S. Gramley: A Social and Cultural History of English (230569)

The texts

Text 1: The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Introduction (MS E)

Brittene igland is ehta hund mila lang. 7 twa hund brad. 7 her sind on þis iglande fif geþeode. **Englisc**. 7 **Brittisc**. 7 **Wilsc**. 7 **Scyttisc**. 7 **Pyhtisc**. 7 **Bocleden**. Erest weron bugend þises landes Brittes. þa coman of **Armenia**. 7 gesætan suðewearde Bryttene ærost. Þa gelamp hit þæt Pyhtas coman suþan of **Scithian**. mid langum scipum na manegum. 7 þa coman ærost on norþ **Ybernian** up. 7 þær bædo Scottas þet hi ðer moston wunian. Ac hi noldan heom lyfan. forðan hi cwædon þæt hi ne mihton ealle ætgædere gewunian þær. 7 þa cwædon þa Scottas. we eow magon þeahhwaðere ræd gelæron. We witan oþer egland her be easton. þer ge magon eardian gif ge willað. 7 gif hwa eow wiðstent. we eow fultumiad. þet ge hit magon gegangan. Þa ferdon þa Pihtas. 7 geferdon þis land norþanweard. 7 suþanweard hit hefdon Brittas. swa we ær cwedon. And þa Pyhtas heom abædon wif æt Scottum. on þa gerad þet hi gecuron heor kynecinn aa on þa wifhealfa. þet hi heoldon swa lange syððan. 7 þa gelamp hit imbe geara rina. þet Scotta sum dæl gewat of Ybernian on Brittene. 7 þes landes sum dæl geeodon. 7 wes heora heratoga Reoda gehaten, from þam heo sind genemnode **Dælreodi**. (MS E: http://asc.jebbo.co.uk/e/e-L.html)

The island Britain is 800 miles long, and 200 miles broad. And there are in the island five nations; English, Welsh (or British), Scottish, Pictish, and Latin. The first inhabitants were the Britons, who came from Armenia, and first peopled Britain southward. Then happened it, that the Picts came south from Scythia, with long ships, not many; and, landing first in the northern part of Ireland, they told the Scots that they must dwell there. But they would not give them leave; for the Scots told them that they could not all dwell there together; "But," said the Scots, "we can nevertheless give you advice. We know another island here to the east. There you may dwell, if you will; and whosoever withstandeth you, we will assist you, that you may gain it." Then went the Picts and entered this land northward. Southward the Britons possessed it, as we before said. And the Picts obtained wives of the Scots, on condition that they chose their kings always on the female side; which they have continued to do, so long since. And it happened, in the run of years, that some party of Scots went from Ireland into Britain, and acquired some portion of this land. Their leader was called Reoda, from whom they are named Dalreodi (or Dalreathians).

For next week locate the following geographical points:



Rivers:	Avon	Humber
	Mersey	Ouse
	Ribble	Severn
	Tees	Thames
	Trent	Tweed
	Tyne	Wear
Cities:	Belfast	Bradford
	Bristol	Birmingham
	Cambridge	Cork
	Derry	Dublin
	Durham	Edinburgh
	Glasgow	Hastings
	Hull	Leeds
	Liverpool	London
	Manchester	Middlebrough
	Newcastle	Oxford
	Potters Bar	Reading
	Sheffield	Waterford
	Watford Gap	Wexford
	Winchester	York
Other places:		
	Antonine Wall	Firth of Clyde
	Firth of Forth	Hadrian's Wall
	Pennines	Solway Firth
		-

The Wash

Text 2: The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: The Arrival of the Anglo-Saxons

Date

- Her sendon Brytwalas to Rome 7 heom fultomes bædon wiþ Piohtas, ac hi þar næfdan nanne, forþan ðe hi fyrdedon wið Ætla Huna cyningæ, 7 þa sendon hi to Anglum 7 Angelcynnes æðelingas ðæs ylcan bædan.
- Her Mauricius 7 Ualentines onfengon rice 7 ricsodon .vii. winter. 7 On hiera dagum Hengest 7 Horsa from Wyrtgeorne geleaþade Bretta kyninge gesohton Bretene on þam staþe þe is genemned Ypwinesfleot, ærest Brettum to fultume, ac hie eft on hie fuhton. Se cing het hi feohtan agien Pihtas, 7 hi swa dydan 7 sige hæfdan swa hwar swa hi comon. Hi ða sende to Angle 7 heton heom sendan mare fultum 7 heom seggan Brytwalana nahtnesse 7 ðæs landes cysta. Hy ða sendan heom mare fultum. Þa comon þa menn of þrim mægþum Germanie, of Ealdseaxum, of Anglum, of Iotum. Of Iotum comon Cantware 7 Wihtware, þæt ys seo mæið ðe nu eardað on Wiht, 7 ðæt cynn on Westsexum þe man gyt hæt Iutna cyn. Of Ealdseaxon comon Eastsexa 7 Suðsexa 7 WestSexan. Of Angle comon, se a siððan stod westi betwyx Iutum 7 Seaxum, Eastengla, Midelangla, Mearca 7 ealle Norðhymbra. Heora heretogan wæron twegen gebroðra Hengest 7 Horsa, þet wæron Wihtgilses suna. Wihtgils wæs Witting, Witta Wecting, Wecta Wodning; fram þan Wodne awoc eall ure cynecynn 7 Suðanhymbra eac.
- Her Hengest 7 Horsa fuhton wiþ Wyrtgeorne þam cyninge, in þære stowe þe is gecueden **Agelesþrep**, 7 his brobur Horsan man ofslog; 7 æfter þam Hengest feng ¹⁰ rice 7 Æsc his sunu.
- Her Hengest 7 Æsc fuhton wiþ Brettas in þære stowe þe is gecueden **Crecganford** 7 þær ofslogon .iiim. wera, 7 þa Brettas þa forleton Centlond 7 mid micle ege flugon to **Lundenbyrg**.
- Her Hengest 7 Æsc gefuhton uuiþ **Walas** neah **Wippedesfleote** 7 þær .xii. wilisce aldormenn ofslogon,
- **A.D. 443**. This year the Britons were sent to Rome, and begged assistance against the Picts; but they had none, for the Romans were at war with Atila, king of the Huns. Then they sent to the Angles, and requested the same from the nobles of that nation.
- A.D. 449. This year Marcian and Valentinian assumed the Empire, and reigned seven winters. In their days Hengest and Horsa, invited by Wurtgern [Vortigern], king of the Britons to his assistance, landed in Britain in a place that is called Ipwinesfleet [Wippidsfleet]; first of all to support the Britons, but they afterwards fought against them. The king directed them to fight against the Picts; and they did so; and obtained the victory wheresoever they came. They then sent to the Angles, and desired them to send more assistance. They described the worthlessness of the Britons, and the richness of the land. They then sent them greater support. Then came the men from three powers of Germany; the Old Saxons, the Angles, and the Jutes. From the Jutes are descended the men of Kent, the Wightwarians (that is, the tribe that now dwelleth in the Isle of Wight), and that kindred in Wessex that men yet call the kindred of the Jutes. From the Old Saxons came the people of Essex and Sussex and Wessex. From Anglia, which has ever since remained waste between the Jutes and the Saxons, came the East Angles, the Middle Angles, the Mercians, and all North Humbria. Their leaders were two brothers, Hengest and Horsa, who were the sons of Wihtgils; Wihtgils was the son of Witta, Witta of Wecta, Wecta of Woden. From this Woden arose all our royal kindred, and that of the Southumbrians also.
- **A.D. 455**. This year Hengest and Horsa fought with Wurtgern the king on the spot that is called Aylesford. His brother Horsa being there slain, Hengest afterward went to the kingdom with his son Esc.
- **A.D. 457**. This year Hengest and Esc fought with the Britons on the spot that is called Crayford, and there slew four thousand men. The Britons then forsook the land of Kent, and in great consternation fled to London.
- A.D. 465. This year Hengest and Esc fought with the Welsh, nigh Wippedfleet; and there slew twelve leaders, all Welsh. (The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (A) The Parker Chronicle (http://asc.jebbo.co.uk /a/a-L.html) Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 173 fos. 1-32.)

Text 3: The Venerable Bede (Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum VENERABILIS BEDÆ)

Compare the version in the Anglo-Saxon Chrionicle with the following by Bede:

CHAP. XV. How the Angles, being invited into Britain, at first drove off the enemy; but not long after, making a league with them, turned their weapons against their allies.

UT INVITATA BRITANNIAM GENS ANGLORUM PRIMO QUIDEM ADVERSARIOS LONGIUS EJECERIT; SED NON MULTO POST, JUNCTO CUM HIS FŒDERE, IN SOCIOS ARMA VERTERIT.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini quadringentesimo quadragesimo nono, Marcianus cum Valentiniano, quadragesimus sextus ab Augusto, regnum adeptus, septem annis tenuit. Tunc Anglorum sive Saxonum gens, invitata a rege præfato, in Britanniam tribus longis navibus advehitur, et in orientali parte insulæ, jubente eodem rege, locum manendi, quasi pro patria pugnatura, re autem vera hanc expugnatura, suscepit. Inito ergo certamine cum hostibus, qui ab aquilone ad aciem venerant, victoriam sumsere Saxones. Quod ubi domi nunciatum est, simul et insulæ fertilitas ac segnitia Britonum, mittitur confestim illo classis prolixior armatorum ferens manum fortiorem, quæ præmissæ adjuncta cohorti invincibilem fecit exercitum. Susceperunt ergo qui advenerunt, donantibus Britannis, locum habitationis inter eos, ea conditione ut hi pro patriæ pace et salute contra adversarios militarent, illi militantibus debita stipendia conferrent.

Advenerant autem de tribus Germaniæ populis fortioribus, id est, Saxonibus, Anglis, Jutis. De Jutarum origine sunt Cantuarii et Vectuarii, hoc est, ea gens quæ Vectam tenet insulam, et ea quæ usque hodie in provincia Occidentalium Saxonum Jutarum natio nominatur, posita contra ipsam insulam Vectam. De Saxonibus, id est, ea regione, quæ nunc Antiquorum Saxonum cognominatur, venere Orientales Saxones, Meridiani Saxones, Occidui Saxones. Porro de Anglis, hoc est, de illa patria quæ Anglia dicitur, et ab eo tempore usque hodie manere deserta inter provincias Jutarum et Saxonum perhibetur, Orientales Angli, Mediterranei Angli, Mercii, tota Northanhumbrorum progenies, id est, illarum gentium quæ ad Boream Humbri fluminis inhabitant, ceterique Anglorum populi, sunt orti. Duces fuisse perhibentur eorum primi duo fratres Hengist et Horsa; e quibus Horsa, postea occisus in bello a Britonibus, hactenus in orientalibus Cantiæ partibus monumentum habet suo nomine insigne. Erant autem filii Victgilsi, cujus pater Vitta, cujus pater Vecta, cujus pater Woden, de cujus stirpe multarum provinciarum regium genus originem duxit.

Non mora ergo, confluentibus certatim in insulam gentium memoratarum catervis, grandescere populus cœpit advenarum, ita ut ipsis quoque, qui eos advocaverant, indigenis essent terrori. Tum subito inito ad tempus fœdere cum Pictis, quos longius jam bellando pepulerant, in socios arma vertere incipiunt; et primum quidem annonas sibi eos affluentius ministrare cogunt, quærentesque occasionem divortii, protestantur, nisi profusior sibi alimentorum copia daretur, se cuncta insulæ loca, rupto fœdere, vastaturos; neque aliquanto segnius minas effectibus prosequuntur. Siquidem, ut breviter dicam, accensus manibus paganorum ignis, justas de sceleribus populi Dei ultiones expetiit, Sic enim et hic agente impio victore, immo disponente justo Judice, proximas quasque civitates agrosque depopulans, ab orientali mari usque ad occidentale, nullo prohibente, suum continuavit incendium, totamque prope insulæ pereuntis superficiem obtexit. Ruebant ædificia publica simul et privata, passim sacerdotes inter altaria trucidabantur, præsules cum populis, sine ullo respectu honoris, ferro pariter et flammis absumebantur; nec erat qui crudeliter interemtos sepulturæ traderet. Itaque nonnulli de miserandis reliquiis in montibus comprehensi acervatim jugulabantur; alii fame confecti procedentes manus hostibus dabant, pro accipiendis alimentorum subsidiis æternum subituri servitium, si tamen non continuo trucidarentur; alii transmarinas regiones dolentes petebant; alii perstantes in patria trepidi pauperem vitam in montibus, silvis, vel rupibus arduis, suspecta semper mente, agebant.

In the year of our Lord 449, Marcian, the forty-sixth from Augustus, being made emperor with Valentinian, ruled the empire seven years. Then the nation of the Angles, or Saxons, being invited by the aforesaid king, arrived in Britain with three ships of war and had a place in which to settle assigned to them by the same king, in the eastern part of the island, on the pretext of fighting in defence of their country, whilst their real intentions were to conquer it. Accordingly they engaged with the enemy, who were come from the north to give battle, and the Saxons obtained the victory.

When the news of their success and of the fertility of the country, and the cowardice of the Britons, reached their own home, a more considerable fleet was quickly sent over, bringing a greater number of men, and these, being added to the former army, made up an invincible force. The newcomers received of the Britons a place to inhabit among them, upon condition that they should wage war against their enemies for the peace and security of the country, whilst the Britons agreed to furnish them with pay. Those who came over were of the three most powerful nations of Germany—Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. From the Jutes are descended the people, of Kent, and of the Isle of Wight, including those in the province of the West-Saxons who are to this day called Jutes, seated opposite to the Isle of Wight. From

the Saxons, that is, the country which is now called Old Saxony, came the East-Saxons, the South-Saxons, and the West Saxons. From the Angles, that is, the country which is called Angulus, and which is said, from that time, to have remained desert to this day, between the provinces of the Jutes and the Saxons, are descended the East-Angles, the Midland-Angles, the Mercians, all the race of the Northumbrians, that is, of those nations that dwell on the north side of the river Humber, and the other nations of the Angles.

The first commanders are said to have been the two brothers Hengist and Horsa. Of these Horsa was afterwards slain in battle by the Britons, and a monument, bearing his name, is still in existence in the eastern parts of Kent. They were the sons of Victgilsus, whose father was Vitta, son of Vecta, son of Woden; from whose stock the royal race of many provinces trace their descent. In a short time, swarms of the aforesaid nations came over into the island, and the foreigners began to increase so much, that they became a source of terror to the natives themselves who had invited them. Then, having on a sudden entered into league with the Picts, whom they had by this time repelled by force of arms, they began to turn their weapons against their allies. At first, they obliged them to furnish a greater quantity of provisions; and, seeking an occasion of quarrel, protested, that unless more plentiful supplies were brought them, they would break the league, and ravage all the island; nor were they backward in putting their threats into execution. In short, the fire kindled by the hands of the pagans, proved God's just vengeance for the crimes of the people For here, too, through the agency of the pitiless conqueror, yet by the disposal of the just Judge, it ravaged all the neighbouring cities and country, spread the conflagration from the eastern to the western sea, without any opposition, and overran the whole face of the doomed island. Public as well as private buildings were overturned; the priests were everywhere slain before the altars; no respect was shown for office, the prelates with the people were destroyed with fire and sword; nor were there any left to bury those who had been thus cruelly slaughtered. Some of the miserable remnant, being taken in the mountains, were butchered in heaps. Others, spent with hunger, came forth and submitted themselves to the enemy, to undergo for the sake of food perpetual servitude, if they were not killed upon the spot. Some, with sorrowful hearts, fled beyond the seas. Others, remaining in their own country, led a miserable life of terror and anxiety among the mountains, woods and crags.

CHAP. XVI. How the Britons obtained their first victory over the Angles, under the command of Ambrosius, a Roman. [456 A.D.]

UT BRITONES PRIMAM DE GENTE ANGLORUM VICTORIAM, DUCE AMBROSIO ROMANO HOMINE, SUMSERINT.

At ubi hostilis exercitus, exterminatis dispersisque insulæ indigenis, domum reversus est, cœperunt et illi paulatim vires animosque resumere, emergentes de latibulis, quibus abditi fuerant, et unanimo consensu auxilium cœleste precantes, ne usque ad internecionem usquequaque delerentur. Utebantur eo tempore duce Ambrosio Aureliano, viro modesto, qui solus forte Romanæ gentis præfatæ tempestati superfuerat, occisis in eadem parentibus regium nomen et insigne ferentibus. Hoc ergo duce, vires capessunt Britones, et victores provocantes ad prælium victoriam ipsi, Deo favente, suscipiunt; et ex eo tempore nunc cives nunc hostes vincebant, usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici montis, quando non minimas eisdem hostibus strages dabant, quadragesimo circiter et quarto anno adventus eorum in Britanniam. Sed hæc postmodum.

When the army of the enemy, having destroyed and dispersed the natives, had returned home to their own settlements, the Britons began by degrees to take heart, and gather strength, sallying out of the lurking places where they had concealed themselves, and with one accord imploring the Divine help, that they might not utterly be destroyed. They had at that time for their leader, Ambrosius Aurelianus, a man of worth, who alone, by chance, of the Roman nation had survived the storm, in which his parents, who were of the royal race, had perished. Under him the Britons revived, and offering battle to the victors, by the help of God, gained the victory. From that day, sometimes the natives, and sometimes their enemies, prevailed, till the year of the siege of **Badon-hill**, when they made no small slaughter of those enemies, about forty-four years after their arrival in England. But of this hereafter.

CHAP. XX. How the same Bishops brought help from Heaven to the Britons in a battle, and then returned home. [430 A.D.]

UT IIDEM EPISCOPI BRITONIBUS IN PUGNA AUXILIUM CŒLESTE TULERINT, SICQUE DOMUM REVERSI SINT.

Interea Saxones Pictique bellum adversum Britones junctis viribus susceperunt, quos eadem necessitas in castra contraxerat; et cum trepidi partes suas pene impares judicarent, sanctorum antistitum auxilium petierunt, qui, promissum maturantes adventum, tantum paventibus fiduciæ contulerunt, ut accessisse maximus crederetur

exercitus. Itaque apostolicis ducibus Christus militabat in castris. Aderant etiam Quadragesimæ venerabiles dies, quos religiosiores reddebat præsentia sacerdotum, in tantum, ut quotidianis prædicationibus instituti certatim populi ad gratiam baptismatis convolarent; nam maxima exercitus multitudo undam lavacri salutaris expetiit, et ecclesia ad diem resurrectionis Dominicæ frondibus contexta componitur, atque in expeditione campestri instar civitatis aptatur. Madidus baptismate procedit exercitus, fides fervet in populo, et, conterrito armorum præsidio, divinitatis exspectatur auxilium. Institutio vel forma castitatis hostibus nunciatur, qui victoriam quasi de inermi exercitu præsumentes, assumta alacritate festinant; quorum tamen adventus exploratione cognoscitur. Cumque emensa sollennitate Paschali, recens de lavacro pars major exercitus arma capere et bellum parare tentaret, Germanus ducem se prœlii profitetur, eligit expeditos, circumjecta percurrit, et e regione, qua hostium sperabatur adventus, vallem circumdatam mediis montibus intuetur; quo in loco novum componit exercitum ipse dux agminis. Et jam aderat ferox hostium multitudo, quam appropinquare intuebantur in insidiis constituti. Tum subito Germanus signifer universos admonet et prædicat ut voci suæ uno clamore respondeant; securisque hostibus, qui se insperatos adesse confiderent, "Alleluiam" tertio repetitam sacerdotes exclamabant. Sequitur una vox omnium, et elatum clamorem, repercusso aere, montium conclusa multiplicant; hostile agmen terrore prosternitur, et super se non solum rupes circumdatas sed etiam ipsam cœli machinam contremiscunt, trepidationique injectæ vix sufficere pedum pernicitas credebatur. Passim fugiunt, arma projiciunt, gaudentes vel nuda corpora eripuisse discrimini, plures etiam timore præcipites flumen, quod transierant, devoravit. Ultionem suam innocens exercitus intuetur et victoriæ concessæ otiosus spectator efficitur; spolia colliguntur exposita, et cœlestis palmæ gaudia miles religiosus amplectitur; triumphant pontifices, hostibus fusis sine sanguine; triumphant victoria fide obtenta, non viribus. Composita itaque insula securitate multiplici, superatisque hostibus vel invisibilibus vel carne conspicuis, reditum moliuntur pontifices. Quibus tranquillam navigationem et merita propria et intercessio beati martyris Albani paraverunt, quietosque eos suorum desideriis felix carina restituit.

IN the meantime, the Saxons and Picts, with their united forces, made war upon the Britons, who in these straits were compelled to take up arms. In their terror thinking themselves unequal to their enemies, they implored the assistance of the holy bishops; who, hastening to them as they had promised, inspired so much confidence into these fearful people, that one would have thought they had been joined by a mighty army. Thus, by these apostolic leaders, Christ Himself commanded in their camp. The holy days of Lent were also at hand, and were rendered more sacred by the presence of the bishops, insomuch that the people being instructed by daily sermons, came together eagerly to receive the grace of baptism. For a great multitude of the army desired admission to the saving waters, and a wattled church was constructed for the Feast of the Resurrection of our Lord, and so fitted up for the army in the field as if it were in a city. Still wet with the baptismal water the troops set forth; the faith of the people was fired; and where arms had been deemed of no avail, they looked to the help of God. News reached the enemy of the manner and method of their purification, who, assured of success, as if they had to deal with an unarmed host, hastened forward with renewed eagerness. But their approach was made known by scouts. When, after the celebration of Easter, the greater part of the army, fresh from the font, began to take up arms and prepare for war, Germanus offered to be their leader. He picked out the most active, explored the country round about, and observed, in the way by which the enemy was expected, a valley encompassed by hills of moderate height. In that place he drew up his untried troops, himself acting as their general. And now a formidable host of foes drew near, visible, as they approached, to his men lying in ambush.

Then, on a sudden, Germanus, bearing the standard, exhorted his men, and bade them all in a loud voice repeat his words. As the enemy advanced in all security, thinking to take them by surprise, the bishops three times cried, "Hallelujah." A universal shout of the same word followed, and the echoes from the surrounding hills gave back the cry on all sides, the enemy was panic-stricken, fearing, not only the neighbouring rocks, but even the very frame of heaven above them; and such was their terror, that their feet were not swift enough to save them. They fled in disorder, casting away their arms, and well satisfied if, even with unprotected bodies, they could escape the danger; many of them, flying headlong in their fear, were engulfed by the river which they had crossed.

The Britons, without a blow, inactive spectators of the victory they had gained, beheld their vengeance complete. The scattered spoils were gathered up, and the devout soldiers rejoiced in the success which Heaven had granted them. The prelates thus triumphed over the enemy without bloodshed, and gained a victory by faith, without the aid of human force. Thus, having settled the affairs of the island, and restored tranquillity by the defeat of the invisible foes, as well as of enemies in the flesh, they prepared to return home. Their own merits, and the intercession of the blessed martyr **Alban**, obtained for them a calm passage, and the happy vessel restored them in peace to the desires of their people.

Text 4: Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: The coming of the Danes

- Her nam Brihtric cing Offan dohtor Eadburge, 7 on his dagum comon ærest .iii. scipu **Norðmanna**, 7 þa se gerefa þærto rad 7 hie wolde drifan to þæs cinges tune, þy he nyste hwæt hie wæron, 7 hine man ofsloh. Þæt wæron þa ærestan scypu Deniscra manna þe Angelcynnes land gesohton.
- **A.D. 787**. This year King Bertric took Edburga the daughter of Offa to wife. And in his days came first three ships of the **Northmen**. The reeve then rode thereto, and would drive them to the king's town; for he knew not what they were; and there was he slain. These were the first ships of the Danish men that sought the land of the English nation.
- Her feaht Ecgbriht cing wið .xxxv. scyplæsta æt **Carrum**, 7 þær wearð micel wæl geslegen, 7 þa Deniscan ahton wælstowe geweald.
- **A.D. 833**. This year fought King Egbert with thirty-five pirates at Charmouth, where a great slaughter was made, and the Danes remained masters of the field.
- 897 Ond bæs on sumera on bysum geare tofor se here, sum on Eastengle, sum on Norðhymbre, 7 ba de feohlease wæron him bær scypu begeatun 7 sud ofer sæ foron to Signe. Næfde se here, Godes bances, Angelcynnes ealles full swiðe gebrocod, ac hi wæron micle swibor gebrocode on bam brim gearum mid ceapes cwylde 7 manna, ealra swiðost mid bam bæt monige ðara selestra cinges begna be ðær on lande wæron forðferdon on þam þrim gearum. ... Ðy ilcan gere drehton ba hergeas on Eastenglum 7 on Norðhymbrum Wessexena land swibe be bam suðstaþe mid stælhergeum, ealra swiþost mid þam æscum þe hi fela geara ær timbredon. Þa het Ælfred cing timbrian lange scipu ongen þa æscas, þa wæron full neah twa swa lange swa ba oore, sume hæfdon .lx. ara, sume ma, ba wæron ægber geswiftran ge unwealtran ge eac hearran bonne ba oðre, næron hi nabor ne on Frysisc gesceapen ne on Denisc, buton swa him selfum buhte bæt hi nytweorboste beon mihton. Þa æt sumun cyrre þæs ilcan geres comon þær .vi. scypu to Wiht 7 bær micel yfel gedydon, ægbær ge on **Defenum** ge welhwær be bam særiman. Þa het se cing faran mid nigonum to þara niwra scypa, 7 forforon him þone muþan foran on utermere, ða foron hi mid þrim scypum ut ongean hi, iii. stodon æt ufeweardum þam muban on driggum, wæron þa menn upp on lande of agane. Þa gefengon hi þara ðreora scypu twa æt þam muþan uteweardum, 7 þa menn ofslogon, 7 þæt an oðwand, on þam wæron eac ða menn ofslegene butan .v., þa comon forby onweg ðe þara oðerra scypu asæton, ða wurdon eac uneabelice aseten, .iii. asæton on ba healfe bæs deopes be ða Deniscan scypu aseten wæron, 7 ba ealle on oore healfe, bæt hyra ne mihte nan to oorum. Ac ba bæt wæter wæs aebbod fela furlanga fram þam scypum, þa eodon þa Deniscan fram ðam oðrum þrim scypum to þam oðrum þrim þe on hyra healfe wæron beebbode, 7 hi þa ðær gefuhton, 7 þær wearð ofslegen ... ealra manna Frysiscra 7 Engliscra .lxii., 7 ðara Deniscra .cxx. Þa com þam Deniscan scypum beah ær flod to, ær ba Cristenan mihton hira ut ascufan, 7 hi forði ut oþreowon. Þa wæron hi to ðam gesargode bæt hi ne mihton Suðsexana land utan berowan, ac hira bær twa sæ on land wearp, 7 ða menn mon lædde to Winteceaster to þam cinge, 7 he hi þær ahon het, 7 ba menn comon on Eastengle be on ðam anum scype wæron swyðe forwundode. Þy ilcan sumera forwearð na læs þonne .xx. scypa mid mannum mid ealle be ðam suðriman. Þy ilcan geare forðferde Wulfric cinges horsbegn, se wæs wealhgerefa.
- A.D. 897. In the summer of this year went the army, some into East-Anglia, and some into Northumbria; and those that were penniless got themselves ships, and went south over sea to the Seine. The enemy had not, thank God, entirely destroyed the English nation; but they were much more weakened in these three years by the disease of cattle, and most of all of men; so that many of the mightiest of the king's thanes that were in the land died within the three years. ... This same year the plunderers in East-Anglia and Northumbria greatly harassed the land of the West-Saxons by piracies on the southern coast, but most of all by the ships which they built many years before. Then King Alfred gave orders for building long ships against the ships, which were fully twice as long as the others. Some had sixty oars, some more; and they were both swifter and steadier, and also higher

than the others. They were not shaped either after the Frisian or the Danish model, but so as he himself thought that they might be most serviceable. Then, at a certain turn of this same year, came six of their ships to the Isle of Wight; and going into Devonshire, they did much mischief both there and everywhere on the seacoast. Then the king commanded his men to go out against them with nine of the new ships, and prevent their escape by the mouth of the river to the outer sea. Then they came out against them with three ships, and three others were standing upwards above the mouth on dry land: for the men had gone on shore. Of the first three ships they took two at the mouth outwards, and slew the men; the third veered off, but all the men were slain except five; and they too were severely wounded. Then those came onward who manned the other ships, which were also very uneasily situated. Three were stationed on that side of the deep where the Danish ships were grounded, whilst the others were all on the opposite side; so that none of them could join the rest; for the water had ebbed out many furlongs from them. Then the Danes went from their three ships to those other three that were on their side, be-ebbed; and there they then fought. There were ... of all the men, Frieslanders and English, sixty-two; of the Danes a hundred and twenty. The tide, however, reached the Danish ships ere the Christians could shove theirs out; whereupon they rowed them out; but they were so crippled that they could not row them beyond the coast of Sussex: there the sea drove two of them ashore; and the crew was led to Winchester to the king, who ordered them to be hanged. The men who escaped in the single ship came to East-Anglia, severely wounded. This same year no fewer than twenty ships were lost, and the men with them, on the southern coast. Wulfric, the king's horsethane, who was also viceroy of Wales, died the same year.

Text 5: Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: The Norman Conquest

1066 On bissum geare man halgode bet mynster æt Westmynster on Cildamæssedæg. 7 se cyng Eadward forðferde on twelfta mæsse æfen. 7 hine mann bebyrgede on twelftan mæssedæg. innan bære niwan halgodre circean on Westmynstre. 7 Harold eorl feng to Englalandes cynerice. swa swa se cyng hit him geuðe. 7 eac men hine bær togecuron. 7 wæs gebletsod to cynge on twelftan mæssedæg. 7 by ilcan geare be he cyng wæs. he for ut mid sciphere togeanes Willelme. 7 ba hwile com Tostig. eorl into Humbran mid .lx. scipum. Eadwine eorl com mid landfyrde. 7 draf hine ut. 7 ba butse carlas hine forsocan. 7 he for to Scotlande mid .xii. snaccum. 7 hine gemette **Harold** se Norrena cyng mid .ccc. scipum. 7 Tostig him tobeah. 7 hi bægen foran into Humbran. oð þet hi coman to **Eoferwic**. 7 heom wiðfeaht Morkere eorl. 7 Eadwine eorl. 7 se Norrena cyng ahte siges geweald. 7 man cydde Harolde cyng hu hit wæs bær gedon 7 geworden. 7 he com mid mycclum here Engliscra manna. 7 gemette hine æt Stængfordes brycge. 7 hine ofsloh. 7 bone eorl Tostig. 7 eallne bone here ahtlice ofercom. 7 ba hwile com Willelm eorl upp æt **Hestingan** on **sancte Michaeles mæssedæg**. 7 Harold com norðan 7 him wiðfeaht ear þan þe his here come eall. 7 þær he feoll. 7 his twægen gebroðra Gyrð 7 Leofwine. 7 Willelm bis land geeode. 7 com to Westmynstre. 7 Ealdred arcebiscop hine to cynge gehalgode. 7 menn guldon him gyld. 7 gislas sealdon. 7 syððan heora land bohtan. 7 ða wæs Leofric abbot of Burh æt þæt ilca feord. 7 sæclode þær 7 com ham. 7 wæs dæd sone bær æfter on ælre halgan mæsseniht. God are his saule. On his dæg wæs ealle blisse 7 ealle gode on Burh. 7 he wæs leaf eall folc. swa bæt se cyng geaf sancte Peter 7 him bæt abbotrice on Byrtune. 7 se of Couentre bæt se eorl Leofric be wæs his eam ær heafde macod. 7 se of Crulande. 7 se of borneie. 7 he dyde swa mycel to gode into bæt mynstre of Burh on golde 7 on seolfre 7 on scrud 7 on lande, swa nefre nan oðre ne dyde toforen him ne nan æfter him. Þa wearð gildene burh to wrecce burh. Ða cusen þa munecas to abbot Brand prouost. forðan þæt he wæs swiðe god man 7 swiðe wis. 7 senden him þa to Ædgar æðeling. forðan þet þe landfolc wendon þæt he sceolde cyng wurðen. 7 se æðeling hit him geatte þa blibolice. Pa be cyng Willelm geherde bæt secgen, ba wearð he swiðe wrað. 7 sæde bæt se abbot him heafde forsegon. Þa eodon gode men heom betwenen 7 sahtloden heom forðan þæt se abbot wæs goddera manne. Geaf ba bone cyng .xl. marc goldes to sahtnysse. 7 ba lifede he litle hwile bær æfter buton þry gear. Syððon comen ealle dræuednysse 7 ealle ifele to bone mynstre. God his gemyltse.

A.D. 1066. In this year was consecrated the minster at Westminster, on Childer-mass-day. And King Edward died on the eve of Twelfth-day; and he was buried on Twelfth-day within the newly consecrated church at Westminster. And Harold the earl succeeded to the kingdom of England, even as the king had granted it to him, and men also had chosen him thereto; and he was crowned as king on Twelfth-day. And that same year that he became king, he went out with a fleet against William; and the while, came Tosty the earl into Humber with sixty ships. Edwin the earl came with a landforce and drove him out; and the boatmen forsook him. And he went to Scotland with twelve vessels; and Harald, the King of Norway, met him with three hundred ships, and Tosty submitted to him; and they both went into Humber, until they came to York. And Morcar the earl, and Edwin the earl, fought against them; and the king of the Norwegians had the victory. And it was made known to King Harold how it there was done, and had happened; and he came there with a great army of English men, and met him at Stanfordbridge, and slew him and the earl Tosty, and boldly overcame all the army. And the while, William the earl landed at Hastings, on St. Michael's-day: and Harold came from the north, and fought against him before all his army had come up; and there he fell, and his two brothers, Girth and Leofwin; and William subdued this land. And he came to Westminster, and Archbishop Aldred consecrated him king, and men paid him tribute, delivered him hostages, and afterwards bought their land. And then was Leofric, Abbot of Peterborough, in that same expedition; and there he sickened, and came home, and was dead soon thereafter, on All-hallows-mass-night: God be merciful to his soul! In his day was all bliss and all good in Peterborough; and he was dear to all people, so that the king gave to St. Peter and to him the abbacy at Burton, and that of Coventry, which Leofric the earl, who was his uncle, before had made, and that of Crowland, and that of Thorney. And he conferred so much of good upon the minster of Peterborough, in gold, and in silver, and in vestments, and in land, as never any other did before him, nor any after him. After, Goldenborough became a wretched borough. Then chose the monks for abbot Brand the provost, by reason that he was a very good man, and very wise, and sent him then to Edgar the etheling, by reason that the people of the land supposed that he should become king: and the etheling granted it him then gladly. When King William heard say that, then was he very wroth, and said that the abbot had despised him. Then went good men between them, and reconciled them, by reason that the abbot was a good man. Then gave he the king forty marks of gold for a reconciliation; and then thereafter, lived he a little while, but three years. After that came every tribulation and every evil to the minster. God have mercy on it!

1070 Her se eorl Walpeof griðede wið þone cyng. 7 þæs on lengten se cyng let hergian ealle þa mynstra be on Englalande wæron. Pa on bam ilcan geare com Swegn cyng of Denmarcan into Humbran. 7 þæt landfolc comen him ongean 7 griðedon wið hine wændon þæt he sceolde þet land ofergan. Pa comen into Elig Cristien pa Densce biscop 7 Osbearn eorl 7 pa Densca huscarles mid heom. 7 bet Englisce folc of eall ba feonlandes comen to heom. wendon bæt hi sceoldon winnon eall bæt land. Þa herdon ba munecas of Burh sægen bæt heora agene menn wolden hergon bone mynstre, bæt wæs Hereward 7 his genge. Þæt wæs forðan bet hi herdon sæcgen bet se cyng heafde gifen bæt abbotrice an Frencisce abbot Turolde wæs gehaten. 7 bæt he wæs swiðe styrne man. 7 wæs cumen þa into Stanforde mid ealle hise Frencisce menn. Þa wæs bære an cyrceweard Yware wæs gehaten. nam ba be nihte eall bet he mihte. bet wæron Cristes bec 7 mæsse hakeles 7 cantelcapas 7 reafes 7 swilce litles hwat, swa hwat swa he mihte. 7 ferde sona ær dæg to bone abbot Turolde 7 sægde him bæt he sohte his griðe. 7 cydde him hu ba utlages sceolden cumen to Burh. bæt he dyde eall be bære munece ræde. Þa sona on morgen comen ealle ba utlaga mid fela scipe, 7 woldon into bam mynstre. 7 ba munecas wiðstoden þæt hi na mihton incumen. Þa lægdon hi fyr on. 7 forbærndon ealle þa munece huses 7 eall ba tun buton ane huse. Pa comen hi burh fyre in æt Bolhiðe geate. 7 þa munecas comen heom togeanes. beaden heom grið, ac hi na rohten na þing. Geodon into þe mynstre. clumben upp to be halge rode, namen ba be kynehelm of ure Drihtnes heafod eall of smeate golde. namen ba bet fotspure be wæs undernæðen his fote. bæt wæs eall of read golde. Clumben upp to be stepel. brohton dune bæt hæcce be bær wæs behid. hit wæs eall of gold 7 of seolfre. hi namen bære twa gildene scrines 7 .ix. seolferne. 7 hi namen fiftene mycele roden. ge of golde ge of seolfre. Hi namen bære swa mycele gold 7 seolfre 7 swa manega gersumas on sceat 7 on scrud 7 on bokes swa nan man ne mæi oðer tællen. sægdon þæt hi hit dyden for ões mynstres holdscipe. Syððon geden heom to scipe, ferden heom to Elig, betæhtan bær ba ealla þa gærsume; Þa Denescæ menn wændon þæt hi sceoldon ofercumen þa Frencisca men. ba todrefodon ealle ba munekes, beleaf bær nan butan an munec he wæs gehaten Leofwine lange. he læi seoc in þa secræman in. Da com Turold abbot 7 æhte siþe twenti Frencisce men mid him 7 ealle fullwepnode. Pa he bider com ba fand he forbærnd wiðinnan 7 wiðutan. eall butan þa cyrece ane. Þa wæron þa utlagas ealle on flote. wistan þæt he scolde þider cumen. Þis wæs don bæs dæges iiii Nonæ Iunii . Þa twegen kyngas Willelm 7 Swægn wurðon sæhtlod. þa ferdon ba Dænesca menn ut of Elig mid ealle ba forenspræcena gærsume 7 læddon mid heom. Pa hi comen on middewarde be sæ. ba com an mycel storm 7 todræfede ealle ba scipe bær ba gersumes wæron inne. sume ferdon to Norwæge. sume to Yrlande. sume to Dænmarce. 7 eall bæt bider com bæt wæs bone hæcce 7 sume scrine 7 sume roden 7 fela of ba oðre gærsume. 7 brohten hit to an cynges tun hatte. 7 dyden hit eall ba in bone cyrce. Da syððon burh heora gemelest 7 burh heora druncenhed on an niht forbærnde ba cyrce. 7 eall bet bær innæ wæs. Đus wæs se mynstre of Burch forbærnd 7 forhærgod. Ælmihtig God hit gemiltse burh his mvcele mildhertnesse. And bus se abbot Turolde com to Burh. 7 þa munecas comen þa ongean. 7 dydan Cristes beudom in bære cyrce. bæt ær hæfde standen fulle seofeniht forutan ælces cynnes riht. Da herde Ægelric biscop bet gesecgon, ba amansumede he ealle ba men ba þæt yfel dæde hæfden don. Ða wæs mycel hunger þæs geares. 7 þa þæs sumeres com þet lið norðan of Humbran into Tæmese. 7 lagon þær twa niht. 7 heoldan syððon to Dænmercan. And Baldewine eorl forðferde. 7 his sunu Arnulf feng to rice. 7 Willelm eorl sceolde ben his geheald. 7 Franca cyng eac. 7 com ba Rodbriht eorl 7 ofsloh his mæg Arnulf. 7 bone eorl. 7 bone cyng aflymda. and his menn ofsloh fela busenda.

A.D. 1070. This year Earl Waltheof agreed with the king; but in the Lent of the same year the king ordered all the monasteries in England to be plundered. In the same year came King Sweyne from Denmark into the Humber; and the landsmen came to meet him, and made a treaty with him; thinking that he would overrun the land. Then came into Ely Christien, the Danish bishop, and Earl Osbern, and the Danish domestics with them; and the English people from all the fen-lands came to them; supposing that they should win all that land. Then the monks of Peterborough heard say, that their own men would plunder the minster; namely Hereward and his gang: because they understood that the king had given the abbacy to a French abbot, whose name was Thorold; -- that he was a very stern man, and was then come into Stamford with all his Frenchmen. Now there was a churchwarden, whose name was Yware; who took away by night all that he could, testaments, mass-hackles, cantelcopes, and reefs, and such other small things, whatsoever he could; and went early, before day, to the Abbot Thorold; telling him that he sought his protection, and informing him how the outlaws were coming to Peterborough, and that he did all by advice of the monks. Early in the morning came all the outlaws with many ships, resolving to enter the minster; but the monks withstood, so that they could not come in. Then they laid on fire, and burned all the houses of the monks, and all the town except one house. Then came they in through fire at the Bull-hithe gate; where the monks met them, and besought peace of them. But they regarded nothing. They went into the minster, climbed up to the holy rood, took away the diadem from our Lord's head, all of pure gold, and seized the bracket that was underneath his feet, which was all of red gold. They climbed up to the steeple, brought down the table that was hid there, which was all of gold and silver, seized two golden shrines, and nine of silver, and took away fifteen large crucifixes, of gold and of silver; in short, they seized there so much gold and silver, and so many treasures, in money, in raiment, and in books, as no man could tell another; and said, that they did it from their attachment to the minster. Afterwards they went to their ships, proceeded to Ely, and deposited there all the treasure. The Danes, believing that they should overcome the Frenchmen, drove out all the monks; leaving there only one, whose name was Leofwine Lang, who lay sick in the infirmary. Then came Abbot Thorold and eight times twenty Frenchmen with him, all full-armed. When he came thither, he found all within and without consumed by fire, except the church alone; but the outlaws were all with the fleet, knowing that he would come thither. This was done on the fourth day before the nones of June. The two kings, William and Swevne, were now reconciled: and the Danes went out of Elv with all the aforesaid treasure, and carried it away with them. But when they came into the middle of the sea, there came a violent storm, and dispersed all the ships wherein the treasures were. Some went to Norway, some to Ireland, some to Denmark. All that reached the latter, consisted of the table, and some shrines, and some crucifixes, and many of the other treasures; which they brought to a king's town, called ---, and deposited it all there in the church. Afterwards through their own carelessness, and through their drunkenness, in one night the church and all that was therein was consumed by fire. Thus was the minster of Peterborough burned and plundered. Almighty God have mercy on it through his great goodness. Thus came the Abbot Thorold to Peterborough; and the monks too returned, and performed the service of Christ in the church, which had before stood a full week without any kind of rite. When Bishop Aylric heard it, he excommunicated all the men who that evil deed had done. There was a great famine this year: and in the summer came the fleet in the north from the Humber into the Thames, and lay there two nights, and made afterwards for Denmark. Earl Baldwin also died, and his son Arnulf succeeded to the earldom. Earl William, in conjunction with the king of the Franks, was to be his guardian; but Earl Robert came and slew his kinsman Arnulf and the earl, put the king to flight, and slew many thousands of his men.

Text 6: Robert of Brunne (1338)

To Frankis & Normanz, for þar grete laboure, To Flemmynges & Pikardes, þat were with him in stoure, He gaf londes bityme, of whilk þer successoure Hold **C**it þe seysyne, with fulle grete honoure. (qtd in Baugh and Cable 2002: 112f)

Text 7: Robert of Gloucester (c. 1300)

Pus com lo engelond in to normandies hond.
& þe Normans ne couþe speke þo bote hor owe speche
& speke French as hii dude atom, & hor children dude also treche;
So þat heiemen of þis lond þat of hor blod come
Holdeþ alle þulke spreche þat hii of hom nbome.
Vor bote a man conne frenss me telþ of him loute.
Ac lowe men holdeþ to engliss & to hor owe speche • Cute.
Ich wene þer ne beþ in al þe world contreyes none
Pat ne holdeþ to hor owe speche bote engelond oner.
Ac wel me wo uor to conne boþ wel it is,
Vor þe more þat a mon can, þe more wurþe he is

(ll. 5737-5747, qtd in Baugh and Cable 2002: 115)

Text 8: Magna Charta (excerpts)

- 13. Et civitas London. habeat omnes antiquas libertates et liberas consuetudines suas, tam per terras, quam per aquas. Preterea volumus et concedimus quod omnes alie civitates, et burgi, et ville, et portus, habeant omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines suas.
- 13. And the city of London shall have all it ancient liberties and free customs, as well by land as by water; furthermore, we decree and grant that all other cities, boroughs, towns, and ports shall have all their liberties and free customs.
- 55. Omnes fines qui injuste et contra legem terre facti sunt nobiscum, et omnia amerciamenta facta injuste et contra legem terre, omnino condonentur, vel fiat inde per judicium viginti quinque baronum de quibus fit mencio inferius in securitate pacis, vel per judicium majoris partis eorundem, una cum predicto Stephano Cantuarensi archiepiscopo, si interesse poterit, et aliis quos secum ad hoc vocare voluerit. Et si interesse non poterit, nichilominus procedat negocium sine eo, ita quod, si aliquis vel aliqui de predictis viginti quinque baronibus fuerint in simili querela, amoveantur quantum ad hoc judicium, et alii loco eorum per residuos de eisdem viginti quinque, tantum ad hoc faciendum electi et jurati substituantur.
- 55. All fines made with us unjustly and against the law of the land, and all amercements, imposed unjustly and against the law of the land, shall be entirely remitted, or else it shall be done concerning them according to the decision of the five and twenty barons whom mention is made below in the clause for securing the peace, or according to the judgment of the majority of the same, along with the aforesaid Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, if he can be present, and such others as he may wish to bring with him for this purpose, and if he cannot be present the business shall nevertheless proceed without him, provided always that if any one or more of the aforesaid five and twenty barons are in a similar suit, they shall be removed as far as concerns this particular judgment, others being substituted in their places after having been selected by the rest of the same five and twenty for this purpose only, and after having been sworn.
- 61. Cum autem pro Deo, et ad emendacionem regni nostri, et ad melius sopiendum discordiam inter nos et barones nostros ortam, hec omnia predicta concesserimus, volentes ea integra et firma stabilitate in perpetuum gaudere, facimus et concedimus eis securitatem subscriptam; videlicet quod barones eligant viginti quinque barones de regno quos voluerint, qui debeant pro totis viribus suis observare, tenere, et facere observari, pacem et libertates quas eis concessimus, et hac presenti carta nostra confirmavimus; ita scilicet quod, si nos, vel justiciarius noster, vel ballivi nostri, vel aliquis de ministris nostris, in aliquo erga aliquem deliquerimus, vel aliquem articulorum pacis aut securitatis transgressi fuerimus, et delictum ostensum fuerit quatuor baronibus de predictis viginti quinque baronibus, illi quatuor barones accedant ad nos vel ad justiciarium nostrum, si fuerimus extra regnum, proponentes nobis excessum; petent ut excessum illum sine dilacione faciamus emendari. Et si nos excessum non emendaverimus, vel, si fuerimus extra regnum, justiciarius noster non emendaverit infra tempus quadraginta dierum computandum a tempore quo monstratum fuerit nobis vel justiciario nostro, si extra regnum fuerimus, predicti quatuor barones referant causam illam ad residuos de illis viginti quinque baronibus, et illi viginti quinque barones cum communia tocius terre distringent et gravabunt nos modis omnibus quibus poterunt, scilicet per capcionem castrorum, terrarum, possessionum, et aliis modis quibus poterunt, donec fuerit emendatum secundum arbitrium eorum, salva persona nostra et regine nostre et liberorum nostrorum; et cum fuerit emendatum intendent nobis sicut prius fecerunt. Et quicumque voluerit de terra juret quod ad predicta omnia exequenda parebit mandatis predictorum viginti quinque baronum, et quod gravabit nos pro posse suo cum ipsis, et nos publice et libere damus licenciam jurandi cuilibet qui jurare voluerit, et nulli umquam jurare prohibebimus. Omnes autem illos de terra qui per se et sponte sua noluerint jurare viginti quinque baronibus de distringendo et gravando nos cum eis, faciemus jurare eosdem de mandato nostro sicut predictum est. Et si aliquis de viginti quinque baronibus decesserit, vel a terra recesserit, vel aliquo alio modo impeditus fuerit, quominus ista predicta possent exequi, qui residui fuerint de predictis viginti quinque baronibus eligant alium loco ipsius, pro arbitrio suo, qui simili modo erit juratus quo et ceteri. In omnibus autem que istis viginti quinque baronibus committuntur exequenda, si forte ipsi viginti quinque presentes fuerint, et inter se super re aliqua discordaverint, vel aliqui ex eis summoniti nolint vel nequeant interesse, ratum habeatur et firmum quod major pars eorum qui presentes fuerint providerit, vel preceperit ac si omnes viginti quinque in hoc consensissent; et predicti viginti quinque jurent quod omnia antedicta fideliter observabunt, et pro toto posse suo facient observari. Et nos nichil impetrabimus ab aliquo, per nos nec per alium, per quod aliqua istarum concessionum et libertatum revocetur vel minuatur; et, si aliquid tale impetratum fuerit, irritum sit et inane et numquam eo utemur per nos nec per alium.

- 61. Since, moveover, for God and the amendment of our kingdom and for the better allaying of the quarrel that has arisen between us and our barons, we have granted all these concessions, desirous that they should enjoy them in complete and firm endurance forever, we give and grant to them the underwritten security, namely, that the barons choose five and twenty barons of the kingdom, whomsoever they will, who shall be bound with all their might, to observe and hold, and cause to be observed, the peace and liberties we have granted and confirmed to them by this our present Charter, so that if we, or our justiciar, or our bailiffs or any one of our officers, shall in anything be at fault towards anyone, or shall have broken any one of the articles of this peace or of this security, and the offense be notified to four barons of the foresaid five and twenty, the said four barons shall repair to us (or our justiciar, if we are out of the realm) and, laying the transgression before us, petition to have that transgression redressed without delay. And if we shall not have corrected the transgression (or, in the event of our being out of the realm, if our justiciar shall not have corrected it) within forty days, reckoning from the time it has been intimated to us (or to our justiciar, if we should be out of the realm), the four barons aforesaid shall refer that matter to the rest of the five and twenty barons, and those five and twenty barons shall, together with the community of the whole realm, distrain and distress us in all possible ways, namely, by seizing our castles, lands, possessions, and in any other way they can, until redress has been obtained as they deem fit, saving harmless our own person, and the persons of our queen and children; and when redress has been obtained, they shall resume their old relations towards us. And let whoever in the country desires it, swear to obey the orders of the said five and twenty barons for the execution of all the aforesaid matters, and along with them, to molest us to the utmost of his power; and we publicly and freely grant leave to everyone who wishes to swear, and we shall never forbid anyone to swear. All those, moveover, in the land who of themselves and of their own accord are unwilling to swear to the twenty five to help them in constraining and molesting us, we shall by our command compel the same to swear to the effect foresaid. And if any one of the five and twenty barons shall have died or departed from the land, or be incapacitated in any other manner which would prevent the foresaid provisions being carried out, those of the said twenty five barons who are left shall choose another in his place according to their own judgment, and he shall be sworn in the same way as the others. Further, in all matters, the execution of which is entrusted to these twenty five barons, if perchance these twenty five are present and disagree about anything, or if some of them, after being summoned, are unwilling or unable to be present, that which the majority of those present ordain or command shall be held as fixed and established, exactly as if the whole twenty five had concurred in this; and the said twenty five shall swear that they will faithfully observe all that is aforesaid, and cause it to be observed with all their might. And we shall procure nothing from anyone, directly or indirectly, whereby any part of these concessions and liberties might be revoked or diminished; and if any such things has been procured, let it be void and null, and we shall never use it personally or by another.
- 63. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus quod Anglicana ecclesia libera sit et quod homines in regno nostro habeant et teneant omnes prefatas libertates, jura, et concessiones, bene et in pace, libere et quiete, plene et integre, sibi et heredibus suis, de nobis et heredibus nostris, in omnibus rebus et locis, in perpetuum, sicut predictum est. Juratum est autem tam ex parte nostra quam ex parte baronum, quod hec omnia supradicta bona fide et sine malo ingenio observabuntur. Testibus supradictis et multis aliis. Data per manum nostram in prato quod vocatur Ronimed. inter Windlesoram et Stanes, quinto decimo die junii, anno regni nostri decimo septimo.
- 63. Wherefore we will and firmly order that the English Church be free, and that the men in our kingdom have and hold all the aforesaid liberties, rights, and concessions, well and peaceably, freely and quietly, fully and wholly, for themselves and their heirs, of us and our heirs, in all respects and in all places forever, as is aforesaid. An oath, moreover, has been taken, as well on our part as on the part of the barons, that all these conditions aforesaid shall be kept in good faith and without evil intent. Given under our hand the above named and many others being witnesses in the meadow which is called Runnymede, between Windsor and Staines, on the fifteenth day of June, in the seventeenth year of our reign.

Text 9: Cursor Mundi (c. 1300)

Þis ilk bok es translate Into Inglis tong to rede For the love of Inglis lede, Inglish lede of Ingland, For the commun at understand. Frankis rimes here I red Comunlik in ilka sted; Mast es it wroght for Frankis man, Quat is for him na Frankis can? In Ingland the nacion, Es Inglis man bar in commun; Pe speche bat man wit mast may spede; Mast barwit to speke war need. Selden was for ani chance Praised Inglis gtong in France; Give we ilkan bare langage, Me think we do bam non outrage. To laud and Inglish man I spell Þatg understnades þat I tell ... (Prologue, II, ll. 232-250, qtd in Baugh and Cable 2002: 138f)

Text 10: Arthur and Merlin (from the opening) (before 1325)

Ri**C**t is, þat Inglische Inglische vnderstond, þat was born in Inglond; Freynsche vse þis gentilman, Ac everich Inglische can. Mani noble ich have ysei**C**e Þat no Freynsche couþe seye. (qtd in Baugh and Cable 2002: 145f)

Text 11: John of Trevisa: Translation (1385-1387??) of Ranulf Higden's Polychronicon (1342 or 1344) His comments on the English language were inserted into the translation.

As hyt ys y-knowe houw meny maner people buth in this ylond, ther buth also of so meny people longages and tonges; notheless Walschmen and Scottes, that buth nowt y-melled with other nacions, holdeth wel my here furste longage and speche, bote [yet] Scottes, that were som tyme confederate and [lived] with the Pictes, drawe somewhat after here speche. Bote the Flemmyinges, that [live] in the west side of Wales, habbeth y-left here strange speche and speketh Saxonlych y-now. Also Englischmen, [though] he hadde fram the bygynnying thre maner speche, Southeron, Northeron, and Myddel speche (in the myddel of the lond), as he come of thre maner peole of Germania, notheles, by commyxtion and mellyng furst with Danes and afterward with Normans, in menye the contray longage is apeyred, and som useth strange wlaffyng, chytheryung, harryng and garrying, grisbittyung. This apeyryng of the burth-tonge ye bycause of twey things. On ys for chyldern in scole, ayenes the usage and manere of al other nacions, buth compelled for to leve here owne longage, and for to construe here lessons and here things a Freynsch and habbeth, buthe the Normans come furst into Engelond. Also, gentilmen children buth y-tauyt for to speke Freynsch fram tyme that a buth y-tauyt for to speke Freynsch fram tyme that a buth y-tauyt for to speke Freynsch fram tyme that a buth y-tauyt for to speke Freynsch fram tyme that a buth y-tauyt for to speke Freynsch fram tyme that a buth y-tauyt for to speke Freynsch fram tyme that a buth y-tauyt for to speke Freynsch fram tyme that a buth y-tauyt for to speke Freynsch fram tyme that a buth y-tauyt for to speke Freynsch fram tyme that a buth y-tauyt for to speke Freynsch fram tyme that a buth y-tauyt for to speke Freynsch fram tyme that a buth y-tauyt for to speke Freynsch fram tyme that buth y-tauyt for to speke Freynsch for to be more y-told of.

...Hyt semesth a gret wondur houw Englysch, that ys the burth-tonge of Englysch-men and here oune longtate ande tongte, ys so dyfers of soun in this ylong. ... fror men of the est with men of the west, as hyt were undur the same party of heven, accredeth more in sounying of speche than men of the north with men of the south; therefore hyt ys that Mercian, that buth men of myddel Engelond, as hyt were parteners of the endes, undurstondeth betre the side longages, Northeron and Southeron, than Northeron aqden Southeron undurstondeth eyther other.

Al the longage of the Northumbres, and specialych at York, ys so scharp, slyttyng and frotying, and unschape, that we Southeron men may that longage unneth undurstonde. Y trow that that ys bycause that a buth ny to strange menhj and alienhs that speketh strangelych, and also bycause that the kynges of Engelond [livest] alwey fer fram that contray: For a buth more y-turned to the south contray; and yef a gith to the north contray, a goth with gret help and strengthe. The cause why a buth more in the south contray than in the north may be betre cornlond, more people, more noble cytes, and more profytable havenes.

Lumby; J.R. (ed.) (1879) Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis: Together with the English Translations of John of Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century, 7 vols. (London: Longman, Green, vol. 1, pp. 8-10.

John of Trevisa (cont'd.)

Dis manere was moche i-vsed to fore De firste moreyn and is siDDe sumdel i-chaugned; for Iohn Cofrnwaile, a maister of grarrer, changed De lore in gramer scole and construccioun of Frensche in to Englische; and Richard Pencriche lerned Dat now, De Cere of oure Lorde a Dowsand Dre hundred and foure score and five, and of De secounde kyng Richard after De conquest nyne, in alle De gramere scoles of Engelond, children leueD Frensche and construeD and lerneD an Englische, and haueD Derby auauntage in oon side and disauauntage in anoDer side; here auauntage is, Dat Dey lerneD her gramer in lasse tyme Dan children were i-woned to doo; disauauntage is Dat now children of gramer scole conneD no more Frensche Dan is harme for hem and Dey schulle passe De see and trauaille in straunge lands and in many oDer places. Also gentil men haueD now moche i-left for to teche here heildan Frensche.

(Trevisa qtd. in Baugh and Cable 2002: 150f)

Text 12: William Langland. Piers Plowman (1360-1387)

12

FOR trewthe telleth that loue · is triacle of hevene; May no synne be on him sene · that useth that spise, And alle his werkes he wroulte · with loue as him liste; And lered it Moises for the levest thing · and moste like to heuene, And also the plante of pees · moste precious of vertues. For hevene myghte noughte holden it · it was so hevy of hym-self, Tyle it hadde of the erthe · yeten his fylle, And what it haved of this folde · flesshe and blode taken, Was neuere leef upon lynde · lighter ther-after, And portatyf and persant · as the poynt of a nedle, That myghte non armure it lette · ne none heigh walles. For-thi is love leder · of the lordes folke of hevene, And a mene, as the maire is · bitwene the kyng and the comune, Right so is love a ledere · and the lawe shapeth Upon man for his mysdedes · the merciment he taxeth. And for to knowe it kyndely · it comseth bi myght, And in the herte, there is the hevede · and the heigh welle.

Notes: triacle "sovereign remedy"; as him liste "as seemed good to him (Christ)"; lered "taught"; levest "most pleasing"; yeten "eaten"; lynde "lime tree"; portatyf "quick-moving"; lette "prevent"; mene "mediator" merciment "fine"; kyndely "properly."

(Retrieved from "<a href="http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Page:Oxford Book of English Verse 1250-1918.divu/43")

Text 13: Resolution of the London brewers (1422)

Whereas our mother tongzu7e, to wit, the English tonbgue, hath in modern days begun to be honorably enlarged and adorned; for that our most excellent lord king Henry the Fifth hath, in his letters missive, and divers affairs touching his ownj person more willingly chzuosenj t0o declare the secrets of his will [in it]; and for the better understanding of his people, hath, with a diligent mind, procured the common idiom (setting aside others) to be commended by the exercise of writing; and there are many of our craft of brewers who have the kinowledege of writing and readeing in the said English idiom, but in others, to wit, the Latin and Frenchl, before these times used, they do not in any wise understand; for which causes, with many others, it being considered how that the greater part of the lords and trusty commons have begun to make their matters to be noted down in our mother tongue, so we also in our craft, following in some manner their steps, have decreed in future to commit to memory the needful things which concern us. (from: W. Herbert. *The Hiostory of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London*. Vol. 1, London, 1834, p. 106, qtd. in McCrum et al. 1986: 84 and Baugh and Cable 2002: 154)

Text 14: Osbern Bokenham (1393-1467?) Mappula Angliae (excerpt) (1490)

And þis corrupcioun of Englyshe men yn þer modre-tounge, begunne as I seyde with famylyar commixtion of Danys firste and of Normannys aftir, toke grete augmentacioun and encrees aftir þe commyng of William conquerour by two thyngis. The firste was: by decre and ordynaunce of þe seide William conqueror children in gramer-scolis agteyns þe consuetude and þe custom of all oþer nacyons, here owne modre-tonge loafte and forsakyn, lernyd here Donet on Frenssh and to construyn yn Frenssh and to maken here Latyns on þe same syse. Thje secounde cause was þat by the same decre lordis swonys and all nobyll and worthy mennys children were fyrste set to lyrnnyn and spek4en Frensshe, or þan þey cowed spekyn Ynglyssh and þat all wrytyngis and endentyngis and all maner plees and contrauercyes in courtis of þe lawe, and all maner reknyngis and countis yn howsoolde schulle be doonyn the same. And þis seeyinge, þe rurales, þat þey myghte semyn þe more worschipfull and honorable and þe redlierecomyn to þe famyliarite of þe worthy and þe grete, leftyn hure modre tounge and labouryd to kunne spekyn Frenssh: and thus by processe of tyme barbari Gid thei in bothyn and spokyan neythyr good Frenssh nor good Englyssh. (qtd. in Graddol et al. 1996: 128f)

Text 15: from Caxton's Prolog to Eneydos (1490)

And whan I sawe the favr & strange termes therin I doubted that it sholde not please some gentylmen whiche late blamed me, saying that in my translacyons I had ouer curyous termes whiche coulde not be vnderstande of comyn peple and desired me to vse olde and homely termes in my translacyons and fayn wolde I satysfye euery man and so to doo, toke an olde boke and redde therin and certaynly the englissshe was so rude and brood that I coude not wele vnderstande it. And also my lorde abbot of westmynster ded do shewe to me late, certayn euydences wryton in olde englysshe, for to reduce it in-to our englysshe now vsid And certaynly it was wreton in suche wyse that it was more lyke to dutche than englysshe; I coude not reduce ne brynge it to be vnderstonden Andcertaynly our langage now vsed varyeth ferre from tht whiche was vsed and spoken when I was borne For we Englysshe men ben borne under the domynacyon of the mone, whiche is never stedfaste but ever waverynge, wexynge one season and waneth & dyscreaseth another season. And that comyn englysshe that is spoken in one shyre varyeth from a nother. In so moche that in my dayes happened that certayn marchauntes were in a shippe in tamyse for to haue sayled ouer the see into Zelande and for lacke of wynde, thei taryed atte forlond, and wente to lande for to refreshe them; And one of theym named sheffelde, a mercer, cam in-to an hows and axed for mete and specyally he axyd after eggys; And the goode wyf answerde, that she could speke no frenshe. And the marchaunt was angry, for he also coude speke no Frenshe, but wolde haue hadde egges and she understode hym not. And thenne at laste a nother sayd that he wolde have eyren then the good wyf sayd that she understod hym wel. Loo, what sholde a man in thyse dayes now wryte, egges, or eyren Certaynly it is hard to playse euery man, by cause of dyversite & chaunge of langage.

Text 16: Excerpt from George Puttenham. The Arte of Poesie (1589)

But after a speech is fully fashioned to the common vnderstanding, and accepted by consent of a whole countrey and natio, it is called a language, and receaueth none allowed alterenation, but by extraordinary occasions by little and little, as it were insensibly bringing in of many corruptios that creepe along with the time; of all which matters, we have more largely spoken in our bookes of the originals and pedigree of the English tong. Then when I say language, I meane the speech wherein the Poet or maker writeth be it Greek or Latine, or as our case is the vulgar English, and when it is peculiar vnto a countrey it is called the mother speach of that people: the Greekes terme it *Idioma*: so is ours at this day the Norman English. Before the Conquest of the Normans it was the Anglesaxon, and before that the British, which as some will, is at this day, the Walsh, or as others affirme the Cornish: I for my part thinke neither of both, as they be now spoken and pronounced. This part in our maker or Poet must be heedyly looked vnto, that it be naturall, pure, and the most vsuall of all his countrey: and for the same purpose rather that which is spoken in the kings Court, or in the good townes and Cities within the land, then in the marches and frontiers, or in port townes, where straungers haunt for traffike sake, or yet in Vniuersities where Schollers vse much peeuish affectation of words out of the primatiue languages, or finally, in any vplandish village or corner of a Realme, where is no resort but of poore rusticall or vnciuill people: neither shall he follow the speech of a craftes man or carter, or other of the inferiour sort, though he be inhabitant or bred in the best towne and Citie in this Realme, for such persons doe abuse good speaches by strange accents or ill shapen soundes, and false ortographie. But he shall follow generally the better brought vp sort, such as the Greekes call [charientes] men civill and graciously behavoured and bred. Our maker therfore at these dayes shall not follow Piers plowman nor Gower nor Lydgagte nor yet Chaucer, for their language is now out of vse with vs: neither shall he take the termes of Northern-men, such as they vse in dayly talke, whether they be noble men or gentlemen, or of their best clarkes all is a matter: not in effect any speech vsed beyond the riuer of Trent, though no man can deny but that theirs is the purer English Saxon at this day, yet it is not so Courtly nor so currant as our Southerne English is, no more is the far Westerne mās speech: ye shall therfore take the vsuall speech of the Court, and that of London and the shires lying about London within lx. myles, and not much aboue. I say not this but that in euery shyre of England there be gentlemen and others that speake but specially write as goode Southerne as we of Middlesex or Surrey do, but not the common people of euery shire, to whom the gentlemen, and also their learned clarkes do for the most part condescend, but herein we are already ruled by th'English Dictionaries and other bookes written by learned men, and therefore it needeth none other direction in that behalfe. Albeit peraduenture some small admonition be not impertinent, for we finde in our English writers many wordes and speaches amendable, and ye shall see in some many inkhorne termes so ill affrected brought in by men of learning as preachers and schoolemasters: and many straunge termes of other languages by Secretaries and Marchaunts and trauailours, and many darke wordes and not vsuall nor well sounding, though they be dayly spoken in Court. Wherefore great heed must be taken by our maker in this point that his choise be good.

Text 17: William Shakespeare: Henry V

Act 3, Scene 2

GOWER: The Duke of Gloucester, to whom the order of the siege is given, is altogether directed by an Irishman, a very valiant gentleman, i' faith.

FLUELLEN: It is Captain Macmorris, is it not?

GOWER: I think it be.

FLUELLEN: By Cheshu, he is an ass, as in the world: I will verify as much in his beard: be has no more directions in the true disciplines of the wars, look you, of the Roman disciplines, than is a puppy-dog.

Enter MACMORRIS and Captain JAMY

GOWER: Here a' comes; and the Scots captain, Captain Jamy, with him.

FLUELLEN: Captain Jamy is a marvellous falourous gentleman, that is certain; and of great expedition and knowledge in th' aunchient wars, upon my particular knowledge of his directions: by Cheshu, he will maintain his argument as well as any military man in the world, in the disciplines of the pristine wars of the Romans.

JAMY: I say gud-day, Captain Fluellen.

FLUELLEN: God-den to your worship, good Captain James.

GOWER: How now, Captain Macmorris! have you quit the mines? have the pioneers given o'er?

MACMORRIS: By Chrish, la! tish ill done: the work ish give over, the trompet sound the retreat. By my hand, I swear, and my father's soul, the work ish ill done; it ish give over: I would have blowed up the town, so Chrish save me, la! in an hour: O, tish ill done, tish ill done; by my hand, tish ill done!

FLUELLEN: Captain Macmorris, I beseech you now, will you voutsafe me, look you, a few disputations with you, as partly touching or concerning the disciplines of the war, the Roman wars, in the way of argument, look you, and friendly communication; partly to satisfy my opinion, and partly for the satisfaction, look you, of my mind, as touching the direction of the military discipline; that is the point.

JAMY: It sall be vary gud, gud feith, gud captains bath: and I sall quit you with gud leve, as I may pick occasion; that sall I, marry.

MACMORRIS: It is no time to discourse, so Chrish save me: the day is hot, and the weather, and the wars, and the king, and the dukes: it is no time to discourse. The town is beseeched, and the trumpet call us to the breach; and we talk, and, be Chrish, do nothing: 'tis shame for us all: so God sa' me, 'tis shame to stand still; it is shame, by my hand: and there is throats to be cut, and works to be done; and there ish nothing done, so Chrish sa' me, la!

JAMY: By the mess, ere theise eyes of mine take themselves to slomber, ay'll de gud service, or ay'll lig i' the grund for it; ay, or go to death; and ay'll pay 't as valourously as I may, that sall I suerly do, that is the breff and the long. Marry, I wad full fain hear some question 'tween you tway.

FLUELLEN: Captain Macmorris, I think, look you, under your correction, there is not many of your nation--

MACMORRIS: Of my nation! What ish my nation? Ish a villain, and a bastard, and a knave, and a rascal. What ish my nation? Who talks of my nation?

FLUELLEN: Look you, if you take the matter otherwise than is meant, Captain Macmorris, peradventure I shall think you do not use me with that affability as in discretion you ought to use me, look you: being as good a man as yourself, both in the disciplines of war, and in the derivation of my birth, and in other particularities.

MACMORRIS: I do not know you so good a man as myself: so Chrish save me, I will cut off your head.

GOWER: Gentlemen both, you will mistake each other.

JAMY: A! that's a foul fault. A parley sounded. ... Exeunt.

Act 4, Scene 7. Another part of the field. Enter FLUELLEN and GOWER

FLUELLEN: Kill the poys and the luggage! 'tis expressly against the law of arms: 'tis as arrant a piece of knavery, mark you now, as can be offer't; in your conscience, now, is it not?

GOWER: 'Tis certain there's not a boy left alive; and the cowardly rascals that ran from the battle ha' done this slaughter: besides, they have burned and carried away all that was in the king's tent; wherefore the king, most worthily, hath caused every soldier to cut his prisoner's throat. O, 'tis a gallant king!

FLUELLEN: Ay, he was porn at Monmouth, Captain Gower. What call you the town's name where Alexander the Pig was born!

GOWER: Alexander the Great.

FLUELLEN: Why, I pray you, is not pig great? the pig, or the great, or the mighty, or the huge, or the magnanimous, are all one reckonings, save the phrase is a little variations.

GOWER: I think Alexander the Great was born in Macedon; his father was called Philip of Macedon, as I take it.

FLUELLEN: I think it is in Macedon where Alexander is porn. I tell you, captain, if you look in the maps of the 'orld, I warrant you sall find, in the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth, that the situations, look you, is both alike. There is a river in Macedon; and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth: it is called Wye at Monmouth; but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other river; but 'tis all one, 'tis alike as my fingers is to my fingers, and there is salmons in both. If you mark Alexander's life well, Harry of Monmouth's life is come after it indifferent well; for there is figures in all things. Alexander, God knows, and you know, in his rages, and his furies, and his wraths, and his cholers, and his moods, and his displeasures, and his indignations, and also being a little intoxicates in his prains, did, in his ales and his angers, look you, kill his best friend, Cleitus.

GOWER: Our king is not like him in that: he never killed any of his friends.

FLUELLEN: It is not well done, mark you now take the tales out of my mouth, ere it is made and finished. I speak but in the figures and comparisons of it: as Alexander killed his friend Cleitus, being in his ales and his cups; so also Harry Monmouth, being in his right wits and his good judgments, turned away the fat knight with the great belly-doublet: he was full of jests, and gipes, and knaveries, and mocks; I have forgot his name.

GOWER: Sir John Falstaff.

FLUELLEN: That is he: I'll tell you there is good men porn at Monmouth.

GOWER: Here comes his majesty.

The Counties of Great Britain

