode 7 toforen þone ærcebiscop Dunstan freodom Sancte Petres mynstre Medeshamstede of kyng 7 of biscop, 7 ealle þa þorpes þe ðærto lin, þet is **Æstfeld 7** Dodesthorpe 7 Ege 7 Pastun.'[15]	'et ab episcopali exactione et inquietudine, ex apostolica libertate, et reuerentissimi archiepiscopi nostri Dunstani auctoritate cum suis appenditis, id est Doddesthorpe et Ege, et Pastune, perpetuo maneat absolutum.'[16]

The modern settlements of Eastfield (at TL 204- 998-), Dogsthorpe (at TF 200- 012-) and Paston (at TF 187- 023-) are bounded by Roman catchwater known as Car Dyke, which during the late tenth century formed the south-western boundaries of Borough Fen [the Great Fen] and separated the former Island of Eye from the gravel margins.[17] The earliest trustworthy reference to part of this cluster of estates appears in a document copied into the *Liber Niger*, whereby Abbot Ernulf (1107-14) appointed the priest, Ansketil, to provide pastoral care for the parishioners attending the chapels of *Burch* [St. John the Baptist], and Thorpe [St. Botolph's, Longthorpe], which had hitherto been under the jurisdiction of the Sacrist. One third of the tithes from the 'vills' of *Burch, Doddesthorpe, Torp, Estfield and Ege* were to provide the priest's stipend, in addition to which he was given forty acres of land in Thorpe as his glebe. The remainder of the tithes were to be rendered to the Sacristy (Maps 23, 24).[18]

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[15] ASC (E), f. 37r (963). My translation: 'I, Eadgar, before God and before the Archbishop Dunstan, today grant and give to St Peter's Monastery, freedom from king and bishop, and to all the estates that lie there to; that is Eastfield, Dogsthorpe, Eye and Paston'.

[16] London, Society of Antiquaries, 60, f. 68v-69r; *HC*, pp. 34; Swaffham, f. 39r. My translation: 'And by the apostolic liberty of our most reverend Archbishop Dunstan, it [St. Peter's Monastery] shall be eternally absolved from all episcopal judgement and disturbance, together with its appurtenances; that is Dogsthorpe and Eye and Paston'.

[17] *The Fenland Project,* No. 2: *Cambridgeshire Survey: Peterborough to March*, ed. D. Hall (Cambridge, 1987), p. 28. Gunthorpe was an outlier of Paston, cited in Version A of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter. See London, British Library [BL], Cotton Augustus ii. 5 (Peterborough, s.xiii$^{4/4}$/ s.xiv$^{1/4}$).

[18] Soc. Ant., 60 f. 55r; *Peterborough Local Administration*, ed. W. T. Mellows (Kettering, 1939), p. 199.

It is intriguing that ASC (E) Hand 1 began his list with the hamlet of ***Æstfield***, which was bounded by the abbot's wood [Burgh Park] to the south and Car Dyke and Borough Fen to the east. It is possible that Hand 1 had been involved with the compilation of the agreement between Ernulf and the Sacristy and therefore considered that, as an early possession of his abbey, it was worthy of a reference.

Æstfeld, *Dodesthorpe*, *Ege* or *Pastun* were not included in *Domesday Book*. However, as Peterson conjectures, it is possible that the eight hides allotted to *Burch* in 1086, correspond with the same hidage described as the fee of *Burch* and Eye, in a mid twelfth-century list of monastic estates, preserved in Swaffham's Register.[19] Furthermore, according to 'Descriptio militum de abbatia de Burgo' of *c.* 1100 x 1110, copied into the *Liber Niger*, 'Godfridus nepos Abbatis tenet viii hidas in Hamtunascira [Northamptonshire] et inde servit iii militum'.[20] Also known as Godfridus *Infans* and Godfrey de Tot, Godfrey appears to have been one of Turold's knights, who had helped to quell Hereward's rebellion of 1069. By 1146, the de Tot fiefdom included part of **Paston** that was held by Godfrey's descendant, Radulphus.[21] Of course, the 'eight hides' confirmed to *Burch* in *Domesday Book*, in Swaffham's list of monastic estates and as the de Tot fee in 'Descriptio militum' may be purely coincidental. However, if *Burch*'s post-Conquest assessment did comprise Eastfield, Dogsthorpe, Paston and Eye, then it would appear that Turold was personally entrusting to his nephew, not only with Eye, which probably represented the monastery's easternmost outpost, but also with a swathe of land stretching along the landward side of Car Dyke as far as Paston's westernmost boundary with Werrington (Map 23).

As the name implies, **Eye** was an island (centred at TF 2280 0280), bounded to the north and east by Borough Fen and surrounded by Car Dyke, the River Welland, the River Must or Catswater [Drain] and the now lost Twandam Dyke, all of which by the late tenth century were either redirected or artificial watercourses.[22] Eye's strategic importance was due to the fact that its north-eastern limits extended into a narrow peninsula that abutted the frontiers of the rival fenland monasteries of Crowland and Thorney. Therefore, it was crucial

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[19] *Domesday Book* hereafter *DB: Northamptonshire*, ed. J. Morris, F and C. Thorn (Chichester, 1979), 6 [8]; Swaffham. f. 124r; C. Peterson, 'Studies in the early history of Peterborough Abbey *c.* 650-*c.* 1066' (unpubl. PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1995), pp. 110-1.

[20] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 19v. My translation; 'Godfrey, nephew of the abbot [Turold] holds 8 hides in Northamptonshire for the service of 3 knights.' See also J. Martin, *The Cartularies and Registers of Peterborough Abbey* (Kendal, 1978), p. 2.

[21] *HC*, p. 113. See also *Henry of Pytchley's Book of Fees*, ed. and tr. W. T. Mellows (Kettering, 1927), pp. xx, 107; E. King, 'The Peterborough "Descriptio Militum" (Henry 1)', *EHR* 84 (1969), pp. 84-101.

[22] J. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *Place-Names of Northamptonshire*, (Cambridge, 1975), p. 234; *Fenland Project* 2, pp. 36-7.

that *Burch* was seen to maintain a presence in the vicinity. It appears that by 1189, a hermitage already had been established close to the Catswater Drain on the parish boundary with Thorney at *Sengleholt* [Singleshole] (centred at TF 252- 069-).[23]

The colonization of the Borough Fen by anchorites?

Pseudo-Wulfhere's charter stated that, soon after the foundation of *Medeshamstede*, a group of ascetic monks had been granted permission to retire to *Ancarig*, the 'Isle of Anchorites' [Thorney] (at TF 282- 043-).[24] Moreover, whilst remaining silent about *Medeshamstede*'s seventh-century colonization of the island, Eadgar's foundation charter to Thorney Abbey supports the concept of the island's continued settlement by hermits, describing the martyrdom of Torhtredus, Tancredus and Toua [Tona] by marauding Danes in 870.[25] Nevertheless, it seems more likely that the first wave of pioneering recluses should have been despatched from *Medeshamstede* to colonize Eye, situated within reasonable distance of the *matrix ecclesia* and where there was fertile pasture for grazing.[26] Therefore, it is possible that *Ege*, not *Ancarig*, represented one of *Burch*'s earliest attempts at assarting or land clearance beyond the gravel uplands upon which the monastery stood. (Maps 23, 24).

Richard I's confirmation charter of 1189 described 'totum marsicum de Eya cum Hermitorio de Senglesholt et cum alliis hermitoriis sitis in eisdem marscem'.[27] This suggests that Singleshole was one of several anchorages in the vicinity populated by hermits or even groups of monks, whose duty it was to guard against encroachment upon *Burch*'s domain, in the same way that a detachment of monks at Trockenholt fostered Thorney's interests on its monastic boundary.[28] Geoffrey of Crowland, Abbot of *Burch* (1299-1231), replaced the hermitage of Singleshole with a monastic grange, and we can only speculate that this was

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[23] Swaffham, f. 44r.

[24] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 63r; *HC*, p. 12. The place-name *Ancarig* is probably of tenth-century origin, Professor Elaine Treharne, University of Leicester, pers. com., March 2002.

[25] CUL, Additional 3020 [The Red Book of Thorney] (Thorney, s. xiv), ff. 12r, 14v (new foliation); C. R. Hart, *Early Charters of Eastern England* (Leicester, 1966) [*ECEE*], p. 166. Tona's name is perpetuated in Toneham Farm (centred at TF 2769 0321).

[26] By 1125, Eye was inhabited by '13 half-virgaters and 1 cowherd'. See Soc. Ant., 60, f. 15v, 'Descriptio maneriorum Abbatiæ de Burhe'; *Chronicon Petroburgense*, ed. T. Stapleton (London, 1845), hereafter *Chron. Petro.*, ed. Stapleton, p. 165. See also E. King, *Peterborough Abbey, 1086-1310: A study in the land market* (Cambridge, 1973), p. 85.

[27] Swaffham, f. 44r. My translation: 'The whole of the marsh at Eye with the hermitage of Singleshole and all the other hermitages in the same marsh'.

[28] See above, Chapter 5, p. 160. See also Thomas Watts' 'Map of the Wisbech Hundred' (Map 9).

just one of several former anchorages that developed in a similar manner.[29] A second possible hermitage site on *Ege* is Northolm Grange, situated on a moated site on another headland to the west of Singlesole (centred at TF 2533 0798), which Abbot Geoffrey had supplied with grange, chapel and priest before 1308.[30] Thus, it appears that by the late thirteenth century, the term 'hermitage' may have referred to a cell inhabited by a detachment of monks rather than a single recluse.

By the late fourteenth century, Eye supported two other moated farmsteads, Tanholt (centred at TF 2335 0180) that appear to have functioned as a small cattle ranch or *vaccaria*, and Eyebury [*Heye*] (centred at TF 2280 0180), which as the name suggests became the manorial site. However, since both sites were located in the centre of the island, facing *Burch*, they were unlikely to have evolved from hermits' cells.[31] There is neither archaeological nor documentary evidence to suggest that there was ever a high-status building at Tanholt [Tanholm]. However, we learn from Swaffham that a grange with a hall, a kitchen, a storeroom and a chapel built from timber and stone had been established at Eyebury during the abbacy of Walter of Bury St. Edmunds (1233-45).[32]

The final possible hermitage site is at Oxney (centred at TF 2250 0095), another former island in Borough Fen on the boundary between Eye and Thorney but to the west of the Catswater [Drain] and, therefore, lying within the Nassaburgh Hundred of Northamptonshire. *Oxanig*, together with *Wiðergaig* [Wittering] and *þorp* [Thorpe] were three estates purchased by Æthelwold for *Medeshamstede c.* 972 x 992. By the tenth century the Oxney estate probably was ripe for assarting. It is described in the 'List of sureties for Medeshamstede estates' as containing twenty-five acres of woodland and pasture, with a further thirty acres lying beyond the island.[33] The 'Descriptio maneriorum de Abbatiæ de Burhe' informs us that by 1125, Oxney was annexed to Eye and was inhabited by twenty-three beasts under the care of a single stockman, himself leading an eremitic life, albeit only

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[29] BL, Additional 39758 [The Book of Walter of Whittlesey] (Peterborough, *c.* 1322-9), hereafter Whittlesey, f. 113v (new foliation); *CB*, pp. 170-1. See also W. T. Mellows, *The Granges of Peterborough Abbey* (Peterborough, 1923-4), pp. 14-5.

[30] Whittlesey, ff. 106v, 108rv; *CB*, pp. 159, 165-6 See also Mellows, *Granges*, pp. 8-10; *Fenland Project* 2, p. 35; PCC SMR No. 03038. See below, pp. 245-6.

[31] Swaffham, f. 25r; Whittlesey, 103v, 109v; *CB*, pp. 122, 155; Mellows, *Granges*, pp. 6-8; *Fenland Project* 2, Fig. 17.

[32] Swaffham, f. 25r; *CB*, p. 120. By 1275 x 1290, Eye was linked to Peterborough by a causeway. See *Carte Nativorum: Peterborough Cartulary of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. C. Brooke and M. Postan (Oxford, 1960), No. 44.

[33] Soc., Ant., 60, ff. 48v-49r; *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A. J. Robertson, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1956) [R] 40, pp. 80-1.

on a seasonal basis.[34] A chapel was confirmed to the Sacristy of *Burch* in Eugenius III's second bull of 1146, suggesting that the abbey farm already had been established on Oxney by this date.[35] By the early fourteenth century, it had been replaced by a substantial stone hall and ancillary buildings and a drawbridge leading to the summer pasture on Borough Fen.[36] It is possible that other 'hermitages' at Singleshole [Eye], *Ancarig* [Thorney] and Throckenholt [Thorney] were first occupied by ascetic monks and then, upon the advent of fen drainage, by small groups of brethren or monastic servants practising animal husbandry. As the *vaccariæ* prospered, those at the most strategic locations were upgraded to moated monastic complexes, each with a hall, chapel, and ancillary buildings. Thus, the most remote outposts could be seen to be occupied in order to discourage rival establishments from colonizing the area.

i. b) The Eight Hundreds of Oundle

Version A

'And ic gife þone tun þe man cleopeð Undela mid eall þet þærto lið, þet is þet man cleopeð Eahtehundred 7 market 7 toll, swa freolice þet ne king ne biscop ne eorl ne sc[l]rreue haue þær nane hæse, ne nan man buton se ane 7 þamþe he þærto sæt.' [37]

Version Bi and Bii

'uillam quoque Undale cum toto iure adiacentium quod Eahtahundred Anglice nominatur et cum mercato ac theloneo ea prorsus libertate donamus; quatinus nec rex nec comes nec episcopus preter Christianitatem attinentium parrochiarum nec vicecomes nec ulla umquam maior minorue persona ulla dominatione occupare; nec de ipsa uilla Undele ubi legitime consedere debet in alium locum transferre ullatenus presumat; sed tantum abbas predicti cenobii illud cum suis causis et legibus totum in sua potestate liberrime teneat et quando uel in quo loco sibi placuerit sine ulla contradictione sedere faciat.' [38]

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[34] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 15v; *Chron. Petro.*, ed. Stapleton, p. 165. See also King, *Peterborough Abbey*, pp. 85-6; Martin, *Cartularies*, p. 2.

[35] *HC*, p. 117; Swaffham, f. 22v; *CB*, p. 108. The place-name, *Oxanig*, means 'island of oxen'. See *Place-Names: Northants.*, p. 227.

[36] Robert of Lindsey (1214-22) constructed the drawbridge, whilst Geoffrey of Crowland (1299-1331) was responsible for upgrading the grange. See Swaffham, f. 22v; Whittlesey f. 103v; *CB*, pp. 108, 154-5. See also Mellows, *Granges*, pp. 10-1; PCC SMR No. 01039.

[37] ASC (E), f. 37r (963). My translation: 'And I give the town of Oundle with all that lies thereto, that is what they call the Eight Hundreds, and the market and toll, that they shall have the liberty that neither king nor bishop nor sheriff has authority there, but for the abbot and those he places thereto.'

[38] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 69r; *HC*, p. 34; Swaffham, f. 39r. My translation: 'And also we give freely the 'vill' of Oundle with everything that lies adjacent to it, which is called the Eight Hundreds in English, and the market and toll, so that neither king nor bishop, except for over the from his authority in spiritual matters in the parishes therein, nor sheriff, nor any greater or lesser person is to take control of any part of it. Nor, under any circumstances whatsoever, must it be moved to any other place than the same 'vill' of Oundle where it legally sits.'

The Eight Hundreds of Oundle was an administrative and judicial unit stretching along the Nene Valley from Peterborough to Kettering and covering one quarter of Northamptonshire. It comprised the hundreds of North and South Navereslund, Huxloe, Navisford, Polebrook, Willybrook and the double Hundred of Nassaburgh or *Uptune grene*.[39] As the name implies, the original administration centre for the Eight Hundreds was probably within the 'vill' of Oundle, in the Polebrook Hundred (centred at TL 0440 0882) and central to the region with easy access by river and by road.[40] Indeed, a clause in Versions Bi and Bi of pseudo-Eadgar's charter, but absent from Version A, decreed that the court of the Eight Hundreds should sit only within the 'vill' of Oundle. Nevertheless, the 'List of sureties' suggests that after the restoration of *Medeshamstede* assemblies also took place at venues within the Nassaburgh Hundred (Map 25).[41]

The earliest known reference to Oundle appears in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, in which we are told that St. Wilfrid's died 'in monasteria suo, quod habebat prouincia Undalum sub regimine Cudbaldo abbatis'.[42] Bede's statement is interesting on two accounts. Firstly, it informs us that, during the early eighth century, Oundle was not simply a 'vill' but a province. Secondly, it reveals that Wilfrid's own monastery was at the time of his death in 709 under the control of Cuthbald, the second abbot of *Medeshamstede*.[43] Although the actual site of Wilfrid's establishment is unknown, it is likely that his monastery was founded whilst he was undertaking 'episcopal duties' for Wulfhere, during his exile from Northumbria.[44] Moreover, the forger endeavoured to preserve both Wilfrid and Oundle's connexion with *Medeshamstede* by portraying him as a testator to pseudo-Wulfhere's land grant and despatching him to Rome to obtain its confirmation through the procurement of pseudo-Agatho's bull.[45] Shortly after his death, Wilfrid's foundation was burnt down by a group of exiled noblemen and there is neither archaeological nor documentary evidence to suggest

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[39] By 1190, the *Uptune grene Hundred* was known as *de Nesso Burgi* [Nassaburgh] Hundred, comprising the 'Nass' or western headland and *Burch* with its *banleuca*. See Kew, Public Record Office, Great Roll of the Pipe, Roll 4, mem. 2; *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Second Year of the Reign of Richard I, Michaelmas 1190*, ed. D. M. Stenton (London, 1925), p. 29. By 1316, the Navereslund Hundreds had been absorbed into the Huxloe Hundred. See *Place-Names: Northants.*, p. 223; C. R. Hart, 'Oundle: its province and Eight Hundreds', *NPP* 8: (1989-90)', pp. 18-9.
[40] I. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain* 3rd edn. (London, 1973), p. 216.
[41] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 47r, 48r; R 40, pp. 76-9.
[42] *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, ed. and tr. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), hereafter *HE*, Bk. V, ch. 19. Colgrave and Mynors' translation: '[He died] in his own monastery in the district of Oundle, while abbot Cuthbald was ruling over it'. See also *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, ed. and tr. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927), hereafter *VW*, ch. 65.
[43] ASC (E), 675; *HC*, pp. 15, 21, 22.
[44] *VW*, ch. 14.
[45] Soc. Ant., 63v, 67r; ASC (E), 656, 675; *HC*, pp. 13, 16.

that it was rebuilt as a conventional monastery.[46] The region became part of the Danelaw after 870. However, research by Rosamond Faith, Dawn Hadley and Christopher Dyer has indicated that, although large estates tended to be fragmented into smaller units, boundaries frequently remained intact.[47] Therefore, although it can never be proven, it is possible that the Eight Hundreds of Oundle corresponded with the 'prouincia Undalum' mentioned by Bede.

The earliest recorded assembly of the Eight Hundreds was described in the 'List of sureties for Medeshamstede's estates' (972 x 992), compiled over a century before pseudo-Eadgar's charter was produced but which survives only as a twelfth-century copy. The document stated that 'æhte hundred gemote æt Wylmesforde [Wansford]' to confirm a series of land transactions made by Abbot Eadwulf (*c.* 972–2) on behalf of his monastery.[48] The list also alerts us to further assemblies at three other locations, namely at the now lost *Wyðreðe* Cross,[49] 'twegera hundreda gwitnesse æt Dicon'[50] and finally, 'æt Undelum on þere viii hundred gewytnesse'.[51] Thus, it appears that the Eight Hundreds of Oundle was functioning as an administrative and as a judicial unit within the Nassaburgh Hundred shortly before the reformation of *Medeshamstede c.* 963 x 972.

According to the *Liber Eliensis*, *Burch*, Oundle and Kettering, in effect representing the Eight Hundreds of Oundle, were seized by Leofsige, son of Brixius, after the death of Eadgar in 975 but were restored to *Medshamstede* upon the intervention of Ealdorman Æthelwine of East Anglia. Moreover, Æthelwold, completely absolved Æthelwine's brother, Ælfwold, for his part in the slaying of Leofsige, obviously regarding the appropriation of the monastic estates as a crime against God. Shortly after Æthelwold's death in 984, proceedings against Leofsige were heard in London and confirmed at the Shire Court in Northampton eight days later. However, Leofsige's widow, Siffed, was summoned to the assembly 'apud Walmesford in octo hundretis' and ordered to pay restitution for her husband's seizure of

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[46] *HE*, Bk. V, ch. 19; *VW*, ch. 67.

[47] R. Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (Leicester, 1997), pp. 152-4; D. Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: Its Social Structure, c. 800-1100* (Leicester, 2000), pp. 131-8; C. Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850-1520* (London, 2003), pp. 26-30.

[48] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 47r. See *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A. J. Robertson, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1956) [R] 40, pp. 76-7. Robertson's translation; 'at a meeting of the eight hundreds at Oundle'

[49] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 48r. See R 40, pp. 78-9. For *Wyðreðe* cross, see above, Chapter 5, p. 191.

[50] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 48r; R 40, pp. 78-9. Robertson's translation: 'with the cognisance of the two hundreds at the dykes [Langdyke Bush].' See also A. Meaney, 'Gazetteer ', pp. 88-9. See above, Chapter 5, pp. 178-9, 191.

[51] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 49v; R 40, pp. 82-3. Robertson's translation: 'at Oundle with the cognisance of the eight hundreds.'

Medeshamstede's estates.[52] Thus, justice appeared to be meted out within the region where the offence had taken place. Nevertheless, since the assembly was convoked by Ealdorman Æthelwine, it appears that as *vicecomes* he would have wielded greater authority over the court of the Eight Hundreds than the abbot of *Medeshamstede*. Therefore, the abbot's late tenth-century jurisdiction over the Eight Hundreds of Oundle probably was restricted to dispensing law and order at a local level only, with overriding power exercised by first the king, through his ealdorman and shire reeves or sheriffs.[53] This state of affairs may have caused considerable resentment at *Burch* during the early twelfth century, especially since the abbot of Thorney could boast of having obtained from William II (1087-1100) control of the double hundred of Norman Cross in exchange for an annual payment of 100 *solidos* to the sheriff of Huntingdonshire.[54]

A document, copied into the *Liber Niger* immediately after pseudo-Eadgar's charter and its confirmations by four pre-Conquest kings, attempts to persuade us that a similar arrangement had been brokered between *Burch* and William I. The charter, purportedly drawn up during the abbacy of Brand (1066-69), ratified the privileges granted by Eadgar including the liberty of *sac* and *soc*, but made no reference to the Eight Hundreds of Oundle. Nevertheless, the crucial location in the *Liber Niger* of the earliest surviving copy of William's endorsement indicates that the compiler of the otherwise randomly-arranged cartulary was striving to substantiate the 'authenticity' of pseudo-Eadgar's charter.[55] It is possible that William I was prepared to offer greater jurisdiction over the Eight Hundreds than his predecessors in return for Brand's allegiance. Alternatively, William's charter may have been modified, either by the *Liber Niger* scribe or by the author of four forgeries collectively known as *Relatio Hedde Abbatis*, in order to validate *Burch*'s claims. By using William's confirmation in conjunction with pseudo-Eadgar's charter, the monks of *Burch* could claim control over the Eight Hundreds of Oundle a century *before* Thorney was granted the same status over the double hundred of Norman Cross.

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[52] *LE*, Bk. II, ch. 11.

[53] Dyer, *Making a Living*, pp. 51-2. The Eight Hundreds continued as an administration unit until 1329, when it was superseded by the Soke of Peterborough, which corresponded with the Nassaburgh Hundred but was still known as the Eight Hundreds of Oundle. See M. Cam, *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1944), pp. 100-1.

[54] *Regista Rerum Anglo-Normannorum* I: *Regesta Willelmi Comquestris et Willelmi Rufi, 1066-1100*, ed. H. W. C. Davis (Oxford, 1913), No. 453.

[55] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 71rv; *Registra Regum Anglo-Normannorum: the Acta of William I (1066-1087)*, ed. D. Bates (Oxford, 1998) [*RRAN*] 216. See also ASC (E), 1066; *HC*, pp. 76-7.

However, the citation of the market at Oundle in pseudo-Eadgar's charter arouses suspicion.[56] Although a market was confirmed to *Burch* in 1086, Hart observes that it was unusual for it to be specifically named in a purportedly tenth-century charter.[57] Nevertheless, it seems improbable that the monastery would have claimed privileges that it could not uphold in the early twelfth century, since failure to do so would have been indicative of a decline in the abbey's standing.

i. c) Barrow, Warmington, Ashton, Kettering, Castor, Ailsworth, Walton, Werrington, Eye and Thorpe

Version A	**Version Bi and Bii**
'And ic gife Crist 7 Sancte Peter 7, þurh þes biscopes bene Aðelwold þas land þet is Barwe, Wermington, Æsctun, Ketering, Castra, Egelswurðe, Waltun Wiðringtun, Ege, Thorp.' [58]	'Item terres nostro adiutorio, uel dono, uel optimatum meorum per prefatum episcopum eidem monasterio adiectas que hic ex parte titulantur, id est Baruue, Wermington, Asctun, Kyteringas, Castra Eilesuurthe, Walton, Witheringtun, Ege, Thorpe.' [59]

The North Lincolnshire estate of **Barrow**, close to the River Humber (at TA 072- 214-), was the only named possession of *Burch* in the group to be located outside the Eight Hundreds of Oundle. Its significant position at the beginning of the list merits further discussion. We learn from Bede that a monastery associated with Bishop Winfrith had already established by 672 at Barrow [*Adbaruue*] to which he retired after his deposition.[60] However, the late tenth-century ownership of Barrow is problematic. Both Versions A and B of Eadgar's foundation charter to Thorney Abbey of 992, copied into Swaffham's Register and into the Red Book of Thorney, agree that Æthelwold purchased land at Barrow in Lindsey from Eadgar 'for 40 pounds of the finest silver . . . and many precious gifts'.[61] A third version of Æthelwold's transaction dated 971 is preserved in the *Liber Niger*.[62]

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[56] ASC (E), f. 37r (963).
[57] *DB: Northants.*, 6 [10a]; Hart, 'Oundle', p. 11.
[58] ASC (E), f. 37r (963). My translation: 'And I give to Christ and St. Peter, what Bishop Æthelwold asks; the land at Barrow, Warmington, Ashton, Kettering, Castor, Ailsworth, Walton, Werrington, Eye and Thorpe.'
[59] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 69r; *HC*, pp. 34-5; Swaffham, f. 39v. My translation: 'Similarly, I grant the lands, which with our help and by my gifts and those of my nobles and which have been added to the same monastery by the aforesaid Bishop [Æthelwold]; that is Barrow, Warmington, Ashton, Kettering, Castor, Ailsworth, Walton, Werrington, Eye [and] Thorpe'.
[60] *HE*, Bk. IV, ch. 6.
[61] Swaffham, f. 125v [Version A]; CUL, Add. 3020 [The Red Book of Thorney] (s. xiv), f. 12v, [Version B]; *ECEE*, p.170; *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks VIII* (London, 1968); Electronic Sawyer, www.trin.cam.ac.uk/eSawyer [S] 787.
[62] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 38r-39r; S 782.

Nevertheless, whilst the *Liber Niger* version claimed that Æthelwold bestowed the estate upon *Medeshamstede*, both Versions A and B of Eadgar's charter to Thorney declare that the Barrow estate was a late tenth-century possession of Thorney.[63] It seems astonishing that the Peterborough scribe, Robert of Swaffham, writing *c.* 1250, should concede Barrow to a rival monastery. Therefore, we may surmise that Swaffham was using an even earlier Thorney text than pseudo-Eadgar's charter to *Burch* as his exemplar. Nevertheless, there is no reliable evidence to substantiate Thorney's assertion.[64]

By 1086, Barrow was no longer under *Burch*'s jurisdiction but was held with its outlier, Croxhill, by Drogo de la Beuvrière.[65] Hugh Candidus provided a viable explanation for its loss. During the troubled reign of Æthelred II (979-1013, 1014-16) and possibly whilst Abbot Ælfsige was in voluntary exile in Normandy, the monks of *Burch* were obliged to part with the estate *in lieu* of *Danegeld*.[66] Nevertheless, the forger's inclusion of Barrow at the head of the list of estates may be perceived as a counter-claim to Thorney. It also serves to convey to his twelfth-century audience that, during the reign of Æthelred (675-704), *Medeshamstede's* sphere of influence stretched beyond the Eight Hundreds of Oundle as far as the northernmost boundary of Mercia.[67]

The remainder of the settlements listed in this section of pseudo-Eadgar's charter seem surprisingly few when compared with the number of estates confirmed to *Burch* in 1086.[68] The pre-Conquest descent of the estate of **Kettering** (at SP 870- 800-) is easy to trace. A charter dated 956, which survives as a copy in the *Liber Niger*, recorded that King Eadwig (955-9) granted land at *Cytringan* to his thegn, Ælfsige.[69] Ælfsige sold *Keteringan* to Æthelwold, who in turn bestowed it upon *Medeshamstede c.* 963 x 972. The manor was confirmed to *Burch* in 1086.[70] Situated close to the River Ise in the North Navereslund Hundred (at TL 867- 783-), Kettering appears to have represented the westernmost limits of the Eight Hundreds of Oundle. Since Kettering was annexed by Leofsige after Eadgar's death in 975, only to be recovered two years later upon the intervention of Ealdorman

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[63] Swaffham, f. 125v; CUL, Add. 3020, ff. 12v, (Thorney, s. xiv); *ECEE*, p. 170.
[64] *ECEE*, pp. 179-80.
[65] *DB: Lincolnshire*, ed. P. Morgan and C. Thorn, 2 vols. (Chichester, 1986) II, 30 [1-2].
[66] *HC*, pp. 48-9, 64. See also ASC (E), 1013.
[67] *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, ed. and tr. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), hereafter *HE*, Bk. IV, ch. 12.
[68] *DB: Northants.*, 6 [1-17]; 6a [1-34]; Elc 1 [1].
[69] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 29rv; *ECEE*, pp. 162-3; S 592.
[70] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 40r; R 39, pp. 72-3; *DB: Northants.*, 6 [17].

Æthelwine, it is tempting to conjecture that the forger had at his disposal a list compiled upon the redemption of *Medeshamstede*'s Northamptonshire estates (Map 25).[71]

The manor **Warmington**, close to the River Nene (at TL 077- 094-) was mainly contained within the Polebrook Hundred. The 'List of sureties' stated that three tracts of land *æt Wyrmingtun* were procured by Æthelwold and Abbot Eadwulf.[72] In 1086, three estates at *Wermintune*, with two mills, an eel fishery, forty acres of meadows and acre of woodland, were held in lordship by Turold. Two tenants held one-and-a-half hides from Turold and one hide of land in the Willybrook hundred was granted out as a fee to two of his knights.[73]

Ashton, in the Polebrook Hundred (at TL 053- 884-), was separated from Warmington by the royal manor of Tansor (at TL 054- 908-). In 1086, Turold held in demesne four-and-a-half hides, which included land for four ploughs, two mills, sixteen acres of meadow and four acres of woodland, granting the remaining half hide as a fee to his knight, Ivo de Stoke.[74] However, Æthelwold's 'List of sureties' recorded two separate Ashton transactions made by Abbot Eadwulf, merely amounting to the purchase of one mill and a single hide of land.[75] Thus, *Burch*'s Polebrook Hundred holdings appear to have increased during the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.

The pre-870 history of **Castor**, in the double Hundred of Nassaburgh (at TL 125- 985-), has already been discussed in detail in Chapter 5. An estate, consisting of a farmstead with forty acres of arable land and a meadow, was acquired by Eadwulf between 972 and 992 as a fine from Osgot, who had been instrumental in the death of Stryrcyr.[76] The availability of the relics of the royal saints, Cyneburh [Kyneburgha] and Cyneswith [Kyneswitha] from the 'ecclesia destructa' by Abbot Ælfsige (1006-41) suggests that the site of the church was probably a possession of *Medeshamstede* soon after its reformation.[77] Castor was confirmed to the abbot of *Burch* in *Domesday Book* (Maps 18, 25).[78]

The earliest citation of the adjacent hamlet of **Ailsworth** (at TL 118- 998-) relates to a charter of 948, by which Eadwig conferred upon his thegn, Ælfsige, three hides of land at *Ægelswurð*.[79] After the restoration of *Medeshamstede*, Æthelwold entered into an agreement with Ælfsige's son, Wulfstan Uccea, exchanging land at *Hwessingatune*

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[71] *LE*., Bk. II, ch. 11.
[72] Soc. Ant. 60, ff. 47r, 49v; R 40, pp. 74-5, 82-3.
[73] *DB*: *Northants*., 6 [11], 6a [12, 18].
[74] *DB*: *Northants*., 1 [24, 25] (Tansor); 6 [12], 6a [34] (Ashton).
[75] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 48r; R 40, pp. 78-9.
[76] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 47v; R 40, pp. 76-7.
[77] *HC*, pp. 50-1; ASC (E), 963. See above, Chapter 5, pp. 174-6.
[78] *DB: Northants*., 6 [4], 6a [1].
[79] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 30r-31r; *ECEE* 163, pp. 110-1; S 533.

[Washington, Sussex] for an unspecified hidage at *Ægelwurðe*, which he gave to *Burch*, and *Jacelea* [Yaxley], which he bestowed upon Thorney.[80] Nine hides of land at Ailsworth were confirmed to *Burch* in 1086.[81] Therefore, it is possible that Castor, with its post-Conquest berewicks of Ailsworth, Milton, Sutton and Upton, may have represented a discrete estate prior to the formation to the Nassaburgh Hundred (Map 22).[82]

According to the 'List of sureties', Abbot Eadwulf purchased for *Burch* a 'toft' and eighty acres of woodland and open country at **Walton** (at TF 177- 023), sandwiched between the settlements of Werrington and Paston.[83] However, in September 1015 Edmund Ætheling, son of Æthelred II, seized control of the so-called 'Seven Boroughs'.[84] The following year, as an act of atonement, Edmund conferred one-and-a-half hides of land at *Pegecyrcan* [Peakirk] and three virgates at *Wealton* [Walton] upon the New Minster at Winchester and *Lacingahyðe* [Lakenheath, Suffolk] upon Thorney Abbey.[85] It is unlikely that the grants ever came into effect. Edmund died in November 1016 and was succeeded by Cnut, who awarded Lakenheath to Bury St. Edmunds *c.* 1021 x 1027, whilst it is generally understood that Peakirk and Walton remained under the jurisdiction of *Burch* (Map 23).[86] Although, neither Walton nor Peakirk were recorded in *Domesday Book*, both were confirmed to *Burch* by Eugenius III's first papal bull of 1146 and listed in Richard I's charter of 1189.[87]

The inclusion of the hamlet of Walton or *Wealton*, 'the walled enclosure', in pseudo-Eadgar's inventory of *Burch*'s estates at first appears to be difficult to justify.[88] However, the addition of **Werrington** to the list initially seems even more obscure. The earliest reliable citation of *Wiðeringtune* appears in *Domesday Book*, in which a sizeable estate was held by Turold and four of his knights.[89] Nevertheless, it is possible that the place-name of *Wiðeringtune* may throw light upon the motives for the township's inclusion in pseudo-Eadgar's list. Stenton proposed a connexion between *Wiðeringtune* [Werrington] (at TF 165- 032-) and *Wiðeringaig* [Wittering] (at TF 057- 020-), with the seventh-century

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[80] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 54v-55r; R 37, pp. 68-9; *ECEE* 12, p. 111; S 1377.
[81] *DB: Northants.*, 6 [5] (6 hides), 6a [3] (3 hides).
[82] For the berewicks of Castor, see DB: *Northants.*, 6 [4, 5], 6a [1-3]; *HC*, pp. 110; Swaffham, f. 44r.
[83] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 47r; R 40, pp. 76-7.
[84] ASC (E), 1015, 1016 The 'Seven Boroughs' included the Five Boroughs of Danelaw (Stamford, Leicester, Derby, Nottingham and Lincoln), Torksey in Lincolnshire and probably York. See *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, ed. M. Swanton, (London; rev., 2000), p. 146, note 1.
[85] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 42rv; CUL, Add., ff. 16v-17r; *ECEE*, pp. 198-9; S 947, 948.
[86] *ECEE*, pp. 200-1; King, *Peterborough Abbey*, p. 10; S 980.
[87] *HC*, p. 110; Swaffham, f. 44r. Peakirk may have been included in the Glinton assessment and Walton with Werrington. See *DB: Northants.*, 6 [7, 8], 6a [7, 8].
[88] *Place-Names: Northants.*, p. 245.
[89] *DB: Northants.*, 6 [8], 6a [8].

Wiðerigga folk, arguing that a detachment of settlers may have migrated from Wittering to Werrington, seven miles away.[90] Moreover, Hart conjectures that the 600 hides awarded to the *Wiðerigga* folk in the 'Tribal Hidage' may have extended far beyond the Nassaburgh Hundred into the Eight Hundreds of Oundle.[91] Although it may never be proven, Werrington may have represented the *Wiðerigga*'s north-eastern frontier with the North *Gyrwe*. Furthermore, Walton, described in the 'List of sureties' as comprising 'eighty acres of woodland and open country' perhaps delineated a buffer zone or unadopted 'no man's land' between the old tribal units of the *Wiðerigga* and North *Gyrwe*, before its purchase by Eadwulf (Map 21).[92]

It is significant that **Eye** should be included in two sections of pseudo-Eadgar's charter yet it is not recorded in *Domesday Book*. King hypothesizes that Eye may have been included among the 'dependencies' in the Werrington assessment.[93] However, Werrington (at 0165- 032-, separated from Borough Fen by Car Dyke, is geographically closer to Paston (at TF 233- 018-) than Eye (at TF 228- 028-). Indeed, by 1348 Werrington had become a chapelry of Paston.[94] Furthermore, since Eye was inhabited by only thirteen half-virgaters and a cowherd *c.* 1125, it seems improbable that Eye supported a larger community in 1086.[95] We may speculate that Eye merited a double entry in pseudo-Eadgar's charter because, during the early twelfth-century, plans were already underway to transform the island from a *vaccaria* to a complex of monastic granges, thus, symbolizing of *Burch*'s authority on the edge of its territory (Maps 23, 24).

The estate of *þorp* [**Longthorpe**] is recorded as a possession of *Burch* in the 'List of sureties'.[96] However, together with *Oxanig* and *Wiðergaig*, it was among the lands alienated from *Medeshamstede* and later returned, possibly in exchange for Farcet.[97] The place-name suggests that Thorpe, on the north bank of the Nene (at TL 162- 984-) was a daughter settlement or outlier of *Burch*. The chapelry of **Thorpe** is well documented. According to

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[90] Stenton in *Place-Names: Northants.*, pp. xiv, 246-7. See above, Chapter 5, pp. 191-3.
[91] C. Hart, 'Tribal Hidage', *Transactions of the Royal Society*, Fifth Series 21 (1971), pp. 142-3, 152-3.
[92] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 47r; R 40, pp. 76-7.
[93] *DB: Northants.*, 6 [8]; King, *Peterborough Abbey*, p. 85.
[94] Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives Office, Register IXc, p. 50; J. Bridges, *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, ed. P. Whalley (London, 1791) II, p. 536; *VCH: Northamptonshire*, ed. R. M. Serjeantson and W. R. D. Adkins, 5 vols. (London, 1902-2002) II, p. 536; M. Franklin, 'Minster and Parishes: Northamptonshire Studies' (unpubl. PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1982), pp. 142-3.
[95] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 15v.
[96] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 49r; R 40, pp. 80-1.
[97] C. R. Hart, 'Oundle: Its Province and Eight Hundreds', *NPP* 8:1 (1988-90), pp. 10-2.

Symon Patrick, who edited Symon Gunton's *History of the Church of Peterburgh*, the chapels of *Burch* and Thorpe were erected 'by the Milites in the time of Turoldus' (1069-96), although there is no trustworthy evidence to substantiate this claim.[98] However, Ernulf's provision of a priest may have represented his earliest reorganization of pastoral care in the district and, therefore, may have warranted Thorpe's inclusion among the twelve 'vills' in pseudo-Eadgar's charter.[99]

Conclusions pertaining to the twelve 'vills' of *Burch*

With the exception of Barrow and Werrington, all of the estates listed above were recorded in either Æthelwold's 'Gifts to Medeshamstede' (963 x 972) or his 'List of sureties for Medeshamstede's estates' (972 x 992), thus corresponding with the professed date of pseudo-Eadgar's charter.[100] Although we can only speculate upon the forger's method of selection, it appears that each of the settlements was picked for strategic reasons. Barrow, may have been chosen because it was, perhaps, perceived by the early twelfth-century monks of *Burch* as marking the northern limits of Æthelred's Mercia, thereby proclaiming that *Medeshamstede*'s seventh-century domain once extended to the very boundaries of his kingdom.[101] The remaining estates are located within the former Eight Hundreds of Oundle. Kettering, in the North Navereslund Hundred, reclaimed from Leofsige by Ealdorman Æthelwine, appears to have marked the western bounds of the Eight Hundreds.[102] The Nene Valley settlement of Ashton is situated on the northern edge of the Polebrook Hundred, whilst Warmington straddles both the Polebrook and Willybrook Hundreds.[103] Castor and Ailsworth, positioned on the *nass* or headland of the Nassaburgh Hundred, probably formed part of a discrete estate, spanning *Wiðerigga*'s and North *Gyrwe*'s tribal units (Map 2).[104] Part of Walton was endowed to New Minster, Winchester, by Edmund Ætheling in 1016. The grant is believed to have become void upon this death later in the year.[105] Therefore, like the restored estate of Kettering, it was essential that Walton should be included. Werrington was, perhaps, tactically placed upon what may have been regarded as the demarcation line

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[98] S. Gunton, *History of the Church in Peterburgh* [1686], ed. S. Patrick, facsimile edn. (Stamford, 1990), p. 271.
[99] Soc. Ant., 60 f. 55r; *Local Administration*, ed. Mellows, p. 199.
[100] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 39v-40v, 47r-49v; R 39, 40.
[101] *HE*, Bk. IV, ch. 12.
[102] *DB*: *Northants.*, 6 [17]; *LE.*, Bk. II, p. xv, ch. 11; See also *ECEE*, p. 178; Hart, 'Oundle', pp. 10-2.
[103] *DB: Northants.*, 6 [12], 6a [34] (Ashton); 6 [11], 6a [12, 18] (Warmington).
[104] *DB: Northants.*, 6 [4], 6a [1] (Castor); 6 [5], 6a [3] (Ailsworth). See above, Chapter 5, pp. 176-7, 196.
[105] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 47r; R 40, pp. 76-7; Soc. Ant., 60, f. 42rv; S 947; *ECEE*, pp. 200-1; King, *Peterborough Abbey*, p. 10.

between the *Wiðerigga*'s and North *Gyrwe*'s territory. Finally, Thorpe, to the west of *Burch*, and Eye, an island to the north-east of *Burch*, probably represented Ernulf's spheres of expansion at the time when the charter was devised. Thus, it appears that all these estates were positioned at either a hundredal or tribal boundary, locations that were probably considered as important during the early twelfth century as they had been prior to the restoration of *Medeshamstede c.* 963 x 972. To the catalogue of estates, we may add the 'vill' of Oundle, which pseudo-Eadgar's charter claims as the site of the earliest court of the Eight Hundreds.

Nevertheless, it is unusual that of all the estates confirmed to *Burch* in 1086, only a dozen, namely Dogsthorpe, Eye, Paston, Warmington, Ashton, Kettering, Castor, Ailsworth, Walton, Werrington, Thorpe, and Oundle, were singled out for inclusion in pseudo-Eadgar's' list. For example, Irthlingborough in the South Navereslund Hundred (at TL 947- 712-), with its excellent river and road communications, is conspicuous by its absence.[106] Wittering on the western limits of the Nassaburgh Hundred and with a possible association with the *Wiðerigga* folk, and Aldwincle, meeting place of the Navisford Hundred (at TL 022- 812-) were also neglected.[107] Did the compiler of the inventory deliberately limit the inventory of estates to those that the abbot held in demesne or was the number 'twelve' significant? It is reminiscent of the grant of twelve estates in Deira and Bernicia, which Bede told us that Oswiu of Northumbria gave for the foundation of monasteries upon his victory over Penda of Mercia *c.* 654, a triumph that led to the conversion of the Middle Angles and the foundation of *Medeshamstede*.[108] We know that a copy of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* was included in a twelfth-century list of books preserved in the monastic library and it is possible that Ernulf was thus inspired to include twelve estates among *Burch*'s possessions.[109] Therefore, the twelve 'vills' may have symbolized the twelve apostles with *Burch*, representing Christ, at their head.

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[106] *DB: Northants.*, 6 [15] See also Margary, *Roman Roads*, p. 216.
[107] *DB: Northants.*, 6a [4, 9] (Wittering); 6a [27] (Aldwincle); Meaney, 'Gazetteer of Meeting-Places', p. 82.
[108] *HE*, Bk. III, ch. 24; Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 58v-59v, *Relatio Hedde Abbatis*; ASC (E), 654; HC, pp. 7-8.
[109] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 163, f. 251r. See *Library Catalogues* 8, ed. Friis-Jensen and Willoughby, BP2. 8. Endowments of twelve 'vills' at Easington, Bowmont and Bishop Wearmouth were recorded as gifts to St. Cuthbert's community at Chester-le-Street [County Durham] by King Oswine (died 651), Elfred Brihtwulfing and King Æthelstan (924-39). See *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* [HSC.], ed. T. Johnson Smith (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 42-3, 73-4 (Bowmont); pp. 60-1, 104-5 (Easington); pp. 64-5, 109-10 (Bishop Wearmouth).

ii. The mint in Stamford

Version A	Version Bi and Bii
' 7 an myneter in Stanforð.'[110]	'et unum monetarium in Stanforde in perpetuam libertatem concedimus.'[111]

Coin finds, inscribed with the names of both the town and the moneyer, have proven conclusively that several mints were functioning in the royal *burh* of Stamford from the reign of Eadgar (959-75) until that of Stephen (1135-54). Sawyer surmises that a mint was established during Æthelstan's rule (925-39).[112] Indeed, the archbishops of Canterbury had been minting their own coins from at least the early eighth century until the early tenth century, when Æthelstan, endeavouring to standardize the coinage throughout his kingdom, issued a list of *burhs* where moneyers who were allowed to produce royal coinage. The list included seven mints at Canterbury, one of which was attached to St. Augustine's, a privilege unique to that monastery. Although Stamford is excluded from Æthelstan's list, its status as a *burh* would have permitted a single moneyer to operate there.[113] However, finds have been positively dated to the reign of Eadgar, implying that the earliest moneyer yet identified went into production between 959 and 975.[114]

Hugh Candidus recorded that in 1024 'Turkilus Hoche [Hoge] dedit sancto Petro, Colingeham et monetarium in Stanford et terram [ibidem] ex ista patre aque'.[115] Of course, this statement contradicts *Burch*'s claim to control over the moneyer at Stamford made in pseudo-Eadgar's charter. Moreover, it is debatable whether Hoche actually was in a position to confer the right to strike the common coinage in Stamford. Although most of the coins were minted in *burhs*, the currency and moneyers were kept under the strict control of the king with severe penalties for those who abused their position.[116]

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[110] ASC (E), f. 37r (963). My translation: 'and a moneyer in Stamford.'
[111] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 69v; *HC*, p. 35; Swaffham, f. 39r. My translation: 'and we grant in perpetual liberty a mint in Stamford.'
[112] P. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1998), pp. 121, 125. See also W. Wells, 'The Stamford and Peterborough Mints, Part 1', *BNJ* 22 (1934-5), p. 49.
[113] *English Historical Documents* I: *c. 500-1042*, ed. D. Whitelock, 2nd edn. (London, 1979), p. 420 'King Æthelstan's Laws', issued at Grately, near Andover, Hampshire, 936- *c.* 930; N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury, Christ Church from 597 to1066* (Leicester, 1984), pp. 23-4; *Charters of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and Minster-in-Thanet*, ed. S. E. Kelly (Oxford, 1995), pp. xvii-xviii.
[114] C. Mahany, *The Archaeology of Stamford* (Stamford, 1969), pp. 6-7; Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincs.*, p. 125; Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, Early Medieval Corpus of Finds, Ref. Nos. CR 269 - 270, 1992; CR 205, 1996.
[115] *HC*, p. 70. My translation: 'Turkil Hoche gave to St. Peter Collingham [Nottinghamshire] and a mint in Stamford and land on the same side of the river [Welland].'
[116] ASC (E), 1125; Dyer, *Making a Living*, pp. 55-6. See also *ECEE* 135, p. 245.

Nevertheless, Eugenius III's first bull confirmed to *Burch* 'fifty-nine measures of land, mills, churches, a toll and the mint in Stamford'. Thus, it appears that a moneyer indeed was operating under the authority of the king, but perhaps with the abbot of *Burch* drawing a percentage of the profits, within the parish of St. Martin [Stamford Baron], the part of the town that belonged to the abbey.[117] No trustworthy documentary evidence survives to confirm *Burch*'s right to benefit from the mintage of coins at Stamford prior to this date. However, the citation of a moneyer at Stamford in pseudo-Eadgar's charter suggests that the abbot of *Burch* had obtained royal consent to mint the common currency before 1146.

iii. The market at *Burch*

Version A	**Version Bi and Bii**
'7 ic wille þet markete beo **in þe selue tun** 7 þet nan oþer ne betwix Stanford 7 Hutandune.'[118]	'Mercatum quoque constituimus **in Burch** singulare, ut nullum aliud habeatur inter Stanforde et Huntadune.'[119]

It was not unusual for reformed monasteries to be allowed to hold markets with a designated hinterland. However, since *Medeshamstede* did not achieve its *burh* status until Cœnwulf (992-1005) built his fortifications, it is unlikely that a market was established at the monastery gates before his abbacy.[120] By decreeing that there should be 'no other market held between Stamford and Huntingdon' the forger was ostensibly declaring *Burch*'s jurisdiction over a huge area of land stretching from the south bank of the River Welland as far as the town of Huntingdon on the Great Ouse. This, indeed, was a bold statement, since it claimed *Burch*'s authority and privileges over the lands belonging to the abbeys of Crowland, Thorney and Ramsey. Conveniently, Eadgar's confirmation of estates and privileges to neither Thorney in 973[121] nor Ramsey in 974[122] referred to a market controlled by their abbots. It also seems unlikely that a market had been granted to Huntingdon, where

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[117] *DB: Northants.*, ELc 1 [1]. Richard I's charter to *Burch* of 1189 confirms 'all that part of the town, which is towards Peterborough on this side of the bridge' but makes no reference to a mint. See Swaffham, f. 44v-45r.

[118] ASC (E), f. 37r (963). My translation: 'and I decree that there should be a market in that very town and that there be no other between Stamford and Huntingdon'.

[119] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 69v; *HC*, pp. 35-6; Swaffham, f. 39v. My translation: 'We decree that there is to be a market in Peterborough, the only one of its kind, and that no others may be held between Stamford and Huntingdon'.

[120] ASC (E), 963; Dyer, *Making a Living*, pp. 56-7.

[121] CUL, Add. 3020 [The Red Book of Thorney] (Thorney, s. xiv), ff 12r-13v; Swaffham, ff. 124v-126r. See also *ECEE*, pp. 165-72; S 792.

[122] *Chronicon Abbatiæ Rameseiensis*, ed. W. Dunn Macray, Rolls Series 83 (London, 1886), herefter *Chron. Ram.*, pp. 68-70. Ramsey was not granted a market until 1200. See W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Badinel 2nd edn. 6 vols. in 8 (London, 1817-30) II, p. 564.

Thorney held 'duas mansas' and a *monasteriolum* dedicated to St. Mary.[123] However, a weekly market, held on Thursdays in the manor of Yaxley, was confirmed by William II (1087-1100), Henry I (1100-35) and Stephen (1135-54) to Thorney Abbey.[124] In reality, the forger was merely claiming jurisdiction over *Burch*'s territory within the Nassaburgh Hundred in addition to the fenland between Farcet and Whittlesey Mere.

iv. The boundaries relating to Whittlesey Mere

The format of pseudo-Eadgar's charter bounds differs considerably from that of its predecessor, pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, in that attention is focused not upon *Medeshamstede* but upon Whittlesey Mere, the name given to both a vast freshwater lake (at TL 22- 91-) and its surrounding pools and marshland. The predominance of the mere within the charter and the fact that it is mentioned on two separate occasions implies that, during the early twelfth century, the monks of *Burch* were pre-occupied with maintaining both their fishing rights and their seniority over the neighbouring monasteries of Thorney and Ramsey, who shared control of Whittlesey Mere.

Pseudo-Eadgar's charter conferred upon *Medeshamstede* the following allotments pertaining to Whittlesey Mere:

Version A

'And ic gife þa **twa dæl** of Witlesmere . . .

mid watres 7 mid wæres 7 feonnes.'[125]

Version Bi

'Concedimus etiam **dimidiam partem** stagni quod dicitur Witlesmere **per episcopum Adeluuoldum acquisitam** cum omnibus scilicet aquis, **piscuariis**, stagnis et paludibus attenentibus.'[126]

Version Bii

Concedimus etiam **quartam partem** stagni quod dicitur Witlesmere **per episcopum Adeluuoldum acquisitam** cum omnibus scilicet aquis, **piscuariis**, stagnis et paludibus attenentibus.'[127]

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[123] CUL, Add. 3020, ff. 12v-13r; Swaffham, f. 125v.
[124] CUL, Add. 3021, f. 410r, *English Episcopal Acta: Lincoln,* ed. D. M. Smith, 2 vols. [I and IV: Lincoln] (Lincoln, 1980-6), hereafter *Acta*, ed. Smith, I, No. 267.
[125] ASC (E), f. 37rv (963). My translation: 'And I give two shares of Whittlesey Mere . . . with waters and with lakes and fens'.
[126] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 69v; *HC*, p. 35. My translation: 'We give half of the marsh called Whittlesey Mere, which Æthelwold acquired at the same time with all the same lakes, fisheries, pools and adjacent fens.'
[127] Swaffham, f. 39r; *CB*, p. 21.

Documentary evidence relating to the ownership of Whittlesey Mere and its surrounding fenland is abundant but contradictory and confusing. Pseudo-Wulfhere's charter claimed that *Medeshamstede*'s seventh-century boundaries proceeded as follows:

> 'sic in medium partitis stagnis plurimis et immensis paludinis cum habitatoribus Huntedunensis prouincie una cum stagnis et lacis, Scælfremere, et Witlesmere, et alius quam plurimus ad hec pertinentibus cum terris quoque et mansionibus, que adiacent in australi parte Scælfremere, et cum infra septa undique palude usque ad Medeshamstede.'[128]

Clearly pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, fabricated at roughly the same time and by the same author as pseudo-Eadgar's charter, was claiming all of the meres and fens as far as Whittlesey Mere as well as the southern shore of *Scælfremere*.[129] However, it is likely that the forger was aware that during the late seventh century Ramsey and Thorney did not exist as conventional religious establishments. Therefore, it seems feasible that pseudo-Wulfhere's charter should award to *Medeshamstede* vast swathes of fenland that may have been perceived as 'no man's land' or unexploited territory before the foundation of the abbeys of Ramsey and Thorney (Map 26).[130]

According to Eadgar's authentically based charter to Thorney Abbey of 973, copied into Swaffham's Peterborough Register of *c.* 1250 [Version A], and into the fourteenth-century cartulary, the Red Book of Thorney [Version B], Æthelwold purchased two parts of the island of Whittlesey in the North Witchford Hundred of Cambridgeshire from Leofwine, son of Athulf. Æthelwold then procured the remainder of the isle, together with '**duas partem**' ['two-parts'] of Whittlesey Mere in Huntingdonshire from Ufi and his brothers.[131] He appears to have divided Whittlesey Island between the abbeys of Ely [St. Andrew's Parish][132] and Thorney [St. Mary's Parish].[133] There is no known record of Æthelwold's acquisition of the remainder of the lake. However, by the mid eleventh century, the abbot of Ramsey held

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[128] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 62r. My translation: 'and through the middle part of very many vast meres and fens, together with the inhabitants of the county of Huntingdon, with all the pools and lakes, Scælfremere and Whittlesey Mere and all the others, no matter how many pertaining to these; also at the same time with all the houses which are next to the southern part of Scælfremere.'

[129] ASC (E), f. 15rv (656) claims the lands and houses on the *eastern* shore of *Scælfremere*.

[130] Thorney [*Ancarig*] is mentioned in pseudo-Wulfhere's Charter as a satellite of *Medeshamstede*. See Soc. Ant. 60, f. 63r; ASC (E), 656; *HC*, p. 12.

[131] Swaffham, f. 125v; CUL, Add. 3020, ff 12v-13r. See also *ECEE*, p. 168; S 792.

[132] *LE.*, Bk. II, ch. 60; *DB: Cambs.*, ed. Morris and A. Rumble (Chichester, 1981), 5 [44]; *The Victoria History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*, ed. L. Salzman et al., 10 vols. (London, 1938-2002), hereafter *VCH: Cambs.* IV, pp. 126-7.

[133] *DB: Cambs.*, 8 [1]. CUL, Add. 3020, f. 13r; Swaffham, f. 125r.

the 'piscarium de Witelmara' ['the fishery on Whittlesey Mere'], the gift of Wach, who died in 1054.[134]

Æthelwold was recorded as having granted 'Witlesmere h'alfendal' ['half of Whittlesey Mere'] to *Medeshamstede* between 963 and 972.[135] Nevertheless, Eadgar's foundation charter to Thorney hints that Æthelwold bestowed upon that abbey '**duas partes** illius stagni quod Witlesmare nominatur', which he had purchased from Ufi.[136] Thus, Æthelwold's benefactions to *Medeshamstede* and Thorney appear to be unviable. The 'half share' of Whittlesey Mere offered to *Medeshamstede* neatly corresponds with 'dimidiam partem' ['half part'] confirmed by pseudo-Eadgar in the *Liber Niger* edition [Version Bi]. However, the Old-English version [Version A] of 'two dæl' or 'two shares' is perplexing. It is unclear whether ASC (E) Hand 1 refers to *Medeshamstede*'s allotment as 'two shares' of the entire lake, 'two shares' of Æthelwold's purchase or simply the right to employ two fishing boats on Whittlesey Mere.

An examination of Swaffham's transcript of Hugh Candidus' Chronicle also reveals a discrepancy in *Medeshamstede*'s apportionment relating to the marsh of Whittlesey Mere. Swaffham's version of pseudo-Eadgar's charter [Version Bii], which is otherwise identical to its Latin counterpart [Version Bi], awarded only '**quartem partem** stagni quod dicitur Witlesmere' to *Medeshamstede*, instead of '**dimidiam partem**' conferred in the *Liber Niger* and Hugh's interpretations [Version Bi].[137] Swaffham's minor variation leads us to believe that he consulted another document, which was at his disposal, either in its original form or as a twelfth-century copy conserved within the *Liber Niger*. This document, dated 1020 x 1023, recorded the acquisition by Abbot Ælfsige of *Burch* (1006-41) of '**quartem partem** stagni Witlesmere cum omnibus delfis et paludibus in circuitu attinentibus' from the king's thegn, Thored, in exchange for land at Overtune [Orton].[138] Swaffham appears to have considered Ælfsige's contract significant enough to include a slightly edited version in his own cartulary.[139] Moreover, it may have prompted him to adapt his edition of pseudo-

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[134] *Chron. Ram.*, p. 199; *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*, ed. W. Hart and A. L. Ponsonby, RS 79, 3 vols. (London, 1884-93), hereafter *Cart. Ram.* III, p. 167. See also *DB: Huntingdonshire*, ed. J. Morris and S. Harvey (Chichester, 1975), 7 [8]; *ECEE* 324, p. 235.
[135] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 40r; R 39, pp. 72-3; *ECEE* 13, p. 111; S 1448.
[136] Swaffham, f. 125r; CUL, Add. 3020, f. 13r. See also *ECEE*, pp. 168, 183.
[137] Swaffham, f. 39r; *CB*, pp. 20-22.
[138] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 24r-25v; Swaffham, ff. 119v-120r; *Chon. Petro.* ed. Stapleton, pp. 182-3. My translation, 'a quarter part of the lake, Whittlesey Mere, with all the delphs [water channels] and marshes belonging to it in the vicinity'. See also *ECEE* 32, p. 33; S 1463.
[139] Swaffham, ff. 119v-120r.

Eadgar's charter to correspond with *Burch*'s early eleventh-century holdings on Whittlesey Mere.

Ælfsige's procurement represents the monastery's first genuine transaction pertaining to Whittlesey Mere since Æthelwold's 'Gifts to Medeshamstede' (963 x 972).[140] The existence of this document suggests that *Medeshamstede*'s share of the lake and fenland, may have been seized by Leofsige after the death of Eadgar in 975 and partially re-allocated to Thorney by Æthelwold upon its recovery.[141] Alternatively the Whittlesey Mere tenement may have been alienated while Ælfsige sought refuge in Normandy during the Danish incursions of 1013/1014, necessitating its recovery from Thored by 1020 x 1023.[142] However, it should also be considered that Æthelwold's 'Witlesmere h'alfendal' may have been hitherto limited to fishing quotas.

Yet another inconsistency occurs in Eadgar's charter to Thorney Abbey, preserved in the community's cartulary, the Red Book. The foundation grant includes a lease of

> 'Quartam partem quoque stagni quod solito Witlesmere nominatur, ac duo piscuaria, decemque mutuata sunt iugera [de þornig uidelicet] ad Burh [pro commutacione centum viginti porcorum pascualium, ac pro domorum, sepium, et stabulorum emendatione.]'[143]

The words enclosed within parentheses were erased from the version of Thorney's foundation charter that has been copied into Swaffham's Register.[144]

A study of the available documentary evidence leads us suspect that by the mid eleventh century *Burch* was no longer a major stakeholder in Whittlesey Mere. Furthermore, the *Domesday Book* verifies that *Burch* indeed had entered into a covenant with Thorney in order to safeguard its fishing rights on the lake.

> 'In Whittlesey Mere the Abbot of Ramsey had 1 boat; the Abbot of Peterborough 1 boat; and the Abbot of Thorney 2 boats. Of these two, the Abbot of Peterborough holds one from the Abbot of Thorney, and also 2 fisheries and 2 fishermen and virgate of land. For these he gives pasture sufficient for 120 pigs, and, if the pasture is inadequate, he feeds and fattens 60 pigs with corn. He also finds materials for one house of 60 feet, and poles for the court round the house; he also repairs the house and court if they fall into disrepair. This agreement was made before 1066.'[145]

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[140] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 40r.
[141] *LE*, Bk. II, ch. 11.
[142] ASC (E), 1013; *HC*, pp. 48-9.
[143] CUL, Add. 3020, f. 14v; *ECEE*, p. 171. My translation: 'A quarter of a lake called Whittlesey Mere and 2 fisheries and 10 acres of land which was loaned [namely from Thorney] to Peterborough [in exchange for the pannage of 120 pigs, and for a house, enclosure and the repair of the stables].'
[144] Swaffham, f. 126r.
[145] *DB: Hunts.*, 7 [8].

It seems that *Burch*'s arrangements with Thorney endured until the mid twelfth century, when 'in Farseta [Farcet] iiii piscatores cum iiii mansuris terre et ii naues in Witelsmere' were confirmed to *Burch* in Eugenius III's first bull of 1146.[146] Moreover, Richard I's charter of 1189 confirmed that *Burch*'s share had been reduced to two boats and two parts of a fishery.[147] No reference was made in either the papal bull or by Hugh Candidus to the pre-Conquest contract with Thorney, suggesting that it may have been renegotiated by 1146, possibly in exchange for free passage along the River Nene through *Burch*. Although 'four measures' of land may have represented a small fraction of Æthelwold's original grant, it offered the monks of *Burch* a foothold on Whittlesey Mere.

The significance of Farcet

Farcet, like Whittlesey Mere, seems to have been a point of contention from 972 x 992, when Æthelwold divided the estate between *Medeshamstede* and Thorney.[148] During the mid tenth century, Farcet owed its importance to the fact that a large tract of fenland adjacent to Whittlesey Mere, now known as Farcet Fen, lay within its bounds. Moreover, whoever was in possession of the estate also controlled *Færresheafde Hyþe* [Farcet Hithe], a strategically situated wharf on the old course of the Nene, known locally as the Pigs' Water.[149] Therefore, it was imperative that *Medeshamstede* had access to a landing place on the Nene within Huntingdonshire, since *Norðhyþe* [North Hithe] in Stanground and *Suðhyþe* [South Hithe] in Yaxley fell under the jurisdiction of Thorney (Maps 26-8).[150]

According to Æthelwold's 'Gifts to Medeshamstede,' Farcet was purchased with Yaxley by Ealdorman Æthelwine and Bishop Eadwulf on behalf of the abbey.[151] In addition, Æthelwold assigned, together with half of Whittlesey Mere, 'æt Farresheafde xvi weorcwyrðe men and viii iunge men', presumably with the intention that they should be employed on the

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[146] *HC*, p. 110. My translation: 'In Farcet, 4 fishermen, 4 measures of land and 2 boats on Whittlesey Mere.' For confirmation, see Swaffham, f. 111rv; *Acta*, ed. Smith, I, No. 221.

[147] Swaffham, f. 45r, 'Richard I's charter to Peterborough'.

[148] Soc. Ant. , 60, f. 40r; R 39, pp. 72-3; CUL, Add. 3020, f. 12v. See also *ECEE*, p. 170; S 792.

[149] CUL, Add. 3020, ff. 17v-18r, 'King Eadwig's land grant of 956 to his thegn, Ælfwine'; *ECEE*, pp. 159-60; S 595. Eadwig's charter represents the earliest known reference to Farcet and Whittlesey Mere.

[150] *DB: Hunts.*, 7 [1-2]. Farcet probably was included with Stanground in the in the *Domesday* survey.

[151] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 40v; R, 39, pp. 74-5. See also *ECEE* 13, p. 25; S 1448. Eadwulf [Adulf] was first Abbot of Peterborough, then Archbishop of York and Bishop of Worcester. The fact that he was cited as 'Bishop' suggests that either the Æthelwold's list of gifts was compiled in retrospect after Eadwulf's elevation or that the document was edited at a later date. See ASC (E), 963, 992, 1002; ASC (F), 992.

estate.[152] However, Swaffham's edition of Edgar's charter to Thorney awarded seventeen *mansas* at *Geakeslea* [Yaxley] and another 'viii [mansas] in Færresheafde quas idem episcopus beato Petro apostolorum principi ad Medeshamstede concesserat, mutauit Wulstano cum xxiiii mansis in Wessington in Suðseaxon'.[153] This statement clearly referred to the agreement between Æthelwold and Wulfstan Uccea of 963 x 975, preserved in the *Liber Niger*, in which Yaxley and Ailsworth were exchanged for Washington in Sussex.[154] Although there was no reference to Farcet in this transaction, both Æthelwold's 'Gifts to Medeshamstede' and Eadgar's charter to Thorney, imply a close connexion between the Farcet and Yaxley estates. It appears that this relationship continued into the early twelfth-century, when an inquisition of 1116 decreed that, whilst the fisherman of Farcet owed their labour to *Burch*, they must pay their tithes to Thorney.[155]

An analysis of all known documents relating to Whittlesey Mere leads us to conjecture that by the twelfth century *Burch* had control of only '**quartem partem**' of Whittlesey Mere adjacent to Farcet on the north-west shore of the lake and that was probably rented from Thorney. By artfully claiming that the 'Witlesmere **h'alfendal'** prescribed by Æthelwold, the forger was asserting *Burch*'s share of the lake at the time when pseudo-Eadgar's charter was purported to have been written, *before* Thorney and Ramsey had received their allotments.

After claiming 'dimidiam partem' of Whittlesey Mere for *Burch*, the forger continued by plotting the boundaries of Whittlesey Mere and its neighbouring fens employing landscape features with which his twelfth-century audience would have been familiar. The purpose of this exercise at first appears unclear until we discover that he used as his exemplar an appendage to Ælfsige's transaction with Thored concerning the exchange of 'quatrem partem stagni Witlesmere' for land at Orton. The attachment was added to Ælfsige's contract after it had been witnessed by an impressive array of testators, including Cnut, Queen Emma and the Archbishops Æthelnoth of Canterbury and Wulfstan of York, thus signifying its importance.[156] Since the charter and its appendage survive only in the form of a twelfth-century copy, it is impossible to judge whether the bounds are contemporary with the transaction. Nevertheless, it is generally understood that the addendum represented a

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[152] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 40r; R 39, pp. 74-5. My translation: '16 able-bodied men and 8 young men'.
[153] Swaffham, f. 125v. My translation: '8 [measures of land] in Farcet, which the same bishop conceded to the blessed Peter, chief of the Apostles, at Medeshamstede, exchanged with Wulfstan for 23 *mansas* in Washington, Sussex.'
[154] Soc., Ant., 60, ff. 54v-55r; R 37, pp. 68-9; S 1377. See above, pp. 211-2.
[155] Swaffham, f. 123v.
[156] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 24r-25v. My translation: '[so that] no one should be injured due to negligence'. See also W. Dugdale, *History of Imbanking and Drayning of Divers Fennes and Marshes*, 2nd edn. (London, 1772), pp. 362-3; *ECEE* 32, p. 33; S 595.

survey of the meres and fisheries of Huntingdonshire, compiled during the early eleventh century and added as a postscript to Ælfsige's memorandum shortly after it had been witnessed so that 'ne quis ignorantia ledatur'.[157]

Having studied the bounds attached to Ælfsige's transaction, the forger skilfully interpolated an abbreviated version into his charter, omitting all references to the fisheries and lesser pools such as *Draegmere* [Dray Mere], *Lange Mere* [Long Mere] and *Musclemere* [Muscle Mere].[158] Then, brazenly alluding to his earlier masterpiece, pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, he proceeded to claim for *Burch* 'que omnia antiquitus ad illud sacrosanctum pertinuisse probantur.'[159] Although Hugh Candidus copied the bounds of Whittlesey Mere into his Chronicle, adhering strictly to the version preserved in the *Liber Niger*, ASC (E) Hand 1 inserted into his vernacular account an abridged edition. The reason for his interpolation of only the boundaries that actually related to the reformed *Medeshamstede*'s portion of Whittlesey Mere *c.* 1121 may imply a sense of urgency to bring his chronicle up to date. However, it is also possible that Hand 1, writing at over three decades earlier than Hugh and perhaps for a wider audience, may have been reluctant to lay his house-history open to the scrutiny and ridicule of the abbots of Ramsey and Thorney. The boundaries of the marsh of Whittlesey Mere were decreed as follows:

Version A	**Version Bi and Bii**
'mid watres 7 mid wæres 7 feonnes 7 swa þurh Merelade on an to þet wæter þet man cleopeð Nen 7 swa eastweard to Cynges Dælf.' [160]	**'cum omnibus scilicet aquis piscariis, stagnis et paludinibus attinentibus, usque ad hos terminos circumiacentes; quorum septentrionalis est ubi primum** intratur Merelade de amne Nen; orientalis ad Kynges delf; **australis ad Alduuines baruue, qui locis est in palude contra medietatem uiæ Ubbermerelade; occidentalis ubi aqua de Deopbece [Deep Beck] finitur ad terram.'**[161]

The identification of the boundaries of Whittlesey Mere contained within pseudo-Eadgar's charter is impeded by the drainage of the region between 1849 and

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[157] S 1463; *ECEE* 32, p. 33.
[158] *Dreigmere*, *Wellepol*, *Withbuscemere*, *Langmere*, *Keniges* and *Musclemere* were all claimed for *Medeshamstede* in Version A of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter (s.xiii$^{3/4}$/xiv$^{1/4}$). See BL, Cotton Augustus ii. 5.
[159] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 69v; *HC*, p. 35. My translation: 'All of which, by far in both breadth and length, has been proven in olden days to belong to that most holy monastery.'
[160] ASC (E), f. 37rv (963). My translation: 'With all the waters and weirs and fens; through the *Merelade* as far as the water that they call the Nene and eastwards as far as the King's Delph'.
[161] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 69v; *HC*, p. 35; Swaffham, f. 39r. For translation, see below.

1853.[162] However, by consulting the forgery's exemplar, Ælfsige's contract with Thored, it is possible to determine a landscape that had changed little between the early eleventh and early twelfth centuries.[163] The navigation of the charter bounds also is facilitated by John Hexham's 'Map of the Fenland between Peterborough and Wisbech' [*c.* 1590][164] and a 'Plotte and description of the Fenns' dated 1604, which bears the signature of Sir Robert Cotton, a resident of neighbouring Conington and founder of the Ashburnham House Library, Westminster (Maps 26, 27).[165] The limits of Whittlesey Mere and its associated lakes and fens are examined below. The bounds described in the addendum to Ælfsige's transaction of 1020 x 1023 are enclosed in parentheses.

(a) 'with all the aforementioned waters, fisheries, pools and fens as far as these boundaries, the northern of which is where *the Merelade* is first entered from the River Nene;'

['In septentrionali parte stagni est aquam nomine Merelade exiens de amne Nene, ubi terminus septentrionalis est ipsius stagni. Hæc vero cum suis paludibus illi adiacet habens in fine piscuarium unum quod dicitur Ethemuthe. In orientali parte illius sunt duo stagna quæ vocantur Wellepool et Trendmære. Inter hæc stagna est aqua augusta duorum stadiorum longa quæ vocatur Trendmære bece, habens in se duo piscuaria. Est etiam ibi aqua augusta unius miliarii longa quo vaocatur Falet, habens unum piscuarium.'][166]

Prior to the drainage of Whittlesey Mere during the mid nineteenth century, Farcet Fen was flooded for several months of the year. However, Hall has deduced that at some point 'in the Saxon and medieval times' the Nene was diverted to flow in a south-westerly direction through Whittlesey Mere via an artificial watercourse or *lade*, known in the seventeenth century as Conquest Lode, now Farcet Lode, which formed the modern parish boundary between Farcet and Yaxley (Maps 26-8).[167]

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[162] *The Fenland Project*, No. 6*: The South-western Cambridgeshire Fens*, ed. D. Hall (Cambridge, 1992), p. 32; G. Lucas, 'A Medieval Fishery on Whittlesea Mere, Cambridgeshire, in *Medieval Archaeology* 42 (1998), p. 19.

[163] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 24v-25v; *Chron. Petro.,* ed. Stapleton, p. 183.

[164] Hatfield House, CPM supp. 29. A copy of Hexham's map is held by Peterborough Central Library.

[165] BL, Cotton Augustus, I. i. 78. Printed in *The Victoria History of the County of Huntingdon*, ed. W. Page *et al.*, 4 vols. (London, 1926-38), hereafter *VCH: Hunts.* III, between pp. 248-9.

[166] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 24v-25r; *Chron. Petro.*, ed. Stapleton, p. 183. My translation: 'In the northern part of the pool [Whittlesey Mere] is a stream called Merelade, flowing out of the River Nene, where the northern boundary is the pool itself. This, indeed, lies next to it, having at the end one fishery, which is called Ethemuthe. In the eastern part of this are two pools, which are called Wellpool and Trundlemere. Between these pools is a narrow water [course] of two furlongs long, which is called Trundle Mere Beck, having in it two fisheries. There is a narrow water [course] one mile long called Falet, having one fishery.' See also Swaffham, f. 120r.

[167] *Fenland Project* 6, pp. 19, 22; Fig. 11; OS Explorer Map 227.

A charter of 956 preserved in the Red Book of Thorney in which Eadwig conferred upon his thegn, Ælfwine, ten hides at *Geaceslea* [Yaxley] and five hides at *Færresheade* [Farcet], described a terrain filled with meres, fens and drainage ditches or dykes. Nevertheless, it made no mention of the Nene, which Hall conjectures flowed downstream from *Burch* along the fen boundary through both estates, following the course of the Pigs' Water prior to the Nene's diversion (Map 29).[168] Moreover, Eadwig's charter stated that the lands of Farcet included 'Witlesmere þridden dæl' ['three shares of Whittlesey Mere'], after which the bounds continued somewhat vaguely through 'þes wateres and þes wudes þe þær to hyrð'.[169] This suggests that the *Merelade* that connected Whittlesey Mere with the Nene, had not been excavated by 956 and that surplus water drained into the lake through a series of dykes, one of which may have formed the boundary between Farcet and Yaxley.

It seems likely that immediately after the tenth-century monastic revival several fisheries were established on Whittlesey Mere and its associated lakes and pools, with *Medeshamstede*, Ramsey and Thorney all staking claims to the mere's valuable resources. By the time the appendage to Ælfsige's contract with Thored was compiled 1020 x 1023 the meres and pools had been connected by a series of lades or artificial watercourses, including the *Merelade*.[170] Thus, *Medeshamstede*'s access to the lakes and their important fisheries was facilitated and communications with the fenland abbeys of Ramsey, Ely and Bury St. Edmunds improved. Therefore, we may deduce that the *Merelade* was excavated *after* the reformation of *Medeshamstede* 963 x 972 but *before* 1020 x 1023.

It is reasonable to speculate that the *Merelade* was commissioned immediately after *Medeshamstede*'s restoration, by the enterprising Abbot Eadwulf (972-92). We have learnt from Æthelwold's 'Gifts to Medeshamstede' that twenty-four men of Farcet were available to implement such a project.[171] Moreover, it would have been to the abbey's advantage to complete the scheme as rapidly as possible. An enlargement of an existing drainage ditch or catchwater to accommodate both fishing vessels and barges would have been more economical and less time consuming than to start anew. It would also been advantageous to select the boundary dyke between Yaxley and Farcet, since it would have been of mutual benefit to the monasteries of *Medeshamstede* and Thorney. Indeed, its excavation may have been a joint venture. Among the 'Assignments of property to Thorney Abbey' of *c.* 972,

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[168] CUL, Add. 3020, ff. 17v-18r; *ECEE*, pp. 159-60, 164-5; *Fenland Project* 2, pp. 19, 22; Fig 11.
[169] CUL, Add. 3020, ff. 18r; *ECEE*, p. 160. My translation: '[through] the waters and the woods as far as the hithe'.
[170] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 24v-25v; Swaffham, f. 120r.
[171] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 40r; R 39, pp. 72-3

£3 was set aside for improvements to Yaxley, which included 'an pund . . . to Fearresheafde to dycynge' ['one pound for digging at Farcet'].[172]

During the drainage programmes of the seventeenth century, the Nene was again re-routed, with surplus water being carried out to sea by way of the Catswater Drain, King's Dyke and the new Peterborough River to Wisbech and into Whittlesey Mere via its former course. 'The Nene old Chanel', as Dugdale referred to it, was 'improved' and renamed Conquest Lode, which still forms the boundary between Yaxley and Farcet.[173] The lode, labelled 'Farcet River Nene', is shown on John Bodger's 'Chart of the Whittlesey Mere' [1786] as entering Whittlesey Mere at Arnold's Mouth or Conquest Lode Mouth. Thus, it appears that the *Merelade* was the forerunner of Conquest Lode (Maps 17, 27-9).

(b) 'the eastern [boundary] at King's Delph;'

> ['In illa parte inter Witlesmere et Kyngesdelf ubi terminus est orientalis est spatum paludinis trium miliariorum in latitudine, habens in se aquam augustam quæ vocatur Thescut, et silvam quæ dicitur Ragreholt.'] [174]

The name, King's Delph, now refers to a marsh also known as King's Delph Fen, lying between the island of Whittlesey and Whittlesey Mere (at TL 24- 25-), an area that was the subject of a protracted dispute between the abbeys of Thorney and Ramsey (Map 26). The argument was initially resolved during the reign of Edward the Confessor (1042-66), when the Abbots Ælfsige of Ramsey (1043-83) and Siworth of Thorney (*c.* 1066) agreed to divide the marsh, allotting the western part to Ramsey and the eastern section to Thorney.[175] The demarcation line was to be a pre-existing watercourse, described in the Old English version of the writ as *Cnutes delfe kinges* [King Cnut's Dyke], which by-passed Whittlesey Mere and its associated lakes, connecting the old course of the Nene with its lower reaches near Ramsey.[176] During the early nineteenth century, the King's Delph was redirected so that its waters were channelled into the recut Whittlesey Dyke, the western section of which

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[172] R 9, pp, 22-7, 502-3.

[173] Dugdale, *Imbanking*, p. 415; *Fenland Project* 6, p. 22; Fig. 11. I can find no evidence of the place-name, 'Conquest Lode', prior to the Drainage Act of 1649. Blæu's 'Map of *Regiones Inundatæ*' [1648] shows a watercourse marking Farcet's boundary as part of the Nene. Therefore, the cognomen, 'Conquest Lode', appears to be seventeenth-century in origin and may refer to the conquest of the Fens rather than to William the Conqueror. See also H. Darby, *The Changing Fenland* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 75-6; OS Explorer Map 227.

[174] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 25r; *Chron. Petro.*, ed. Stapleton, p. 183. My translation: 'In that part between Whittlesey Mere and King's Delph, where the eastern boundary lies, is a marsh three miles wide, having in it a narrow water called Thescuf and a wood called Ragreholt.' See also Swaffham, f. 120r.

[175] *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, ed. F. Harmer, 2nd edn. (Stamford, 1989), No. 62, pp. 262-5. See also *ECEE*, 44, 45, p. 38; S 1110.

[176] *Writs*, ed. Harmer, No. 62, p. 263; OS Explorer Map 227.

misleadingly is shown as King's Dyke Drain on modern Ordnance Survey maps. However, the original route of the waterway, still known locally as King's Dyke or Cnut's Dyke, follows the course of the Oakley Dyke. This watercourse may still be traced from where it leaves the Whittlesey Dyke at Horsey Toll (at TL 227- 958-) as far as its confluence with the old course of the River Nene at Bodsey [*Bodesheye*] (at TL 293- 877), reputedly the cell of Boda the hermit and by 1216 x 1231 the pittancer of Ramsey's grange.[177] From Bodsey, King's Dyke [Oakley Dyke], now derelict and overgrown with reeds, continues in a south-easterly direction towards Ramsey (Maps 27, 28).

A legend promoted by Dugdale related that King's Dyke was commissioned by Cnut (1016-35) after he and Emma experienced a turbulent voyage across Whittlesey Mere as they progressed from Ramsey to *Burch*, presumably via the *Paccalade* [High Lode] and the River Nene. Dugdale erroneously cited as his source a chronicle known as *Flores Historiarum*, the entries of which up to 1265 were once attributed to Matthew of Westminster, but are now understood to have been the work of several monks of St. Alban's Abbey.[178] However, neither *Flores Historiarum* nor its exemplar, Matthew Paris' mid thirteenth-century *Chronica Maiora*, referred specifically to Cnut's passage across Whittlesey Mere. Paris merely stated that, before 1033, 'Idemque [King Cnut] viam in marisco inter Ramesheiam et Burgum, quod Kingesdelf dicitur, ut periculum magnorum stagnorum vitatur, eruderauit'.[179] Furthermore, if Cnut was the instigator of King's Dyke, pseudo-Eadgar's author must have been unaware that the watercourse was completed at least forty years *after* his charter purportedly was written.

Susan Hallam proposed that King's Dyke was Roman rather than eleventh-century in origin, interpreting Matthew Paris' statement as 'not the cutting, but the recutting, of a straight channel to Ramsey and then named after him [Cnut]'.[180] Indeed, the Roman legions were active close to the northernmost stretch of King's Dyke during the early second century AD. One of their major achievements, the Fen Road or Fen Causeway, can still be traced

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[177] *Cart. Ram.* II, pp. 220-1, 349-50; P. H. Reaney, *Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely* (Cambridge, 1943), p. 208; A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton, and J. P. McAleer, *Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire.*, 2nd edn. (Nottingham, 1996), p. 211.

[178] Dugdale confused Cnut's and Emma's adventures on Whittesey Mere with the story of Cnut and the sea. See his *Imbanking*, p. 363; *Flores Historiarum* ed. H. R. Luard, 3 vols. (London, 1890) I, AD 1035, pp. ix-x; 556-7. See also F. Palgrave, *Quarterly Review* 24 (1826), p. 250.

[179] *Matthæi Pariensensis, Monarchi Sancti Albani, Chronica Maiora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 7 vols. (London, reprint. 1964) I, AD 1033, p. 509. My translation: 'And the same [King Cnut] cleared a way [?channel or road] in the marsh between Ramsey and Peterborough, which is called King's Delph, so that the danger of the great lake was avoided.' See also *Matthæi Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Minora*, ed. F. Madden, 3 vols. (London, 1886-9) III, pp. 163-4.

[180] S. Hallam, 'Settlement around the Wash', p. 79.

intermittently from King's Cliffe to Castor, then from Flag Fen, Peterborough, through Whittlesey Island, Eldernell and March, thence to Denver and from there as far as Smallborough in Norfolk.[181] Nevertheless, Hall strongly disagrees with a Roman date for King's Dyke on topographical grounds, claiming that it was unlikely to have been used as a drainage ditch across the fen basin. Moreover, he demonstrates that there have been insufficient archaeological finds to indicate a Roman-British presence along its course, thereby concluding that the channel was most likely to have been commissioned by the early abbots of Ramsey in order to facilitate the transport of building stone.[182]

The conveyance of building materials between *Burch* and Ramsey is well documented. An agreement between Leofric of *Burch* (1057-66) and Ælfwine of Ramsey (1043-83) purportedly allowed the free passage of building materials from the Barnack quarries 'by water or land' in exchange for the Marholm estate and a Lenten gift of 4,000 eels.[183] Abbot Turold's disruption of the transportation of building materials from Barnack to Bury St. Edmunds, during the reign of William I, was also recorded.[184] The discovery of four blocks of Barnack stone on the bed of Whittlesey Mere demonstrates that traffic from *Burch* was directed through Whittlesey Mere via the *Merelade*.[185] This leads us to speculate that, by the late eleventh century, the circuitous route through Whittlesey Mere was used mainly for the transport of freight and fishing vessels, whilst the more direct King's Dyke represented a medieval by-pass reserved for lighter and swifter traffic. Thus, congestion along the narrow *lodes* that connected the chain of lakes could be alleviated. If so, it seems feasible that King's Dyke was cut some time after the *Merelade* had been channelled through to Whittlesey Mere but before 1020 x 1023, when it is cited in Ælfsige's transaction.

An entry in a fourteenth-century Ely cartulary referred to King's Dyke as *Sweordesdelf*.[186] The waterway is also described on Thomas Watt's 'Map of the Wisbech Hundred' [*c.* 1597] as *Swerdesse delfe* and on Johannes Blæu's 'Map of *Regiones Inundatæ*' [1648] as *Swards delfe alias Kinouts delfe*.[187] Christopher Saxton's [*c.* 1579] and John Speed's maps of Huntingdonshire [1612] are more explicit, labelling the channel as *Canutus*

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[181] *Ibid.*, pp. 186-8, 196; *Fenland* Project 2, p. 57. See also Figs. 23, 40. See also Margary, *Roman Roads*, pp. 217, 230-1, 271-2, Map 9.
[182] Fenland *Project* 6, p. 42.
[183] *Writs*, ed. Harmer, No. 62, pp. 262-5. *Chron. Ram.*, pp. 165-7; S 1110.
[184] CUL, PDC 9 [*Carte antiquorum registrorum precentoris*] (Peterborough, *c.* 1340-1346], ff. 111v-112r; *Carte Nativorum*, ed. Brooke and Postan, No. 533. See also *Dugdale's Monasticon* III, p. 101; *The Victoria History of the County of Northampton*, 5 vols. (Folkestone and London, 1902-2002), hereafter *VCH: Northants.* II, pp. 293-4. See above, Chapter 5, p. 187.
[185] *Fenland Project* 6, p. 32.
[186] Ely, Diocesan Register M [*c.* 1250]; *Place-Names: Cambs.*, p. 260.
[187] Copies of Watts' and Blæu's maps are held at the Wisbech and Fenland Museum, Wisbech.

Dike or Swords Dike (Map 28).[188] The names *Swerdesdelf*, *Swerdesse delfe*, *Swards delfe* and *Swords Dike* suggest an association with the seventh-century Anglian tribe, the *Sweord ora*, who are thought to have occupied 300 hides on the southern shore of Whittlesey Mere between the *Hyrstingas* [*Herstingas*] and the South *Gyrwe* (Map 7).[189]

It is possible that King's Dyke's ancestor pre-dated the rehidation of the area upon during the tenth century, after which it may have formed part of the boundary between the Norman Cross and Hurstingstone Hundreds of Huntingdonshire and the North Witchford Hundred of Cambridgeshire.[190] However, the construction of the channel during the reign of Cnut (1016-35) would preclude this, unless King's Dyke was excavated along the line of a pre-existing boundary ditch that may have marked the limits of an earlier settlement or tribal unit. *Domesday Book* confirms that by 1086 the estates lying to the north-east of King's Dyke were located within the North Witchford Hundred of Cambridgeshire, half of which was awarded to Thorney in Eadgar's charter of 973,[191] whilst lands to the south-west were allocated mainly to Ramsey.[192]

The county bounds along King's Dyke neatly correspond with those shown on Speed's 'Map of Huntingdonshire' [1612] (Map 28). Surprisingly, King's Dyke was omitted from both Speed's 'Map of Cambridgeshire' and Saxton's 'Map of Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and Rutland' [*c.* 1579] (Map 16).[193] Instead, Speed and Saxton plotted the Cambridgeshire/ Huntingdonshire boundary along the Nene to the southern shores of the lakes of Whittlesey Mere, Ugg Mere, before it rejoins the Nene to continue downstream through Ramsey Mere via the West Water, the old course of the Great Ouse, as far as Earith. In contrast Jonas Moore's 'Map of The Great Levell of the Fenns' [1684; revised 1720] describes the county line as following the old course of the River Nene through Conquest

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[188] Saxton's atlas of 34 county maps was originally published in *Speculum Britannicæ c.* 1579. Speed, who used Saxton's maps as his exemplars, published his atlas, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* in 1612. Speed's maps are reproduced in *The Counties of Britain: A Tudor Atlas by John Speed*, ed. N. Nicolson and A. Hawkyard (London, 1988), pp. 46-7 (Cambs.), pp. 101-2 (Hunts.).

[189] BL, Harley 3271, f. 6 [Version A]; C. R. Hart 'The Tribal Hidage', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series 21 (1971), p. 145; W. Davies and H. Vierck, 'The Contexts of "Tribal Hidage": Social Aggregates and Settlement Patterns', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 8 (1974), p. 232; *Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire*, ed. A. Mawer and F. Stenton (Nottingham, 1926), pp. xix, 190-1; W. T. W. Potts, 'The Pre-Danish Estate of Peterborough Abbey', *PCAS* 65 (1973-4), p. 22.

[190] H. P. R. Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester, 1961), pp. 228-30; C. Hart, *The Hidation of Cambridgeshire* (Leicester, 1974), pp. 12, 36; A. Reynolds, *Later Anglo-Saxon England* (Stroud, 1999), p. 75.

[191] CUL, Add. 3020, ff. 12v, 14v; Swaffham, f. 125v. See also *DB: Cambs.*, 8 [1].

[192] *DB: Hunts.*, 6 [1-11] (Hurstingstone); 6 [12-4] (Norman Cross). See above, p. 227.

[193] *Counties of Britain*, ed. Nicholson and Hawkyard, pp. 44-5, 101-2.

Lode [*Merelade*], Whittlesey Mere and Ugg Mere to the lower reaches of the Nene west of Ramsey Mere.[194] Despite the unreliability of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century cartographical evidence and the oscillation of the boundary over the intervening centuries, the old course of King's Dyke or Oakley Dyke now forms the demarcation line between Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire District, formerly Huntingdonshire.

To summarize, the dearth of Roman finds and sites along the course of King's Dyke is perplexing, unless the continued scouring and recutting has completely obliterated all evidence.[195] It is also difficult to explain the motives behind the excavation of a canal across the Borough Fen basin before the construction of Ramsey Abbey *c.* 966 unless it was intended to link the Nene with its lower reaches. Matthew Paris (*c.* 1200-59), customarily accurate in his research, was unusually ambiguous about Cnut's improvements in the vicinity, stating that 'viam . . . eruderavi', 'he cleared a route' or, alternatively, 'he dug a way' from Ramsey to *Burch*.[196] Although the origins of King's Dyke may never be proven, archaeological and documentary evidence suggest that the excavation of the channel was more likely to have been the innovation of either the first generation of monks of Ramsey or of Cnut before 1020 x 1023, rather than that of the Romans. However, it is possible that the late tenth- or early eleventh-century commissioner of King's Dyke may have chosen to construct his canal along a pre-existing landscape feature, either natural of artificial that may have marked the tribal boundaries between the *Sweord ora* and South *Gyrwe* and possibly the early eleventh-century division of the counties of Huntingdon and Cambridge.

(c) 'the southern at Aldwine's barrow, which is situated in the fen opposite the middle of the channel, the *Ubbermerelade*; '

['In australi vero patre illius est aqua augusta trium stadiorum longa quæ vocatur Scælfremære Bece, habens in se duo piscuaria. In cuius fine est stagnum quod vocatur Scælfremære, habens ad suam australem plagam aquam augustam quæ Ubbermære lade dimidii miliarii longa. In huius etiam capite id est in fine stagni est unum pisciarium. Ad huius aquæ medietem in longitudine, est locus e contra in palude qui vocatur Aldwines Barwe, ubi australis est terminus.'][197]

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[194] Copies of Saxton and Moore's maps are held at the Wisbech and Fenland Museum. Huntingdonshire was absorbed within Cambridgeshire in 1974.
[195] *Fenland Project* 6, p. 42.
[196] *Chronica Maiora* I, ed. Luard, p. 509.
[197] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 25r; Swaffham, f. 120r; *Chron. Petro.*, ed. Stapleton, p. 183. My translation: 'In the southern part there is a narrow water of three furlongs long, which is called Scælfremere Beck, having in it two fisheries. At the end of this is a pool, which is called Scælfremere, having at the southern expanse a narrow stream called Ubbermerelade, half a mile long. At the head of this, there is one fishery. In the middle of the watercourse is a place on the opposite side of the marsh called Aldwine's Barrow, where the southern boundary is.'

The directions from King's Dyke to Aldwine's Barrow must have seemed very precise to those who were familiar with the early twelfth-century landscape of the area. Pseudo-Eadgar's author apparently relying heavily upon his exemplar, the appendage to Ælfsige's transaction with Thored, informed his readers that Aldwine's Barrow lay adjacent to the watercourse known as *Ubbermerelade* or Ugg Mere Lade that linked the lakes of *Scælfremere* (at TL 232- 870-) and Ugg Mere (TL 246- 867-) (Maps 26-8).[198] Thus, the early eleventh-century bounds of Whittlesey Mere appear to have followed the course of King's Dyke [Oakley Dyke] as far as the modern Ponder's Bridge Farm (at TL 262- 919-), on the contiguous boundary of Farcet in the Norman Cross Hundred and Ramsey in the Hurstingstone Hundred of Huntingdonshire and Whittlesey in the North Witchford Hundred of Cambridgeshire. From this point, the limits of the mere appear to have continued in a south-westerly direction possibly in the vicinity of Decrease Drove, which forms the modern parish boundary between Farcet and Ramsey. According to both the appendage to Ælfsige's contract and pseudo-Eadgar's charter, the bounds then proceeded southwards, skirting the eastern shores of the lakes of Whittlesey Mere and *Scælfremere* along the western fringes of Ramsey parish, thence halfway along the watercourse referred to as *Ubbermerelade*.

The significance of the *Ubbermerelade* as a boundary cannot be overstated. The earliest known reference to the watercourse survives in the attachment to Ælfsige's transaction, which states that it marked the southern boundary of the marsh of Whittlesey Mere. The suffix, *lade*, suggests that, like the *Merelade*, the *Ubbermerelade* was a lode or artificial channel, designed to connect the lakes of *Scælfremere* and Ugg Mere, allowing the passage of craft between the fishing grounds. Therefore, the excavation or improvement of a watercourse probably took place soon after the restoration of *Medeshamstede* (963 x 972) and the establishment of Ramsey (*c.* 966) and Thorney (972) but before Ælfsige's contract was completed. However, unlike the *Merelade* or Conquest Lode and King's Dyke, the *Ubbermerelade* is shown on Speed's 'Map of Huntingdonshire' [1612] and the Ordnance Survey map of 1824 as following a meandering course, suggesting that a pre-existing stream or *bece* may have been enlarged though not necessarily rerouted during the late tenth century (Maps 28, 29). This theory is reinforced by Hall's deduction that, 'in the Saxon and

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[198] The first element of *Ubbermerelade* is derived from the Old English personal name *Ubbe*. See M. Gelling and A. Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names* (Stamford, 2000), pp. 3-4. Although Ugg Mere was drained between 1849 and 1852, the name survives in Ugg Mere Court Road between Ramsey St. Mary's (at TL 252- 879-). See *The Old Series of Ordnance Survey Maps of England and Wales*: *Lincolnshire, Rutland and East Anglia*, ed. J. B. Harley and J. B. and B. A. D. Manterfield (Lympe Castle, Kent, 1987), V, Sheet, LXIV, p. 63. See also *Fenland Project* 6, Fig. 25; OS Explorer Map 227.

medieval times, the Nene forced a southern channel through the area into Whittlesey Mere (immediately to the south)'.[199] Hall's research has revealed that the *Ubbermerelade*, probably the 'Saxon' or 'medieval' course of the Nene, formed the demarcation line between the island of Ramsey in the Hurstingstone Hundred and Holme, which until 1857 was part of Glatton parish in the Norman Cross Hundred of Huntingdonshire.[200] Since Ealdorman Æthelwine, foster brother to Eadgar and co-founder of Ramsey with Bishop Dunstan, granted the entire island of Ramsey to the abbey, it appears that the *Ubbermerelade* formed Ramsey's western frontier as well as that of the parish and hundred bounds.[201] A reference to *Ubbermerelade* as the eastern boundary of the Cistercian abbey of *Sautreia* [Sawtry], founded between 1146 and 1153 confirmed Ramsey's westernmost limits. Furthermore, it revealed that, although the Nene already had 'forced a southern channel' through the watercourse, it was still known locally as *Ubbermerelade*.[202] Thus, it appears that, by the early twelfth century, various stretches of the Nene retained their earlier names, such as *Merelade*, *Ubbermerelade* and *Bradenea*.[203]

The Sawtry foundation charter, preserved in the early fourteenth-century Ramsey cartulary, plotted the abbey's northern bounds 'usque in exteriorem locum Swerdeshord super Whitlesmere', clearly referring to *Swere* or Sword Point, the peninsula that Hart, Davies and Vierck associate with the seventh-century *Sweord ora* tribe.[204] Therefore, we may speculate that the *Ubbermerelade* or rather its ancestor, may have represented the tribal limits of the *Sweord ora* folk at least three centuries before it became the demarcation line between the Norman Cross and Hurstingstone Hundreds of Huntingdonshire.

The position of Aldwine's barrow, probably a prehistoric burial mound, 'contra medietatem uie Ubbermerelade', suggests a location within the tenth-century territory of Ramsey Abbey. Although the date of the barrow is impossible to determine, the area was rich in Bronze Age *tumuli*. A group of five with two outliers, known locally as the Suet Hills, has been identified on the south-eastern edge of Whittlesey Island, close to King's Dyke [Oakley Dyke] (at TL 24- 94-).[205] A second cluster of five barrows with three outliers stand on the island of Ramsey.[206] Moreover, a single inhumation within 'a gravel hill' was located on

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[199] *Fenland Project* 6, p. 19.
[200] *Ibid.*, Figs. 21, 25.
[201] *Chron. Ram.*, pp. 11-2; 52-5; *ECEE* 311, p. 231; S 798.
[202] *Cart. Ram.* I, p. 162; *Fenland Project* 6, p. 19.
[203] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 62r.
[204] *Cart. Ram.* I, p. 161; Hart 'The Tribal Hidage', p. 145; Davies and Vierck, '"Tribal Hidage"', p. 232; *Place-Names: Beds. and Hunts.*, pp. 190-1.
[205] *Fenland Project* 2, p. 57; Fig. 38.
[206] *Fenland Project* 6, p. 42; Fig. 24.

the western limits of Ramsey Abbey's territory, in the modern parish of Ramsey St. Mary, less than half a mile away from Chalderbeach Farm in Holme parish on the former eastern shore of *Scælfremere* (at TL 242- 879-), and close to the outflow of the medieval course of the Nene from Whittlesey Mere.[207] The church of Ramsey St. Mary, built in 1857, stands on a circular mound (at TL 255-873-), suggesting that it may also have been the site of *tumulus*.

We may conjecture that Aldwine's barrow, perhaps one of a cemetery on the margins of *Burch*'s and Ramsey's territories, had been adopted by an ascetic just as St. Guthlac had sought sanctuary in a *tumulus* on the island of Crowland.[208] The Sawtry Abbey charter indicated that a hermit named Edwin had established his cell on Higney Island before 1134, when Higney became a detached possession of Ramsey.[209] The charter claimed that Sawtry's eastern bounds stretched 'usque in interiori fossato Edwini hermitæ versus Hygeney [Higney], ultra quod prædictus herimata pontem vertentem fecit'.[210] Nevertheless, it is unlikely that Edwin the hermit and Aldwine mentioned in the appendage to Ælfsige's transaction and pseudo-Eadgar's charter were synonymous, since Higney Island (at TL 205-836-) is situated too far to the south of Whittlesey Mere. Ealdorman Æthelwine [Æðeluuine], co-founder and benefactor of Ramsey, may also be considered in connexion with the Aldwine's barrow. The Ramsey Chronicle stated that his devotion to the abbey was so great that, upon his death in 992, his body was conveyed to Ramsey for interment.[211] Although there is no reference to Aldwine's barrow near *Ubbermerelade* in the Ramsey archive, it is possible that the mound may have become associated with Æthelwine as a boundary marker for his territorial limits or those of his foundation, perhaps, through common usage.

The explicit directions provided in the attachment to Ælfsige's transaction enable us to pinpoint Aldwine's Barrow to approximately a quarter of a mile south of Chalderbeach Farm, close to the place where the Nene or *Ubbermerelade* exited the pool of *Scælfremere* (at TL 242- 879-) and to the west of Ramsey St. Mary's church (at TL 255- 873-). Unfortunately, all evidence of the barrow that appears to have survived until the early twelfth century, probably was destroyed by successive drainage schemes and ploughing.

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[207] *VCH: Hunts.*, I, p. 202.
[208] *Felix's Life of St. Guthlac,* ed. and tr. B. Colgrave (Oxford, 1956), ch. 28. See also *The Fenland Project*, No. 5, *The Lincolnshire Survey*, ed. P. D. Hayes and T. W. Lane (Sleaford, 1992), p. 197.
[209] *Cart. Ram.* I, pp. 159, 162. See also *Fenland Project* 6, p. 40.
[210] *Cart. Ram.* I, p. 162. My translations 'as far as the inner ditch of Edwin the hermit, beyond the drawbridge that the aforesaid hermit made'. Edwin traditionally helped Christina of Markyate (*c.* 1097-1161) to escape from her arranged marriage. See D. Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 85-6; D. Haigh, *Religious Houses of Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 72-3.
[211] *Chron. Ram.*, pp. 106-7.

Nevertheless, the position of Aldwine's barrow on parish, hundred and possibly close to the seventh-century tribal boundary of the *Sweord ora*, *Hyrstinga* and South *Gyrwe*, suggests that it was a monument of considerable significance before the appendage to Ælfsige's contract was compiled. However, a Sutton Hoo-style burial of as Anglo-Saxon chieftain within Aldwine's barrow should be discounted. Research by Sarah Semple, mainly in the south and west of England, has demonstrated that secondary inhumations and cremation burials within Bronze Age barrows took place from the fifth to the eighth centuries but were most common during the sixth and seventh centuries. However, upon the advent of Christianity, Bronze Age burial mounds came to be regarded as the haunt of evil spirits and were avoided, except for the execution and burial of miscreants.[212] Therefore, it seems likely that Aldwine's Barrow was named after a local landowner, who had adopted it as his boundary marker during his lifetime rather than for use as his *tumulus* after his death.[213] By requisitioning a pre-existing burial mound that dominated the otherwise flat and almost featureless fen landscape, a tribal leader could set down the parameters of his territory. In this way, Aldwine's barrow may have represented a form of title deed to the land that he was claiming from his adopted ancestors. Although the ownership of Aldwine's Barrow may never be proven, apparently the landscape feature was significant enough to warrant references in the early eleventh-century appendage to Ælfsige's transaction and in pseudo-Eadgar's charter a century later.

(d) 'the western is where the water of Deep Beck ends at [dry] land.'

> ['In occidentali autem partem illius est aqua augusta duorem stadiorum longa quæ vocatur Trendmære Bece, habens in se unum piscuarium. In cuius fine est stagnum quod dicitur West Trendmære. Sunt in illa parte etiam aquæ quarum nomina sunt Dreigmære, Wellepol, Withibuscemære, Langemære, Keninges et Musclemære. Est etiam ibi aqua unius miliarii longa usque ad terram, Deop Bece vocata, habens in se unum piscuarium. In huius aquæ fine est terminus occidentalis paludum et aquarum ad Witlesmære.'][214]

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[212] S. Semple, 'A Fear of the Past: The Place of the Prehistoric Burial Mound in the Ideology of Middle and Later Anglo-Saxon England', *World Archaeology*, 31:1 (1998), pp. 109-126; A. Pantos, 'The Location and Form of Anglo-Saxon Assembly-Places: Some 'Moot Points', in *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*, ed. A. Pantos and S. Semple (Dublin, 2004), pp. 171-2.

[213] A. Meaney, 'Pagan English Sanctuaries, Place-Names and Hundred Meeting Places', in *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 8, ed. D. Griffiths (Oxford, 1997), p. 36.

[214] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 25rv; Swaffham, f. 120r. See also *Chron. Petro.*, ed. Stapleton, p. 183.
My translation: 'In the western part, there is a narrow water of two furlongs long, which is called Trundle Mere Beck, having in it one fishery. At the end of which [Trundle Mere Beck], there is a pool, which is called West Trundle Mere. In this part there are waters, the names of which are Well Pool, Dray Mere, Withibuscemære, Long Mere, Keninges and Muscle Mere. From there is yet another watercourse, one mile long, as far as the land, called Deep Beck, having in it one fishery. At the end of this water is the western boundary of the waters pertaining to Whittlesey Mere.'

Usually the term, *bæc* or *bece*, refers to a 'stream-valley' except in the fens, where Gelling and Coles, citing the attachment to Ælfsige's memorandum as their example, concluded that the word refers to 'a flat watercourse or stream'.[215] Since the compiler of the contract used the element, *lade*, on two separate occasions with reference to the artificial channels of *Merelade* and *Ubbermerelade*, it seems likely that *Trendmære Bece* [Trundle Mere Beck] and Deep Beck were natural rather than artificial features. Deep Beck may be identified from Speed's 'Map of Huntingdonshire' [1612], which shows a watercourse flowing from the west of Ermine Street, now the modern A1 (M), and draining into to the lake of Whittlesey Mere (at TL 205- 904-). The stream was re-cut as Stilton Dyke when Bevill's Leam Drain was excavated and Holme Fen was drained in 1631 but still forms the parish boundary of Yaxley with Stilton. Stilton Dyke is shown emptying into Whittlesey Mere on 'Bodger's Chart' of 1786.[216] Furthermore, *Trendelmere* [Trundle Mere], *Wyllepole* [Well Pool] and *Drægmere* [Dray Mere], together with *Hemmingesbroke* [Hemming's Brook] were described as boundary points between Yaxley and Stilton in Eadwig's charter of 956 to his thegn, Ælfwine.[217] If, Hemming's Brook was the predecessor to Stilton Dyke and Deep Beck, then it is also possible that the point where the watercourse entered the marsh represented the western most limits of Whittlesey Mere (Maps 17, 28, 29).

Conclusions pertaining to the bounds of Whittlesey Mere

Evidently, the Peterborough forgeries were designed for an audience beyond the monastery. Pseudo-Wulfhere's charter had been perused by both the monks of Ramsey and local nobility, since a reference to Wulfhere's grant is included, albeit derisively, in the Sawtry foundation charter.[218] Therefore, it is feasible that copies, or perhaps the 'originals' of both pseudo-Wulfhere's and pseudo-Eadgar's charters were available for examination upon request to the abbot and monks of neighbouring fenland abbeys.

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[215] Gelling and Cole, *Landscape of Place-Names*, pp. 3-4.

[216] *Fenland Project* 6, p. 32; Fig. 11. Since the drainage of Whittlesey Mere, the eastern section of Stilton Dyke has disappeared. See OS Explorer Map 227.

[217] CUL, Add. 3020, f. 17v. See also *ECEE*, pp.159-60, 164; S 595.

[218] 'et sicut Wlferus rex, qui monasterium Burh fundavit, carta sua, quam de illa fundatione fecit, mariscum cum stagnis et lacis Chelwremare et Witlesmare et alius quamplurimus ad hoc pertinentibus dismisit, ipsam Saltreyam monachis prædictis dedit per proprias divisas, et carta sua confirmavit.' My translation 'and just as King Wulfhere, who established the monastery of Burch by his charter, which he made concerning that foundation, with its marshes, pools and lakes of Chelwremere [Scælfremere] and Whittlesey Mere and all the many others, he [Simon, knight of Northampton] dissolved it; he gave [these estates] to the aforesaid monks of the same Sawtry, through a special court, and his charter confirmed it.' The charter continues by claiming for Sawtry, lands to the south of Wittlesea and *Scælfremere*, defining the boundary with Ramsey as *Ubbermerelada* [*Ubbermere Lade*]. See *Cart. Ram.* I, p. 160-2.

The inclusion of 'dimidiam partem' of Whittlesey Mere among *Burch*'s purported late tenth-century possessions was likely to provoke the indignation of the abbot of Thorney, since *Burch* was making inroads into the estates that had allegedly granted to Thorney, also by Eadgar.[219] Nevertheless, it must be reiterated that the brethren of *Burch* were not demanding the return of their lost Huntingdonshire property. The purpose of the forgery was first to subtly remind Thorney in particular that it had been 'Eadgar's' intention to restore *Medeshamstede*'s rights pertaining to Whittlesey Mere that had been granted by his predecessor, 'Wulfhere of Mercia', thus proving the antiquity of the monastery. Secondly, a version of 'Wulfhere's' charter had survived the Danish incursions hidden in the ruins of *Medeshamstede*, only to be discovered by Æthelwold *before* he had founded Thorney.

By the mid eleventh century, *Burch*'s relationship with Thorney may have been tinged with jealousy and resentment. Æthelwold had proclaimed that Thorney was his favourite monastery and his aspiration to retire there was announced in the Prologue to *Vita Botolphi*, a copy of which was in *Burch*'s possession by the early twelfth century.[220] Furthermore, the monks of *Burch* may have felt that their abbey had not received its fair share of the lands purchased by Æthelwold, especially with regard to the apportionment of Whittlesey Mere and the division of the Yaxley and Farcet estates. Indeed, the fact that by 1086 *Burch* was obliged to lease a boat, two fisheries and a virgate of land from Thorney, must have struck a serious blow to their pride.[221]

The forger's consultation of the appendage to Ælfsige's agreement with Thored is indisputable. However, since the document referred to nine fisheries operational upon Whittlesey Mere and its ancillary pools and *lades*, it appears that by the early eleventh century, an organized fishing industry had developed in the area.[222] Therefore, it is feasible that several of the fisheries had been founded soon after the reformation of *Medeshamstede* (963 x 972)[223] and the establishment of Ramsey (*c.* 966)[224] and Thorney . (973).[225] Fishing rights and limits on the Whittlesey Mere complex were defined and

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[219] CUL, Add. 3020, f. 14v. By 1054, Ramsey also held a fishery on Whittlesey Mere, the gift of Wach. See *Cart. Ram.* III, p. 167. See also *ECEE* 324, pp. 235-6.
[220] BL, Harley, 3097, ff. 61v-64v [Prologue to ?Abbot Foucard's, *Vita S Botolphi*]; *Descriptive catalogue of materials relating to the history of Britain and Ireland to the end of the reign of Henry VIII*, ed. T. D. Hardy, 3 vols. in 4, RS 26 (London, 1862), pp. 373-4; R. Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England* (*c.* 1066-1130) (Oxford, 1999), No. 448; *Library Catalogues* 8, ed. Friis-Jensen and Willoughby, BP21. 9.
[221] *DB*: *Hunts.*, 7 [8]. See also CUL, Add. 3020, f. 14v; Swaffham, f. 126r.
[222] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 25rv; *Chron. Petro.*, ed. Stapleton, p. 183; S 787.
[223] ASC (E), 963.
[224] *Chron. Ram.*, pp. 52-5. See also *ECEE* 311, p. 231; S 798.
[225] CUL, Add. 3020, f. 15r; S 792.

jealously guarded, with the bounds either committed to memory or written record. In order to facilitate a perambulation of the limits of the mere, distinguishable boundary markers were used. They included natural and artificial watercourses and a barrow, which became associated with an individual named Aldwine.

Pseudo-Eadgar's author probably decided to include an abridged version of the bounds of the marsh of Whittlesey Mere, preserved as an appendage to Ælfsige's contract, to remind his audience of the extent of the 'original' territory awarded *Medeshamstede* in his earlier work, pseudo-Wulfhere's charter. Thus, a sense of continuity could be achieved not only in *Burch*'s sphere of influence within the region, but also in the series of forgeries themselves.

v. Tolls

By 1100, travellers especially those with merchandise could expect to incur tolls at river-crossings, when entering towns or monastic territories, at the confluence of rivers and at major road junctions, although the latter may have been controlled by the king, unless otherwise decreed. However, the remission of ship-toll for limited periods is known to have been practised as early as the eighth century. Ten royal charters of Æthelbald of Mercia (716-57) and Eadberht of Kent (725-62) survive, granting exemption to vessels owned by the religious foundations of Minster-in-Thanet, Reculver, Rochester, Worcester and St. Paul's using the port of London.[226] Possibly aware of the Kentish royal dispensations, pseudo-Eadgar's compiler continued by defining the stretches of roads and watercourses along which a charge allegedly was levied by the abbot of *Burch* to pay for their upkeep and to provide revenue for the abbey's coffers. The perambulation of the tolls proceeded as follows:

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[226] S. Kelly, 'Trading Privileges from eighth-century England', *EME* 1:1 (1992), pp. 3-6.

Version A	Version Bi and Bii
'7 ich wille þet þus be giften se toll: fyrste fra Witlesmære eall to þe cinges toll of Norðmannes cros hundred, 7 eft fra ongeanward fra Witlesmære þurh Merelade on an to Nen,	'Et ad illud damus ibidemque persolui iubermus totum sine ulla contradictione theloneum; hoc est primo de tota Witlesmere, usque ad theloneum regis quod iacet ad hundred de Normannes cros, et de Witlesmere sicut Merelade uenit ad aquam Nen; **et inde sicut aqua currit ad Welmesforde et de Welmesforde ad Stanforde, et de Stanforde,** iuxta cursum
7 swa swa þet wæter reconneð to Crulande, 7 fra Culande to Must, 7 fra Must to Cynges Dælf 7 to Whitlesmære.' [227]	aque usque ad Crulande, et de Crulande usque ad Must; et de Must usque ad Kynges delfe, et inde usque ad predictuam Witlesmere.'[228]

'And we give and decree in the same that the whole toll should be given without objection. This is the first, from the whole of Whittlesey Mere (1), as far as the King's toll (2) which lies in the Hundred of Norman Cross;'

The King's Toll, 'quod iacet ad hundred de Normannes cros' is one of only three tolls, together with *Burch* and Oundle, which pseudo-Eadgar's forger identified by name. At *Burch* and Oundle a tariff was levied upon tradesmen carrying merchandise for sale in the marketsteads.[229] However, the King's Toll probably was imposed upon travellers using the old Roman London to York road, known as Ermine Street by 955.[230] Pseudo-Eadgar's charter hinted that the King's Toll was located at the point where the Deep Beck [Stilton Dyke] crossed Ermine Street in the royal manor of Stilton (at TL 164- 895-), and that the abbot of *Burch* claimed tolls along the watercourse by as far as this point.[231] However, we learn from a charter of William II of 1093 x 1100 that for an annual payment of 100 shillings to the sheriff, the king's appointed official and major Huntingdonshire feoffee, Thorney could enjoy the right of toll and custom throughout its estates that lay within the double hundred of Norman Cross.[232] By 1154, King Stephen had confirmed an agreement, by which the abbot of Thorney paid 4s per annum for the toll of 'passagio de Normannes cros'.[233] Therefore, by 1100 any tolls collected along the Deep Beck or indeed at the junction of Ermine Street with

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[227] ASC (E.), f. 37rv (963). My translation: 'And I decree that the toll be given thus: first from Whittlesey Mere and the way up to the king's toll at Norman Cross, and again back to Whittlesey Mere through the Merelade on to the Nene; and as far as the water runs to Crowland and from Crowland to the Must and from the Must to King's Delph.'
[228] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 69v; *HC*, p. 36; Swaffham, f. 39v. For translation, see below.
[229] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 69rv; *HC*, pp. 34-6.
[230] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 51v; S 566.
[231] *DB: Hunts.*, 1 [3].
[232] *DB:* Hunts, 19 [1-32]; *Regista Rerum Anglo-Normannorum* I, ed. Davis, No. 453.
[233] *Calendar of the Charter Rolls* III, *Edward I, Edward II: 1300-26* (London, 1908), p. 243. See also *VCH*: *Hunts.* III, p. 131.

the Yaxley to Folksworth road [the modern A 15] at Norman Cross would have been rendered to Thorney Abbey (Map 30).

By the second half of the tenth century, the hamlet of Norman Cross was already significant. Due to its strategic position on high ground overlooking Whittlesey Mere, at a major crossroads and central to a group of settlements, it is understood to have been the meeting-place of the Norman Cross Hundred (at TL 160- 908-).[234] We discover from Æthelwold's 'Gifts' that 'Of þam twam hundredum þe sacræð into Normannes cros' 350 acres of seed and 23 acres of wheat were granted to *Medeshamstede* as tithes.[235] The nature of the tithes was unspecified and, therefore, perplexing, since the document pre-dates Ælfsige's Farcet transaction. Furthermore, in 1086, *Burch* held only the estates of Fletton, Alwalton and Orton Waterville within the Norman Cross Hundred, all of which were adjacent to the Nene.[236] It seems likely that the tithes were rendered by Thorney *in lieu* of tolls along the Nene to Whittlesey Mere via the *Merelade* as well as along the Deep Beck as far as the King's Toll at Stilton. We have learnt of the agreement with Ramsey, by which Abbot Ælfwine (1043-83) granted the free passage of Barnack stone 'by land and water' and of a similar contract with Bury St. Edmunds.[237] Therefore, it is equally feasible that an arrangement may have been made to cover the transportation of other goods along the waterways controlled by the abbot of *Burch*.

'and from Whittlesey Mere, just as the *Merelade* comes to the River Nene;' (3)

The route of toll along the *Merelade* coincides neatly with the northern boundaries of the marsh of Whittlesey Mere, testifying that the forger continued to use the attachment to Ælfsige's agreement as his source (Maps 26-30). The exact position of a toll or tolls along the watercourse is difficult to assess. However, it is feasible that a duty was levied upon cargoes and boats entering the *Merelade* from Whittlesey Mere and possibly again further upstream at the junction with the Nene at Farcet in order to provide revenue for the maintenance of the waterway. Excavations at the place where Conquest Lode entered the

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[234] O. Anderson, *English Hundred Names* (Lund, 1934), 112-3; *VCH: Hunts.* III, p. 129; Meaney, 'Meeting-Places in the Cambridge Region', p. 237. The first element of the place-name, Norman Cross, may refer to an individual of Scandinavian extraction named Norðman, who resided at the crossroads. See *Place-Names: Beds. and Hunts.*, p. 180.

[235] Soc. Ant., 60 f. 40r; R 39, pp. 72-3. Robertson's translation: 'Of the two hundreds that owe suit to Norman Cross'. Most of the estates of the double hundred of Norman Cross Hundred were confirmed to Thorney in 1086. See *DB: Hunts.*, 7 [1-8].

[236] *DB: Hunts.*, 8 [1-4].

[237] For Ramsey, see *Writs*, ed. Harmer, No. 62, pp. 262-5. For Bury St. Edmunds, see CUL, PDC 39, ff. 111v-112r; *Carte Nativorum*, ed. Brooke and Postan, No. 533.

lake of Whittlesey Mere (at TL 218- 919-) revealed building stone and domestic refuse dating back to the thirteenth century. Unfortunately, there is insufficient evidence to distinguish whether the finds represented the site of a toll or a lakeside fishing platform.[238] Eadwig's charter to Ælfwine of 956 referred to three landing places between Farcet and Whittlesey Mere, namely Farcet Hithe [*Færresheafde hyþe*], North Hithe [*Norðhyþe*] and Dyke Hithe [*Dichyþe*], all of which would have been suitable locations for a toll.[239]

'and thence, just as the water runs to Wansford;' (4)

At this stage in the charter, the Old English version of pseudo-Eadgar's charter [Version A] deviated from the Latin translation of the text [Versions Bi and Bii]. Enigmatically, ASC (E) Hand 1 excludes two sections of the tolls, 'sicut aqua currit ad Welmesforde et de Welmesforde de Stanforde' that were copied *verbatim* into the *Liber Niger*, Hugh Candidus' Chronicle and Swaffham's Register.[240] Hand 1's omission is difficult to explain. The stretch of the Nene from Peterborough to Wansford and the overland route between Wansford and Stamford marked the boundaries of the Nassaburgh Hundred and encapsulated the Wittering, Burghley and Southorpe estates, all of which were recorded as possessions of *Burch* in *Domesday Book*. Therefore, any tolls levied unambiguously belonged to that monastery (Map 30).[241]

The discrepancies within the Old English and Latin texts merit consideration. It seems likely that Hand 1's omission was simply a careless oversight, indicating that the charter was interpolated into his chronicle in haste. Alternatively, Hand 1 may have had access to an earlier version of *Medeshamstede*'s bounds compiled before the Wittering estate had been restored, which he failed to update in his haste to complete his assignment. The same exemplar may have been consulted and enhanced by pseudo-Eadgar's forger in order to comply with the early twelfth-century *status quo.*[242]

'and from Wansford to Stamford,' (5)

The route of the Wansford to Stamford toll road is obscure. However, it was of paramount importance that *Burch* should not be perceived as having conceded any of its western estates to the rival monastery of Thorney, particularly since Wittering had probably

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[238] *Fenland Project* 6, p. 22; Fig. 11.
[239] CUL, Add. 3020, f. 18r; *ECEE*, pp. 159- 60; S 595; OS Explorer Map 15.
[240] ASC (E), f. 37r; Soc. Ant., 60, f. 69v; *HC*, pp. 35-6; Swaffham, f. 39v.
[241] *DB: Northants.*, 6a [1-9]. For the significance of Wansford, see above, Chapter 5, pp. 178-9.
[242] *LE*, Bk. II, ch. 11; *ECEE*, pp.162-3; 178, 185. See above, Chapter 5, p. 190; Chapter 6, pp. 207-8.

passed into Thorney's possession after the death of Eadgar in 975.[243] Pseudo-Eadgar's compiler may have intended to convey to his readers that a toll should be imposed along the bounds prescribed pseudo-Wulfhere's charter,

> 'et inde usque ad Welmesforde, et de Welmesforde usque ad Cliue et inde usque ad Astune, et de Astune ad Stanford' (Appendix B).[244]

This course followed the western boundaries of the Nassaburgh with the Willybrook Hundred, first along the old Roman road to King's Cliffe, thence along the Cliffe Road through Easton to Stamford (Maps 2, 18, 30).[245] Indeed, the forger may have been tempted to claim this route for *Burch*, since King's Cliffe was the site of the meeting-place of the Willybrook Hundred. Nevertheless, pseudo-Eadgar charter Versions Bi and Bii offered only a contracted version of pseudo-Wulfhere's bounds, simply stating that that the toll route stretched 'ad Welmesforde de Stanforde'. Since the forger was not ostensibly plotting the boundaries of *Burch*'s territory, but claiming tolls that could be extracted from travellers and merchandise, it would be more practical for a tariff to be levied upon traffic using Ermine Street, the most direct route between the settlements of Wansford and Stamford. It is also possible that, since pseudo-Eadgar's charter was demanding for *Medeshamstede* 'totum sine ulla contradictione theloneum', that tolls were imposed along both the Ermine Street stretch *and* along the Wansford to Stamford route via King's Cliffe and Easton, which may have been used essentially as a drovers' road.[246] Thus, the abbot of *Burch* may have enforced his right to toll along the western boundary of the Nassaburgh Hundred.

Pseudo-Eadgar's charter did not specifically mention a toll in the 'vill' of Stamford. However, the *Domesday* entry for Stamford declared that all customary duties with the others should be paid to the king, 'except for tribute and tolls' that should be rendered to the abbot of *Burch*.[247] Therefore, it appears that tolls were levied upon travellers and merchandise crossing the Welland into St. Martin's parish [Stamford Baron] as well as from goods in transit along the river (Map 20).

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[243] *LE*, Bk. II, ch. 11; *ECEE*, pp. 168, 178.
[244] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 62r. My translation: 'and thence as far as Wansford, and from Wansford as far as [King's] Cliffe, and from there as far as Easton-on-the Hill, and from Easton to Stamford.'
[245] Margary, *Roman Roads*, p. 217. See above, Chapter 5, pp. 179-81.
[246] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 60, f. 69v; Swaffham, f. 39v; *HC*, p. 36. My translation: 'all tolls without any contradiction.'
[247] *DB: Northants.*, Elc 1 [1].

'and from Stamford next to the course of the river as far as Crowland;' (6)

The route of toll between Stamford and Crowland is straightforward. Although subtly rephrased and contrived to befit what the forger may have perceived the late tenth-century landscape, again it included the re-use of two elements of the bounds set down in his earlier work, Wulfhere's charter to *Medeshamstede*, as follows,

'de Stanforde sicut aqua decurrit ad superdictam Norburhc'[248]

and

'et inde usque ad locum quem uocant Folies' (Appendix B).[249]

From the confluence of the Follies River with the Welland, four miles to the west of Crowland (at TF 181- 074-), pseudo-Eadgar's toll route continued along the bounds of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, terminating not at *Esendyke* [Asendike], but at the Welland's junction with the Twandam Dyke, the artificial channel that connected with the Catswater to the immediate south of Crowland Abbey (at TF 237- 104-) (Maps 23, 24).[250]

Eugenius III's first bull of 1146, confirmed to *Burch* Peakirk 'capellis cum theloneo de Depinges et Peichirche' indicating that a toll was operational before this date. It is also cited in Richard I's confirmation charter and Version A of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter suggesting that the toll was still operating in the late thirteenth century.[251] It is possible that the toll between Peakirk and Deeping Gate, two-and-a-half miles upstream, was being imposed by the time that pseudo-Eadgar's charter was produced. A rental of 1512/3 implies that a ford or 'crossing place for travellers with merchandise from the country to the market of Deeping with carts and horses' was situated next to Walderam Hall (centred at TF 1765 0740).[252] Moreover, John Hexham's 'Map of the Fenland between Peterborough and Wisbech' [*c.* 1590] shows a '*barre*' across the river, adjacent to the building, suggesting that, during the late sixteenth century, the toll applied to both road *and* river traffic.

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[248] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 62r. My translation: 'and from Stamford as the water [River Welland] runs down to the aforesaid Northborough'. See above Chapter 5, p. 185

[249] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 60v. My translation: 'and thence as far as the place that they call Follies'. See above Chapter 5, p. 150.

[250] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 60v; OS Explorer Map 235. See below, p. 244.

[251] *HC*, p. 110; Swaffham, f. 44r; BL, Cotton Augustus ii. 5; S 68.

[252] *VCH: Northants.* II, p. 520, which cites Ministers' Accounts 3-4 Henry VIII, No. 84. L. Gaches, 'Waldram Hall and Park', *FNQ* 7 (1907-9), pp. 51-3. A track is still visible as it approaches the site of Walderam Hall, then turns abruptly to northwards, reaching the river at TF 1755 0765. The crossing site has been obliterated during the construction of the railway bridge, although it was most likely that the Welland was forded in the shallows beneath the bridge.

'and from Crowland as far as the Must;' (7)

During the late tenth century, the Roman course of the Welland was diverted through Crowland and the now lost channel, the Twandam Dyke, was excavated in order to link the Welland with the Catswater just as the Bull Dyke and High Lode were cut to link the monasteries of *Burch* and Ramsey with the River Nene.[253] The fourteenth-century Trinity Bridge was constructed in Crowland at the confluence of the Welland and Twandam Dyke (at TF 239- 104-), possibly to replace an earlier structure. (Map 24).[254]

Instead of continuing along the river 'unde totam paludem in directum usque ad Esendic', as prescribed in pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, pseudo-Eadgar's author instructed his audience to turn eastwards into the Twandam Dyke and then proceed as far as the Catswater.[255] Although Hall considers the Catswater to be of an artificial channel of 'Saxon or early medieval date', its meandering course suggests that it may have followed the contours of the land. Therefore, it appears that in addition to functioning as a canal, its original use may have been as a drainage dyke or 'catchwater', from which the alternative name for the Must, 'the muddy stream', may have derived.[256] The journey from the Welland to the Catswater along the Twandam Dyke must have been relatively short. Nevertheless, it is conceivable that travellers would have been obliged to pay tolls to use of the watercourse.

'and from the Must as far as King's Delph;' (8)

The Catswater formed both the early eleventh-century boundary between Northamptonshire and Cambridgeshire and the frontier between the abbeys of *Burch* and Thorney. One branch of the waterway turns in a north-easterly direction near Crowland, where it is still known as the Old South Eau that divides Lincolnshire from Cambridgeshire. At Clowes Cross near Trockenholt, the Old South Eau becomes the Shire Drain, which empties into the Wash, dividing Tydd St Mary in Lincolnshire from Tydd St. Giles in Cambridgeshire.[257] The second branch of the Catswater extends southwards, from the highest ground between the Welland and Nene, demarcating the monastic limits of *Burch* and Thorney as far as Buke Horn Toll, near Stanground Sluice, where it joined the medieval

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[253] The Twandam Dyke was cited in 'De Bunda de Fynset', Swaffham, ff. 350v-351rv [Latin, s. xiv addition]; f. 355r [English, post-medieval addition]. See also Gunton, *History of the Church*, p. 291 *Fenland Project* 2, pp. 36-7; *Fenland Project* 5, p. 202.

[254] *Ingulph*, p. 85; W. Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum*, London, 1776, plate, between pp. 34 and 36.

[255] Soc. Ant. 60, f. 60v. My translation: 'across the whole Fen directly to Esendike'.

[256] *Fenland Project* 2, pp. 36-7, 59.

[257] A. E. B. Owen, 'A Fenland Frontier: The Establishment of the Boundary between Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire', *Landscape History* 4 (1982), p. 41; *Place-Names: Northants.*, p. 2; *Place-Names: Cambs.*, pp. 3-4, 7-8, 10-1. See OS Explorer Maps 235, 249.

course of the Nene (at TL 208- 974-).[258] From here, the forger apparently intended the toll route to progress upstream as far as the entrance to King's Dyke. Using the appendage to Æflsige's transaction as his source, he next traced his route along King's Dyke, the eastern boundary of the marsh of Whittlesey Mere, as far as the modern Ponders Bridge Farm (at TL 262- 918-).[259] Traffic proceeding southbound probably would have encountered tolls upon entering the Catswater, when joining the Nene at Buke Horn Toll and, perhaps, upon entering King's Dyke (Maps 24, 26, 30).

Singlesole (at TL 254- 069-) also may have been considered an appropriate site for a toll. By the twelfth century, a series of disputes had erupted between *Burch* and Crowland, necessitating the recovery of the marsh and hermitage at Singlesole by Abbot Benedict of *Burch* (1175-99). Swaffham related that Benedict's successor, Acharius (1200-10), also was obliged to pursue the abbot of Crowland through the courts for the restoration of Singleshole Fen, only to lease it to Crowland for an annual payment of four stones of wax.[260] Further disagreements between *Burch* and Crowland ensued, culminating in 1267 with the brethren of *Burch* being accused of maliciously wounding their Crowland counterparts and illegally holding the Nassaburgh Hundred Court 'within the metes of the site of the abbey of Croiland'. In 1268, Henry III ordered the sheriffs of Lincoln and Northampton to investigate the area 'between the waters of Nen and Weeland and divers trespasses on both sides'. The inquisition decided in favour of Crowland, probably prompting its abbot to erect a monolith known locally as St. Vincent's Cross, on the opposite bank of the Catswater (centred at TL 2592 0777), marking both the contiguous boundary of Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire and the provincial limits of Crowland with those of Thorney and *Burch* (Map 23).[261]

Perhaps as a *riposte*, Geoffrey of Crowland (1299-1331) replaced the hermitage with a prestigious moated grange on the very edge of his abbey's territory, undoubtedly with the intention of keeping a watchful eye over Singleshole Fen. The complex boasted a chapel dedicated to the Archangel Michael, built of stone and timber with seven glass windows and

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[258] *Fenland Project* 2, p. 36.
[259] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 25r; Swaffham, f. 120r. See also *Chron. Petro.*, ed. Stapleton, p. 183. See also *ECEE* 311, p. 231; S 798; OS Explorer Map 227..
[260] Swaffham, f. 22r; *CB*, p. 106; Gunton, *History of the Church*, pp. 26-7, 290. For Crowland's version of the disputes with Peterborough, see *Ingulph*, pp. 311-2, 323-5; *The Victoria History of the County of Lincoln*, ed. W. Page, 1 vol. (London, 1906) II, pp. 108-9. See also OS Explorer Map 235.
[261] *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Henry III, AD 1266-1272* (London, 1913), pp. 275 (1268); 289 (1268); 355 (1269); L. B. Gaches, *The Liberty of Peterborough*' (Peterborough 1905), p. 49; A. Canham, 'History, Charters and Ancient Crosses of Crowland', *FNQ* 2 (1892-4), pp. 237, 247; Hall, *Fenland Project* 2, p. 54; PCC SMR No. 03040.

a lead roof and was linked to the manor of Eyebury by a track, known in the fourteenth century as *le Reche*.[262] Thus, *Burch*'s presence in the landscape was firmly established.

However, a toll would have been difficult to enforce before the construction of the grange, unless it were controlled by a toll-keeper. Indeed, the second continuator of pseudo-Ingulph's chronicle complained that by 1247 Abbot William de Hotoft of *Burch*,

> 'had hindered him [Abbot Henry of Crowland] from taking stallage and levying imposts within a certain part of the vill of Croyland, within the before-mentioned boundaries; and in like manner that he has kept watch on a certain bridge of Croyland, within the before-mentioned marsh, so that he and his men might not have a passage thereby, with their cattle to the other side of the bridge'.[263]

Surprisingly, when Prior Richard composed pseudo-Ingulph's Crowland chronicle *c.* 1415, he interpolated Swaffham's version of pseudo-Eadgar's *Medshamstede* charter [Version Bii] into his work, thereby agreeing that the coterminous boundary between Crowland and *Burch* stretched from Stamford 'along the course of the river to Croyland, and from Croyland to Must [Catswater]'.[264] This indicates that by *c.* 1415 any disputes over territory again had been temporarily settled and confirms that Prior Richard had access to a copy of Swaffham's version of Eadgar's charter.

Nevertheless, it is out of character for pseudo-Eadgar's forger to include three separate sections of waterway within a single element of the toll route. Was his change of format due to a combination of his limited local knowledge and the unavailability of a dependable exemplar pertaining to the Catswater, perhaps, obliging him to rely upon the hearsay of the brethren of *Burch*? If so, it reinforces the theory that the forger, possibly Ernulf, had been recruited from a monastic establishment that lay beyond the fenland region.

'and from there [King's Delph] to the aforementioned Whittlesey Mere.' (9)

The toll route between King's Delph [King's Dyke] to Whittlesey Mere is open to speculation. However, the most likely course would have been to progress along the parish boundary between Farcet and Ramsey [St. Mary's], since to continue along King's Dyke as far as its junction with the River Nene at Bodsey (at TL 393- 877-) would have meant

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[262] Whittlesey, ff. 104v, 113v; *CB*, pp. 156, 170-1. The stone from the grange has been incorporated into Singlesole Farm, which stands on the site close to the Crowland to Thorney Road [the modern B 1040]. See Mellows, *Granges*, pp. 14-5; PCC SMR No. 03038. 'Reach' is a fenland word, meaning 'a narrow strip of road'. See Gover *at al., Place-Names: Northants.*, p. 234.
[263] *Ingulph*, p. 324.
[264] Swaffham, f. 39v; BL, Arundel. 178, ff. 45v-46r; *Ingulph*, pp. ix-xi; 94. See also S 787 (Peterborough); S 965 (Crowland).

encroachment upon Ramsey's domain.[265] Moreover, Farcet with 'quartam partem stagni Witlesmere' could be legitimately claimed by *Burch* through Ælfsige's transaction of 1020 x 1023 (Maps 26-30).[266]

The modern parish boundary between Farcet and Ramsey St. Mary is demarcated by Decrease Drove. To the north of the track, Bevill's Leam, an artificial watercourse, completed in 1636, runs through Farcet parish as far as Whittlesey Mere. Its outflow is shown on Bodger's map as 'Bevill's River' (Maps 17, 29).[267] However, it is possible that the channel was preceded by an earlier drainage dyke or even a stream along which tolls may have been exacted by the early twelfth century. Unfortunately, there are no clues within the obscure bounds of Farcet contained in Eadwig's grant to Ælfwine to indicate that such a watercourse existed when the charter was compiled in 956.[268] However, Cornelius Vermuyden, one of the pioneers and architect-in-chief of the seventeenth-century Great Level drainage programme, advocated that the new, straight channels should where possible be cut to replace old watercourses.[269] Therefore, Bevill's Leam may have had an ancestor that formed the tenth-century parish boundary between Farcet and Ramsey.

Tolls at *Burch*

Eugenius III's first papal bull of 1146, confirmed the profits from a toll in the 'vill' of *Burch* to the abbey.[270] Therefore, we may assume that duties also were levied upon the passage of goods through the new hithe, established by the commercially minded Martin de Bec (1133-55), in order to finance his ambitious schemes, which included the realignment of the town and the relocation of the marketstead.[271] Abbot Martin was also credited with commissioning a bridge, spanning the Nene to the west of the hithe that was linked to his market place by a thoroughfare known as the Hithegate or Highegate, superseded by first High Street and then later by the modern Bridge Street.[272]

King proposes that the Nene was crossed by a ford, which 'would have been in regular use until there was a bridge and, perhaps, after that'.[273] No archaeological evidence of the

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[265] *Chron. Ram.*, pp. 52-5. *Cart. Ram.* II, pp. 220-1, 349-50. See also *ECEE* 311, p. 231; S 798. See above, p. 228.
[266] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 24r-25v; *Chron. Petro.*, ed. Stapleton, pp. 182-3; Swaffham, ff. 119r-120r.
[267] *Place-Names: Cambs.*, p. 209; OS Explorer Map 227.
[268] CUL, 3020, ff. 17v-18r. *ECEE*, pp. 159-160; S 595.
[269] Dugdale, *Imbanking*, p. 410; Darby, *Changing Fenland*, p. 65.
[270] *HC*, pp. 109-10.
[271] ASC (E), 1137; *HC*, p. 122.
[272] *Local Administration*, ed. Mellows, pp. ci-cii; E. King, 'The Town of Peterborough in the Early Middle Ages', *NPP* 4:4 (1980-1), pp. 188-90.
[273] King, 'Town of Peterborough', p. 192.

ford survives. However, the chronicle attributed to John de Caux (1250-62) but which is preserved as a fourteenth-century copy, related that Sidrok and his son, who led the Danish attack upon *Medeshamstede* in 870, lost a large proportion of their booty whilst negotiating the Nene when two of their wagons plunged 'in gurgite fluvii ad lævam pontis lapidei profundissimo'.[274] This account clearly stated that there was a stone bridge across a deep-water channel in addition to ford, although the reference to a bridge may be due to the author's own perception of ninth-century *Medeshamstede*. Nevertheless, despite 'Abbot John's' shortcomings, his citation implies that that the ancient crossing-place still was visible in the thirteenth century, when the 'original' manuscript was produced.

A ford may have eliminated the passage of all but vessels with the shallowest of draughts. Barges heavily laden with building stone from the Barnack quarries and bound for Ramsey or Bury St. Edmunds would have almost certainly have run aground, unless there was a deeper navigational channel perhaps spanned by a drawbridge similar to that constructed by Edwin the hermit at Higney.[275] Speed's 'Map of Peterburow' shows three obstructions, probably gravel islands in the middle of the river, close to the proposed site of the Anglo-Saxon ford and to the east the medieval bridge (Map 31). By the early seventeenth century, traffic appears to have been directed through the deeper channel to the south of the cataracts and beneath the bridge. Therefore, some method of traversing the deep water must have been devised by the late tenth or early eleventh century, when a flurry of building activity was underway at *Medeshamstede*, Ramsey and Bury St. Edmunds. Indeed, *Medeshamstede*'s own rebuilding programme probably necessitated the excavation of *Burch*'s first documented quay, the Bolhithe, to facilitate the transportation of construction materials and supplies to the very edge of the abbey precincts.[276] It is possible that a bridge was installed during the abbacy of Cœnwulf (992-1005). As Brooks and Dyer have demonstrated, it was common for *burhs* and bridges to be constructed simultaneously to facilitate trade in peacetime and the mobilization of troops and the obstruction of enemy shipping in war.[277] Since *Medeshamstede* had already been destroyed by invaders, both Abbot Cœnwulf and King Æthelstan possibly considered that a bridge across the Nene was essential. Although it is unlikely that duties were imposed upon barges entering the Bolhithe

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[274] *Chron. Angliæ*, ed. Giles, p. 20. My translation: 'into the very deep water to the left of the stone bridge'. See also *Ingulph*, p. 46.
[275] *Cart. Ram.* I, p. 162.
[276] The Bull Dyke and Bolhithe (at TL 193- 982) existed in 1069, when Hereward stormed Bolhithe Gate. See ASC (E), 1069.
[277] N. Brooks, *Communities and Warfare, 700-1400* (London, 2000), pp. 34-5; Dyer, *Making a Living*, pp. 56-7.

upon the monastery's business, it is reasonable to conjecture that tolls were exacted upon goods and upon passengers sailing on the Nene as well as from travellers crossing the river by a ford or bridge. We learn from Henry of Pytchley Junior that an arrangement between Abbot William of Woodford of *Burch* (1295-99) and Abbot Odo of Thorney (1293-1305) allowed Thorney the free passage of two ferries along the Nene from Stanground to *Burch* and thence by road to Thorney. In return, Abbot Geoffrey was permitted to erect a gallows and mete out justice at *Burch*'s manors of Fletton and Alwalton in the Norman Cross Hundred of Huntingdonshire.[278]

A document known as 'Descriptio maneriorum Abbatiæ de Burhe' of *c.* 1100 x 1100, recorded two tolls within the 'vill' of *Burch*, the revenue from which was used to support a leper colony and farm complex, situated on the western outskirts of the town. The first entry referred to the 'theloneum de Hordesoca', which is difficult to identify. However, the location of the second toll is slightly more specific, stating that 'Godricus tenet theloneum de grangia unde xxv solidas Lazaris.' The document listed further directives from Abbot Ernulf (1107-14) concerning the endowment of the leper infirmary, clearly indicating that both the lazaret and its associated buildings must have been established either during or prior to his abbacy.[279] No archaeological evidence survives to positively identify the location of the hospice, believed to have been dedicated to St. Leonard. Nevertheless, it is thought to have occupied a site on the north bank of the Nene, between the 'vill' of *Burch* and Longthorpe (at ?TF187- 991-).[280] The phraseology of the document, 'theloneum de grangia', implies that it was situated close to the lepers' farmstead, suggesting that charges were levied upon traffic entering the 'vill' of *Burch* from the west (Maps 31, 32).

Conclusions pertaining to the tolls

It is likely that by the early twelfth century most tolls along major roads and watercourses would have been established with certain concessions granted to monasteries and confirmed, albeit at a price, by successive Norman kings. Therefore, it was imperative that the monks of *Burch* attempted to prove their abbey's superiority over neighbouring establishments by claiming that their right to extact tolls had been conferred by 'King Eadgar'.

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[278] CUL, PDC 5 [The Book of Charters and Privileges of Henry of Pytchley Junior] (Peterborough, s. xiii$^{3/4}$), f. 92r; Martin, *Cartularies*, p. 15.
[279] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 10v; *Chron. Petro.*, ed. Stapleton, p. 161. My translation: 'Godric holds the toll of the grange, from which he pays 25 shillings to the lepers'. See also Gunton, *History of the Church*, p. 317; W. T. Mellows, *The Medieval Hospitals and Alms of Peterborough* (Peterborough, 1918), pp. 5-6.
[280] *VCH: Northants.* II, p. 162; Mellows, *Hospitals,* p. 5; PCC SMR No. 01629.

Pseudo-Eadgar's author appears to have relied upon two exemplars for his perambulation of the toll routes. Firstly, for his Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire section he consulted the bounds of Whittlesey Mere attached to Ælfsige's transaction.[281] Secondly, for Northamptonshire he seems to have followed the western limits described in his earlier masterpiece, pseudo-Wulfhere's charter to *Medeshamstede*. Insufficient boundary points between Wansford and Stamford in pseudo-Eadgar's charter renders this section of the toll route difficult to assess accurately. However, Æthelwold's 'Gifts to Medeshamstede', the 'List of sureties' and *Domesday Book* all suggest that *prouincia* of the reformed abbey of *Burch* was congruent with the lands enclosed within the bounds of the tenth-century Nassaburgh Hundred.[282] It must be also considered that the ambiguity of the western toll route was perhaps intentional. Thus, it could be perceived that charges were levied upon the passage of travellers and goods using both Ermine Street and the thoroughfare from Wansford to King's Cliffe, thence along the Cliffe Road through Easton-on-the-Hill to Stamford along the tenth-century boundary of the *Uptune grene* or Nassaburgh Hundred.[283] Whilst Ermine Street represented the main London to York highway, the Wansford to Stamford route via King's Cilffe and Easton defined the coterminous boundary of the Willybrook and Nassaburgh Hundreds (Maps 18, 30).

Although the forger did not overtly claim that the toll routes corresponded with the boundaries of *Burch*'s territory, effectively he was reconstructing *Medeshamstede*'s late tenth-century frontier to include the Nassaburgh Hundred and a debatable apportionment of the marsh of Whittlesey Mere within the Norman Cross Hundred of Huntingdonshire.

Conclusion

The versions of Pseudo-Eadgar's charter interpolated into ASC (E), Hugh Candidus' Chronicle and copied into the *Liber Niger* and Swaffham's Register are unquestionably spurious.[284] Nevertheless, it is conceivable that Eadgar did confer a restoration charter upon *Medeshamstede* of 963 x 972, confirming the estates that lay within the Nassaburgh Hundred and granting the abbot the right of toll and to hold a market. It is also conceivable that the 'original' document was altered to suit the early twelfth-century political climate and counteract the machinations of rival fenland religious houses.

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[281] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 24v-25v; Swaffham, f. 120r.
[282] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 39v-40v; ff. 47r-49v; *DB: Northants.*, 6 1-8; 6a [1-9].
[283] See above, Chapter 5, pp. 179-81.
[284] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 69r-70v; *HC*, pp. 33-7; Swaffham, ff. 38v-40r.

In contrast to pseudo-Wulfhere's land grant, the forger had several extant sources at his disposal to assist him in his compilation of pseudo-Eadgar's charter. They are as follows:

1. Æthelwold's 'Gifts to Medeshamstede' (963 x 972).[285]
2. The 'List of sureties for Medeshamstede's estates' (972 x 992).[286]
3. Eadgar's grant to Æthelwold of land at Barrow-upon-Humber, *c.* 971.[287]
4. The transaction of 1020 x 1023 between Abbot Ælfsige and Thored, exchanging a quarter of Whittlesey Mere and its surrounding marshes and watercourses for land at *Overtune* [Orton].[288]
5. Knowledge of the Northamptonshire *Domesday* survey.
6. Memoranda either lost in the fire of 1116 or discarded after the fabrication of pseudo-Eadgar's charter. The 'lost' documents may have included a charter relating to the terms of *Burch*'s jurisdiction over the Eight Hundreds of Oundle and a list of its associated strategically positioned estates, all of which, with the exception of Werrington, were possessions of *Burch* by 972 x 992.
7. The forger's earlier composition, pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, which he cited to authenticate pseudo-Eadgar's charter.[289]

A number of conclusions may be drawn by analysing these materials in conjunction with pseudo-Eadgar's charter. Firstly, excluding the additional tract of land on Whittlesey Mere in the Norman Cross Hundred of Huntingdonshire, the estates encompassed by the toll routes described in Versions Bi and Bii of pseudo-Eadgar's charter correspond exactly with both the late tenth-century *Uptune grene* or Nassaburgh Hundred, and *Medeshamstede*'s *prouincia* in 1086. Although unspecified, the western bounds of Versions Bi and Bii of pseudo-Eadgar's charter may be interpreted as identical to those described in pseudo-Wulfhere's land grant. However, the section between Wansford and Stamford that included the Wittering/Thornhaugh estate was omitted from the Old-English version [Version A].[290] It is possible that ASC (E) Hand 1 may have referred to a lost vernacular exemplar, compiled after the death of Eadgar in 975, when Wittering had been become a possession of Thorney Abbey.[291] Nevertheless, in 1086, almost thirty years before the pseudo-Eadgar's charter

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[285] Soc. Ant. 60, f. 39v-40v.
[286] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 24r, ff. 47r-49v.
[287] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 38r-39r.
[288] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 24r-25v; *Chron. Petro.*, ed. Stapleton, pp. 182-3; S 1463.
[289] Soc. Ant., 60, 59v-64r; S 68.
[290] ASC (E.), f. 37rv (963) [Version A]; Soc. Ant., 60, f. 69v; HC, p. 35-6 [Version Bi]; Swaffham, f. 39r [Version Bii].
[291] *LE.*, Bk. II, ch. 11; CUL Add. 3020, f. 14v. See above, Chapter 5, pp. 170-1.

was fabricated, the Wittering estate, which stretched from the Welland to the Nene, was held by Ansketil de St. Médard, one of Turold's knights.[292] Therefore, Hand 1's failure to amend the bounds to include Ansketil's fiefdom was probably an oversight.

By the early twelfth century, Ernulf and his monks were obliged to acknowledge that during Eadgar's reign vast swathes of their purported pre-870 territory had been allocated to the late tenth-century religious foundations of Crowland, Thorney and Ramsey. However, the forger, probably Ernulf himself, subtly demanded one concession. Despite evidence to the contrary, including Ælfsige's contract with Thored and *Domesday Book*, Versions A and Bi of pseudo-Eadgar's charter insist upon claiming 'Witlesmere h'alfendal', the half share of Whittlesey Mere, which was granted to *Medeshamstede* among Æthelwold's 'Gifts'.[293] Significantly, in addition to the précis of the bounds of the marsh interpolated into pseudo-Eadgar's charter, three of the eight prescribed toll routes either commence or terminate at Whittlesey Mere, rather than from *Burch*, the site of the *matrix ecclesia*. Thus, it seems that the forger's intended to focus his audience's attention not the abbey itself, but upon Whittlesey Mere and its eastern frontier, the area where the monastery's interests were in the greatest need of protection against the intrigues of the abbots of Thorney and Ramsey. Elsewhere, the forger made no attempt to encroach upon the territory of adjacent monastic establishments, while observing the pre-existing hundred or wapentake boundaries of Willybrook [Northamptonshire], Kesteven [Lincolnshire], North Witchford [Cambridgeshire] and Norman Cross and Hurstingstone [Huntingdonshire].

Nevertheless, by the twelfth-century, *Burch* and its neighbouring fenland abbeys had already embarked upon land reclamation programmes. Several of the island sites on the edge of the Great Fen, including Singleshole [*Burch*], Throckenholt [Thorney], Bodsey and Higney [Ramsey] appear to have been adopted either by anchorites or small groups of monks, who perhaps acted as sentries, guarding their abbeys' frontiers. As drainage schemes progressed the hermitages were replaced first by *vaccaria*, where cattle were despatched for summer grazing, then by high-status granges, symbolizing their respective monasteries' presence in the landscape. We can only surmise that there may have been more unrecorded anchorages, some of which may never have developed beyond a simple cell, marking the fertile fenland frontiers of the religious houses of Crowland, Ramsey, Thorney and *Burch*.

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[292] *DB: Northants.*, 6a [4]; Soc. Ant., 60, f. 19r; *Chron. Petro.*, ed. Stapleton, p. 168. See also *HC*, pp. 112, 162.
[293] Soc. Ant. 60, ff. 24r-25v; 40r; 69v; ASC (E.), f. 37rv (963).

The privileges confirmed to *Burch* in pseudo-Eadgar's charter were undoubtedly concocted to conform to the monastery's twelfth-century circumstances and to reiterate the monastery's seniority and supremacy over rival fenland houses. However, documentary evidence has proved conclusively that all of the estates within the Eight Hundreds of Oundle, with the exception of Werrington, were indeed late tenth-century possessions of the abbey and that all were held by either Abbot Turold or his knights in 1086. Pseudo-Eadgar's charter offers an insight into the *Burch* community perceived, or rather hoped that those in authority would perceive, to be the late tenth-century privileges and territory. When examined in context with the *Relatio* house-history, pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, pseudo-Agatho's bull and the pre-Conquest documents preserved in the *Liber Niger*, we discover the complexity of the forgeries and the depth of Ernulf's research in his reconstruction of his monastery's past.

Conclusion

A passing reference in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* testifies that a monastery called *Medeshamstede* was founded 'in regione Gyruiorum' before 673.[1] Therefore, as we have seen, almost our entire knowledge of Peterborough's pre-Conquest history was woven around four early twelfth-century forgeries that claim to be a pre-870 house-history, the royal charters of Wulfhere of 664 and Eadgar of 972 and Pope Agatho's bull of 680 to which estates granted by Æthelred (675-704) were appended. These texts survive in their earliest extant form only as mid twelfth-century copies, preserved under the rubric, *Relatio Hedde Abbatis*, in the Peterborough cartulary, the *Liber Niger*.[2] However, the consistency of their theme, the skilful introduction of the *Medeshamstede*'s founders and the gradual presentation of the abbey's privileges suggest that the documents were composed at approximately the same time and by the same author. Furthermore, the forgeries were the culmination of methodical and unhurried research, during which the author supplemented information extracted from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* with local legends and extant pre-Conquest materials in order to add an air of authenticity to his confections. Thus, he was able to explain the almost uninterrupted presence of a religious community on the site since *Medeshamstede*'s purported foundation *c.* 655 by Peada, sub-ruler of Mercia, and Oswiu of Northumbria, until its restoration by Eadgar and Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester *c.* 963 x 972 after its alleged devastation by the Danes in 870. Pseudo-Eadgar's charter is followed in the otherwise haphazardly arranged *Liber Niger* by the confirmation charters of his successors, Edward the Martyr (975-79), Æthelred II (979-1013, 1014-16), Cnut (1016-35), Edward the Confessor (1042-66) and finally William I (1066-87), signifying continued royal endorsement of *Burch*'s privileges up to and beyond the Norman Conquest.[3] Since these documents survive only in the Peterborough archive as mid twelfth-century copies and referred to earlier charters, namely pseudo-Wulfhere's and pseudo-Eadgar's endowments, they should be treated with caution. However, it is impossible to ascertain whether they shared the same authorship as the *Relatio* documents or whether they were composed at a later date.

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[1] *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, ed. and tr. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), hereafter *HE*, Bk. IV, ch. 6.
[2] London, Society of Antiquaries, 60, ff. 58v-70v.
[3] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 70v-71v. See above, Chapter 1, pp. 10-2.

Charters and history

The *Relatio* forgeries were composed as a *riposte* to the systematic erosion of *Burch*'s privileges by successive Norman kings and the alienation of its estates during Turold de Fécamp's twenty-eight year rule. After Turold's death in 1098, the brief abbacies of Godric (1098-9) and Matthias Ridell (1103-4) were punctuated by intervals when Henry I placed the abbey under his direct control, harvesting its revenues to finance his military campaigns in Normandy.[4] Therefore, it was not until the appointment of the Frenchman, Ernulf (1107-14), prior of Christ Church Canterbury, that *Burch*'s circumstances began to improve. Indeed, as argued here, it may have been Ernulf, 'an accomplished lawyer and judicial thinker' and a man 'commonly accredited with antiquarian tastes and a sympathy for English traditions', who masterminded or even composed the forgeries.[5]

Aged sixty-eight at the time of his elevation to *Burch*, Ernulf probably believed that he would end his career there.[6] Nevertheless, his commitment to the monastery and devotion to his monks were unquestionable. As at Christ Church, Ernulf embarked upon an ambitious reconstruction programme, improving the brethren's accommodation, and possibly instituting the monastic school and *scriptorium*.[7] He also devised a stratagem by which he recouped some of the estates held by the descendants of Turold's knights in return for perpetual masses for their souls.[8] However, it probably was through the quartet of forgeries that Ernulf endeavoured to reap even greater rewards for his abbey by encouraging Henry I to emulate his Anglo-Saxon predecessors, Wulfhere, Æthelred and Eadgar, in absolving *Burch* from taxation and military service and granting the abbey freedom of interference from subsequent kings.[9]

Although the forgeries were essentially directed at Henry I, the author also targeted Bishop Robert Bloet of Lincoln (1094-1123), from whom *Burch* sought independence, and more significantly Archbishop Thomas II of York, who continued to enjoy primacy over Canterbury despite Anselm's return from exile in 1107. When Henry declined to appoint a replacement to Canterbury after Anselm's death in 1109, Ernulf may have used his forgeries

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[4] ASC (E), 1103; *The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, ed. W. T. Mellows (Oxford, 1949), hereafter *HC*, pp. 84-9. See above, Chapter 2, pp. 59-60.
[5] *William of Malmesbury: The Deeds of the Bishops of England* (*Gesta Pontificum Anglorum)*, ed. and tr. D. Preest (Woodbridge, 2002), ch. 72; P. Cramer, 'Ernulf of Rochester and Anglo-Norman Canon Law', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 40:4 (Oct. 1989), pp. 484, 491-3; R. W. Southern, *St. Anselm and his Biographer* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 270.
[6] *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Preest, ch. 72; ASC (E), 1124; Southern, *Anselm*, pp. 269-70.
[7] ASC (E), 1116; *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Preest, ch. 72; *HC*, pp. 94-5.
[8] *HC*, pp. 90-1.
[9] See above, Chapter 2, pp. 39-52.

as a subtle expression of his allegiance to Canterbury.[10] Indeed, an unremitting support for Canterbury was evident throughout the *Relatio* documents. By decreeing that *Medeshamstede* was the principal church north of the Thames and subject only to the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury in England, the forger was bolstering Canterbury's pre-eminence over York.[11] Various prelates also were given a significant role in *Medeshamstede*'s foundation. Pseudo-Wulfhere's endowments were endorsed by Archbishop Deusdedit and confirmed by Pope Agatho and Archbishop Theodore, while Æthelwold's restored the monastery with the approbation of Dunstan of Canterbury and Oswald of York.[12] Furthermore, according to the forgeries, Wilfrid, testifying first as 'priest and letter-bearer' and then as 'Bishop of York', had demonstrated his enthusiasm for 'Wulfhere's' endowments by conveying his request for papal approval to Rome.[13]

However, the author was demanding more than *Burch*'s autonomy and the recognition of Canterbury's pre-eminence over York. By highlighting the antiquity and continuity of his abbey's site and its seniority and supremacy over all other churches north of Kent, the *Relatio* documents were sending a clear message to the monasteries of Crowland, Ramsey and Thorney, whose estates were perceived by the post-Conquest monks of *Burch* to have been carved out of *Medeshamstede*'s pre-870 territory. Thorney was singled out for special attention in pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, there called *Ancarig*, the remote outpost to which the more ascetic monks of *Medeshamstede* were despatched at Seaxwulf's behest and with royal consent.[14] Pseudo-Wulfhere, while taking care not to offend Bishop Hervey of Ely by encroaching upon his post-1109 *prouincia*, blatantly claimed that all of Thorney's post-Æthelwold Cambridgeshire estates had been enclosed within *Medeshamstede*'s seventh-century bounds, reinforcing the point that Thorney had not existed as an independent monastery (Maps 2, 11).[15] Furthermore, *Medeshamstede* was promoted as a centre of pilgrimage in pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, pseudo-Agatho's bull and pseudo-Eadgar's charter. Perhaps, it was the forger's intention to remind rival fenland establishments that, despite their enshrinement of the relics of such pioneers of the early Christian church as Guthlac [Crowland], Botulf and Benedict Biscop [Thorney] and Bishops Felix and Ivo [Ramsey], it was

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[10] M. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers, 1066-1272*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1998), pp. 66-7.
[11] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 65v.
[12] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 59v; ff. 62v, 63v; ff. 64r, 67v; J. Blair, 'Dorchester', in *Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge, J. Blair, S. Keynes and D. Scragg (Oxford, 2001), p. 144.
[13] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 63v; f. 68r. See also ASC (E), 675; *HC*, p. 16.
[14] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 63r.
[15] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 60v-62r.

to *Burch* that those who were unable to travel to Rome should go to seek absolution from St. Peter, the gatekeeper of Heaven.[16]

The forger's dogged support for Canterbury, his indignation at Henry I's failure to appoint a successor to Archbishop Anselm and his acknowledgement of Ely's diocesan estates indicate a *terminus post quem* date of 1109 for the *Relatio* forgeries. This would have allowed Ernulf at least two years to examine any extant pre-Conquest documents held in the Peterborough archive and to familiarize himself with local folklore and the topography of his *prouincia*, which by 1086 was enclosed mainly within the Nassaburgh Hundred. It also appears that versions of the forgeries were circulated among the neighbouring fenland monasteries. The compiler of the Sawtry Abbey foundation charter of 1146 x 1153 makes a disparaging reference to pseudo-Wulfhere's land grant, suggesting that he was familiar with its content, whilst Swaffham's conflation of pseudo-Eadgar's charter [Version Bii] was interpolated into pseudo-Ingulph's Crowland chronicle, indicating that a version was available there in the fifteenth century.[17] It also is conceivable that the 'original' forgeries were intended to be displayed on auspicious occasions to enlighten and impress dignitaries visiting *Burch*, in an era when the written word was beginning to replace oral tradition.[18] By 1272, the *Relatio* texts had been copied into the diminutive Book of Charters and Privileges of John of Threckingham, suggesting that the *libellus* served as a portable cartulary to be produced to settle boundary disputes or when *Burch*'s liberties were believed to have been compromised.[19]

An abridged version of the *Relatio* forgeries was incorporated into the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Manuscript E, hereafter ASC (E), which was commenced *c.* 1121 during the abbacy of John de Séez.[20] Although Whitelock suggests that ASC (E) was compiled to replace a chronicle lost in the fire of 1116, there is no evidence to substantiate her theory.[21] It is equally plausible that the Peterborough conflation was commissioned to compensate for the cessation of the earlier versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as well as to present

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[16] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 62r; f. 66r; f. 68v.
[17] Cambridge University Library [CUL], Peterborough Dean and Chapter [PDC] 1 [The Book of Robert of Swaffham] (Peterborough, *c.* 1250), ff. 38v-39v (old foliation); *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*, ed. W. M. Hart and A. L. Ponsonby, RS 79, 3 vols. (London, 1884-93) I, p. 160; British Library [BL], Arundel 178 (Crowland s. xvi: copy), ff. 45v-46v; *Ingulph*, pp. 91-5. See also Chapter 6, p. 236.
[18] M. Clanchy, *From Memory to the Written Word*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1993), p. 77.
[19] BL, Egerton 2733 (Peterborough, 1263 x 1272), ff. 11v-27v, 99r-106v.
[20] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 636; ASC (E), 654, 656, 675, 963; *The Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. C. Clark, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1970), p. xvii; *MS E*, p. xiii. See above, Chapter 3.
[21] *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile* 4: *The Peterborough Chronicle (Bodleian Manuscript Laud Misc. 636),* ed. D. Whitelock, (Copenhagen, 1954), p. 31. See also *MS E*, p. xiii.

Burch's house-history against a backdrop of national events in an attempt to validate the monastery's pre-Conquest heritage and royal patronage.

While the transmission of the 'Alfredian Chronicle' ['æ'] is complex, research by Plummer and more recently by Baker and Irvine has proved that ASC (E) shared a common exemplar with ASC (F), known as √E, which was compiled at Christ Church *c.* 1080 x 1110, probably whilst Ernulf was prior and in effect 'acting' abbot.[22] Therefore, it is possible that Ernulf, a scholar and historian, brought either √E or a copy to *Burch* but deferred the production of ASC (E) until he had procured the forgeries necessary to underpin his house-history. Ernulf's elevation to the see of Rochester in 1114 may have prevented him from completing this assignment. This coupled with the fear that the *Relatio* documents might be exposed as counterfeit after his departure may explain Ernulf's reluctance to return to Kent.[23]

Whitelock proposed that the first element of ASC (E) up to 1121 was written 'at one stretch', after which it was continued at intervals until 1131 in the same hand.[24] Nevertheless, despite the urgency to write his chronicle up to date, Hand 1 was more than a mere copyist. While he remained faithful to √E when recording national events, he condensed and amended the *Relatio* forgeries, adding dialogue and local legends, giving his narrative a wider appeal than solely to the religious and the judiciary. He described *Medeshamstede*'s proximity to the *Medeswæl* and introduced the triple dedication to SS. Peter, Paul and Andrew, suggesting that the latter two dedications were added when the church was reconsecrated after the fire of 1116.[25] Hand 1 developed the concept of Wilfrid as a papal emissary, returning from Rome with Agatho's bull of 680.[26] He also recorded the acquisition of an earlier papal bull of Vitalian (657-72), information that is exclusive to his chronicle.[27] Significantly, Hand 1 was the first historian to disclose that the *Relatio* house-history was the work of Abbot Hædda, who conveniently managed to conceal it together with other crucial documents in *Medeshamstede*'s walls before the Danish assault. The professed discovery of these 'writings' by Æthelwold allegedly inspired Edgar to restore *Medeshamstede*'s ancient privileges and its pre-870 estates within the Nassaburgh

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[22] *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, with Supplementary Extracts from the Others: A Revised Text on the Basis of an Edition by John Earle*, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1892-9; rev. imp., by D. Whitelock, 1952), pp. lxi-lxiii; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A Collaborative Edition* 7, *MS E*, ed. S. Irvine (Cambridge, 2004), pp. lxxix-lxxxii; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A Collaborative Edition* 8, *MS. F*, ed. P. S. Baker, (Cambridge, 2000), p. lxxix.

[23] ASC (E), 1114; *HC*, pp. 96-7.

[24] *Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock, p. 14.

[25] ASC (E), 654, 656.

[26] ASC (E), 675.

[27] ASC (E), 656.

Hundred.[28] In contrast to the version of the forgeries preserved in the *Liber Niger*, ASC (E) Hand 1's conflations were concise and remarkably self contained, yet each formed an integral component in *Medeshamstede*'s pre-Conquest history. This suggests that they may have been designed to be read in four instalments in the abbey church, chapter house or refectory for the benefit or even for the entertainment of brethren, bishops and distinguished secular visitors alike. Indeed, the creation of *Medeshamstede*, by the three kings, Oswiu, Peada and Wulfhere, its destruction by the heathen Danes and its reformation by Æthelwold and Eadgar mirror Christ's birth, death and resurrection, an allegory that would have been appreciated by both educated and illiterate twelfth-century audiences.

Hand 1's familiarity with local folklore implies that he had been installed at *Burch* some time before 1121, rather than recruited expressly for the purpose of producing a chronicle. His lack of detail regarding Turold's disposal of *Burch*'s assets, his report of the theft of monastic treasures in 1101 and the investiture of Matthias Ridell in 1103 indicate that Hand 1 probably arrived at *Burch* after the deposition of Godric in 1099 but before the advent of Matthias. If so, his residency would have been contemporaneous with the production of the forgeries. It is conceivable that Hand 1 knew that the *Relatio* documents were spurious. Indeed, Hand 1's account of the discovery of the 'ancient writings' bears a remarkable resemblance to the revelation at Canterbury of 'antiquorum scriniorum' in an 'old Gospel Book', which Eadmer interpolated into his *Historia Novorum in Anglia* in full knowledge that they had been invented by fellow monks at Christ Church, *c.* 1120 x 1123.[29] Although we should not discount the possibility that Hand 1 and, perhaps, other senior brethren were in collusion with Ernulf, once the generation of monks who were aware of the forgeries had died, the knowledge of the forgeries' provenance was forgotten. It was not until the early eighteenth century that Joseph Sparke began to doubt the authenticity of pseudo-Wulfhere's charter.[30]

Hand 1's empathy with the indigenous population offers a clue to his ethnicity. In contrast to his Anglo-Norman contemporaries, William of Malmesbury (*c.* 1095- *c.* 1143) and Orderic Vitalis (1075-1142), who approved of William I's reform of an ailing Anglo-Saxon church, Hand 1 supported Harold II's claim to the English throne and displayed a profound

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[28] ASC (E), 963.
[29] *Eadmeri Historia Novorum*, ed. M. Rule (London, 1884), p. 261; A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550-1307*, (London, 1970), p. 141.
[30] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Top. Northants., c. 17, p. 121.

sense of nostalgia for his abbey's pre-Conquest past.[31] He condemned the behaviour of William I, his taxation policies, the treatment of his subjects and his implementation of the *Domesday* Survey.[32] Above all, he denounced the appointment of Abbot Turold, during whose abbacy he believed that *Burch* had descended from 'golden borough to wretched borough'. In contrast, Hand 1 adopted a more favourable approach to the Anglo-Saxon abbots, Cœnwulf (992-1005), Ælfsige (1006-41), Leofric (1057-1066) and Brand (1066-9) and perceived Hereward as a local hero, who had no other option but to launch a pre-emptive strike upon the abbey in 1069 in order to prevent it from falling under Norman control.[33] Therefore, it seems likely that Hand 1 was of Anglo-Saxon rather than of Norman extraction. Significantly, the commencement of ASC (E) *c.* 1121 and its continuation until 1131, when it was abandoned during Henry d'Angély's disastrous abbacy, demonstrate that the vernacular language was still in regular use at *Burch*, despite the emergence of Latin as the written diplomatic language.[34] In 1155, ASC (E) was updated and concluded by Hand 2, probably at William de Waterville's request, symbolizing the last known use of the Old English in its written form at *Burch*.

ASC (E) was superseded by Hugh Candidus' Chronicle. Unfortunately, since Hugh's original text was destroyed in the Ashburnham House fire of 1731, it is impossible to discover from Davenport's 1652 transcript whether Hugh's house-history was written over a brief period after Abbot William's deposition in 1175 or immediately after the termination of ASC (E) and maintained as a 'living' chronicle.[35] However, the discontinuation of ASC (E) indicates that Abbot William may already have decided to supplant it with a Latin house-history, which related almost exclusively to Peterborough events. Unlike its predecessor, Hugh's Chronicle was the result of years of meticulous research, conducted throughout a career at *Burch* lasting over sixty years. We learn from Hugh's editor and biographer that he entered the monastery as a child and was schooled by Ernulf and other senior monks.[36] Therefore, he was residing at the monastery when the *Relatio* documents were fabricated and he was a contemporary of Hand 1. However, it is unlikely that, as an oblate, Hugh was aware of the forgeries' production. Moreover, if he realized that the *Relatio* documents were

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[31] *Gesta Regum Anglorum* ed. and tr. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1998-9) I, Bk. III, chs. 242, 246; *The Ecclesiastical History of Oderic Vitalis*, ed. and tr. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969-80), I (Books III and IV), pp. 246-9; ASC (E), 1066.
[32] ASC (E), 1070; 1083, 1085; 1086.
[33] ASC (E), 1070.
[34] ASC (E), 1131; Clanchy, *From Memory*, pp. 200-1.
[35] *HC*, pp. xvii, 131-2; *The Cartularies and Registers of Peterborough Abbey*, ed. J. Martin (Kendall, 1978), pp. 34-5. See above, Chapter 4.
[36] *HC*, p. 95.

spurious, he may have considered that Emulf's actions to have been justified. Indeed, his entire pre-870 history of *Medeshamstede* consisted of his conceptualization and manipulation of the *Relatio* documents. He ignored the conversion of the Middle Angles by Peada's evangelizing Northumbrian priests but instead concentrated upon *Medeshamstede*'s splendid location and buildings, visualizing it as 'a second Rome'.[37] However, his failure to acknowledge 'Hædda's' authorship of the *Relatio* house-history suggests that he was consulting a pre-rubricated, and perhaps 'original', version of the forgery rather than the mid twelfth-century *Liber Niger* transcript. In contrast, extracts from pseudo-Wulfhere's and pseudo-Eadgar's charters and pseudo-Agatho's bull were interpolated *verbatim*, leading us to speculate that Hugh considered the pre-Conquest privileges and boundaries so significant and irrefutable that to deviate from his exemplar would be to compromise the documents' integrity.

Hugh remained silent regarding the interlude between *Medeshamstede*'s purported destruction by the Danes and its restoration by Æthelwold, intimating that the site lay derelict.[38] However, the installation and eviction of secular clerics from Winchester Old Minster, Malmesbury and Ely before their re-establishment as Benedictine monasteries is well documented.[39] Furthermore, churches were recorded at Oundle in 957 and at Breedon-on-the-Hill in 967, suggesting that Christianity was flourishing in the region before Æthelwold commenced his reforms.[40] The presence of clergy at *Medeshamstede*, offering pastoral care in the hinterland would explain the perpetuation of local legends, including the miraculous properties of the *Medeswæl*, Oswiu's reputation as the abbey's founder and the names of Seaxwulf's successors. It would also account for the survival of pre-870 transactions such as the 'Breedon memoranda' and the 'Sempringham contract', which may have been preserved as oral tradition rather than as text.[41] Therefore, we must not dismiss the possibility that the 'ancient writings' found in ruined walls were genuine, being the remembrances of secular priests and that they had been committed to text by Æthelwold to encourage Eadgar's generosity.

Hugh skilfully connected his abbey's illustrious pre-Conquest past with William de Waterville's abbacy by demonstrating to his readers that, despite the re-allocation of *Medeshamstede*'s pre-870 property to its fenland rivals and the losses incurred during Turold

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[37] *HC*, p. 6.
[38] *HC*, p. 24.
[39] *Wulfstan of Winchester: The Life of St. Æthelwold*, ed. and tr. M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom OMT (Oxford, 1991), ch. 16-8; *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. D. Preest, chs. 183, 251.
[40] ASC (D), 957; Aberystwyth, N. L. W., Penarth 390, pp. 354-5 (s. xiv); B. 1298; S 749.
[41] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 44v-46v; N. P. Brooks, *Communities and Warfare* (London, 2000), pp. 59-60.

de Fécamp's and Henry d'Angély's abbacies, all the directives issued by 'Wulfhere', 'Agatho' and 'Eadgar' had been implemented and endorsed by Eugenius III's first's papal bull of 1146.[42] The territory that had been relinquished to Crowland, Ramsey and Thorney had been replaced by Abbot Brand's and his brothers' gifts of Lincolnshire estates, most of which were confirmed to *Burch* in 1086.[43] Furthermore, Hugh related that for the first time since the Norman Conquest, the brethren of *Burch* had elected their own abbot without royal intervention or repercussions. Moreover, it was only after they had received Henry II's and Archbishop Theobold of Canterbury's approval for William de Waterville's appointment that they sought to inform the Bishop of Lincoln of their deeds. Thereby, Abbot William was regarded as the bishop's equal rather than his subordinate.[44]

In the course of his house history, Hugh took his readers on a virtual guided tour of his monastery, first to admire the breathtaking relic collection ranging from fragments of Christ's manger and the Virgin's garments to mementos of the prime movers in *Medeshamstede*'s foundation, Cyneburh, Cyneswith, Wilfrid and the incorrupt arm of St. Oswald, brother of Oswiu of Northumbria. Thus, *Burch* could outclass its rivals as a centre of pilgrimage, fulfilling 'Wulfhere's' decree that it should become a 'second Rome'.[45] Hugh also described the achievements of *Burch*'s post-Conquest abbots, including Ernulf's dormitory and chapter house, Martin de Bec's chancel and finally the first stages of William de Waterville's tower, reminding his audience of the continuity and perpetuity of the site.[46]

Charters and territory

In addition to the extensive privileges, pseudo-Wulfhere's author had retrospectively bestowed upon *Medeshamstede* a vast *prouincia* enveloping the entire tenth-century Nassaburgh Hundred of Northamptonshire and the Elloe Wapentake of Lincolnshire, half of the Wisbech and North Witchford Hundreds of Cambridgeshire and a proportion of the Norman Cross Hundred of Huntingdonshire. Curiously, the forger divided his perambulation into two distinct circuits in which *Burch* and Northborough appear to be the foci. The western element lacked explicit directions but used as its boundary points the settlements of *Welmesforde* [Wansford], *Cliue* [King's Cliffe], *Astune* [Easton-on-the-Hill], *Stanford*

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[42] *HC*, pp. 114-6.
[43] *Domesday Book*, hereafter *DB: Nottinghamshire*, ed. J. Morris, C. Parker and S. Wood (Chichester, 1977), [2]; *DB*: *Lincolnshire*, ed. J. Morris, P. Morgan and C. Thorn, 2 vols. (Chichester, 1986) I, 8 [1-25, 27-29, 31]; Soc. Ant., 60, f. 71rv; *HC*, pp. 40-2.
[44] *HC*, pp. 126-7. See also Soc. Ant., 60, f. 65r.
[45] *HC*, pp. 49-6; Soc. Ant., 60, f. 62r.
[46] *HC*, pp. 90, 105, 130.

[Stamford] and *Norburhc* [Northborough], the names of which have changed little since the twelfth century.[47] In contrast, while the eastern bounds were more precise, following watercourses, roads, lakes and fens, they are more difficult to identify due to post-medieval drainage schemes (Map 2).

Potts proposed that pseudo-Wulfhere's northern limits of *Medeshamstede*'s pre-870 estates were marked by the *Esendic*, whilst Hart favours the *Heregate*, a road of indeterminable date, which connected Spalding with Long Sutton.[48] However, it is feasible that the forger would have pushed his monastic limits beyond the salt marshes of Elloe as far as the sea defences known as the 'Roman' or 'Sea Bank', thereby claiming access to the Wash via the River Welland and via the various branches of the Nene. The boundary points, *Fæðermuðe*, *Cuggedic* and *Raggeuuilc*, probably refer to coastal landmarks, natural features that pre-existed the nucleated settlements along the *Heregate*, which were founded between the ninth and eleventh centuries. Demarcated by the Welland, the Shire Drain, the South Eau, the old course of the Nene and, debatably, the Sea Bank, *Medeshamstede*'s purported pre-870 *prouincia* was contained within what is generally considered by modern historians to be the late seventh-century *regiones* of the North *Gyrwe* or 'fen dwellers'. At the same time, it appears that the charter bounds respect the tribal units of the *Spalda*, *Wigesta*, East *Þixna* [*Wissa*], *Hyrstinga*, South *Gyrwe*, *Sweord ora* and *Wiðerigga* folk (Map 7).[49] Furthermore, the preservation of the place-names, *Esendic*, *Fæðermuðe*, *Cuggedic* and *Raggeuuilc*, perhaps in their original vernacular form, indicates that the forger had knowledge of an earlier perambulation of the eastern bounds, which were transmitted by oral tradition.

Nevertheless, we learn from ASC (E) Hand 1 that *Medeshamstede* did not receive the cognomen *Burch* until 992 x 1005, when Abbot Cœnwulf surrounded it with a wall.[50] Therefore, if a late seventh-century version of the eastern bounds had existed, it must have been reviewed after the abbey's fortification since it mentioned *Norburhc* or North *Burch* [Northborough], a hamlet of such significance that it was included in both the eastern and western circuits (Map 18). *Paccalade* [High Lode], constructed *c.* 966 to facilitate the transportation of building material to Ramsey, must also have been added later. The

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[47] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 62r.
[48] W. T. W. Potts, 'The Pre-Danish Estate of Peterborough Abbey', *PCAS* 65:2 (1973-4), p. 17; C. R. Hart, pers. com., Nov. 1998.
[49] C. R. Hart, 'Tribal Hidage', *Transactions of the Royal Society*, 5th Series 21 (1971), pp. 142-5, 152-3; W. Davies and H. Vierck, 'The Contexts of "Tribal Hidage": Social Aggregates and Settlement Patterns', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 8 (1974), p. 231-2.
[50] ASC (E), 963.

reference to Huntingdonshire in the Latin version of the charter may have been the forger's modification, unaware that the county had not been created until *c.* 1007.[51]

The western bounds, which allude to easily identifiable settlements, first may have been formulated shortly after Æthelred's acquisition of the Wittering estates *c.* 972 x 992.[52] However, their survival as a separate component suggests that the Wittering property represented an earlier estate, extending from the Welland to the Nene and perhaps from Wittering to Werrington, mainly occupying the *nass* element of the double Hundred of Nassaburgh (Map 21). It is impossible to discover when the eastern and western sections of the bounds were amalgamated. Indeed, they may have been preserved independently until they were consulted and used by pseudo-Wulfhere's forger between 1109 and 1114. Therefore, although the privileges allegedly granted to *Medeshamstede* in the *Relatio* documents are undoubtedly spurious, it seems likely that pseudo-Wulfhere's charter bounds were based upon authentic materials either written down in the vernacular or learnt by rote to be recited during the beating of the monastic bounds.

In contrast, pseudo-Eadgar's charter, claiming to have been compiled in 972, did not include a perambulation of *Medeshamstede*'s *prouincia*, probably because the abbey's pre-870 territory had been drastically reduced after the foundation of Crowland, Ramsey and Thorney. To compensate, *Medeshamstede* was awarded jurisdiction over the Eight Hundreds of Oundle, covering an area that is comparable with the lands contained within pseudo-Wulfhere's bounds (Map 25). It is tempting to surmise that the Eight Hundreds of Oundle were equivalent to Bede's 'prouincia Undalum' and that the region, with the exception of the *burh* element of the Nassaburgh Hundred, was congruent with the seventh-century tribal unit of the *Wiðerigga*.[53] However, this is problematic since the aggregate hidage of the North and South Navereslund, Huxloe, Navisford, Polebrook, Willybrook Hundreds and the *nass* of the Nassaburgh Hundred amount to more than the 600 hides allotted to the *Wiðerigga* in the Mercian 'tribute list' known as the 'Tribal Hidage'. Although the 'Tribal Hidage' survives only in the form of eleventh-century copies, it is generally understood to have originally been compiled during the second half of the seventh century, during the reign of Wulfhere (*c.* 658-75) or Æthelred (675-704) and therefore after the forgeries claimed that

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[51] H. P. R. *Finberg, Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester, 1961), p. 130; A Reynolds, *Later Anglo-Saxon England: Life and Landscape* (Stroud, 1999), p. 75.
[52] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 47v, 48v; r 40, pp. 78-81.
[53] *HE*, Bk. V, chs. 19; H. M. Cam, *Communities and Liberties in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1944), p. 185; Hart, 'Tribal Hidage', pp. 152-3.

Medeshamstede was founded.[54] We may conjecture that the narrow corridor of land bounded by the Rivers Nene and Welland and spanning the *Wiðerigga*'s and North *Gyrwe*'s tribal units was deliberately omitted from the 'Tribal Hidage' because it had already been conferred upon *Medeshamstede* as part of its *prouincia* and was exempt from taxation (Maps 21, 25). Nevertheless, Featherstone argues that the 'Tribal Hidage' 'is a document of the late ninth-century that was compiled using material that probably dates back to the late seventh' and that it was retained beyond the Danelaw, thus accounting for its survival.[55] Indeed, this hypothesis would explain the preservation of tribal associations with place-names such as Spalding [*Spalda*], Wisbech [*Wissa*] and Sword Point [*Sweord ora*] and the forger's apparent acknowledgement of tribal boundaries.

Pseudo-Eadgar's charter also bestowed upon *Burch* a mint at Stamford, the 'vill' of Oundle and ten additional estates at Barrow, Warmington, Ashton, Kettering, Castor, Ailsworth, Walton, Werrington, Eye and Thorpe, all of which with the exception of Barrow in Lincolnshire were strategically placed within the Eight Hundreds of Oundle.[56] Warmington, Ashton, Kettering, Oundle and Stamford [Baron] were either situated close to or astride hundred boundaries. Eye and Thorpe represented Ernulf's spheres of expansion within the *banleuca* or immediate vicinity of the monastery, namely the *burh* element of the Nassaburgh Hundred.[57] Castor and Ailsworth may have been perceived as part of discrete pre-870 estate, which straddled the *nass* and *burh* and overlooked the Nene Valley, a prime location for the power base of Peada, sub-ruler of the Middle Angles and co-founder of *Medeshamstede*. This theory is supported by the attention awarded to Peada's sisters, Cyneburh and Cyneswith of Castor, in the *Relatio* house-history and pseudo-Wulfhere's charter, and through their translation to *Burch*, a monastery already rich in relics (Map 22).[58] Werrington, with its *Wiðerigga* connotations, and Walton are connected to Northborough by the old Lincoln Road [the modern B 1443] and may have represented the demarcation between the *Wiðerigga*'s and North *Gyrwe*'s seventh-century tribal units and, perhaps, by the

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[54] ASC (E), 654; B. Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms in Early Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1988), pp. 10-1; A. Reynolds, *Later Anglo-Saxon England* (Stroud, 1999), p. 69; J. Blair, 'The Tribal Hidage', in *Blackwell Encyclopaedia*, ed. Lapidge *et al.*, pp. 455-6.

[55] P. Featherstone, 'The Tribal Hidage and the Ealdormen of Mercia', in *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, ed. M. P. Brown and C. A. Farr (Leicester, 2001), pp. 30-1.

[56] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 69r

[57] Soc. Ant., 60, f. 15v (Eye); f. 55r (Thorpe).

[58] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 58v; 60v, 63v; ASC (E), 963; *HC*, pp. 50-1. See above, Chapter 2, pp. 41, 43-4; Chapter 3, pp. 88, 103; Chapter 4, pp. 122; Chapter 5, pp. 174-5, 196; Chapter 6, pp. 211-2.

twelfth century were regarded as the division between the *nass* and the *burh*.[59] However, according to Æthelwold's 'List of sureties for *Medeshamstede*'s estates', by *c.* 972 x 992 the Nassaburgh Hundred court assembled *æt Dicon* [the Langdyke Bush] on contiguous boundary of Ailsworth with Bainton, Ufford and Upton (centred at TF 1140 0261) and adjacent to the Roman thoroughfare known as King Street.[60] Whilst by the twelfth century, Walton – Werrington – Northborough may have been perceived as the old tribal frontier, the King's Street site, centrally placed within the double hundred and with good communications, was the preferred meeting-place (Maps, 3, 18).

Finally, pseudo-Eadgar conferred upon the abbot of *Burch* the right to levy tolls along routes, which correspond exactly with the boundaries of the Nassaburgh Hundred plus the tract of land at Whittlesey Mere, which Abbot Ælfsige acquired in 1020 x 1023.[61] Indeed, throughout the latter part of the charter, attention was deflected from the abbey to the vast freshwater lake and surrounding marsh, signifying that by 1086 *Burch* was struggling to maintain a foothold in the area.[62]

Conclusion

While, it is conceivable that Eadgar granted a restoration charter to *Medeshamstede*, there can be no doubt that it was modified considerably to suit the early twelfth-century political climate in order to acquaint Henry I with the privileges bestowed upon *Burch* his Anglo-Saxon predecessors and to remind the brethren of Crowland, Ramsey and Thorney of *Burch*'s pre-870 heritage. However, if Henry was aware of the privileges claimed to be granted by his predecessors and believed in their integrity, he chose to ignore them, elevating Ernulf to Rochester and replacing him first with John de Séez and then, two years after John's death, by Henry's kinsman Henry d'Angély.[63] Nevertheless, the *Relatio* forgeries appear to have increased the monks of *Burch*'s self esteem by providing them with documentation through which they could claim their abbey's antiquity, continuity and continuous royal patronage whilst complying with Norman bureaucracy.

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[59] *The Place-Names of Northamptonshire*, ed. J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1975), pp. xiv. See above, Chapter 6, pp. 112-3.
[60] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 47r, 48r; R 40, pp. 78-9.
[61] Soc. Ant., 60, ff. 24r-25v; S. 1463.
[62] *DB: Huntingdonshire*, ed. J. Morris, P. Morgan and C. Thorn, 2 vols. (Chichester, 1986), 7 [8]; Swaffham, f. 126r; CUL, Add. 3020, f. 13rv; C. R. Hart, *Early Charters of Eastern England* (Leicester, 1966), p. 171. See above, Chapter 6, pp. 212-3.
[63] ASC (E), 1114; 1125; 1127.

To summarize, after half a century of heavy taxation and the alienation of *Burch*'s assets, the morale of the monks of *Burch* had reached its nadir. The advent of Ernulf from Christ Church in 1107 appears to have marked the turning point in the abbey's fortunes. Ernulf played a pivotal role in restoring the monastery to its pre-Conquest status, recouping lost estates and embarking upon an ambitious building programme. He raised educational standards, probably founding the school, where Hugh Candidus studied under his tutelage. He may also have brought √E from Canterbury with the intention using it as an exemplar for a new conflation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Furthermore, between *c.* 1109 and 1114 the *Relatio Hedde Abbatis* forgeries were instigated, if not actually produced, by the legally minded Ernulf. The quartet of texts offers an insight of 'a Frenchman's' perspective of *Burch*'s Anglo-Saxon heritage and its place in the monastic hierarchy.[64] The forgeries were used to underpin ASC (E), commenced *c.* 1121 by an Anglo-Saxon monk and Hugh Candidus' Chronicle, compiled in Latin between 1155 and 1175. It is upon these texts, supplemented by a series of charters preserved in the *Liber Niger* and oral tradition that the twelfth-century monks of *Burch* reconstructed their Anglo-Saxon past.

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[64] *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Preest, ch. 72.

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OS Explorer Map 249: Spalding and Holbeach, Long Sutton and Kirkton.

Appendices

Transcripts of the *Relatio Hedde Abbatis Forgeries*

Appendix A — 'Abbot Hædda's' House-History

Appendix B — 'Charter of King Wulfhere of the Mercians to Medeshamstede, AD 664'

Appendix C — 'Bull of Pope Agatho with appended confirmation and grant of King Æthelred, AD 680'

Appendix D — 'King Eadgar's charter to Burch, AD 972', [Version Bi]

Maps

Appendix A

'Relatio hedde abbatis quomodo incipente Christianitate in regione mediterraneorum Anglorum initiatum sit Medeshamstede monasterium et subsequentibus priuilegiis confirmatum': London, Society of Antiquaries, ff. 58v-59v[1]

Rex Ahlfridus Regis Peadæ sororem habebat reginam KYNEBURGAM et Peada mutua cognatione sororem Alhfridi acceperat Alfledam. Alfridus filius erat regis Northanhumbrorum Osuui fratris sceptrigeri martyris Osuualdi. Peada filius Penda Merciorum. Hic suadente fideli cognato et pia sorore baptizatus est a Finano pontifice; plus iam gaudens de æterna salute quam petita uirgine. Assumptisque secum quatuor euangelizatoribus religiosis cum coniuge fidem Christi et suo et paterno regno, patre licet pagano satis consentiente, primus inuexit. Hiis accessit comes et cooperator illustris Saxulfus, uir præpotens et seculo et religione regique et ecclesiæ acceptissimus. Qui cupiens nouellam plantationem christianitatis sua uice in gentes dilatare, Dei clementia et Christiani regis beneuolentia molitus est monasterium nobile quod Medeshamstede dicitur in regione Gyruiorum quod beato PETRO in quo scilicet Dominus ecclesiam suam ædificauit tanquam ecclesiæ primitias consecrauit. Hic itaque aggrega **(f. 59r)** to numeroso fratrum contubernio sedit abbas et doctor mediterraneorum Anglorum ac Merciorum donec in episcopum assumptus est docens incredulous baptizans credentes habens discipulos intus monachos religiosos foras propagandæ fidei magistros post suum principale monasterium parturiens et ædificans suffraganea cœnobia et alias ecclesias tanquam huius fæcundæ matris filias. Cultu quoque diuino sub christianissimis et beneficis regibus Peada, Osuuio, Wlfero, ateque Athelredo, qui sibi successerant latius regnante, ut sapiens Machabeus Symon dilatauit terminos suos et augmentauit gloriam ecclesiæ suæ. Utaque domum suam contra tam uarias mundi tempestates perpetuo muniret, quam supra firmam petram fundauerat, etiam regiis cartis et priuilegiis fulcire studuit. Igatur post biennium susceptæ fidei Penda idolitriæ capite exciso, uictor Oswius regnum Merciorum triennio optinuit, totam gentem subiectam ad Christum conuertit, monasterium Medeshamstede regaliter prouexit. Interea amabilis indolis et regno condecentissimus Peada indigna et immatura nece ablatus, feruorem dilatandæ ecclesiæ successuris fratribus dereliquit. Deinde excluso rege Mercii susceptam christianitatem cum naturali rege Wlfero alio Pendæ filio constanter seruereunt. Anni errant ab aduentu AUGUSTINI anglorum luciferi quinquaginta quinque, ab in **(f. 59v)** carnatione saluatoris DCL

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[1] Printed in *Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Badinel 2nd edn. 6 vols. in 7 (London, 1817-30) II, p. 375; *HC*, pp. 159-61.

exacti, iam sextus a beato Augustino sacer Deusdedit Dorouernensi cathedræ archiepiscopus apotolice præfulgebat. Cum igitur Wlferus adeo flagraret in Christi cultura ut non solum patrias gentes uerum etiam subiectos sibi Australium reges et populos regiis muneribus et ampliatis regnis ad ueram Dei sectam accenderit, celestis uero clauigeri domum in Medeshamstede autenticam, ac si Romanam coluit ecclesiam, regia largitate qua finitimas illustraret ecclesias prouexit, æterna libertate ne cui regia sponsa seruiret donauit, fines possessionum seu extenta linea attribuit; auctoritate extulit priuilegiis ut prænotatem est, sagacitate abbatis Saxulfi sicut et successores sui corroborauit. Quarum rerem exemplaria seorsum descripta iubente rege Athelredo suum fraterno testamento adiungi, atque unicum uotum in unum corpus redigi, ad perpetuam uiderlicet monasterii stabilitatem subtractis aliquibus uersibus causa breuiandi, hic inseruntur.

Appendix B

'Charter of King Wulfhere of the Mercians to *Medeshamstede*, AD 664': London, Society of Antiquaries, ff. 59v-64r [Version B][1]

ÆLFERE (*sic.*) DEI beneficio Rex Merciorum et mediterraneorum Anglorum australium quoque regnorum præsentibus et posteris omnibus Christum sanctamque eius ecclesiam colentibus perpetuam salutem. Benedicat anima mea Dominum Ihesum saluatorem meum et coram omnibus uiuen **(f. 60r)** tibus confitear ei cum fratribus et sororibus meis populisque meis nouo nuper baptizmate initiates; quia sol iustitiæ ortus est nobis qui nos de tenebris idolatriae transtulit in ammirabile lumen suæ agnitionis; qui non solum reos paternis erroribus absoluit et aduanas et pupillos suscepit sed etiam in filios adoptionis credentes elegit; cumque æterna regna omnium renorum distributor suis fidelibus repromiserit etiam in hac breui uia qua ad æternitatem transitur nos regnare facit. Quid ergo retribuam Domino pro omnibus quæ retribuit mihi cum sine ipso nichil habeamus nichil ualeamus nichil simus? Magna etiam auiditate salutis nostræ omnium largitor accipit parua et infima nostra quatinus causam habeat retribuendi maxima sua; quodque dederimus sanctis suis quodque dilectæ ecclesiæ suæ hoc sibi datum et accepturum ipse attestabitur in fine mercedem quoque iusti iusti susceptorem promittit et accepturum esse. Qua propter illum diuinæ fidei et ecclesiarum principem regnique Dei clauigerum per quam admittar in paradysum Domini specialius reconciliari mihi gestio per priuilegium domus suæ quæ Medeshamstede studio uenerabilis abbatis SAXULFI gloriose est condita et diuina monachorum familia bene disposita; cui quicquid antecessor germanus meus Peada uel Oswius **(f. 60v)** Christiana fide confrater et conregnator concessere non solum mea cupio auctoritate stabilire uerum etiam de meo aliqua addire. Ego itaque fauentibus meis Ætheldredo ac Meruuale cum beatissimis sororibus meis Kyneburga et Kynesuuitha; quarum prior regina mutauit imperium in Christi ancillatum præsidens monasterio Kyneburgensi quod nomine decoratur mater sacrarum uirginum; altera illibata uirginate in diuinum flagrat thalamum; his inquam consentientibus trado beato PETRO ad præfatum Medeshamstede monasterium hæc stagna et paludes et lacus et piscaturas cum terres uidelicet ei omnibus infra iacentibus quæ de meo regali iure uel principum meorum mutuatione et assensu a modo in perpetuum libere famulentur. Deo famulantibus; quæ ita hic determinari uolumus: ab ipso Medeshamstede ad Norburch, et inde usque ad locum quem uocant Folies, et inde totam paludem in directum usque ad Esendic,

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[1] Printed as B 22. See also S 68. There is no folio 61 in Soc. Ant., 60.

et de Esendic ad locum quem Fæòermuòe dicunt, et inde in directum usque ad locum uia x leugiarum quem Cuggedic nominant, et inde ad Raggeuuilhc; et de Raggeuuilhc quinque miliariis ad magistram aquam que ducit ad Elm, et ad Wis **(f. 62r)** bece, atque inde sicut itur tribus leugiis contra cursum magistre aque ad Trekenholt, et de Trekenholt in directum per immensam paludem ad Dereuorde longitudine uirginti leugiarum, et inde ad Gretecross, et de Grætecross (*sic.*) per unam pulcram aquam Bradanea nomine vi leugiis ad Paccelade, et sic in mediis partitis stagnis plurimis et immensis paludinis cum habitatoribus Huntedunensis prouincie una cum stagnis et lacis, Scælfremere, et Witlesmere, et alius quam plurimus ad hæc pertinentibus cum terris quoque et mansionibus, que adiacent in australi parte Scælfremere, et cum infra septa undique palude usque ad Medeshamstede; et de Medeshamstede usque ad Welmesfordæ, et de Welmesforde usque ad Cliue et inde ad Astune, et de Astune ad Stanford, et de Stanforda sicut aqua decurrit ad superdictam Norburhc. Hic ergo terminis omnia sint iuris eiusdem apostolici monasterii. Hæc inquam omnia licet parua ita concedeo sicut ego regaliter tenui uel ab allis effeci libera; quatinus ab omni seruitute absoluta in proprias tantum expensas liberrima possideat ecclesia tanquam regina non tanquam famula. Hæc nobis beato PETRO principante principali in sua regione et specialius Romana sit ecclesia. Hic queramus ipsum patronum qui Rome non possumus. **(f. 62v)** Non decet immo non expedit nobis ut hæc seruiat quæ fide ipsius PETRI Christo regaliter desponsata est. Reges gentium ait Dominus PETRO a quibus accipiunt tribute a filius as ab alienis? Ab alienis inquit PETRUS. Ergo liberi sunt fillii dicit Dominus. Ergo et a nobis sit libera hæc regina mater cum filliis suis ministris Dei nostri ut dimissis his quæ Regis errant tota libertate quæ sunt Dei Deo reddant. Alia quoque monasteria quæ Dei famuli SAXULFI instantia assurgunt cum allis ecclesiis finitimis quæ deinceps generantur huius primeuæ matris uisceribus fouenda et educanda pignora commendamus; quatinus christiana religio nostris primum temporibus nostrum regnum ingressa ubique propagetur confirmetur perpetuentur. Hanc oblationem nostram beatissime pater DEUSDEDIT apostolica manu tua obsecro perhinniter corroborari; qui successor legationis fidei GRGORII et propagator euangelii pacis protodoctoris nostri Augustini sextus ab ipso beato Augustino apostolicus uicarius præsides ecclesiæ Dorobernensi. Tu quoque mi frater ÆTHELREDE et uos sores KYNEBURGA at KYNESUUITHA pro mutua animarum uestrarum redemptione huic testemento nostro testes optimi ut premiis condigniores subscribite. Precor etiam omnis succesores meos **(f. 63r)** siue filli siue fratres siue externi reges succesSerint ut hoc nostrum pactum ita seruent inuiolatum sicut uolunt recipere rectitudinis præmium et euadere rapacitatis supplicium. Inter has donationes et sanctiones uenerabilis pater monasterii

SAXULFUS habens monachos anachoreticæ conuersationis amatores suggessit mihi cum non nullis fratribus uelle se Dei quidem nutu et nostro assensu monasterium in ipsa subiacente heremo cum heremiticis cellulis in honore Dei genitricus construere in loco qui iam nomen accepit Ancarig; quatinus ibi uel cenobitæ pro anchoritis uel anchoratiæ pro cenobitis diuina pace possint conuersari; quibis tum ego quod semel inquam uobis perpetuaui etaim si ad alios uestros usus conuerteretis non habuissem contradicere; quanto magis cum id proposueritis in edificationem ecclesiæ et in augmentationem religionis diuinæ. Immo ego faueo et laudo ut perficiatur eo loci hæc bona laudabilis uoluntas uestra iuxta uestram discionem in Domino. Quicumque ergo hæc quæ nostra uel ceterorum fidelium donatione beato PETRO consecrata sunt auferre diminuere præsumpserit ipse ianitor cæli diminuat eius partem in retributione æterna; eius uero hæc largius auxerit augeat gaudia sempiterna. Huius confirmationis isti teste subscibuntur.

(f. 63v) Ego WLFERE REX cum sociis regibus et patribus ac ducibus hoc testamentum donationis meæ presente aposticico patre nostro Deusdedit confirmaui.

Ego Osuuius Rex Northanhymbrorum amicus abbatis SAXULFI immo ecclesiæ Dei debitus adiutor laudaui.

Ego Sighere Rex uoluntariæ immo christiane fidei recenti perceptione Regi WLFERO subiectus consensi.

Ego Sibbius Rex simili gratia deuotionis ac noua industria baptismatis eundem WULFERUM habens prælatum subscripsi.

Ego Æthelredus frater regis cum eodem consensi.

Ego KYNEBURGA soror regis amplector.

Ego quoque soror regis KYNESUUITHA faui.

Ego Dorouernensis ecclesiæ pontifex Deusdedi annui.

Ego Ithamar Rofensis episcopus corroboraui.

Ego Wina Lundoniensis episcopus subnotaui.

Ego Ierumannus Merciorum episcopus approbaui.

Ego Tuda episcops asspiraui. Ego WILFRIDUS presbiter famulus ecclesiarum et baiulus euangelii Dei in gentes affectaui. Ego Eoppa presbiter missus a Rege WLFERO legatione Dei conuertendi gentes in Wiht benedixi. Ego Abbas SAXULF sepedicti monasterii conclamaui.

Signum Imminæ. Signum Eadberhti principis. Signum Herafridi principis. Signum Wihtberti principis. Signum Abonis principus. Signum Æthelbaldi ministri. Signum Brorodani ministri. Signum Ealhmundi ministri. **(f. 64r)** Signum Fredgysi ministry. Cum ceteris optimatibus ac

ministris regis hæc collaudata sunt. Sanccitum est hoc priuilegium Anno Dominicæ incarnationis sexcentesimo sexagesimo quarto Wlferi Regis septimo Deudedit nono. Quod nullus insane et punienda cupiditas violet.

Appendix C

'Bull of Pope Agatho with appended confirmation and grant of King Æthelred, AD 680': London, Soc. Ant., ff. 64r-68r[1]

Gloriossimo filio Regi Merciorun ETHELREDO fratribus quoque et coepiscopis THEODORO Dorobernensi et SAXULFO Mediterraneorum Anglorum uel Merciorum episcopo ceterisque consacerdotibus AGATHO seruus seruorum Dei in Domino salutem. Dominus regnauit exultet terra lententur insulæ multæ reges terræ et omnes populi et cetera omnia laudet nomen Domini quia exultatum est nomen eius solius. Gratia Domini nostri Ihesu Christi regis omnium seculorum feliciter cotodie adimpletur hæc propheticia exhilaratio quando reges et gentes orbis terrarium et precipue iuxta diuinum oraculum reges insularum multarum adorant et colunt ipsum Ihesum Christum unicum dominum et regum suum; unde etiam sanctum nomen eius specialius benedicimus: quod uos precellentissime fili cum uestris piæ memoriæ fratribus non solum damnosa sculptilia demoniorum cum paternis erroribus exterminantes uerum saluatorem agnouistis er uere diuinitatis effecti estis cultores; uerum etiam **(f. 64v)** ad conuertendos subiectos uobis reges et populos fidei batheo ut boni ministri Christi accinxistis. Cunque et in ecclesiis et baptisteriis exstruendis quibus populus adquisitionis Dei multiplicetur deuote laboretis hanc caritatis uestræ flagrantiam familiarius amplectimur quod de ecclesia beati PETRI quam adeo primitiuam abbatiam censetis in regione uestri imperii quæ est Mediterraneorum Angloum in loco qui appellatur Medeshamstede præclaram tam beniuola uota nobis regia scilicet legatione mandaueritis; hanc quippe ut perhibetis antecessores uestri et fraters christianissimi per uenerabilem uirem nuper abbatem nunc consacerdotem SAXULFUM regaliter condidere et amore beati PETRI precipue coluere ac regia largitate necnon et libertate regia cum priuilegii descriptionibus gloriosius extulere; hanc et uos clarissimæ fili non minori feruore regalis industriæ uultis Romana et apostilica auctoritate contra omnes impetus procellosi mundi perpetuo muniri; immo etiam quantum est in prompta uestri beniuolentia Romanam et apostolicam eam facere ubi beatum PETRUM nobis quidem corpore uobis uero spiritu semper presentem possideatis; ubi **(f. 65r)** et a uobis et a toto regno uestro ac si Rome requiratur et piis ueneretur uotis fidelium. Apparet nimirum uos esse intimum filium huius quæ totius orbis mater est principalis ecclesiarum et ipsum eius predidem affectare patronum qui clauigeri postestate uobis aperiat regna cælorum. Qua propter non solum uoluntariæ sed et maxime gratias agentes

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[1] Printed as B 48. See also S 72.

annuimus piæ uestræ petitioni quatinus prædicta ecclesia in Medeshamstede sicut regia auctoritate regia ita apostolica confirmatione sit apostolica sit ab omni seculari seruitute libera ita uidelicit ut quemmadmodem uos dictastis; nec rex nec episcopus nec preses aliquis abbati ipsius post electionem ecclesiæ et regis assensum quicquam terreni oneris iniungat; non censum non tributum non militia non aliqua umquam seruitutis occasio de omnibus rebus ad ecclesiam ipsam pertinentibus uel in magno uel in minimo ab ullo exigatur; quatinus sub rege suo defensore non tyranno libere Christo soli deseruiat. Episcopus quoque dioceseos non typo prelationis sed officio caritatis huic se impendat abbatemque ipsius ac si Romanum legatum et comministrum euangeli habeat et secundum sibi socium estimet non subiectum. Nullum vero potentatum in hoc monasterium preripat nec ordinationem ibi nec quodlibet officium sine abbatis fauore arroget; sed neque ad ipsis intimis et peculiaribus **(f. 65v)** locis aut parrochiis uel in omni priuilegio ipsius iuris quicquam preter eiusdem abbatis assensum accipiat uel faciat; ne qua scilicet abusione pacem perturbat gregis dominici quales scandalizare est cum mola asinaria in profundum dimergi. Ubi autem electus ab ipsa congregatione abbas ordinandus erit ab archiepiscopo Dorobernensis Romani pontificis uicario aut a quo ipse modo ineffícatior iusserit rege fauente ordinetur nec parrochianus pontifex siue ipse siue alius aliquis predicta dumtaxat auctorite ordinauerit quicquam in eum preter fraternitatis obsequium preripiat. Hanc etiam ecclesiam ceteris imperii uestri monasteriis quæ modo assurgunt uel deinceps in omnem posteritatem nascentur tanquam religionis primitias excipimus; quantinus apostolica gratia suique PETRI uestræque promotionis prerogatiua prestet ceteris a Tamese fluuio in aquilonem sicut et orta perhibetur; mater primaria abbas quoque eius reliquis arctoæ plagæ prior habeatur; et in omnibus conuentibus anterior sedeat; ita dumtaxit ut ad sacræ fidei religionis caritatis et concordiæ compaginem loco primogenti et uice Romana affectuose preluceat confratribus non imperit; sed in aula regia et regalibus consiliis sicut et monasterii præstan **(f. 66r)** tia laudamus ut primus uel inter primos adhereat et exemplo SAXULFI omnes successores oportune seu importune regem frequentant religiosa conuersatione a terrenis reuocent ad cælestia erigant ad pietatem ad iustitiam ad Dei cultum hotatu crebro ascendant. Hanc quoque ad uestrum uotem non solum uoluntariæ ueram etaim necessariæ concedimus benedictionem huic apostolicæ ecclesiæ; quantinus tam uos quam ceteri populi uestri imperii totius quoque Britanniæ sed et proximorum regnorum nationes quicqumque uel uiæ longinquitate uel uaria necessitudine præpediti Romæ beatum PETRUM in urbe sua reuisere non sufficitis; hic eum spiritu uobis cohabitantem plena fide requiratis; hic uota persoluatis; hic absolutionem peccatorum et apostolicam benedictionem per ipsum ligandi ac soluendi principem fideliter

speretis et iusta desideria cum precibus exaudiri ac cæli ianuam uobis aperiri credatis. Hæc igitur et cetera quæcumque sunt tam a uobis quam a fratribus et antecessoribus uestris huic monasterio in eternam heriditatem libertatemque perpetuam donate ac priuilegiorum sanctionibus perhenniter commendata quæcumque etiam in posterum aut a uobis aut a successoribus uestris uel quibusliet personis usque in finem iure tradentur; omni scilicet secundum uestram postulationem apostolica beati PETRI **(f. 66v)** auctoritate confirmamus et ita hæc obseruanda ab omnibus regibus et principibus Britanniæ constestamur sicit ipsum cæli ianitorem timent offendare. Siquis autem hæc in aliquo quod absit uiolare præsumpserit cuiuscumque potestatis aut ordinis sit excommunicatorio ipsius Sancti PETRI gladio nisi emendauerit excidatur. Qui vero custodierit quique res ecclesiæ amplificare maluerit ipsius clauigeri gratia suscipiatur et sicut infernus raptoribus ita defensoribus eius paradisus aperiatur. Huic ergo diffinitioni regia dignitas uestra ut uestram maiestatem decet indelebiliter suscribat. Tua quoque deuotio reuerentissime frater Theodore quem tam Grecis quam Romanis institutionibus ataque eruditionibus præstantissimum in lucem totius Britanniæ beatæ memoriæ Uitalianis prædecessor meus destinauit; hanc queso regiam et apostolicam sepediicte ecclesiæ libertatem uobiscum corroborare et omnem peruersorum iniuriam diuina animaduersione recidere satagat; sed et cetera aquilonalia a Tamenso monasteria hoc sibi cum abbate suo paterna auctoritate præstare unanimi corpore faueant. Similiter et tua caritas frater SAXULFE sicut et obnixe petisti hanc confirmationem ita perseuerabiliter cum coepiscopis et amicus subscribi; ut uidelicet nec tu nec quisquam successorum episcoporum quicquam huius ecclesiæ usurpet preter abbatis præsidentis uoluntatem ne qua conten **(f. 67r)** tionis oriatur occasio. Sic uos omnes cum uestro rege filio nostro karissimo in pace custodiat Deo gratia. Hoc priuilegium a sancto papa AGATHONE assentiente concilio centum uiginti quinque episcoporum per reuerentissimum episcopum Wilfridum destinatum. Ego Athelredi Dei dono Rex Anno Dominicæ incarnationis sexcentesimo octogesimo meique regni sexto suscipiens approbante etiam dom[i]no archiepiscopo Theodoro cum concilio celebrato in campo Hethfelda tam gratanter regali subscriptione confirmo; quam ipse desideriosus in hoc exactor extiti ut scilicet dilectum nobis monasterium beati PETRI in Medeshamstede per industriam spiritualis patris nostril SAXULFI alienigena carnis genitore pereunte benignissimæ memoriæ fratres mei Peada regaliter instituit Wlfere regali opulentia et priuilegio principaliter nobilitauit; ego quoque tam pro meæ animæ quam pro ipsorum fratrum salute necnon et pro sacratissimis sororibus meis beatissimæ scilicet memoriæ Kyneburga et quæ ad huc superstes sacrata Christo uirginitate deseruit Kynesuuitha et rebus augere et diuina auctorate munire curaui. Proinde trado beato

PETRO in hoc loco Medeshamstede has terras et possessions cum omnibus **(f. 67v)** rebus ad eas pertinentibus; hoc est Bredune, Hrepingas, Cedenac, Suuineshæfed, Heanbyrig, Lodeshale, Scæffenhalch, Costesford, Stretford, Wetelleburig, Lusgard, Athelhuniglond, Barthanig. Hæc inquam beato PETRO regaliter habita regaliter concedo habenda in perpetuam hereditatem atque liberrimam ecclesiæ proprietatem; obsecrans per ipsum apostolorum princepem et per apostolicam sententiam presumtam ne quis succedentium tam de his quam de omnibus rebus ad ipsam ecclessiam appendentibus quicquam detrahat; quos siquis fecerit omnibus episcopis damnentibus et his presentialiter subscribentibus apostolico gladio animadueratur; Ego THEODORUS Romana legatione in hos fines terræ destinatus et licet indignus uice beatæ memoriæ Augustini Dorobernensi cathedræ intronizatus iuxta apostolicum papæ Agathonis mandatum priuilegium monasterii Medeshamstede subscriptione nostra confirmo; cuius uiolatores damno et excommunico; defensores uero gratifico et benedico. Ego humilis SAXULFUS regali beneficio eiusdem monasterii fundator ita ipsius in omnibus libertatem et prerogatiuam corroborare gaudeo; sicut ei specialius optima omnia cupio ut nichil usurpem uel de rebus uel officiis ipsius monasterii **(f. 68r)** preter uoluntatem abbatis et postulantionem nec ego nec successores mei; ego quoque omnem uiolentiæ abusionem anathemate hinc excludo. Ego Wilfridus apostolico fauore repetens sedem Eboracensem testis et relator huius sanctionis uotiue assentior. Ego Ostryth regina Athelredi Regis prompto animo his annuo. Ego Adrianus apostolicus legatus et comes et suffraganeus reuerentissimo Theodore hæc approbo. Ego Johannes Romanus legatus collaudo. Ego Putta Rofensis episcopus ultro subscribo. Ego Waldhere Lundoniensis episcopus confirmo. Ego Cuthbaldus eiu[s]dem monasterii Medeshamstede successor uenerabilis SAXULFI speciali amore amplector. Ut quisquis hæc seruauerit ualeat; quisquis preuaricatus fuerit quod absit omnium episcoporum ac sacerdotum excommunicatione dispereat. Amen.

Appendix D

'King Eadgar's charter to Burch, AD 972': London, Soc. Ant., ff. 64r-70v [Version Bi][1]

Gratia Domini nostri Ihesu Christi Regis omnium seculorum omnia suo nutu distribuentis regna terrarum et moderantis habenas rerum. Ego EADGAR sub ipso sidereo rege presidens regno magnæ Britanniæ sepe petitionem uenerabilis et Deo dilecti pontificis ADELUUOLDI super stabilitate ecclesiarum quarum ipse est infatigabilis constructor accepi; maxime autem **(f. 68v)** super antiqui monasterii restitutione ac libertate quod primatus Medeshamstede modo dei adiutorio ac sua atque nostra instantia restauratum BURCH appellatur; quod scilicet quadam prerogratiua gratiæ Sancti PETRI ac pristinæ nobilitatis eminentius diligit. Recolens enim illud a pristinis regibus Wlfere necnon Athelredo aliisque successoribus magnifice ditatum et regalibus priuilegiis fortissime stabilitum sed ab externo paganorum exercitu destitutum hic Dei sapiens architectus magno zelo domus Dei studuit reparare et acquisistis ac redemtis undique rerum possessionibus cum nostra regali donatione prout potuit amplificare. Ego itaque pro gratia Sancti PETRI tantique patris caritate atque animæ mæ redemptione concedo gratissimæ illud sanctum et apostolicum cenobium in perpetuum esse liberum ab omni seculari causa et seruitute ut nullus ecclesiasticorum uel laicorum super ipsum uel super ipsius abbatem ullam umquam habeat dominium; sed ipso abbate cum subiecta Christi familia in pace Dei et superni ianitoris PETRI patrocinio illud regente ac rege in omnibus necessitatibus adiuuante ab omnibus mundiali iugo tam securum eternaliter persistat quam liberum; sed et ab episcopali exactione et inquietudine, ex apostolica libertate, et reuerentissimi archiepiscopi **(f. 69r)** nostri DUNSTANI auctoritate cum suis appenditis, id est Doddesthorpe et Ege, et Pastune, perpetuo maneat absolutum; uillam quoque Undale cum toto iure adiacentium quod Eahtahundred Anglice nominatur et cum mercato ac theloneo ea prorsus libertate donamus; quatinus nec rex nec comes nec vicecomes nec episcopus preter christianitatem attinium parrochiarum nec vicecomes nec ulla umquam maior minorue persona ulla dominatione occupare; nec de ipsa uilla Undele ubi legitime consedere debet in alium locum transferre ullatenus presumat; sed tantum abbas predicti cenobii illud cum suis causis et legibus totum in sua potestate liberrime teneat et quando uel in quo loco sibi placuerit sine ulla contradictione sedere faciat. Item terres nostro adiutorio, uel dono, uel optimatum meorum per prefatum episcopum eidem monasterio

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[1] Printed as B 1280. See also S 787.

adiectas que hic ex parte titulantur, id est Baruue, Wermington, Asctun, Kyteringas, Castra, Eilesuurthe, Walton, Witheringtun, Ege, Thorpe et unum monetarium in Stanforde in perpetuam libertatem concedimus. Sint ergo tam iste uillæ quam ceteræ omnes quæ ad ipsum monasterium pertinent cum uniuersis rebus et rationalibus suis et toto quod apellatur saca et socne ab omni regali iure et ab omni seculari iugo in eternum libere, et in magnis et in minimis, in **(f. 69v)** siluis, campis, pascuis, pratis, paludibus, uenationibus, piscationibus, mercationibus, theloneis omnibusque rerum procreationibus dei beneficio prouenientibus. Concedimus etiam dimidiam partem stagni quod dicitur Witlesmere per episcopum Adeluuoldum acquisitam cum omnibus scilicet aquis, piscuariis, stagnis et paludibus attenentibus usque ad hos terminos circumiacentes: quorum septentrionalis est ubi primum intratur Merelade de amne NEN; orientalis ad Kynges delf; australis ad Alduuines baruue, qui locis est in palude contra medietatem uiæ Ubbermerelade; occidentalis ubi aqua de Deopbece finitur ad terram; quæ omnia antiqitus ad illud sacro sanctum monasterium multo latius et longius pertinuisse probantur. Mercatum quoque constituimus in BURCH singulare ut nullum aliud habeatur inter Stanforde et Huntadune; et ad illud damus ibidemque persolui iubermus totum sine ulla contradiccione theloneum; hoc est primo de tota Witlesmere, usque ad theloneum regis quod iacet ad hundred de Normannes cros, et de Witlesmere sicut Merelade uenit ad aquam NEN; et inde sicut aqua currit ad Welmesforde et de Welmesforde ad Stanforde, et de Stanforde, iuxta cursum aque usque ad Crulande, et de Crulande usque ad Must; et de Must usque ad Kynges delfe, et inde usque ad predictuam **(f. 70r)** Witlesmere. Propter uaria quippe lucra et corporalium et spiritualium utilitatum hoc mercatum decernimus illic celebrari et undique requiri; quatinus et Dei ministri inde adiuuentur propinquius et a concurrente populo inter terrena necessaria cælestia petantur subsidia dum modo per Sancti PETRI quesita patrocinia et per missarum audita misteria secundum fidem cuiusque ibi possint redimi diuersarum offensionum debita. Porro decedente abbate de eadem congregatione fratres successorem idoneum elegant et regis fauore ordinetur. Hanc igitur totius abbatiæ tam in longinquis quam proximis possessionibus regificam libertatem ab omnibus approbatum excepta modo rata expeditione et pontis arcisue restauratione sategimus per ipsum deuotissimum huius decriptionis auctorem Adeluuoldum a sede apostolica Romanæ ecclesiæ iuxta primituam eiusdem monasterii institutionem perpetuo corroborare; quam quicumque in aliquot uiolare presumpserit ipsius summi presidis PETRI at Romanæ ierachiæ omniumque sacrarum ordinum animaduersione in infernum eternum damnetur; qui uero prouexerit et defensauerit in sorte electorum Dei remuneretur. Sanctitum est hoc priuilegium Anno Dominicæ incarnationis dcccc.

septuasesimo secundo meique terreni imperii anno sexto decimo; quod his probabilibus testibus cum sanctæ crucis indicio **(f. 70v)** subnotatur iuxta meam subscriptionem:

Ego Eadgar totius Albionis basileus hoc priuilegium cum signo sanctæ cruces confirmaui.

Ego Dunstan Dorouernensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopus hoc idem cum tropheo agyæ cruces corroboraui.

Ego Osuuald Eboracensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopus subscripsi.

Ego Adeluuold presul consignaui.

Ego Alfstan episcopus faui. Ego Athul pontifex concessi.

Ego Ascuui abbas non rennui. Ego Osgar abbas approbaui.

Ego Athelgar abbas consensi. Ego Alfhere dux.

Ego Atheuuine dux. Ego Brythnoth dux.

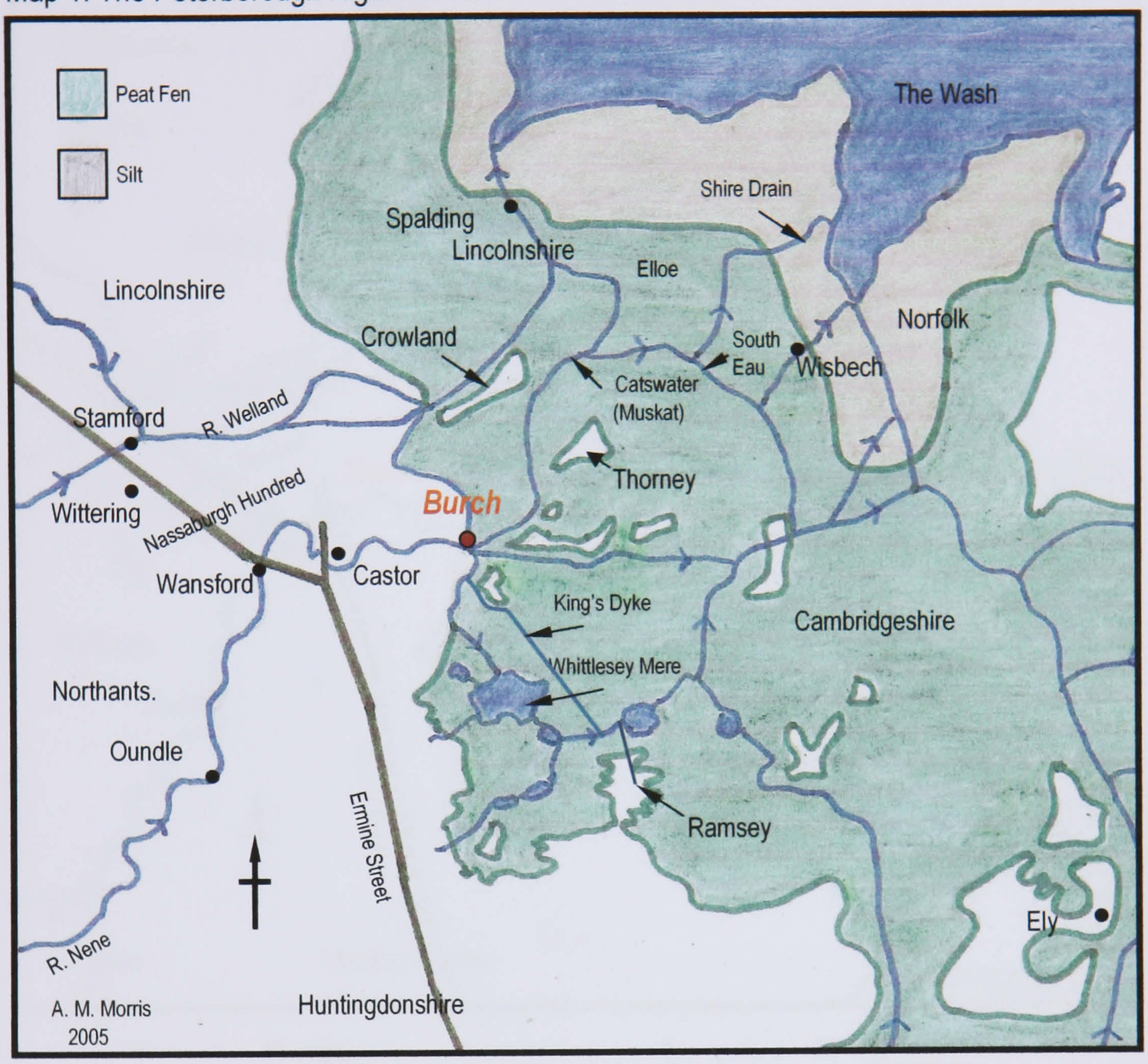
Ego Oslac dux. Go Atheleuueard minister.

Ego Eignulf minister. Ego Alfuueard minister.

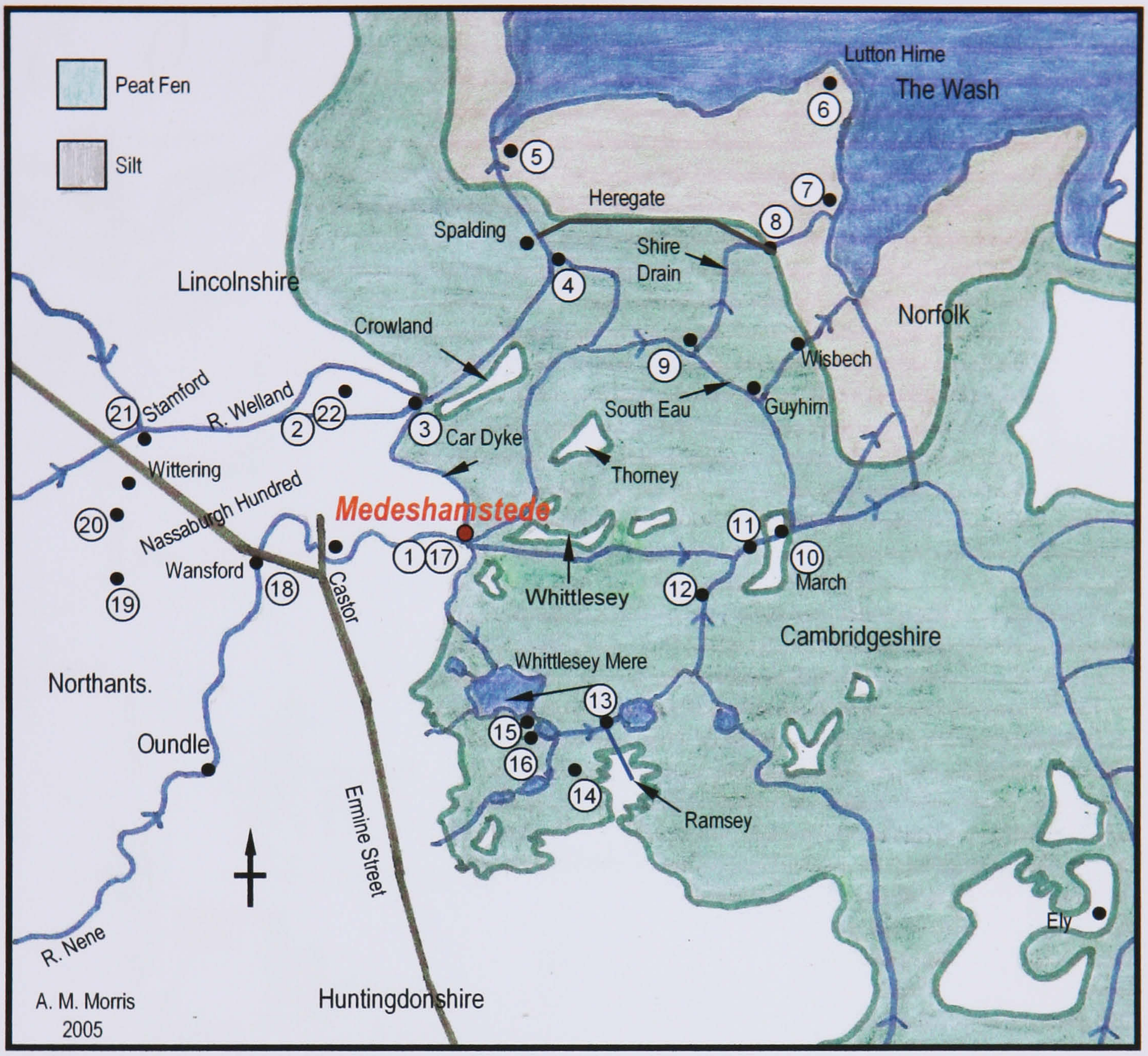
Ego Frythegist minister. Ego Thured. Ego Ulf. Ego Wlfric. Ego Osferth. Ego Wlstan. Ego Ringulf. Ego Alfstan. Ego Athelsig. Ego Athelmund. Ego Alfelm. Ego Thureferth. Ego Frana. Ego Frithegist.

Maps

Map 1: The Peterborough region *c.* 1121

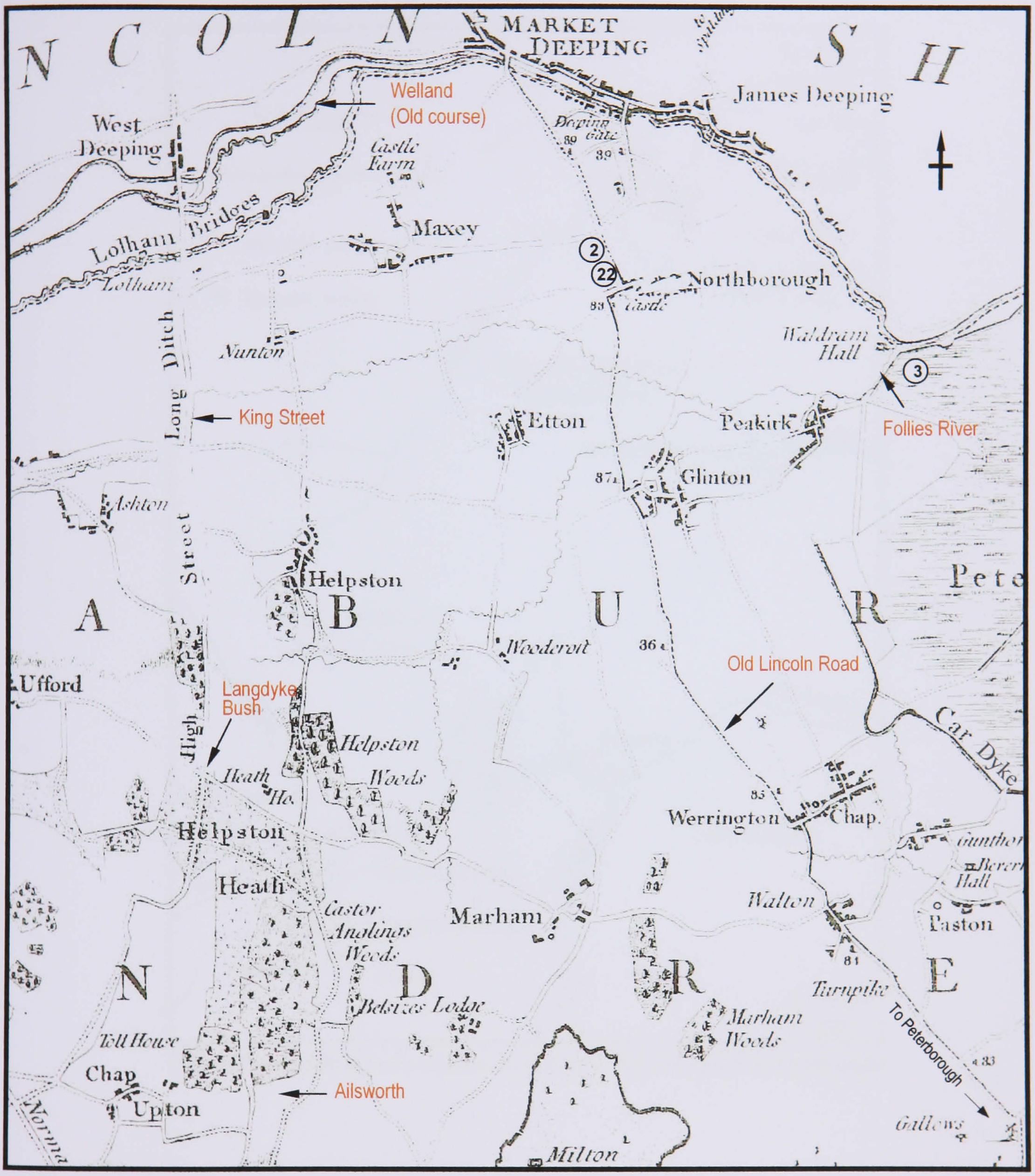


Map 2: Pseudo-Wulfhere's charter bounds

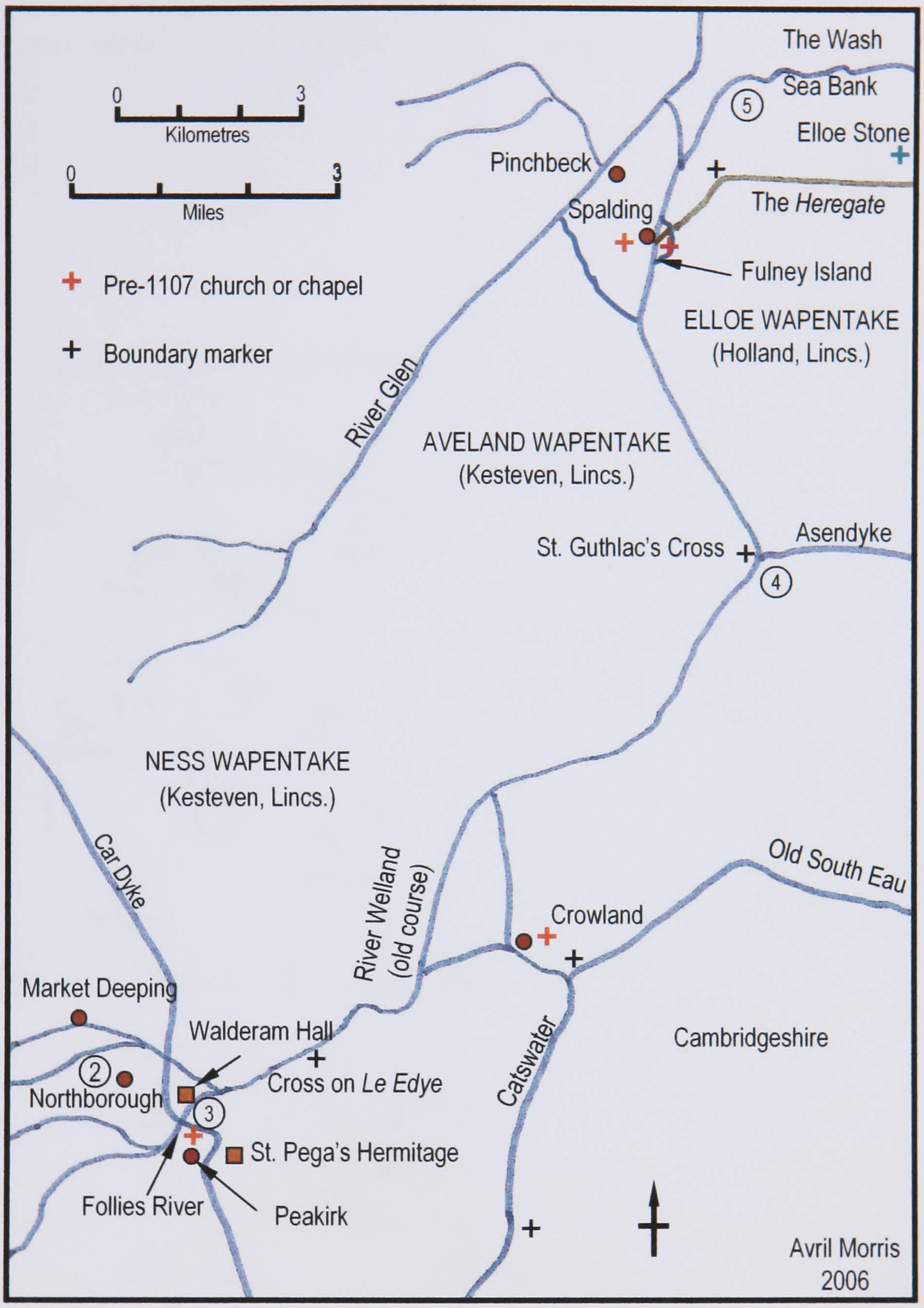


Translation of the charter bounds

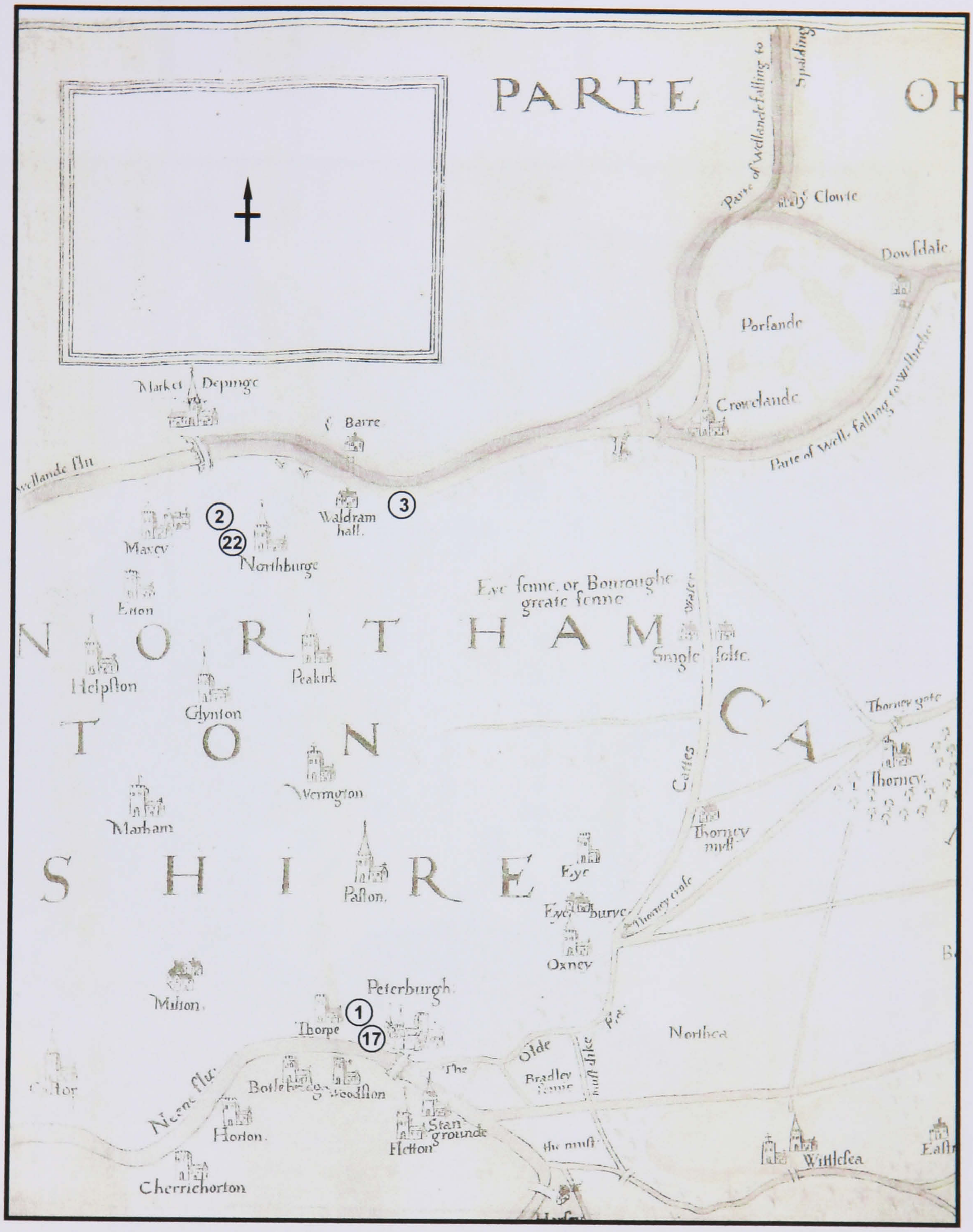
'From *Medshamstede* **(1)** to Northborough **(2)**; and thence, as far as a place that they call *Folies* **(3);** and thence, across the whole fen directly to *Esendic* **(4)**; and from *Esendic,* to a place which they call *Fæðermuðe* **(5);** and from there, along a road ten leagues in length to a place that they call *Cuggedic* **(6)**; and from there to *Raggeuuilhc (7);* and from *Raggeuuilhc,* five miles to the main stream which leads to Elm and Wisbech **(8)**;and from there, three miles against the current of the main stream to Throckenholt **(9)**; and from Throckenholt, directly across a vast marsh to *Dereuorde,* a distance of twenty leagues **(10)**; and from there, to the Great Cross **(11)**; and from Great Cross along the beautiful stream by the name of *Bradenea* **(12)**; then six miles to *Paccalade* **(13**); and through the middle part of the many meres and vast fens with the inhabitants of the county of Huntingdon **(14)**; with all the lakes and meres to *Scælfremere* and Whittlesey Mere and all the others, no matter how many pertaining to these **(15)**; also all the lands and houses, which lie next to the southern part of *Scælfremere* **(16)**; and within all the enclosed marshes on all sides as far as *Medeshamstede* **(17)**; and from Medeshamstede, as far as Wansford **(18)**; and from Wansford, as far as [King's] Cliffe **(19)**; and from there, along to Easton [-on-the-Hill] **(20)**; and from Easton to Stamford **(21)***;* and from Stamford as the water runs down to the aforesaid Northborough **(22)'**.



Map 3: Section from Eyre's and Jefferys' 'Map of the Soke of Peterborough' [2nd edn., 1791]
(reproduced with permission of Peterborough Central Library)



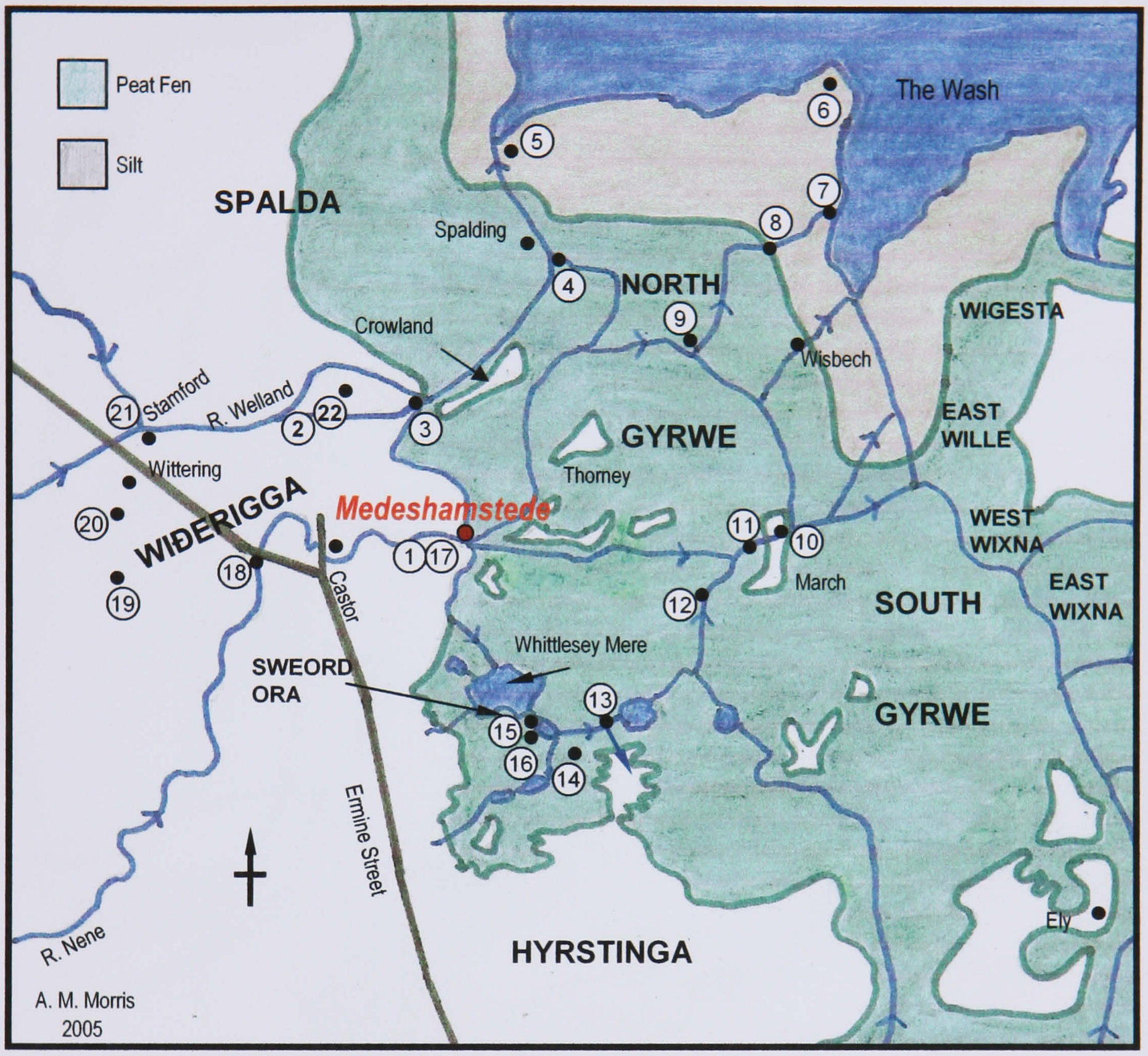
Map 4: Pseudo-Wulfhere's charter bounds from Northborough to *Fæðermuðe*

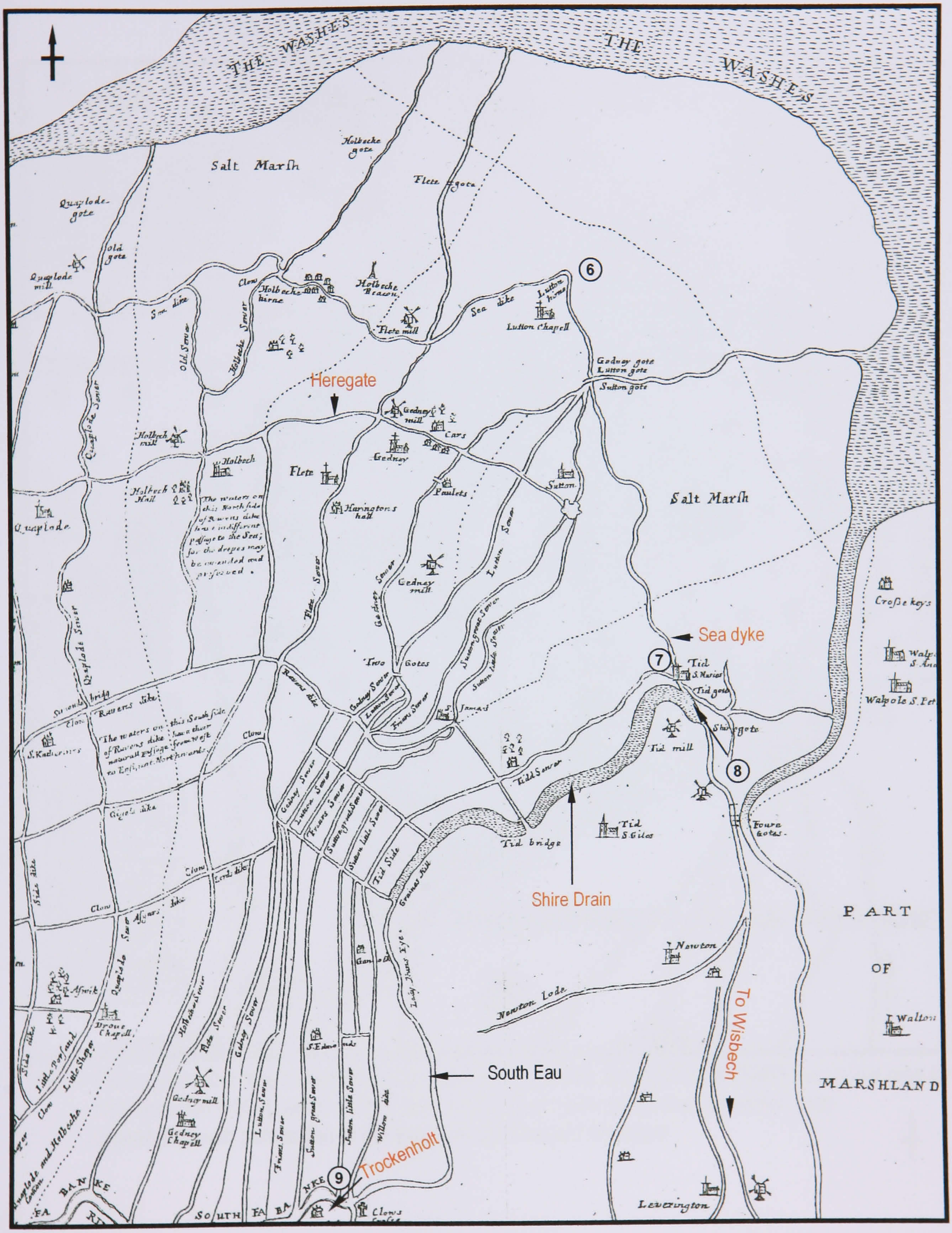


Map 5: Section from John Hexham's 'Map of the Fenland between Wisbech and Peterborough' [*c.* 1590] showing Northborough and Walderam Hall in relation to Peterborough (Hatfield House, CPM supp. 29)

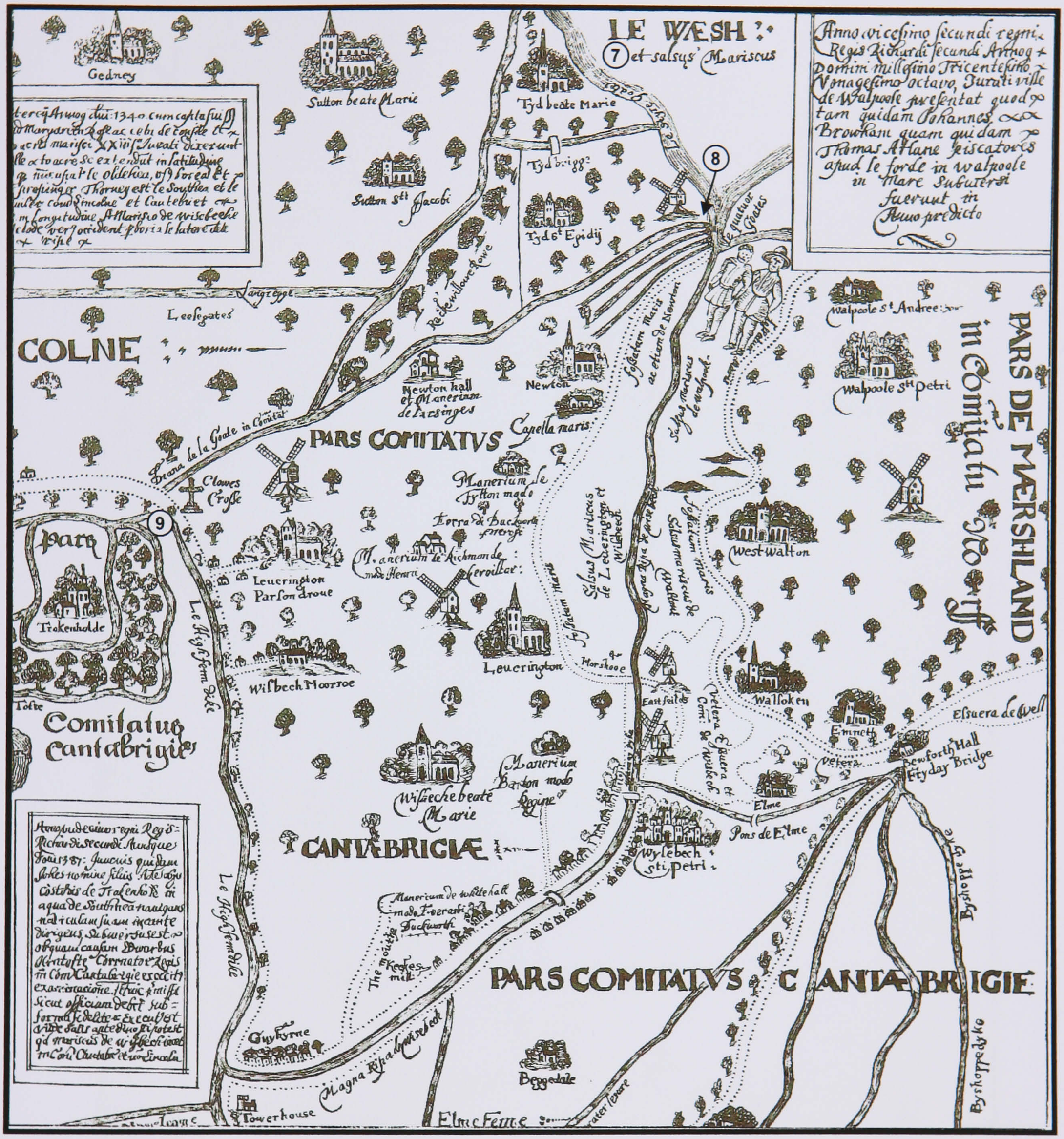
Map 6: Section from John Blæu's 'Map of the *Regiones Inundatæ*' [1648] from Peterborough to Trockenholt (reproduced with permission of Cambridgeshire County Council)

Map 7: *Medeshamstede* in a tribal context

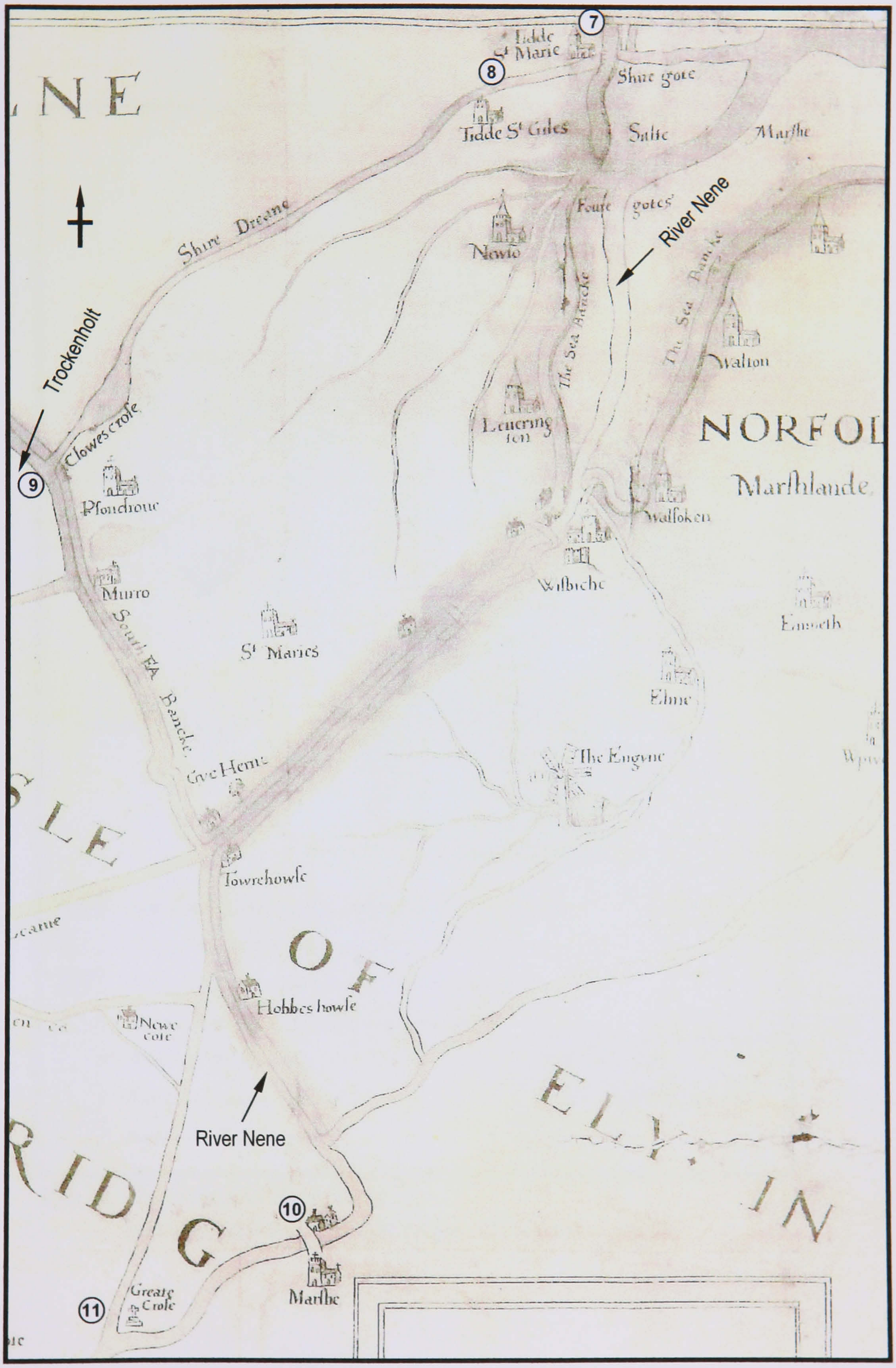




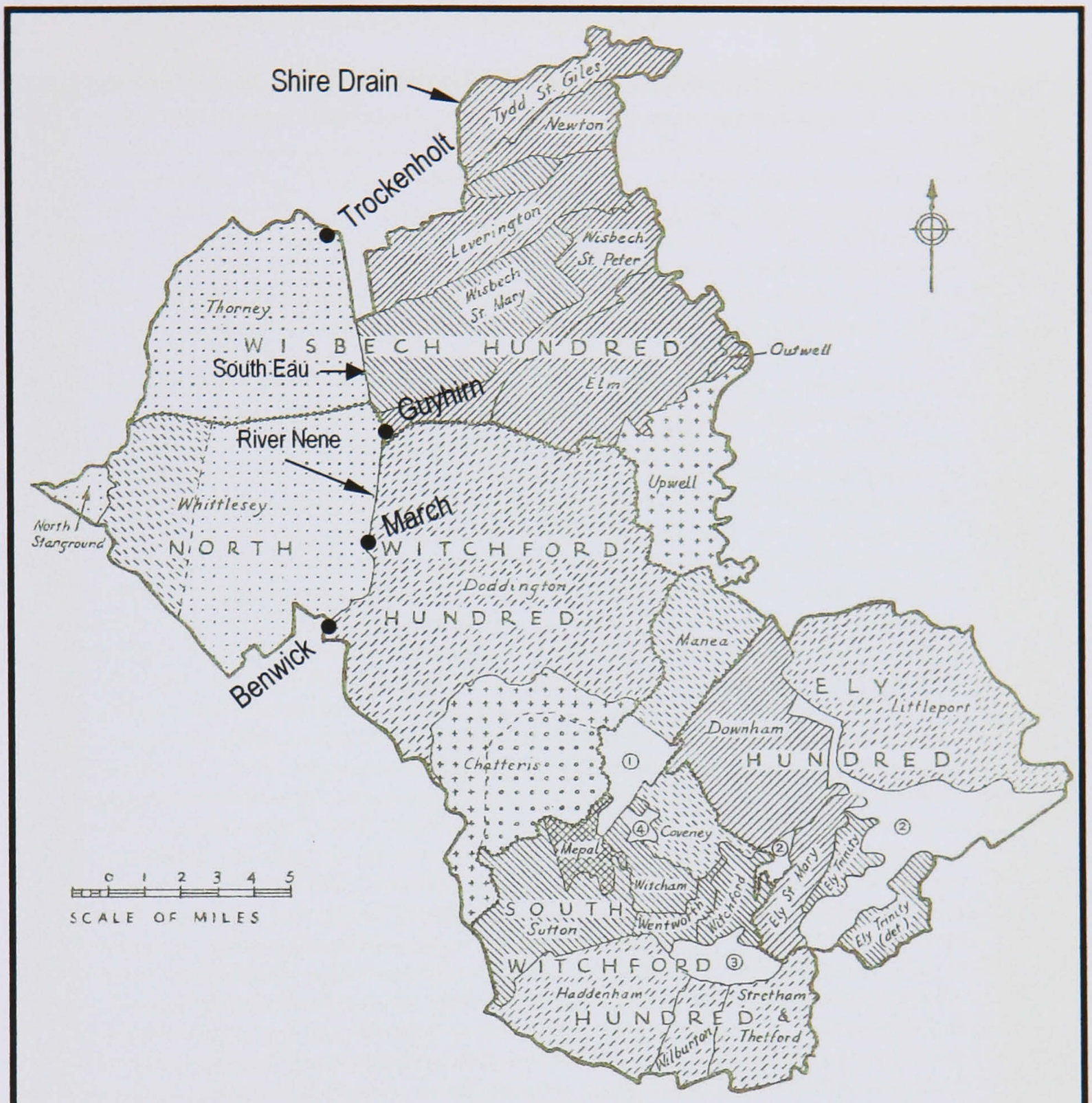
Map 8: Section from William Dugdale's 'Map of South Holland' from Whaplode to Trockenholt (reproduced from Dugdale's *History of Imbanking and Drayning* [1662])



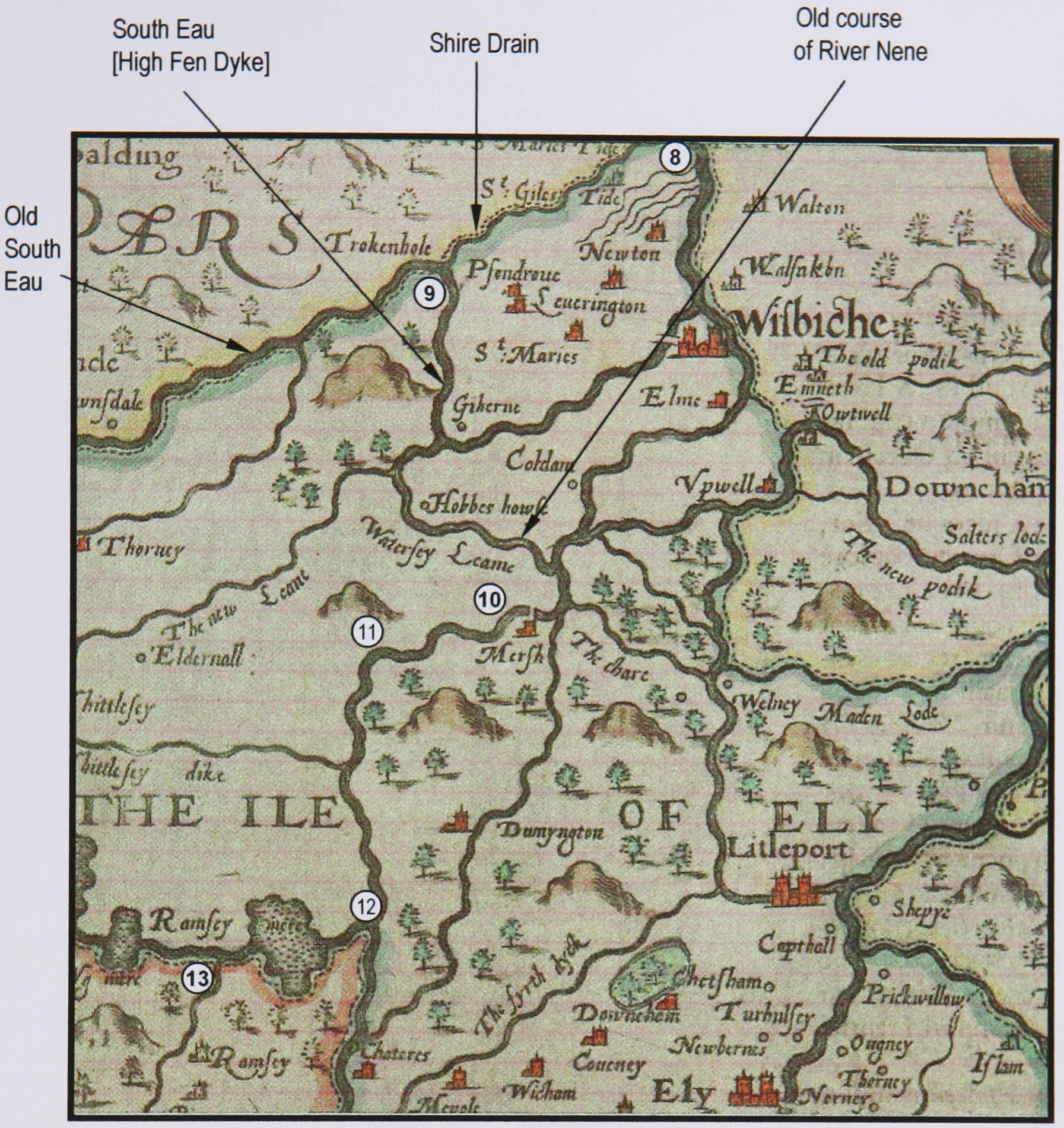
Map 9: Section from the 'Map of the Wisbech Hundred', copied by Thomas Watts [1657] from a lost map by John Johnson [1597], which itself is believed to have been copied from an earlier map (reproduced with permission of the Wisbech and Fenland Museum)



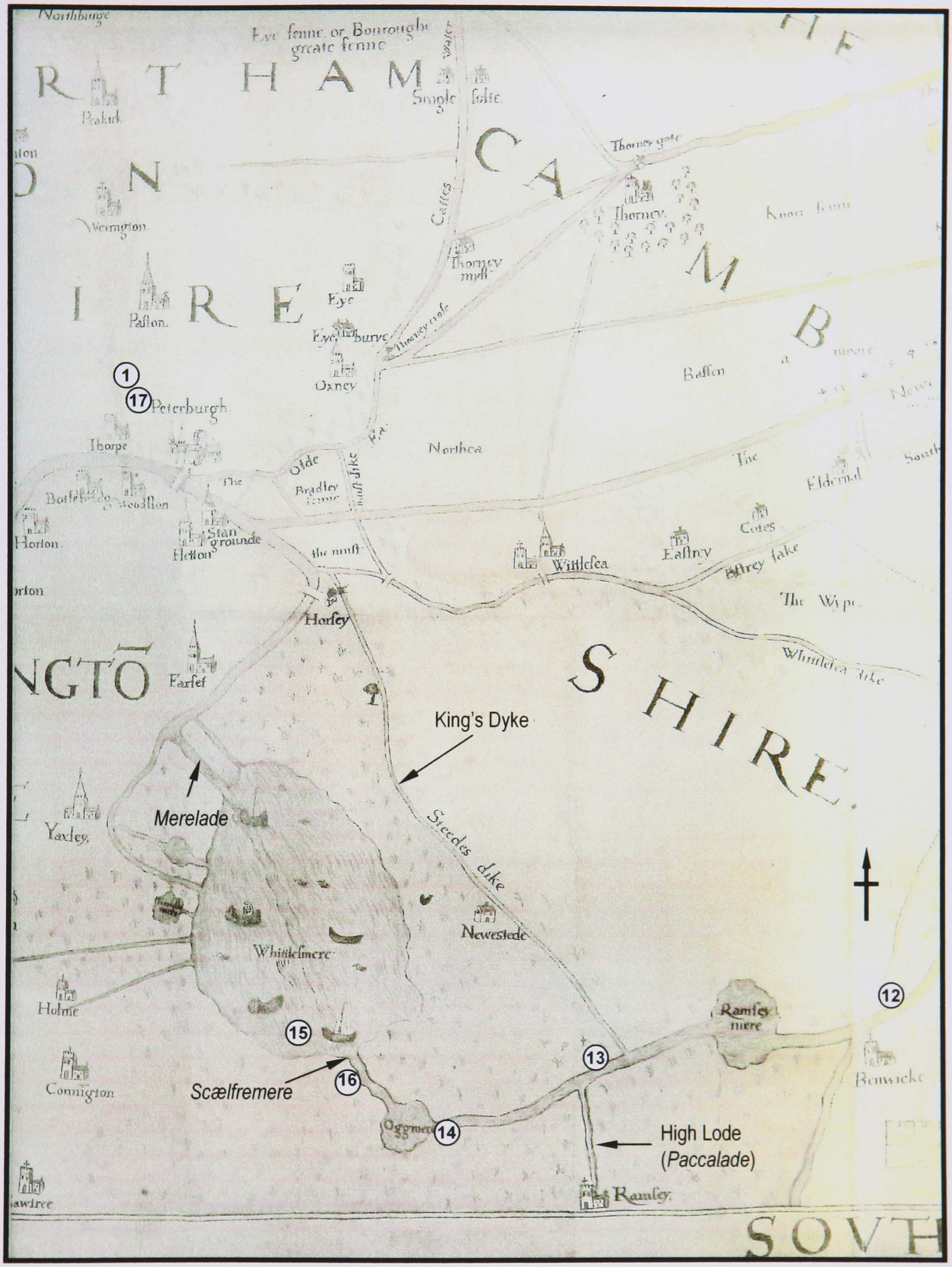
Map 10: Section from John Hexham's 'Map of the Fenland' from Tydd St. Mary to Great Cross [*c.* 1590] (Hatfield House, CPM Supp. 29)



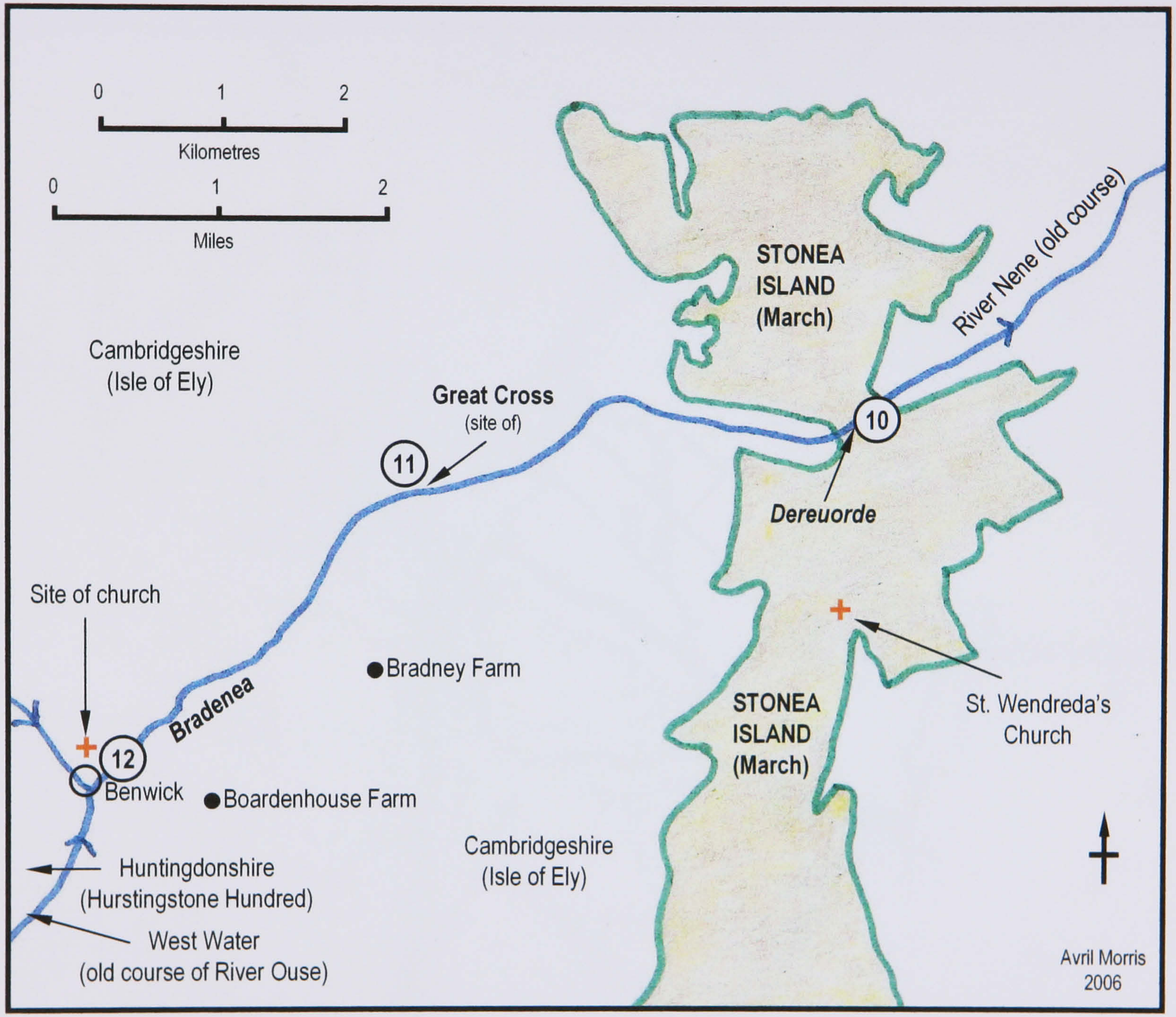
Map 11: The Hundreds of the Isle of Ely
(reproduced from *VCH: Cambridge and the Isle of Ely* IV)



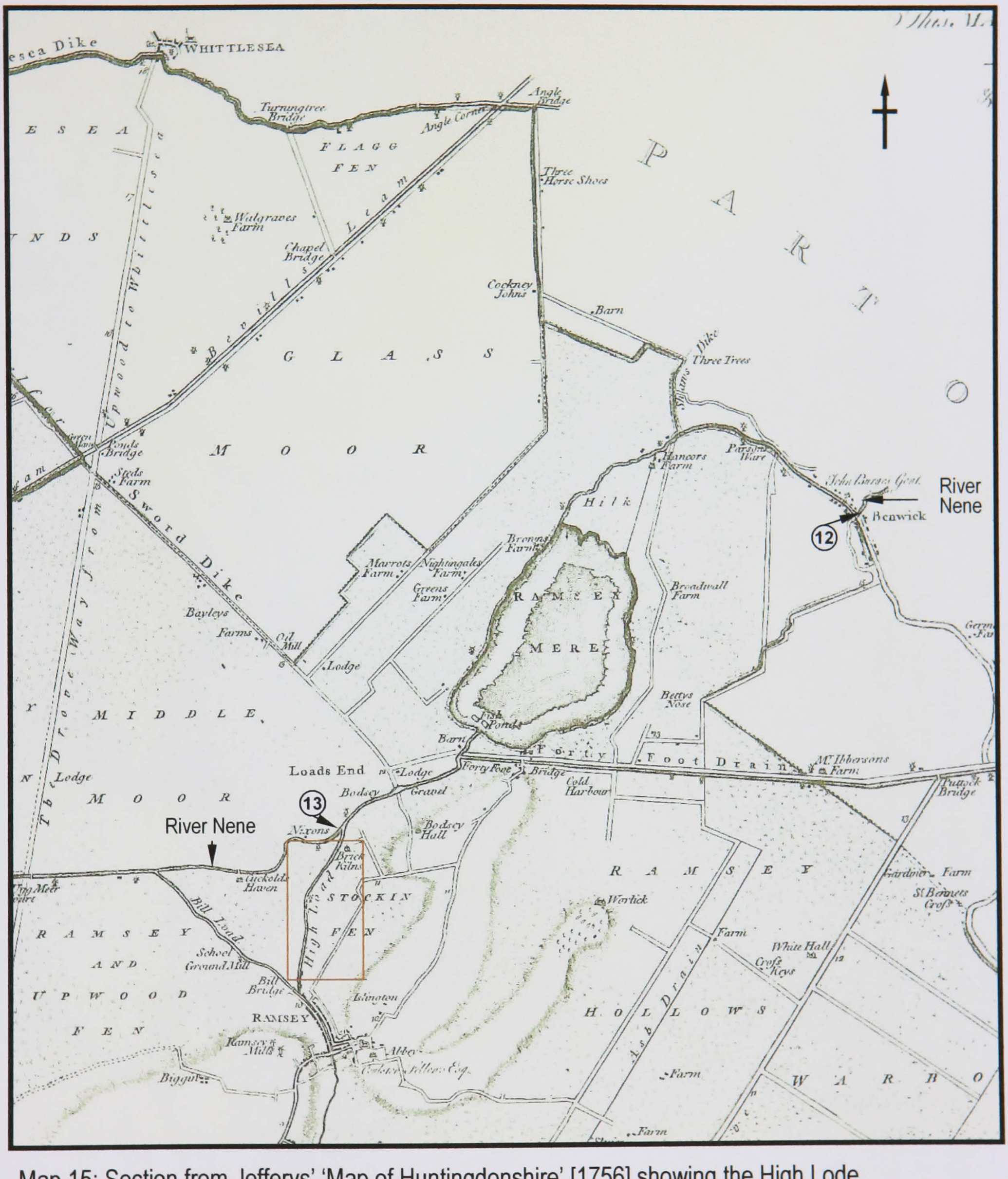
Map 12: Section from the Christopher Saxton's 'Map of Cambridgeshire' [*c.* 1607] from Tydd St Giles to *Paccalade*
(reproduced with permission of the Wisbech and Fenland Museum)



Map 13: Section from John Hexham's 'Map of the Fenland' [*c.* 1590] showing the pre-Conquest course of the River Nene from Benwick to Peterborough
(Hatfield House, CPM Supp. 29)

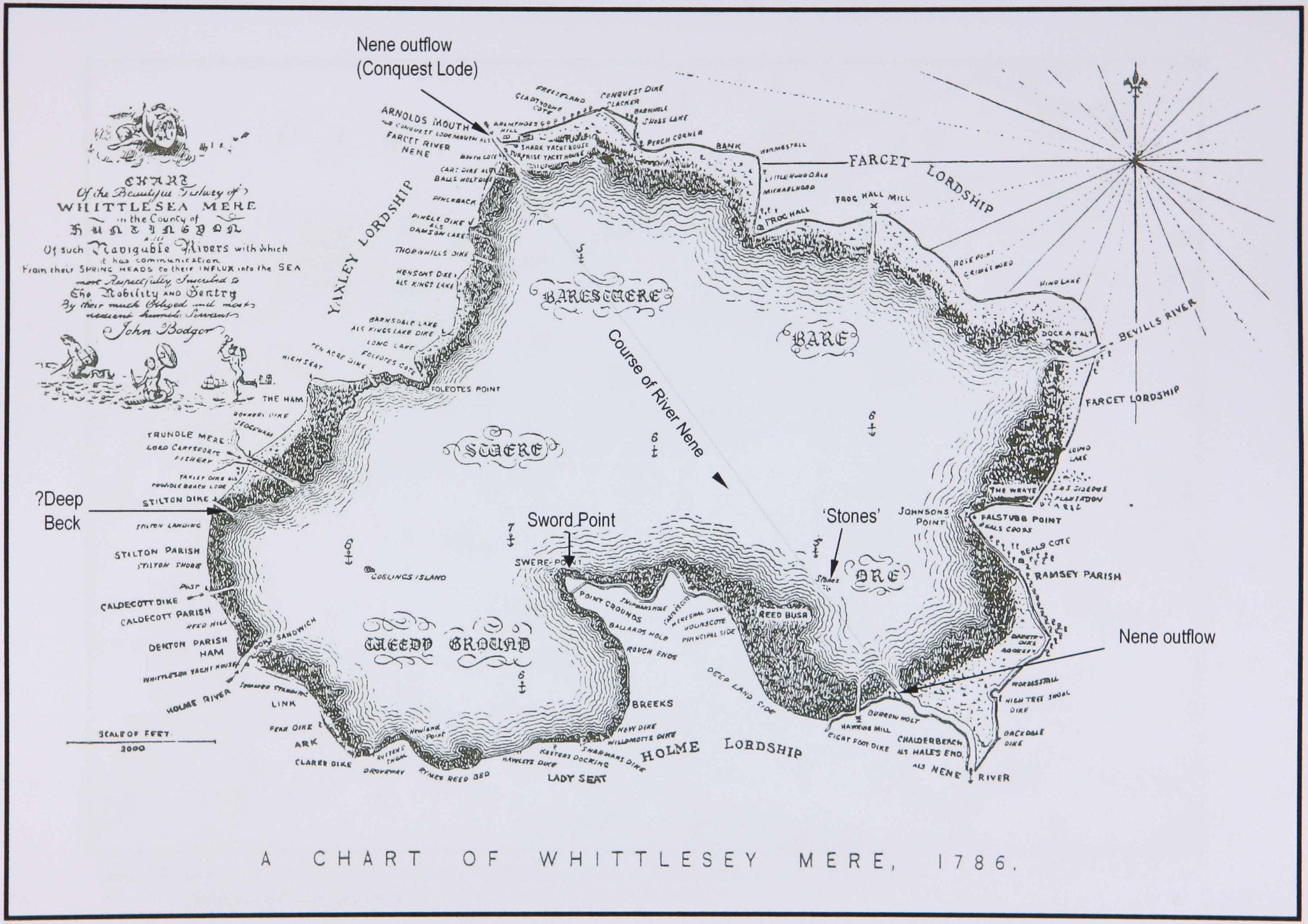


Map 14: Pseudo-Wulfhere's bounds from *Dereuorde* to *Bradenea*



Map 15: Section from Jefferys' 'Map of Huntingdonshire' [1756] showing the High Lode
(reproduced with permission of Cambridgeshire County Council)

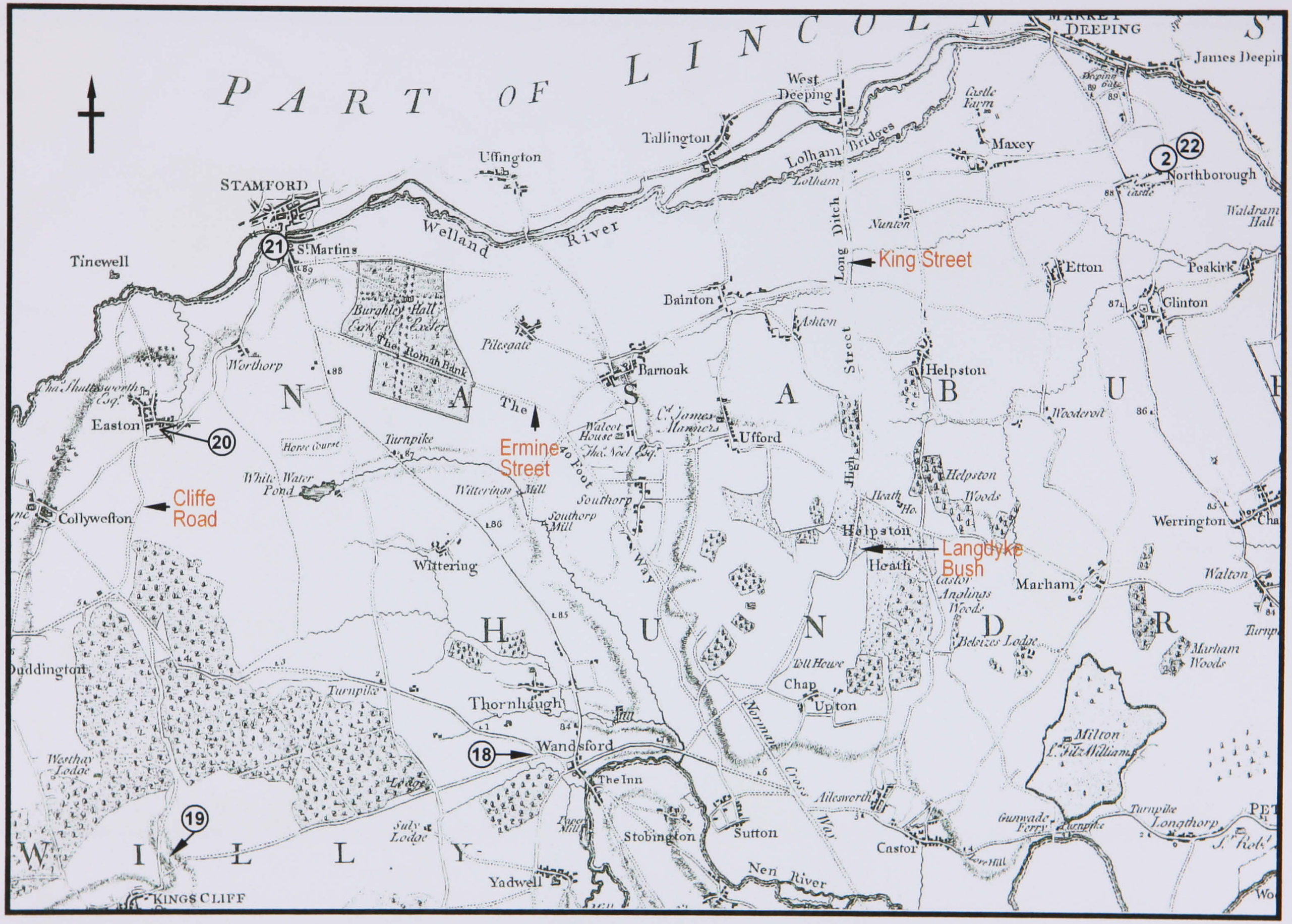
Map 16: Section from Christopher Saxton's 'Map of Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and Rutland' [1576]
(reproduced with permission of Cambridgeshire County Council)



A CHART OF WHITTLESEY MERE, 1786.

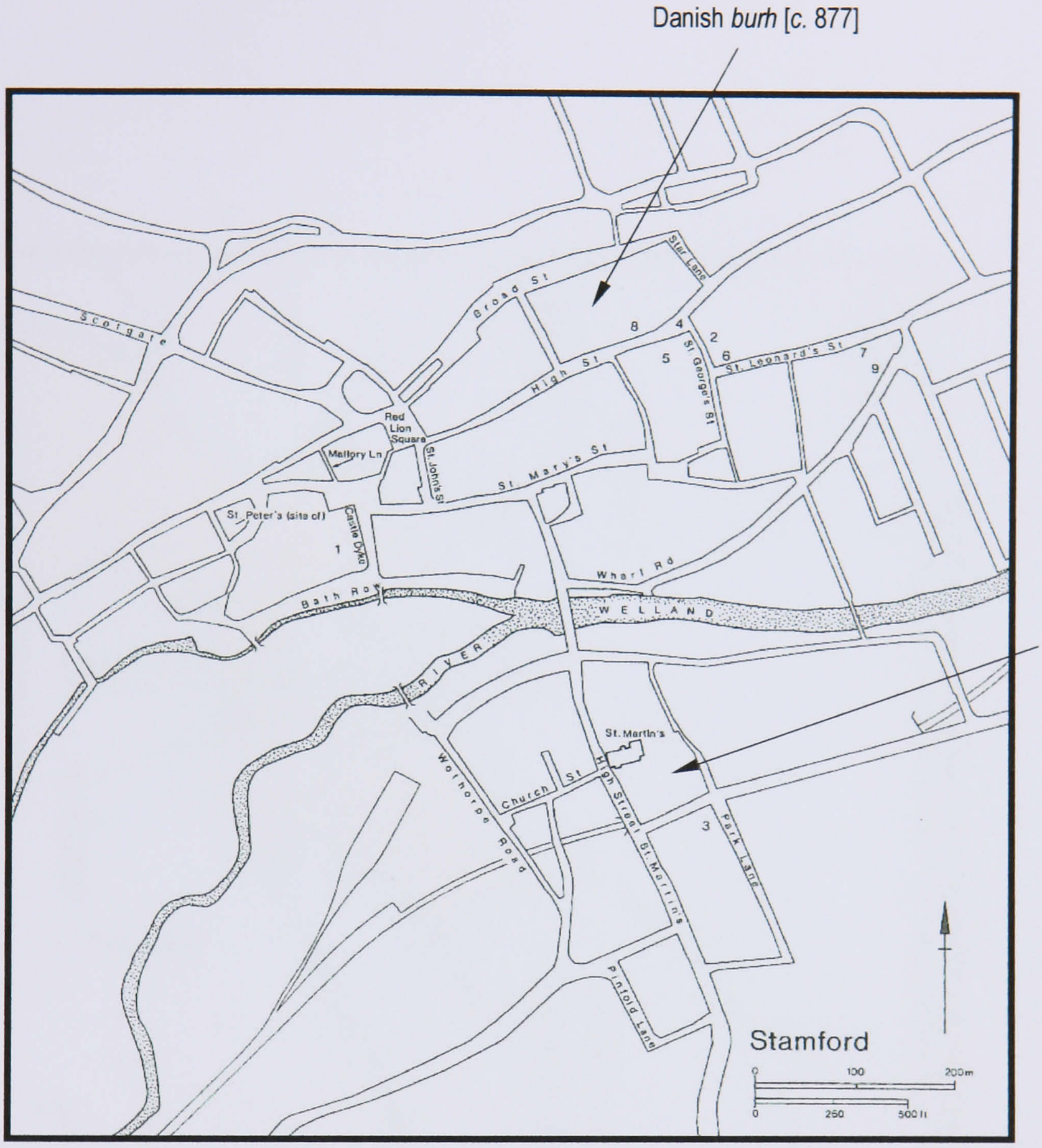
Map 17: John Bodger's Chart of Whittlesey Mere [1786]

(reproduced with permission of Cambridgeshire County Council)

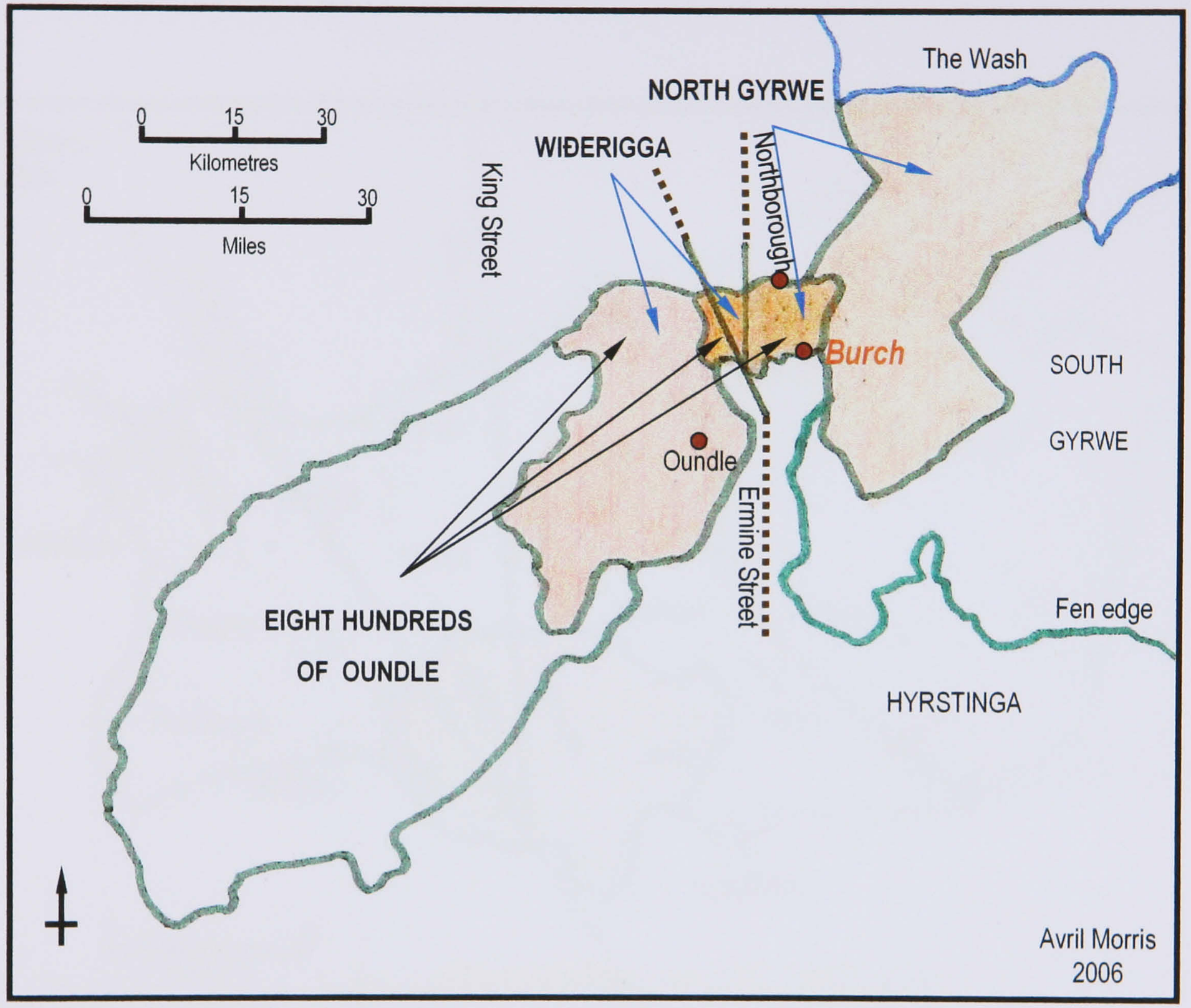


Map 18: Section from Eyre's and Jefferys' 'Map of the Soke of Peterborough' [2nd edn., 1791]
(reproduced with permission of Peterborough Central Library)

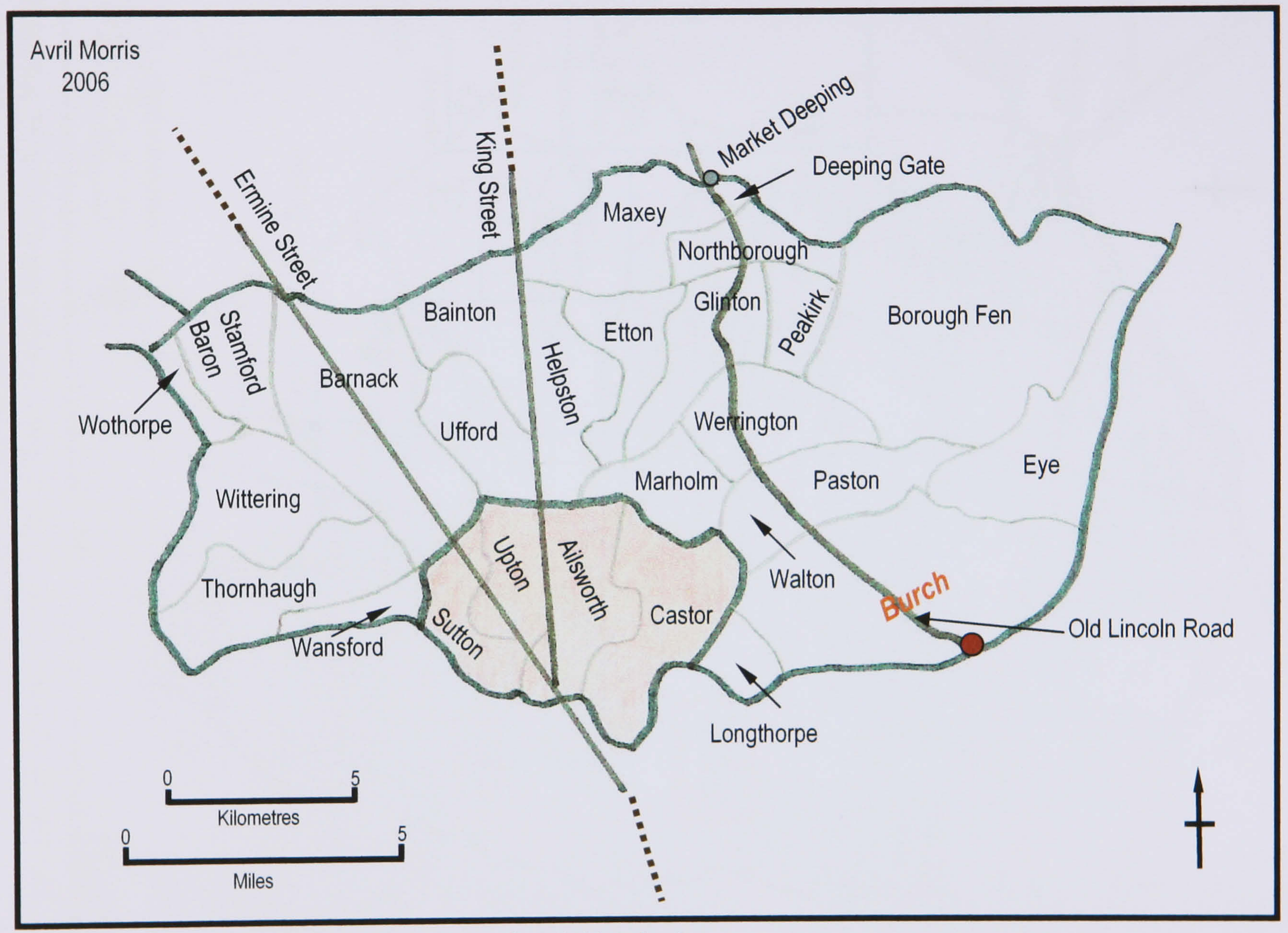
Map 19: Pseudo-Eadgar's bounds from King's Cliffe to Stamford
(Section from OS Explorer Map 15, 1:25,000 scale)



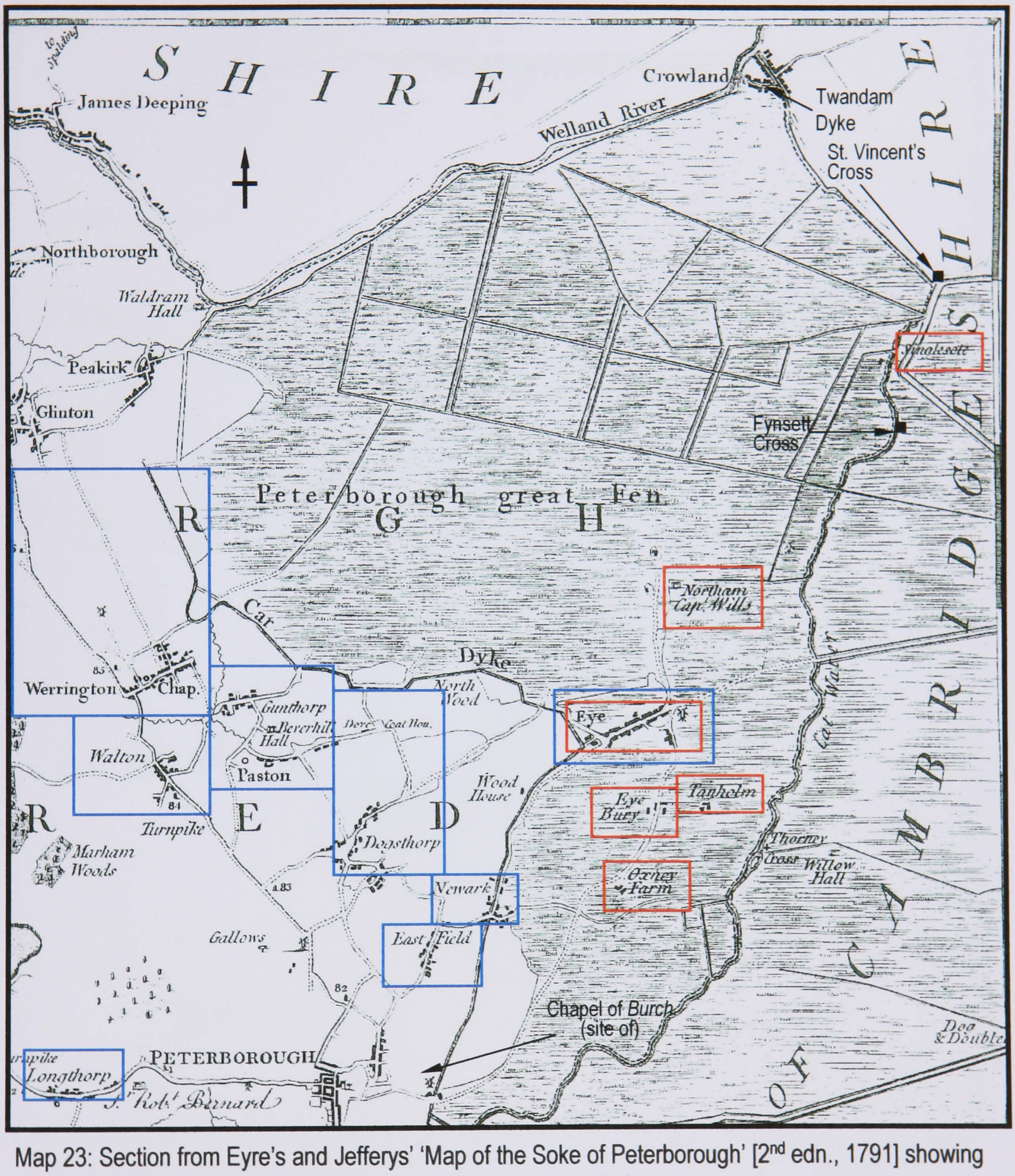
Map 20: Stamford: the location of the Danish and Saxon *burhs*
(reproduced from R. A. Hall, 'The Five Borough's of Danelaw', 1989)



Map 21: The North *Gyrwe*, the *Wiðerigga* and the Eight Hundreds of Oundle

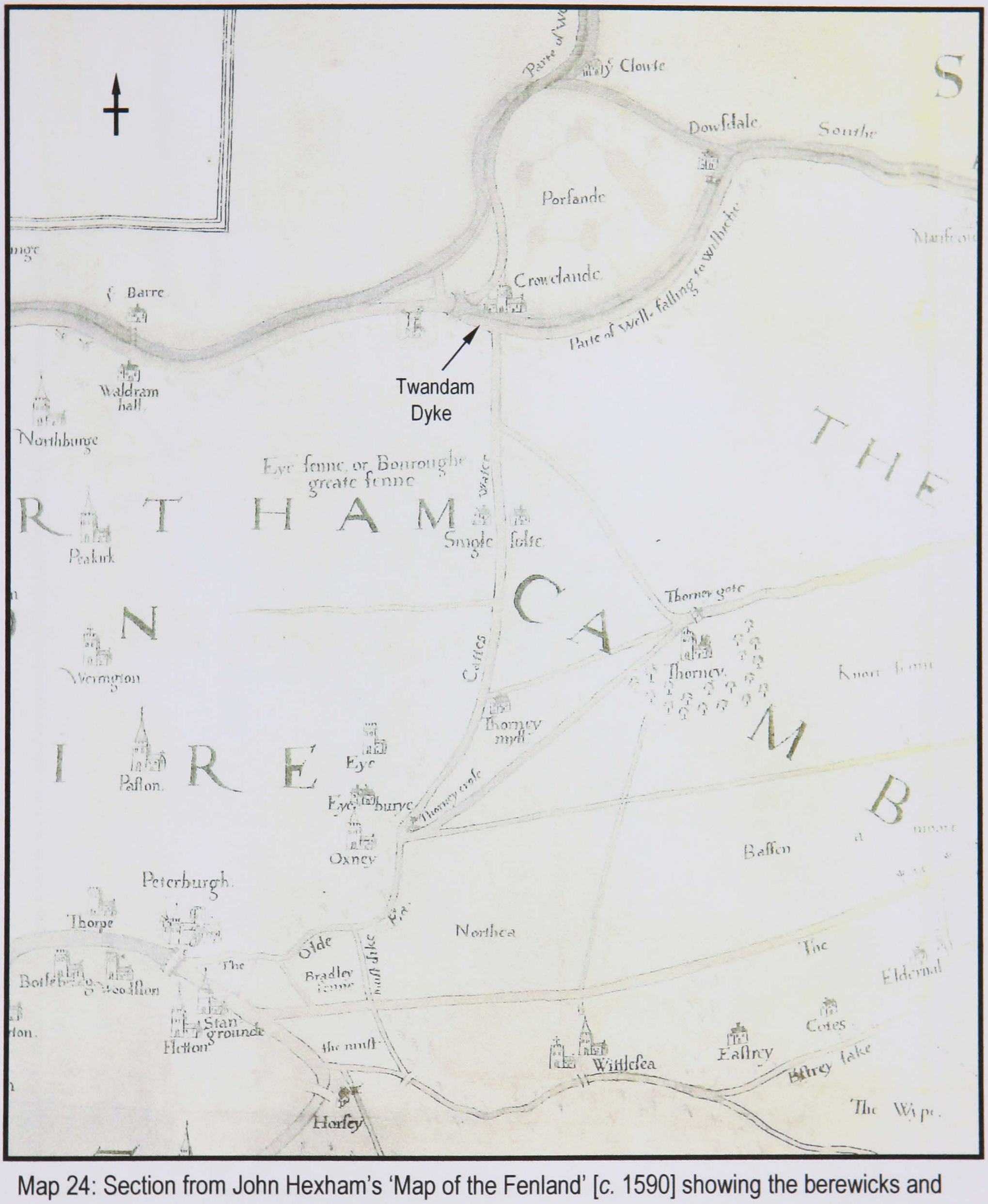


Map 22: The Castor Estate and the Nassaburgh Hundred

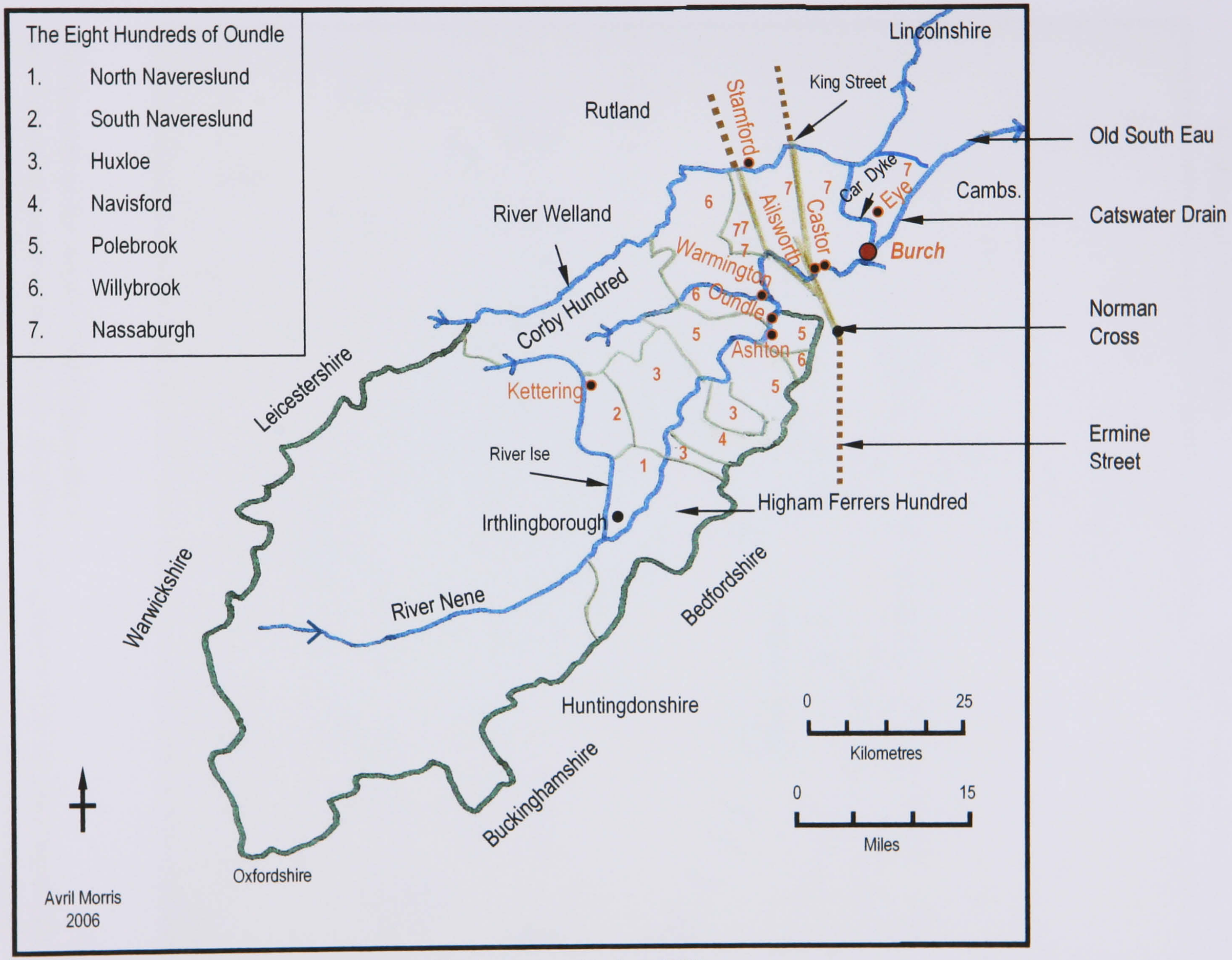


Map 23: Section from Eyre's and Jefferys' 'Map of the Soke of Peterborough' [2nd edn., 1791] showing the berewicks and fenland granges of Peterborough Abbey
(reproduced with permission of Peterborough Central Library)

Berewick Grange

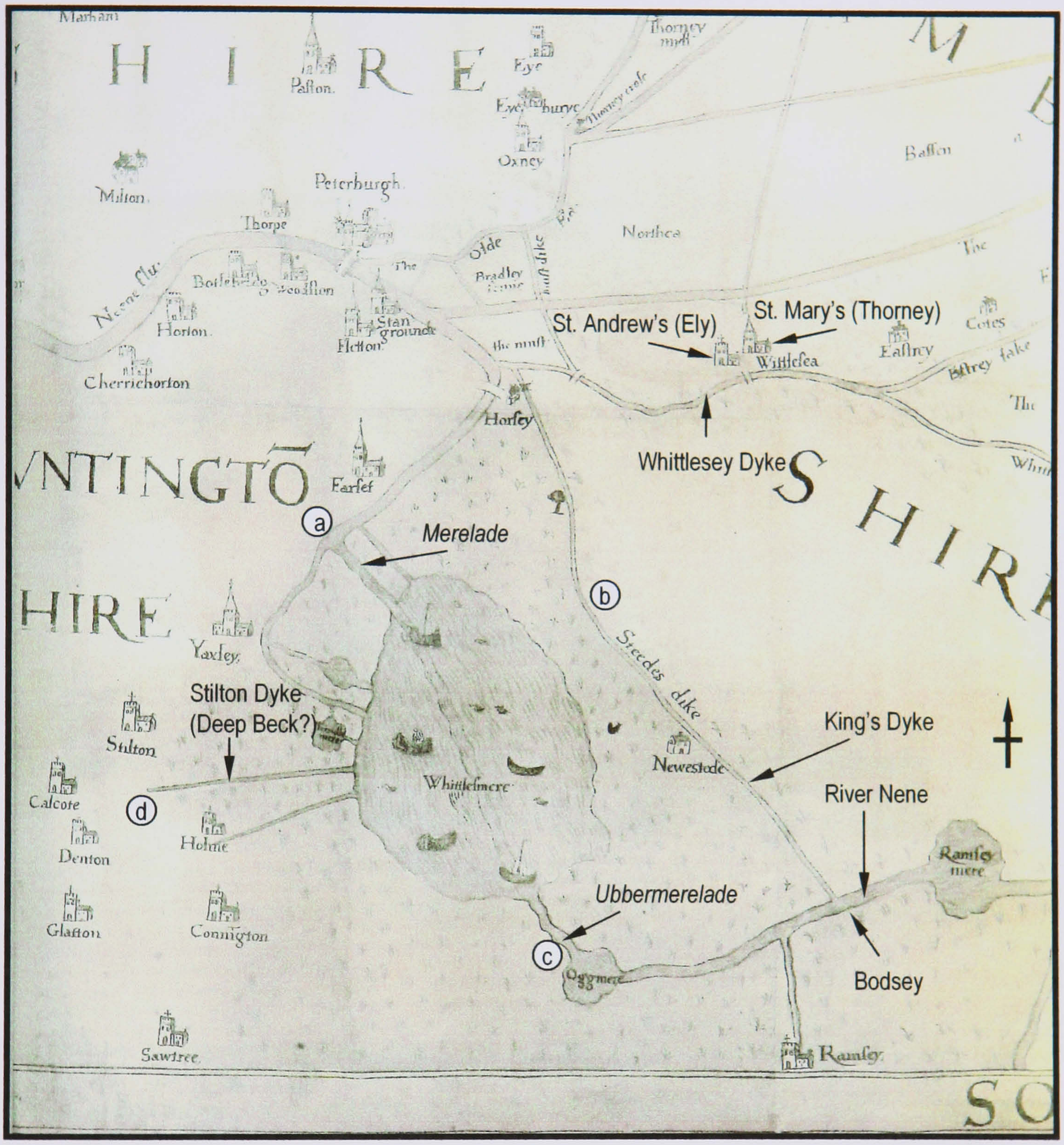


Map 24: Section from John Hexham's 'Map of the Fenland' [*c.* 1590] showing the berewicks and fenland granges of Peterborough Abbey (Hatfield House, CPM supp. 29)



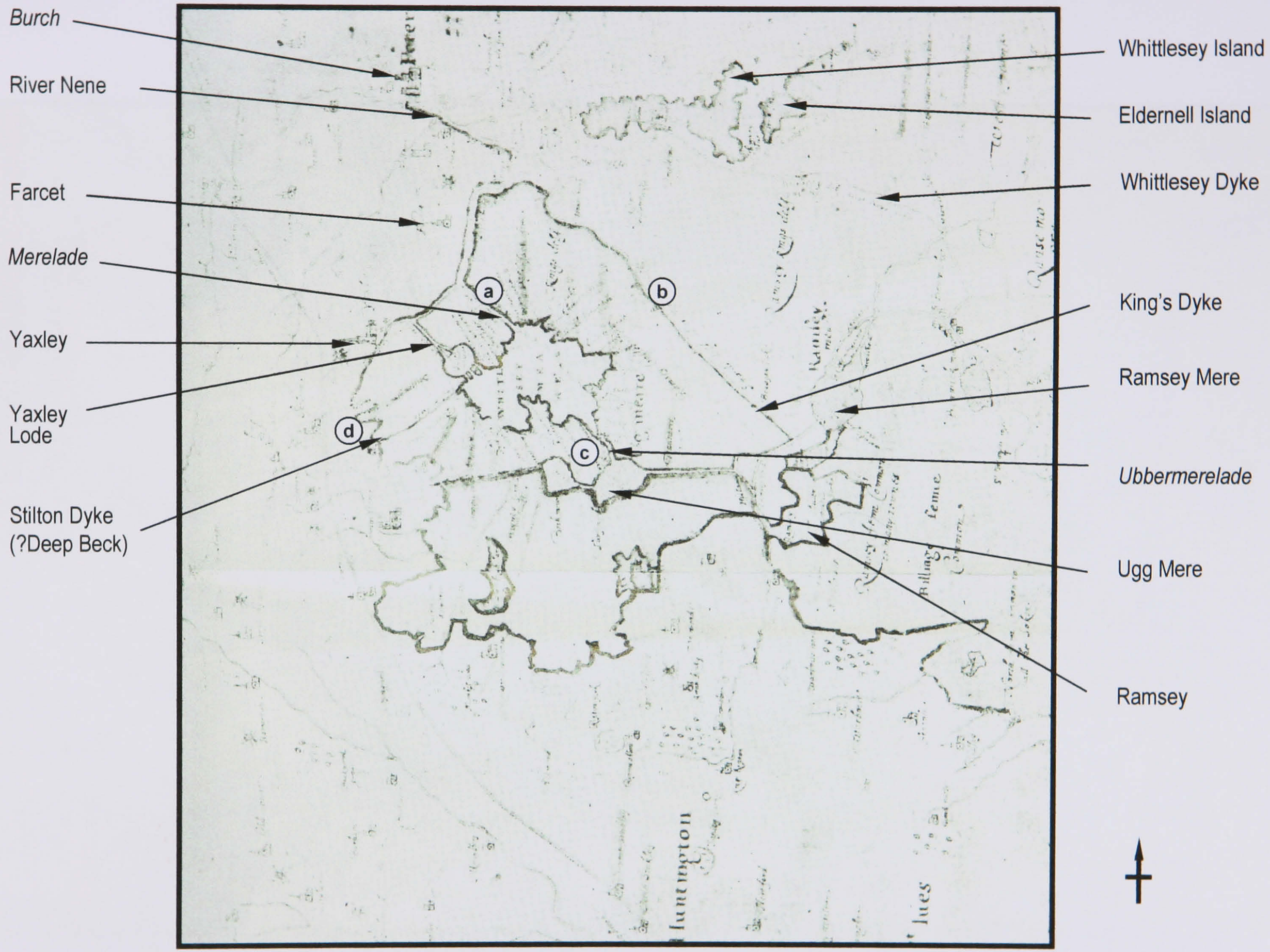
Map 25: The Eight Hundreds of Oundle (Northamptonshire) *c.* 1086

Map 26: Section from Hexham's 'Map of the Fenland' [*c.* 1590], showing the Boundaries of the Marsh of Whittlesey Mere. (Hatfield House, CPM Supp. 29)

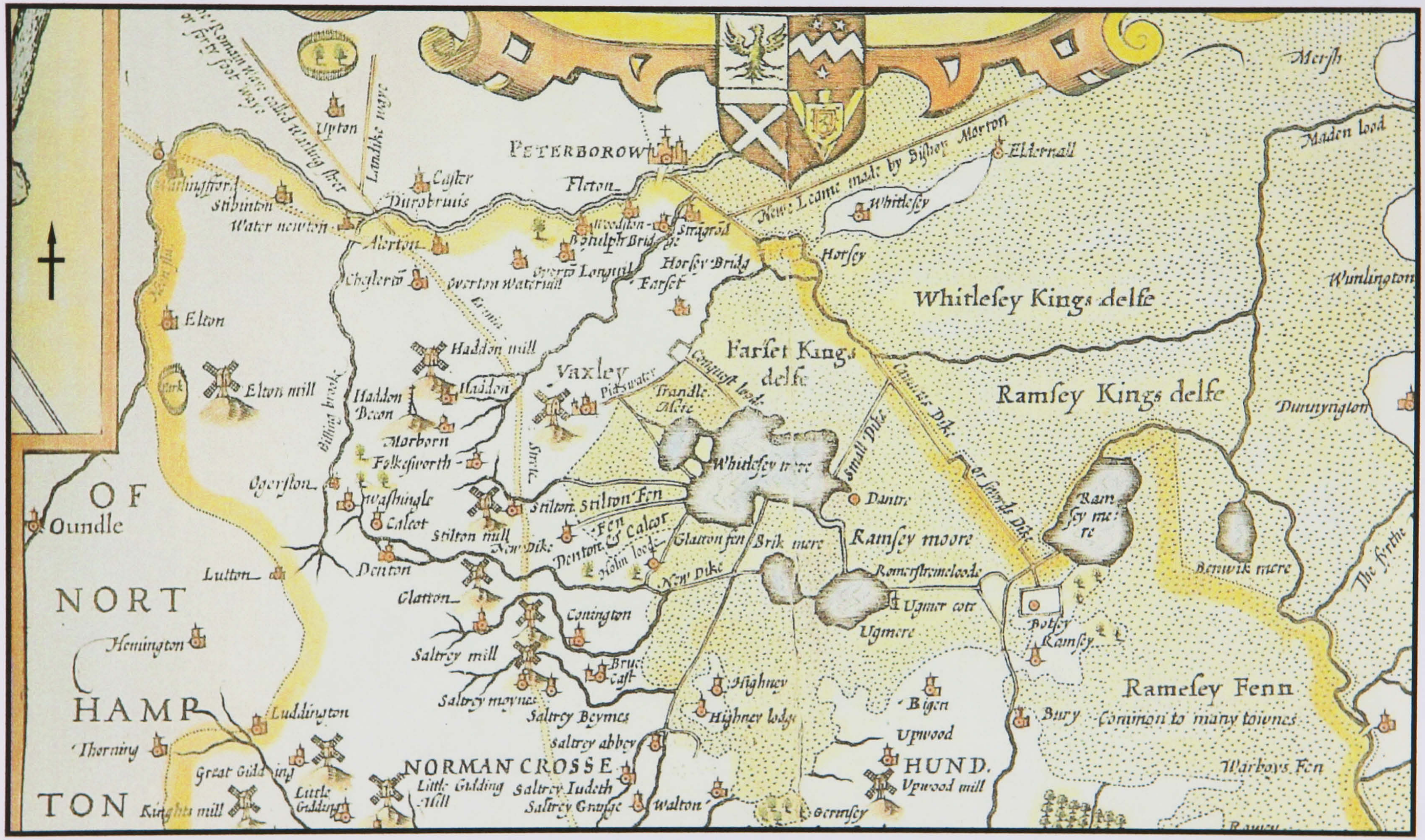


The Bounds of the Marsh of Whittlesey Mere

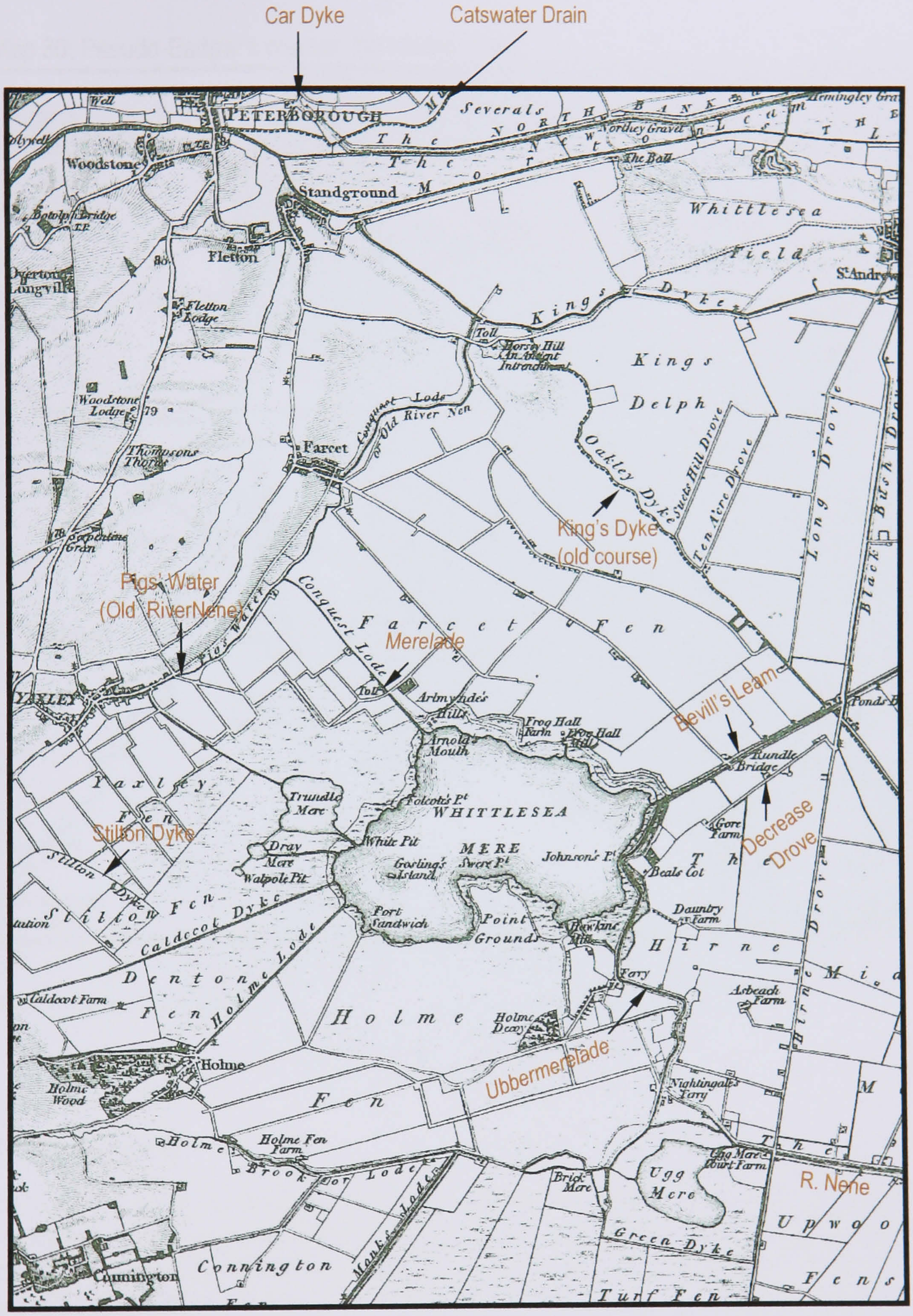
(a) 'The northern of which is where the *Merelade* is first entered from the River Nene; **(b)** the eastern boundary at King's Delph [King's Dyke]; **(c)** the southern at Aldwine's barrow, which is in the fen opposite the middle of the channel, the *Ubbermerelade*; **(d)** the western is where the Deep Beck ends at dry land.'



Map 27: Section from 'Plotte and description of the Fenns', BL, Cotton Augustus I. i. 78
(reproduced from *VCH: Huntingdonshire* III)



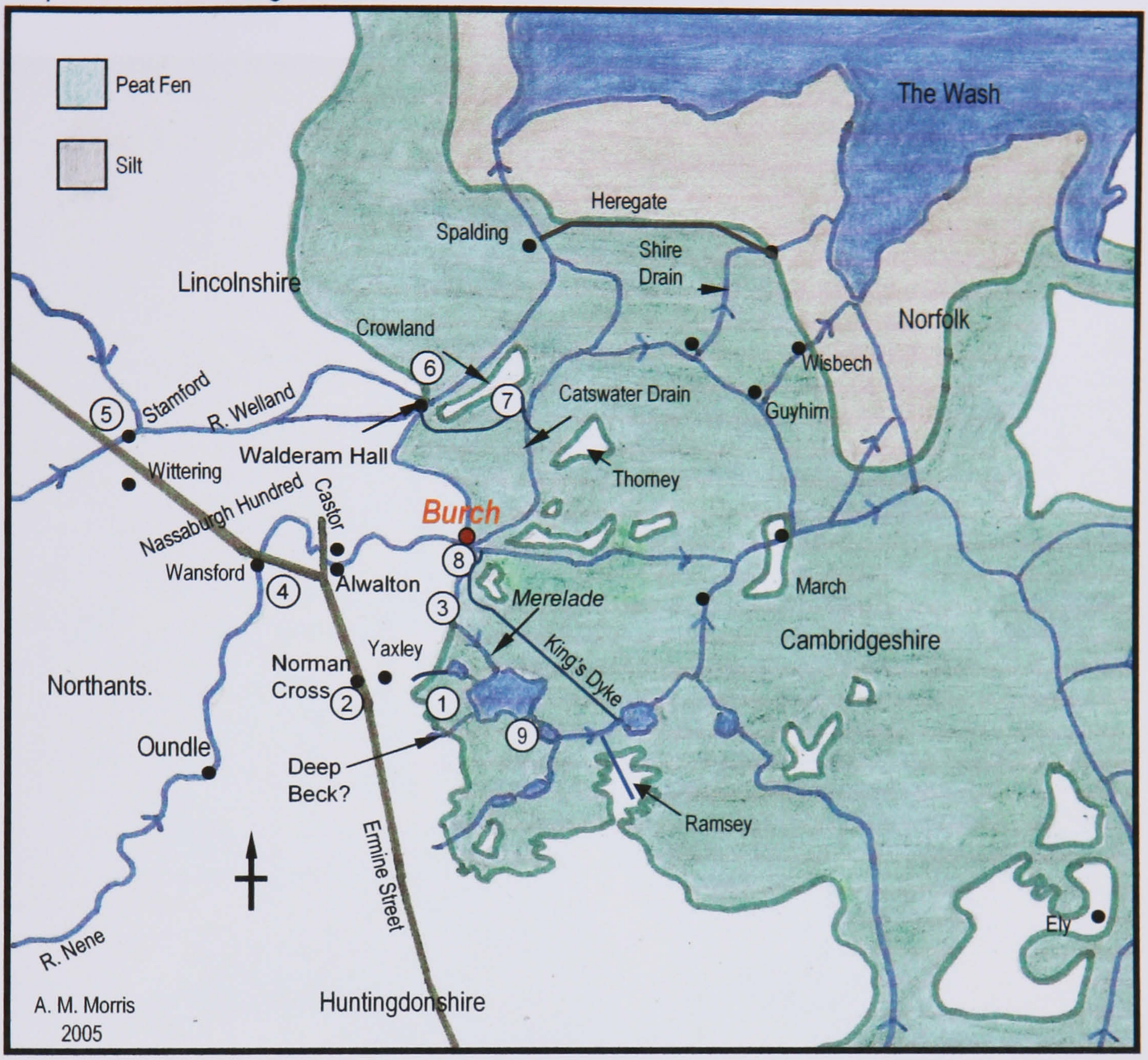
Map 28: Section from John Speed's 'Map of Huntingdonshire' [1612 edn.] showing King's Dyke's relationship with Whittlesey Mere (reproduced with permission of Cambridgeshire County Council)



Map 29: Section from Ordnance Survey Map of 1824 showing Whittlesey Mere prior to drainage (1849-52)
(reproduced from *Old Series of Ordnance Survey Maps of England and Wales* V, Sheet LXIV)

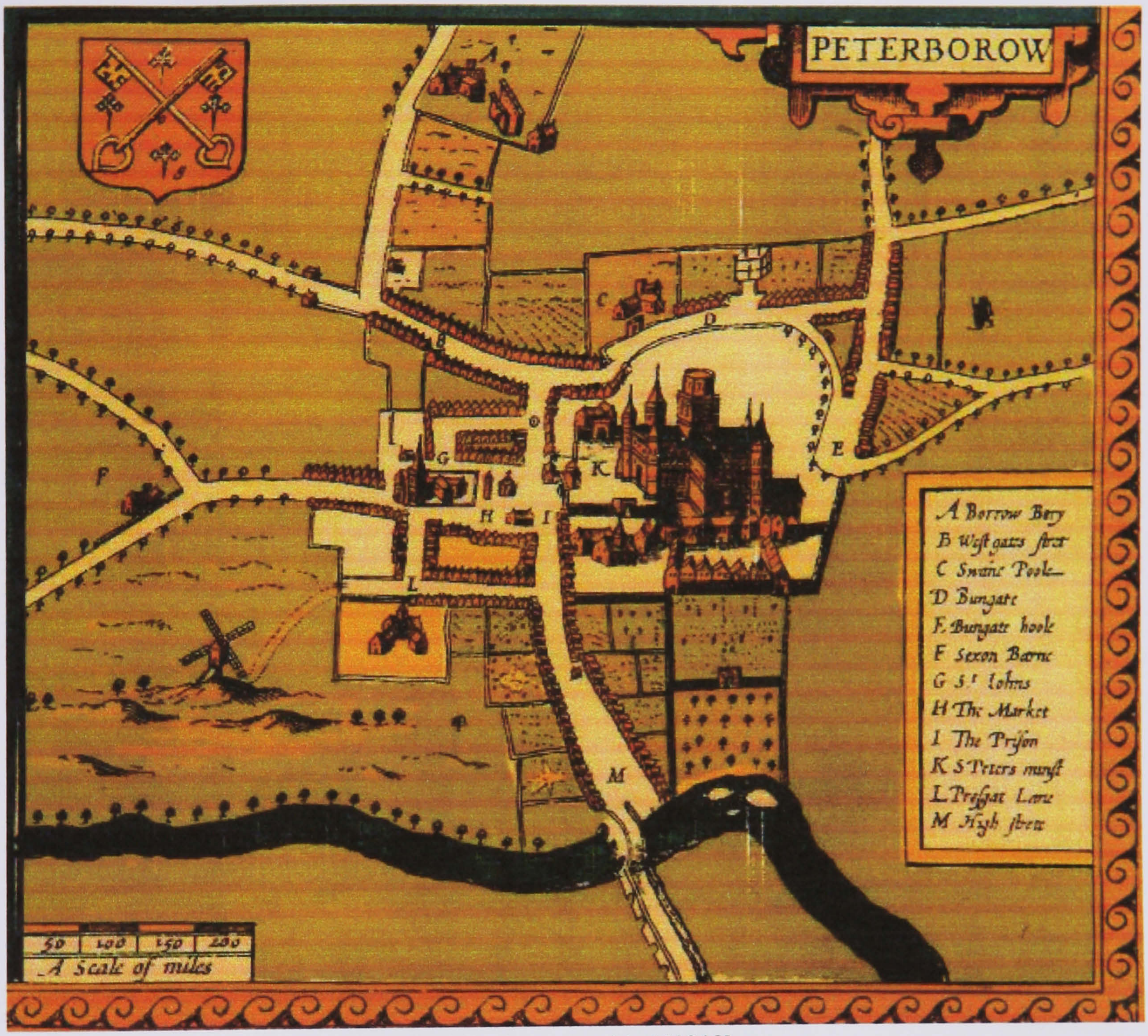
Scale: 1“: 1 mile

Map 30: Pseudo-Eadgar's charter: the routes of toll

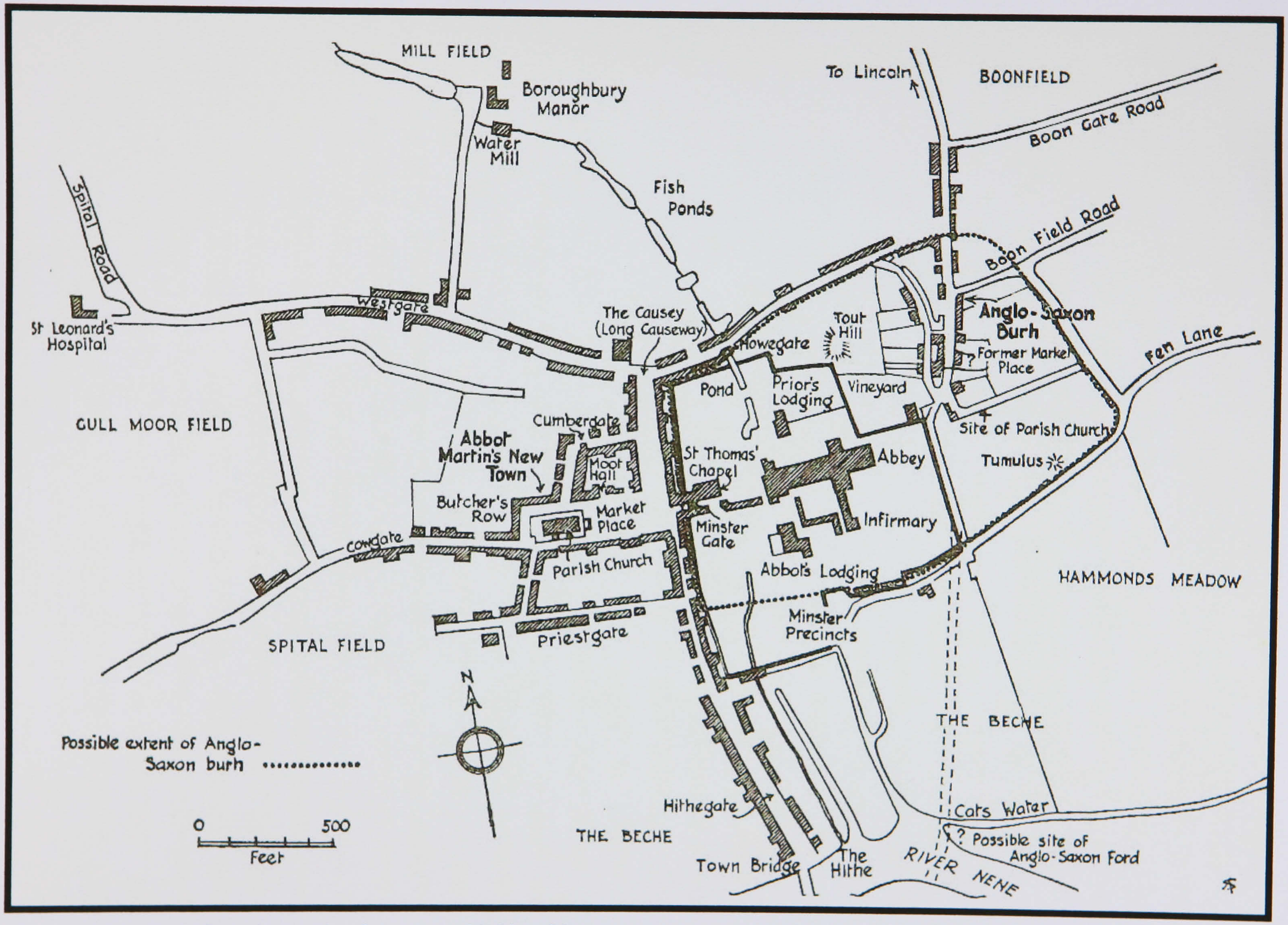


The routes of toll

(1) 'From the whole of Whittlesey Mere as far as the King's toll which lies in the Hundred of Norman Cross, **(2)** and from Whittlesey Mere, just as the *Merelade* comes to the River Nene **(3)** and thence as the water runs to Wansford **(4)** and from Wansford to Stamford **(5)** and from Stamford next to the course of the river as far as Crowland **(6)** and from Crowland as far as Must [Catswater Drain] **(7)** and from the Must as far as the King's Delph **(8)** and from there to the aforementioned Whittlesey Mere **(9)**.'



Map 31: Inset from John Speed's 'Map of Northamptonshire' [1612]
(reproduced with permission of Peterborough Central Library)



Map 32: Medieval Peterborough. Compare with Map 31.
(reproduced from J. Steane, *The Northamptonshire Landscape*, 1974)