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PAPERS, ETC.

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*On The Charters of King Ine.*

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THE reputed charters of Ine, King of Wessex (A.D. 688—725) that survive, are twelve in number. All of them purport to be grants to religious houses or communities; and all, except one, come down to us as transcripts, embodied in historical writings, or entered in registers of abbeys. The single document which exists as a separate script is preserved in the Taunton Museum, and has been recently fac-similed by the Ordnance Department.<sup>1</sup> As this instrument comprises lands,—some of which lie round Shepton Mallet, where this year's meeting of the Society is held,—a description of its

(1). *Anglo-Saxon MSS.*, pt. 2 (1883). The date on the title of this volume is 1881; the preface is dated July 25, 1882. It was first issued to the public in May or June, 1883.

nature and contents may be considered not inopportune.

Of the above mentioned twelve deeds, three relate to Abingdon, one to Malmsbury, one to Winchester, one to the Wessex diocese generally. The remaining six are grants in favour of Glastonbury, of which the Taunton document is one.

With the subject of these reputed grants to Glastonbury are mixed up questions that arise upon William of Malmsbury's treatise *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiæ*, which may be supposed to have been written in about the year 1110.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Gale's edition, from which we quote, was printed in 1690. In his preface to this work, Malmsbury states that he had submitted for correction to the brethren of the monastery, "dominis et sociis meis," his *Lives of Dunstan and Patrick*; his work on the *Miracles of Benignus*; and on the *Passion of the Martyr Indractus*, "ut si quid citra rationem dictum esset, corrigeretur pro tempore"—and it is at least probable that the *Antiquities of Glastonbury* was likewise so submitted, with the result that many interpolations have crept into what Malmsbury wrote, and considerable additions have been made; as indeed is obvious from the fact that the list of abbots is, in Gale's edition, carried down to the year 1234.

When the charters and the history come to be compared together, a very general resemblance is found to exist between them; but the history, as a rule, is more ample in its statement of the lands granted, and generally more favourable to the monastery than are the charters—a consideration which rather weighs in favour of the charters. Again, a great portion of the so-called history in Gale consists of rough memoranda, not worked up into narrative. Yet these *disjecta membra* often seem like fragments extracted from actual deeds, pointing to originals of which the existing charters are copies. How far

(1). "There seems to be some ground," says Sir T. D. Hardy, (Preface to the *Gesta Regum*, pt. 9,) "that it," viz., the *Gesta Regum*, "was written between the years 1114 and 1123." The work called *The Antiquities of Glastonbury*, presumably, was compiled before the composition of the *Gesta Regum*.

these relics are part of the materials originally furnished to the compiler, and to what extent they may be the side references of some annotator that have slid into the text, it is not easy to say.

Another difficulty occurs at this part of the inquiry. A list of the abbots of Glastonbury is given at p. 328 of Gale, with many errors on the face of it; but such errors only as have been hitherto attributed to the mistakes of transcribers, and considered capable of correction. Attempts at such correction have been made;<sup>1</sup> notably by the Bishop of Chester, in the *Memorials of St. Dunstan* (Intr., p. lxxxii, note), of which copy is given below, App., col. 3. But amongst the Cotton MSS. is to be found another catalogue, giving a different order of names, fewer in number. To this list great weight is attached by the Bishop of Chester;<sup>2</sup> and the fact which he states,<sup>3</sup> that the list of Bishops of Sherborne, as given in this Cotton MS., though differing from the ordinary series in Dugdale and elsewhere, precisely corresponds with another in a Sherborne MS. in the National Library, Paris, is a proof of the value of this Cotton record. Several pages of this manuscript<sup>4</sup> are filled with lists of various personages—popes, bishops, and kings. The writing seems to be all of one date, and if so, can be shown, by comparison of the last names, to be of the year 990. Each series has its own heading in red, except the last but two, where there are spaces for rubrications, which have not been filled in. The last but one is a genealogy of the Kings of Wessex, from the three sons of Eádgar upwards.<sup>5</sup> This genealogy resembles, but is by no

(1). See a revised list on a blank leaf at the beginning of a volume (*Add. MSS.*, No. 22,934,) in the British Museum, which is a copy of Malmesbury's *History* and other matter, formerly in the possession of Sir F. Palgrave.

(2). *Councils* iii. 228, 284; *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, Intr., p. lxxxii.

(3). *Ib.*, p. cxiii.

(4). Cott. Tib., B. v, pt. 1, fols. 17—23.

(5). The names of the three sons here given are Eádward, Eádmund, and Æðelred. Of the existence of the second son, Eádmund, Lappenberg seems to have had some doubt, which probably he would not have entertained, had this manuscript been known to him. Thorpe's *Lappenberg*, ii. 150.

means identical with, those of the Canterbury (B), Abingdon (C), and Worcester (D) versions of the Chronicle, under the year 859. Like them, it tells of Sceáf having been born in the ark of Noah, not Hrathraing, as the Winchester (A) chronicle relates.<sup>1</sup> But under mention of Ine, it records, "and he getimbrade thæt beorhte mynster æt Glæstingabyrig," a phrase which, without the expletive "beorhte"—"splendid," is to be found only in the margin of the Winchester Chronicle (A), under the year 688, into which it has been inserted from (G), which is essentially a Canterbury version of the same Chronicle.<sup>2</sup> Last of all comes the column in question (App. I. col. 1), which, though not headed, as already observed, is evidently a catalogue of the Glastonbury abbots. It differs so materially from the list in Gale, that the credibility of matters based upon, or consistent only with, that list, is very seriously shaken.

Neither of the two lists can be said to receive much illustration from the charters, but a piece of independent testimony comes from the letters of Boniface, amongst which is one,<sup>3</sup> from Berhtwald, Archbishop of Canterbury (693—731), to Forthere, Bishop of Sherborne (709—737), desiring him to petition Beorwald, Abbot of Glastonbury, to release a captive girl, at the request of her relations, for the sum of 300 shillings. It follows that at some date between 709 and 731, the Abbot of Glastonbury was Beorwald. In the list in Gale, there is an abbot of this name, given at from 705 to 712. In the Cotton list, this name does not precisely occur, but the Bishop of Chester identifies Beorhtwald of the Cotton list with the abbot of the letter. He also identifies Weahlstod of the Cotton list with Uualchstod, Bishop of Hereford, from about 727 to about 737, mentioned by Bæda<sup>4</sup> as bishop of that see in 731. If this be so, Weahlstod must have ceased to be

(1). See Earle, *Saxon Chronicles*, pp. xiii. 71.

(2). See Earle, *Ib.*, p. liii.

(3). *Jaffé*, No. 7, p. 48; *Councils*, iii. 284.

(4). *Eccles. Hist.*, v. 23; *Memorials of Dunstan*, Intr., p. lxxxii.



abbot, and have been succeeded by Coengils, the next on the Cotton list, in about 727, and we then get the following approximate dates for the first four bishops on this list:

Hemgils<sup>1</sup> ... c. 680 to c. 705.

Wealstod ... c. 705 to c. 727.

Coengils ... c. 727 to before end of 731.

Beorhtwald ... before end of 731 to . . .

Turning now to the charters and to Malmsbury's *History*, we may briefly note what, according to these two sources compared, were the traditions and pretensions of Glastonbury, as to grants by Kings of Wessex before Ine.

In the year 670, and in the reign of Cenwalh (643—674), the cartulary gives a reputed grant of one cassate at Ferramere<sup>2</sup> (Meare); the abbot's name being Beorhtwald. This Beorhtwald, according to Glastonbury tradition, after he had been head of the monastery for ten (or as John of Glastonbury states, for eight) years, was in 680 or 678 made Abbot of Reculver, and in 693, Archbishop of Canterbury. Since Brihtwald, Archbishop of Canterbury, is known to have died on the 13th January, 731,<sup>3</sup> this tradition would give to one man a period, as abbot and bishop, of 61 years—an improbable thing, though not impossible; whereas, if the Cotton list be correct, the tradition cannot be true. The compiler of this list knew of no founder of Glastonbury before Ine, no abbot before Hemgils—and no Abbot Beorhtwald before about the year 727. In Gale<sup>4</sup> this grant takes the form of two hides at Ferramere; but the words, "Ego Theodoretus" (for Theodorus, archbishop from 668 to 690), "subscripsi," have been copied or borrowed from a charter, as if the writer had an original or a copy before him. In Wood the version is, "Signum Theodori episcopi." Besides the two hides, the grant

(1). The first charter (reputed genuine) signed by Hemgisl is *K.C.D.* XIX, (i. 25), in the year 680; the posterior date, 705, is taken from the list in Gale.

(2). Wood, I, 150; *K.C.D.* \*VII. i. 10.

(3). *Councils*, iii. 228.

(4). Page 308.

includes four islands—Beokerie, Godenie, Martynesie, and Andreyesie; whereas the Wood version speaks only of “*duas paruas insulas.*” The scribe in Wood also writes “*Cedualla,*” by mistake, for “*Coenuuealha;*” and there is a suspicious allusion to the possibility of the King’s relapse into paganism, —a thing which is said to have really occurred.

Next comes a grant on the 6th July, 680,<sup>1</sup> in the reign of Centwine (676—685), of three cassates at Lantocal (Street, near Glastonbury), and of two manors or homesteads in the marsh island of Ferramere, the grantor being Bishop Heddi, of Winchester (676—705). This is mentioned, briefly, in Gale,<sup>2</sup> where the land is described as of six hides at Lantocal; the grant being assented to by King Centwine, and by the sub-King Baldred; and then comes a suspicious phrase—“*quam donationem Cedvalla confirmavit, et propria manu, licet paganus, signum crucis expressit.*” The charter however, has been admitted by Kemble as genuine.

The next example shows some ingenious perversions on the part of the monks, or their historian.<sup>3</sup> In this instrument it is recited that Hemgils, the abbot, was appointed by Bishop Heddi, of Winchester, with the consent of King Centwine. This recital is turned by the historian in Gale<sup>4</sup> into a totally different statement, namely, that Hemgisel (*sic*) was, “*pro suâ fideli conversatione*” (thus far preserving the same phraseology), appointed abbot by the king on the petition of Bishop Heddi, *and of the monks*, and then it goes on—“*eâ tamen conditione, quatinus fratres ejusdem loci habeant jus eligendi et constituendi rectorem, juxta regulam Benedicti*”—not a word of which occurs in the original, though the phrase may be found in the spurious charter, called “The greater Privilege of King Ine,” referred to below. The grant contained in this charter is in 681, by Baldred, subregulus of Wessex, with the consent of King Centwine, of six manentes or homesteads, at Pennard,

(1). Wood, 149 b; K.C.D. XIX, i. 24.

(2). Page 309.

(3). Wood, 83; K.C.D. \*XX, i. 25, vi. 225.

(4). Page 308.

i.e., Pennard minster, or East Pennard, to Abbot Hemgils. Of this grant a separate script, in identical terms to those in Wood, is at Longleat, and has been fac-similed in the *Ordnance*, vol. ii. In the history in Gale<sup>1</sup> the phraseology of the deed is preserved—"ad supplementum honorabilis Ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ et ['beati,' instead of] sancti Patricii cum consensu ['et licentiâ' inserted] pontificis nostri Hedde;" and the six hides at Pennard are supplemented by sixteen hides at Logpores-beorh (Montacute), and by a fishery in the Parret. This charter has been marked as suspicious or spurious by Kemble, but it is less open to doubt than some of the others; whilst by the historian in Gale it appears to have been very grossly manipulated.

In the same reign, in the abbacy of Hemgils, comes the West Monkton charter, first published in the *Proceedings* of this Society,<sup>2</sup> by Mr. F. H. Dickinson. This is not a separate script, but is contained in a paper register relating to West Monkton, preserved at Longleat. The grant is by Centwine, in 682, to Hamegils, of twenty-three mansiones at Quantock Wood, now West Monkton, near Taunton, and of three casates south of the river Tone. It is obvious that the original of this, which, with certain reservations,<sup>3</sup> is considered not to have any internal evidence of falsity, must have been known to the writer of the note respecting "Mvnecatone" in Gale.<sup>4</sup> The same phrases are used—"ad supplementum vitæ regularis in monasterio Glastingabiri, sub Divini timoris instinctu, humiliter largitus sum." But, in addition to the twenty-three hides near the wood, and the three hides "in Crucan," the history includes twenty hides more "in Caric" or "Caru;"<sup>5</sup> and in the paragraph which describes the grant is interpolated the passage respecting the right of choosing and appointing an abbot according to the rule of St. Benedict, mentioned above.

(1). Page 308.

(2). *Proceedings* for 1882, vol. xxviii. p. 89.

(3). See page 92.

(4). Page 308.

(5). Page 326.

We come at length to the reign of Ine, whose six charters to Glastonbury it is now proposed to examine.

I. The abbot who was in power when Ine "took to the kingdom," in 688, was Hemgils. To him are purported to have been granted by the king, ten cassates of land at Brent, now Brent Knoll. The deed, which comes from the Bodleian cartulary,<sup>1</sup> bears the nominal date 663, which is out of the reign of Ine altogether, and impossible. But the sixth indiction is given, and as Hemgils, according to all accounts, was not living after 705, the only year of the sixth indiction which answers to him, and to Bishop Heddi, of Winchester (676—705), who signs, is 693. A curious circumstance is the mention amongst the witnesses, of Hereuualdus, "*Speculator aeclesiae dei*," *i.e.*, bishop; but there is no bishop of 693, whose name at all resembles Hereuualdus, except Waldhere, Bishop of London. It appears that of this charter there is an entry in the Glastonbury register, preserved at Longleat.<sup>2</sup> There is nothing against the validity of this deed, except the error in date above mentioned.<sup>3</sup> Of this grant there is a curious mention in the history in Gale.<sup>4</sup> It is stated that in the year 620 (!) Ine gave to Abbot Hemgils ten hides at Brente; but that Abbot "Berthwald," presumably the successor of Hemgils, voluntarily abandoned the property, and sent away the colony of monks that had been established there.

II. Next in order of date comes the grant of liberty or immunity from taxation to the monks of Glastonbury, printed in Kemble<sup>5</sup> from various sources, and described by the historian in Gale,<sup>6</sup> as "*Parvum privilegium Regis Ine*." It purports to be of the year 704, and is framed on a common form, similar to that of privileges by Ine to the West Saxon Diocese, of

(1). Wood, f. 201; K.C.D. LXXI, i. 83.

(2). App. to Hist. Commission, 4th Rep., p. 228.

(3). See the note, K.C.D. i. 83, where there is plainly some error. The date, 723, is beyond Heddi of Winchester's era, and impossible.

(4). Page 309.

(5). K.C.D. \*LI, i. 48.

(6). Page 309.



the date 26th of May,<sup>1</sup> 704, mentioned above, which is spurious. This deed is also a fabrication, though relied upon by Malmsbury, in his *History of the Bishops*, as genuine.<sup>2</sup>

III. The third charter of Ine to Glastonbury, is a grant of twenty cassates, on either side of the river Dulting, to Abbot Beorhtuuald.<sup>3</sup> The date is 702, the indiction 4. This indiction is wrong; but a date that will satisfy it, falling within the bishopric of Hedda of Litchfield (691—706), who signs, is 706. Another signatory is Beorhtuuald, Archbishop of Canterbury (693—731). The names of the archbishop and of the abbot are spelt exactly alike. That Brihtwold of Canterbury, and Beorhtwald of Glastonbury, were cotemporaries at some date from 709 to 731, we know from the letter above mentioned; but no sixth indiction, later than 702, is admissible in the lifetime of either of the Bishops Hedda, so that the inconsistency of the date and abbot's name is incurable, and this without resort to the Cotton list, which is equally fatal, inasmuch as according to that catalogue, Beorhtwald could not have been abbot before about 727. The instrument, nevertheless, though incorrect as to the name of the abbot in 706, is valuable for its double set of boundaries,<sup>4</sup> discussed below.

IV. Fourth in order of date comes the Taunton script. It was not known to Kemble, but having been published by the Ordnance Department as above stated, it has been since printed by Mr. Birch.<sup>5</sup> The text is as follows:—

“✠ In nomine domini dei nostri ihesu christi saluatoris. ea quæ secundum decreta canonum tractata fuerint. licet sermo tantum ad testimonium sufficeret tamen pro incerta futuri temporis fortunam cirographorum sedulis sunt roboranda. quæ propter ego .ini. regnante domino rex .lxu. casatos pro remedio animæ meæ beruualdo abbati uideor contulisse his locorum limitibus designatam. iuxta flumen quod appellatur .tan.

(1). K.C.D. \*L, i. 57.

(2). *Gesta Pont.*, page 380.

(3). Wood, 178 b, 171; K.C.D. \*XLX, i. 56, vi. 225.

(4). Printed by Mr. De Gray Birch, page 166.

(5). Page 166.

.xx. casatos et alibi in loco qui dicitur pouelt .xx. manentes necnon ex utroque margine fluminis cuius uocabulum est duluting .xx. casatos pertingentes usque ad conuallem qui dicitur corregescumb. ex occidentali uero plaga eiusdèu uallis quinque casatos. si quis hanc donationis cartulam augere et amplificare uoluerit auget (*sic*) et amplificet deus partem eius in libro uite. si quis frangere aut iurita facere tyrannica potestate temptauerit sciat se coram christo et angelis eius rationem redditurum .∴ scripta est autem haec singrapha indictione .i.i.i.i. mense iunio anno ab incarnatione domini .d.cc.u. ✠ Ego bercuualdus archiepiscopus consentiens subscripsi. ✠ Ego headda episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego ecce episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego tyrctil episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego uualdarius episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego egguuinus episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego eluuinus subscripsi. ✠ Ego aldhelmus episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego daniel plebi dei ministrans subscripsi.”

The size of this document is 16 inches by  $7\frac{1}{4}$ ; the material on which it is written, thin parchment, mounted on muslin, through which an endorsement can be seen, not read. The writing is peculiar, and might be easily identified. It does not look like an original grant to a donee, but has the appearance of a copy. It may have been written as early as circ. 800, but is probably much later.

The exordium is substantially the same as that of No. III above—to the effect that, though speech alone may suffice for testimony, it is better to have the corroboration of a written instrument. This seems to have been a common form in these days. See No. VI below.

As to the date, the indiction 4 is wrong for A.D. 705; and the dominical year should be 706. But with regard to the signing bishops, it is remarkable that they are all in order: Berewald for Canterbury; Headda for Lichfield; Ecce for Durwich; Tyrctil for Hereford; Waldar for London; Egguin for Worcester; Elwin for Lindsey; Aldhelm for Sherborne; and Daniel for Winchester. The signatures of Ecce

(Etti), Tyretil, and Waldhere, are later than any appearing elsewhere, but are, nevertheless, quite possible. Indeed, if the original of this script be a forgery, it would seem that the names must have been taken bodily from some genuine deed of 706, which has not survived.

As to the lands and their locality, the grant is of—

- (1.) Near the Tán, twenty cassates.
- (2.) At Poholt, twenty manors.
- (3.) On either bank of the Doultong, reaching to Crosscombe, twenty cassates.
- (4.) On the western side of the enclosed valley, called Crosscombe, five cassates.

(1.) These twenty cassates, near the Tán, are supposed to be part of the West Monkton and other lands above mentioned, granted by King Centwine, and now confirmed by King Ine.

(2.) At “Poholt, twenty manentes” or homesteads. It is possible to find a precise local situation for a place named Poholt, in this way. The charter, numbered V below, is a grant of twelve manentes at a place called Souuig; and the boundaries<sup>1</sup> start from Wilbriitt’s path, supposed to be a spot marked “Pave,” in the Ordnance, three quarters of a mile south of Othery church; thence proceeding to the Parret, and following it down to Bridwere’s mere; then striking north to the Cary, and following the Cary up to Hamelondes (Homeland’s) Mere, “on Poholt;” thence south “by line” along the middle of the moor back to Wilbriitt’s path moor. Thus “on Poholt” is shown to be the north-east corner of the twelve manentes; and these twelve manentes no doubt correspond to the parishes of Othery, Weston Zoyland, and Middle Zoy, which form an irregular rectangle<sup>2</sup> assessed in *Domesday* at twelve hides. Thus Poholt is fixed at a point in the “King’s Sedge Drain” (Ordnance, sheet XIX) where the three parishes of Othery, Aller, and Greinton meet. But the name

(1). K.C.D. \*LXXIV, vi. 226.

(2). See the *Sowi* of *Domesday*.

Poholt<sup>1</sup> no doubt extends to a considerable distance north of the Cary. In the year 729, and in the reign of Æthelheard, who succeeded Ine, there is a grant of sixty manentes, called Poholt, printed by Kemble,<sup>2</sup> from Wood I. In this print there is an important error, "Hemgislo" being printed for "Cengislo." The correction, for which we are indebted to Mr. De Gray Birch,<sup>3</sup> makes all the names consistent with the date. Mr. Birch also prints the boundaries, which were omitted by Kemble.<sup>4</sup> There are evidently omissions in this description; but enough remains to show that the land lay north of the Cary, having the boundary of Chedzoy at its south-west corner, and the manor of Cossington on the west. These sixty manors, called "Poholt," must, accordingly, have comprised the whole, or the greater part of, Polden Hill.

(3). Twenty cassates on either side of the "Doulting." These twenty cassates can be no other than the twenty cassates of No. III, which included, as appears by the boundaries, the three parishes of Pilton, Shepton Mallet, and Crosscombe.<sup>5</sup>

(4.) "Five cassates on the western side of the valley of Croscombe." These five cassates seem to be the parish of

(1). "Poholt" may be the root of "Polden" hill; and we may compare "Poltimore," Devon, where the mansion house stands on the west bank of what was once a large bay, caused by the spreading out of the river Clist, and giving rise to the name Broad Clist.

(2). K.C.D. \*LXXVI, i. 91.

(3). Cart. Sax., p. 214.

(4). They are as follows:—"Sunt autem territoria istius agelli prefati; habet ab oriente Chalkbrok; ab austro dirimit Carswelle in Cari; et Cari usque in locum quæ dicitur Chedesie; et habet ab occidente territoria quæ pertinent ad Cosington ab aquilone partem dimidiam paludis."

(5). Here it may be convenient to summarize what *Domesday* has to say about Pilton.

Pilton was held T.R.E. by Abbot Alnod (Ægelnoth), and was assessable to the Dane-gelt at twenty hides. It could be ploughed by thirty ploughs. Thirty ploughs=3600 acres; hence, for the purposes of hidation, at this place, and for this purpose, 180 acres went to the hide.

Besides this, the abbot had land for twenty ploughs, which was never geldable. Hence his ungeldable land was 2,400 acres, or such a quantity as, if geldable, would have gelded for 13½ hides.

Of these 13½ hides, a monk, named Alnod, held one frée. This being unusual, is mentioned as being "per concessum regis." There the subject of the ungeld-



North Wootton, which was assessable for five hides at *Domesday*.

The connection between these two charters, III and IV, is very remarkable. Both appear to be of the same date, 706, and the language of each is identical. But whilst IV is a grant of sixty-five "cassates" at different places, III is a grant of the twenty cassates at the river only; and whilst IV has no signature by the King, but is signed by nine bishops, III has the signature of Ine, and of two bishops only.<sup>1</sup>

V. The next reputed grant of Ine to Glastonbury, is that of the twelve manentes at Souuig above mentioned. It is printed by Kemble,<sup>2</sup> from Wood,<sup>3</sup> and there seems to be an

able hides is left (Exon. p. 138). They were useless for the purpose of taxation, and there was no occasion to allude to them further.

Then come the *Domesday* members of Pilton. These were :—

	HIDES.
SePETone (Shepton Mallet) assessed at ...	6 2 0
Coristone (Crosscombe) " " ...	3 0 0
Vtone (North Wootton) " " ...	5 0 0
Pille (Pylle) " " ...	5 0 0
Ralph de Tortesmains' manor (unnamed) ...	2 0 0
	<hr/>
	21 2 0

The result seems, with little short of absolute certainty, to be, that the ungeldable (13½) hides were in "Pilton itself"—i.e., Pilton parish, and that the geldable (20) hides were the above four parishes, together with Ralph de Tortesmains' manor, which Mr. Eyton (vol. i, 144, 196) seems to identify with Stoney Stretton and Bagbury, now in Evercreech parish (see Collinson); the hidage of the five, however, amounting in detail to 21½ hides.

According to Mr. Eyton, the *Domesday* measurement of all this area is 7348½ acres. From the Exchequer entries, it would rather seem to be 7258½ acres. But, in truth, the Exchequer is erroneous as to the quantity of woodland in the ungeldable portion of Pilton. The Exon., which is the original and correct record, makes it to be 1080 acres; the Exchequer, 720. The true *Domesday* acreage is 7618½, thus distributable.

	<i>Domesday Acreage.</i>	<i>Modern Acreage.</i>
Pilton ... ..	3566	5593
Shepton ... ..	1250	3572
Crosscombe ... ..	582	1432
Wootton ... ..	952	1536
Pylle ... ..	904½	1095
S. Stretton and Bagbury ...	364	say, 450
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	7618½	13678

(1). Mr. Birch points out (p. 165 n) a similar resemblance between two grants by Withtred, King of Kent, to the church of St. Mary, at Lyminge.

(2). K.C.D. \*LXXIV, i. 89, vi. 226. (3). Wood, p. 191.

entry of it also in the Longleat register.<sup>1</sup> The date is given as 725, of the eighth indiction, which is right. The only signing bishop is Forthere, who was living in 725. There is nothing, therefore, on the face of this deed to condemn it: Kemble, however, has marked it. The expression at the end, "cum multis aliis," shows it to be an abbreviated copy.

VI. The remaining grant is the often-repeated deed of privileges to Glastonbury, which, though accepted by Malmsbury, who inserts it not only in the *Antiquities of Glastonbury*,<sup>2</sup> where it is described as "Magnum privilegium Regis Ine," but in his *Gesta Regum*,<sup>3</sup> was questioned by Bishop Stillingfleet, and by Collier,<sup>4</sup> marked as spurious by Kemble,<sup>5</sup> and pronounced by Thorpe<sup>6</sup> to be a "glaring monkish forgery." The date, 725, and signatures are wholly irreconcilable; but the most astonishing thing is, that any one could for a moment have put faith in a document which makes King Ine speak of a Bishop of Wells—the see of Wells not having been founded until A.D. 909, or 184 years after Ine's abdication.

The king purports to forbid the bishop (not at first specifying any diocese), by the most solemn interdiction, either in the church of Glastonbury, or in the churches subject to it, namely, Souuig, Brente, Marlinge, Scapeuic, Strete, Budcaeth, and Piltun, or in their chapels, or in the islands, on any occasion whatever, to set up his bishop's chair, or to celebrate mass, or to consecrate altars, or to dedicate churches, or to issue ordinances, or to dispose of anything, unless invited to do so by the abbot or by the brethren. Then the instrument goes on to assign out of the possessions of the abbey two residences, one in Poholt, the other in Pilton, to which the bishop may resort. But not even in these places, unless detained by bad weather, or bodily sickness, or unless invited by the abbot

(1). *Hist. MSS. Report*, as above.

(2). Gale, p. 311.

(3). *Gesta Regum*, i. 36, p. 50.

(4). Hearne, p. 29.

(5). K.C.D. \*LXXIII, i. 85.

(6). *Dipl.*, p. 17.

or by the brethren, is he to pass the night, and then only accompanied by three or four clergymen. It then proceeds: "Let the same bishop provide that he, together with his clergy who are at Wells (cum clericis suis qui Fontaneto sunt), do every year recognise his mother—namely, the church of Glastonbury—by an office of prayer (letania) on the Monday after Ascension Day." That the writer of this passage had in view either a bishop of Sherborne or a bishop of Winchester is incredible; the instrument is plainly a fulmination against the bishop of Wells, and no other, and the writer, who must have lived after 909, overlooked the anachronism involved in his fabrication.<sup>1</sup> The arrogant style of this composition, and the minute precision of the forbidding clauses, are far in advance of ordinary compositions of the year 725, and indicate the hand of a zealous and determined champion of the claims of the monastery.

The reputed grants of privileges to Glastonbury by Kings of Wessex are mainly five: namely, by Ine, as above, in 725;<sup>2</sup> by Cuthred, in 744;<sup>3</sup> by Eádmund the Elder, in 944;<sup>4</sup> by Eádgár, in 971;<sup>5</sup> and by Cnut, in 1037.<sup>6</sup> All are spurious; but there is nothing much resembling the Ine grant, until we come to that of Eádgár, in 971, when Dunstan was archbishop. It may, we think, be safely affirmed that no one could have constructed the deed of gift by Eádgár, in 971, without having that of Ine before him. For example, whilst Ine's so-called grant purports to forbid the bishop of Wells from dedicating

(1). Ine is said to have built at Wells, in 704, a church, dedicated to St. Andrew. Then there is a reputed grant of lands to Wells, by Cynewulf, in 766 (K.C.D. \*CXV, i. 141, iv. 379; Birch, p. 283); and in 909 comes the Bishopric.

(2). K.C.D. \*LXXIII, i. 85.

(3). K.C.D. \*XCIII, i. 112.

(4). K.C.D. \*CCCC, ii. 252. This was in Dunstan's time as abbot. The language is moderate, as compared with the above. Wulfhelm, bishop of Wells, appears amongst the signatories. This is the document which, according to the version in Thorpe, Dipl. p. 187, was written in letters of gold in the book of Gospels, called the *Text of St. Dunstan*, preserved in the church at Glastonbury.

(5). K.C.D. \*DLXVII, iii. 67.

(6). K.C.D. \*DCCXLVII, iv. 40.

churches at all within the prohibited district, Eádgár's charter relaxes the rule, and says, "Dedicationes uero aecclesiarum si ab abbate rogatus fuerit, Fontanensi episcopo permittimus." This looks like a reference to the former grant. It follows, unless Eádgár's grant be a composition of a later date than it professes to bear, that Ine's charter of privileges must have been fabricated between 909 and 971. The date of the Peterborough forgeries, according to Kemble,<sup>1</sup> was 960.

That the district over which peculiar jurisdiction was claimed for Glastonbury by these spurious grants varied from time to time, is another remarkable circumstance. In the charter of Ine, anno 725, it consists of the seven above-mentioned manors—Sowy, Brent, Merling, Shapwick, Street, Budcaeth, and Pilton. In Eádgár's grant, in 971, it includes five only—Brent and Pilton being omitted. All seven were certainly in the hands of the abbot at the date of *Domesday*. In Hen. II's charter of 1185, the first-named seven churches are mentioned, with one exception, namely, that Brent is omitted, and Dicheseat substituted for it. It is stated, however, in Archer's notes to Hearne's edition of *Adam of Domerham*,<sup>2</sup> that the seven churches claimed by the abbot and monks of Glastonbury really were, St. John's of Glastonbury, Meare, Street, Butleigh, Shapwick, Sowy, and Marlinch; Pilton and Ditchheat having become the property of the church at Wells. The seven formed what was until lately, if not still, called "The jurisdiction of Glastonbury."

The above completes the series of King Ine's extant charters; but other grants are mentioned by the historian in Gale. During the abbacy of Beruald, it is said, there was a grant to Glastonbury of half a hide at Exford, with a fishery.

No charter is extant of Doulting, but William of Malmsbury, in his treatise on the bishops,<sup>3</sup> states incidentally that it

(1). *Codex*, Intr., p. xcvi.

(2). Vol. i. 229—231

(3). *Rolls*, Ed., p. 382.



was given to Glastonbury by Aldhelm; and in Gale,<sup>1</sup> the grant is said to have been made during the life of Abbot Burhwald (702—712). The writer seems to have seen the charter, from his quotation of the phrase, “Ego Adelmus hanc scedulam scripsi.” Aldhelm died at Doultong, on the 31st of May, 709.<sup>2</sup> The questions arise, first, as to how Aldhelm became possessed of the land at Doultong; and next, if it were his to give, why he did not bestow it upon his mother church of Malmsbury, or upon his own episcopal church of Sherborne. Possibly Doultong was given by Ine to Aldhelm for life, and, “after his day,” to whomsoever he, Aldhelm, might will it, with an implicit reservation in favour of Glastonbury.

Then follows<sup>3</sup> mention of a grant of seventy hides at the island of Wethmor or Wedmore, by Bishop Wilfrid, to whom they had been given by King Centwine (676—685), who drove the Brit-wealas to the sea in 682, and in the same year, gave West Monkton to Glastonbury, as above stated. Wilfrid’s visit to Wessex, mentioned by William of Malmsbury,<sup>4</sup> was followed very soon by his elevation to Selsey. Wilfrid is also said to have given Glastonbury one hide at the village of Cliwere.

Although the charters mention no abbot after Berwald or Burhwold in Ine’s reign, the history in Gale gives two others—Aldbeorth, who succeeded in 712, and Atfrith, or Echfrid, who followed in 719. To the former, Forthere, of Sherborne, is said<sup>5</sup> to have given one hide at Bledahit (Bleadon?), and to the latter Ine is said to have given, in 719, one hide, together with a fishery in the Axe; and lastly, an abbess, named Buga or Bucga, gave four hides at Ore.<sup>6</sup>

(1). Page 309.

(2). For an account of Aldhelm’s death, as given in Malmsbury’s book on the bishops, see Appendix IV.

(3). Gale, p. 309. (4). *De Pont.* p. 232. (5). Gale, p. 310.

(6). The date of this lady’s floruit was from 720—755, as appears from Boniface’s letters. She is described, Jaffé, p. 279, as “honorabilis abbatissa.” The site of her convent was, perhaps, Withington, in Gloucestershire. See K.C.D. LXXXII, i. 98; *Councils*, iii. 338.

This ends the list of Saxon grants to Glastonbury down to the death of Ine's successor, Æthelheard, if it be added that the queen of the latter, named in Gale<sup>1</sup> Kedeswita, made a gift of five hides at Brumanton (Brompton Regis<sup>2</sup>).

In order to ascertain the boundaries of the "twenty manentes on either bank of the river called Duluting" of the Taunton document, recourse must be had to the boundaries of the "twenty cassati on either side of the Dulting," as they appear in the above-mentioned grant of A.D. 705. These boundaries, as has been observed, are repeated in Wood,<sup>3</sup> evidently from the same survey. The former version, seemingly the better of the two, is as follows:—

(A) "Of driganhurste (1);

And lang pilles (2);

Thanen on than alten giran (3); and so

On ruanleighe on than olde herewey (4); so

Vp andlang hundesbires bitwixe douningleighe (5);

Thanen on crichhulle (6); and so

Bi line bitwixe abingleighe (7); so

On doulting streme (8);

Vp and lang ott uinterwelle (9); of than welle

On lindescombeleighe (10);

On the righte honde to stanleighe (11); and

Vram thanen on croppanhulle (12); and so

Endelang dich on tridanleigh (13) mediward;

Thanen on right on middan merkesburi (14);

Thanen endlang waies on renmere (15);

Thanen est right enlang pathes on the olde fosse (16);

Endlang fosse suð on pil (17);

A doune bi pille on lintone (18);

(1). Gale, p. 326.

(2). Several items of the properties mentioned in the summary, in p. 326 of Gale, have not been discussed, the localities being unknown to the writer, as, for example, Ine's grants of twenty hides near "Famer, scilicet Liuig," and of twenty hides at "Rouelt;" and Æthelheard's grant of ten hides at "Torric" which reads like "Torridge" in Devonshire, a manifest impossibility.

(3). Wood, I. ff. 171, 178 b.

Thanen suthe op on pennard (19); and so

Bi wittraman west to weie (20);

Enlang weies eft on pil (21)."

These boundaries will be found to correspond in the main, but irregularly, with the modern boundaries of the parishes of Pilton, Croscombe, and Shepton, taken in a ring fence.

Outside of this area, to the west, lies the parish of West Wootton; and of this manor there is preserved a grant by King Eádmund (the Elder), in 946, to his thegn Æðelnoð, in perpetuity, on the condition of his rendering yearly on St. Martin's Day (11th Nov.), to the "old church" of St. Mary, at Glastonbury, five gallons of beer, and one of hydromel; thirty loaves of bread, "with the condiments pertaining thereto;" and five bushels of corn, together with ecclesiastical services, when demanded—being probably a liability to contribute labour and materials towards the buildings of the abbey. The rendering of these rents and services is enforced by stringent penalties, and it is provided that in case of forfeiture by default of the grantee or his successors, the land shall revert (not to the King, but) to the monastery of Glastonbury, "because it is of the perpetual inheritance of the said church." At the end of the list of signatures (which is not perfectly accurate<sup>1</sup>) comes this remarkable paragraph, "Ego Dunstan abbas nolens, sed regalibus obediens uerbis, hanc cartulam scribere iussi"—"unwilling, but obedient to the king's command." The deed is marked as doubtful, but it represents what seems to have been a real transaction. The king makes a grant to his thegn Æðelnoð, and requires the instrument to be prepared at Glastonbury. Dunstan, the abbot, accordingly does this,—reserving the services,—but protesting throughout that the act is a usurpation of the rights of the Church. In the margin of the original are the words "Hec cartula est sub titulo pitancerie Glastonie"—"this

(1). Wulfstan signs as archbishop, and he was Archbishop of York. Then Oda, who was Archbishop of Canterbury, and should have come first, signs, but as bishop only.

charter is under the heading of the "pittance," *i.e.*, dole of food—of or for Glastonbury." The following are the boundaries<sup>1</sup> of this manor, according to a recent examination:—

(B) "Of cleiian hithe on yone mide mestan thorn (*a*);

Bi thyythe to landscharleighe (*b*);

on wormester ist (*c*);

And lang ifre on wormesleighe welle (*d*);

Yanen on ya vor saide ake (*e*) on humberwe stede;

Of yere ak on tha tyo sirsas (*f*);

Thanen on ða eorð briste (*g*); and

Thanen on ruwanleighe on than ealde heie rewe (*h*);

Thanen on than schiren mor (*i*) midward; and soa

West after streme (*j*) betwixe bradan mode and driganhurste; soa

Forth bi suthene herthine on tectan staples (*k*);

Thanen on clethan hithe on than midde mestan thorn."

Comparing (A) and (B), it will be seen that stations 2, 3, and 4, of (A) correspond with *j*, *i*, and *h*, of (B); one line going northwards, the other southwards. This assists considerably in the identification.

Taking (A) first, Driganhurst (dry thicket) is a name given, seemingly, to a tract of land extending along the north side of Whitelake (as the Pylle stream is here called), from Whitelake bridge to the point where the road over Steanbow crosses the same Pylle stream. At the last-mentioned point (1) the boundary begins. Thence it follows Pil (the Pylle stream), down to the first-mentioned point (2), namely, Whitelake bridge. Then it strikes across the old moor (3), (gyru, gyrwes—a marsh), in the direction of North Wootton church, the modern boundary here being much inflected and indented by additions to the parish, consisting of intakes or allotments from the moor. Thence it proceeds along Ruanleigh (Rowleigh—the rugged leigh or valley), along the old hereway (military road). Ruanleigh can be no other than the

(1). Wood, I. 177; K.C.D. \*CCCCVI, ii. 260, vi. 232.



vale in which the village of North Wootton stands, and the hereway must be the road leading from the east of Wootton church to Worminster. Here, therefore, the boundary of (A) has in modern times become considerably deflected towards the east. It now passes along the eastern watershed, instead of up the valley itself. The boundary (A) then turns to the east, and skirts the south and east of a round hill, marked "Currington" in the map. For this name no authority has been found; the modern name of the hill being, it seems, "Wormster slade." This curve is given as the "hundesbires" (hounds' dwelling?—kennel), followed by the Dunningleigh (5) (dark valley?), and leading to Crichhulle, which survives as Churchill; the farm house lying at the junction of Croscombe, Worminster, and Dinder parishes. From this farm the boundary (now of Croscombe) proceeds "by line," *i.e.*, by a straight line, betwixt or through the middle of Abbingleigh (*sc.*, Abbanleigh, the abbots' leigh) (7), to the Dulting stream (8). Abbingleigh seems to have been changed to Maplease, the modern name of the field through which the line between Croscombe and Dinder passes. The boundary (A) now ascends for a short distance by the Dulting stream, as does that of the modern parish as far as to Winter Well (9), a name no longer to be found. Thence it goes north, up Lindescombe leigh (10), on the right hand to Stanleigh (11), or, according to the other version, "on the stanleie wall"—also non-extant. Thence it proceeds to Croppanhulle (12) (crop, croppes, signifying the col, cima, or neck of a ridge), now Crapnell, and so along the dike to Tridanleigh (13), (the trodden? getredan, lea), along the middle of it, and thence straight through the middle of Marksbury,<sup>1</sup> now Masberry Castle, the conspicuous entrenchment on Mendip. From the earth-work the boundary follows a "way," now almost effaced, to Renmere (15) (hrefn, or raven, mere), a pool which has been drained, but which, in

(1). The form, Marksbury, seems to have continued down to the middle of the 13th century. See *Addl. MSS.*, 22,934, fol. 75.

1662, was a marshy bog, called Row-mear, and is now known as Rodmer, or Roadmead. Thence the line proceeds "along the path" (now a broad high-road, on which are marked in the map the modern villages of Little London and Oakhill), to the old Foss road (16); and this road it follows down for nearly five miles southwards, to Pil (17), namely, the upper or more northerly (1) branch of the Pylle stream. This stream it follows westwards, to Lintone (18) (the town of the lime or linden), somewhere near the ford on the *lower* Pil (the two branches running here very near each other), below and west of Cockmill Farm. Thence it proceeds southwards, up on Pennard (19) Hill, skirting the broken land at the back and south of Pilton Park Farm; stretching westward, past the wittraman (wyrtruman) or root-stump, to the "way" (20) leading down to Stean-bow; which road it follows back to Pil, where it began. Here, it will be noticed, there is a difference between (A) and the modern boundary. The Drighanhurst of (A) is on the Pil, at the road; the corresponding point of the modern boundary is where the letter "t" in "Westholme" is engraved on the Ordnance sheet, No. XIX.

Next taking (B), it is considered that "cleiian hithe" (clay hide?) "at the midmost thorn" is to be found at a point (*a*), in the meadows half-way between Herdy Gate and Barrow Farm ("Herdy" being evidently "hreódic," reedy, from "hreód," a reed—the older form of "sedge" moor). Along "the hide," it is presumed, the road passed to Lancherleigh (*b*), now pronounced Lanchley Cross, and thence to Wormester "ist" (*c*) (? "yrfe"—hereditary land), and along "ifre" (? "yrfe"), to Wormsleigh well (*d*). This seems to have been a well on the south slope of the hill, marked Twine Hill in the Ordnance. Thence on the "vor saide" oak on "humberwe stede." If "humberwe" be a contraction of hundesberwe, then we seem to have a word signifying "hound's grove." From the oak, the line passes to the two "sirsas" (*f*). Whatever the two "sirsas" may have been, there can be no

doubt that they are represented by the modern Twinyeos, or Twinoze—the local name for the eastern part of the Twine Hill. Thence the line arrives at the earth “briste” (*g*), signifying the “bersting” or breaking of the land at the steep eastern extremity. Thence the boundary comes down to Ruwanleigh or Rowley, on the old hereway (*h*), the exact expression which occurs in (A), showing one of the points of coincidence of (A) and (B); thence moving across the clear, “sheer,” moor, in the middle of it (as before “across the old moor”), and so west after, *i.e.* along, the stream flowing between Broadmead and Driganhurste. This stream is the Red Lake, which, in its colour, caused by flowing through red marl, offers a contrast to its neighbour, the White Lake, which traverses differently coloured strata. Having reached White-lake bridge, the line proceeds by “suthene herthine,”—words which need an interpreter,—to tectan staples(*k*). “Tectan,” again, is a strange form. Kemble prints “testan.” Thence the line returns to its starting point.

In the accompanying map, the *ancient* boundary (A), is marked by a red line; and the *ancient* boundary (B), by a blue line; the yellow and green merely follow the *modern* boundaries of Shepton Mallet and Crosscombe, members of the ancient Pilton.

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## APPENDIX I.

## ABBOTS OF GLASTONBURY.

A.

B.

C.

## BRITISH ABBOTS.

460 S. Patricius  
 S. Benignus  
 Worgret  
 Lademund  
 Bregored

## SAXON ABBOTS.

	670	Beorthualdus	X	Beorthwald	670—680
Hemgils	680	Hemgisel	XXV	Hemgisel	680—705
Weahlstod	705	Beorualdus	VII	Beorwald	705—712
Coengils	712	Aldbeorth	VII	Aldbeorth	712—719
Beorhtwald	709	Atfrith	X	Atfrith	719—729
Cealdhun	709	Kemgisel	XVI	Kemgisel	729—743
Luca	743	Guban	II	Guba	743—744
Wiccea	744	Ticcan	VI	Ticca	744—752
Bosa	746	Cuman	II	Cuma	752—754
Suðeard	754	Walthun	XXXII	Walthun	754—786
Herefyrð	762	Tumberthe	IX	Tumberth	786—795
Hunbeorht	765	Beadulf	VI	Beadulf	795—802
Andhun	802	Muca	XXII	Muca	802—804
Guðlac	824	Gutlac	XXVII	Gutlac	824—850
Cuthred	840	Ealmund	XVI	Ealmund	850—866
Ecgwulf	849	Hereferth	XIV	Herefyrth	866—880
Dunstan	820	Stiward	XI	Stiwerd	880—905
Ælfrie	905	Ealdhun	XXXIV	Ealdhun	905—927
Sigegar	927	Ælfrie	XIV	Elfrie	927
Ælfweard	940	Dunstan	XXII	Dunstan	940
	962	Ælwardus	X	Elfward	962
	972	Siegarus	XXVIII	Sigar	972
	1016	Beorhtred	XVI		
	1034	Brichtwi	X		
	1053	Ædelward	XXVI		
	1082	Ægelnoth	XXIX		



NORMAN ABBOTS.

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B.

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1100	Turstinus	XIX
1116	Therlwinus	XIX
1125	Sifridus	VI
1171	Henricus	II
1180	Robertus	
1190	Henricus	
1219	Willelmus	IV
	Robertus	
1234	Michael	

A—Cotton list ; MS. Cott. Tib., B. v., pt. 1, f. 23*b* ; A.D. 990.

B—List in *William of Malmesbury's Antiquities of Glastonbury*, Gale iii. 328 ; A.D. 1120—1142.

C—The same corrected ; from *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, by the Bishop of Chester, Intr., p. lxxxii (note).

APPENDIX II.  
TABLE OF CHARTERS OF KING INE.

	DATE.	K. C. D. (1)	DONEE.	LOCALITY.	SOURCE.	CART. SAX. (1) No. Page.
I.	688—690	*31 ; i. 34	Abingdon	Bradfield Besselsford Streasley (Berks)	Cott. Claud. (3) c. ix. 102 <i>b</i>	74 108
II.	699 July 5	*45 ; i. 52 iii. 374	Abingdon	The same, with Appleton (Berks)	<i>Ib.</i> , c. ix. 102 <i>b</i> B. vi. 6 (4)	100 145
III.	699	*46 ; i. 53	Abingdon	173 cassates, near Abingdon	<i>Ib.</i> , B. vi. 6	101 146
IV.	701	*997 ; v. 39	Winchester	Alresford (Hants)	Cod. Winton. (5) f. 18 <i>b</i>	102 148
V.	701	48 ; i. 55	Malmsbury	45 cassates Garsden v Corsaburn xx The same x Redburn x (Wilts)	MS. Lansd. (6) 417, f. 3 <i>b</i> ; W. Malms. <i>Gest. Pont.</i> , p. 380	103 149
VI.	704 May 26	*50 ; i. 57	The West Saxon Diocese	Privileges to Churches and Monasteries	MS. Lansd. 417, f. 3 <i>b</i>	108 157
VII.	[663 July 20] for 693	71 ; i. 83	Glastonbury (Abbot Hemgils)	Brent 10 cassates	MS. Wood, I. 201 Longleat (9)	121 177

VIII.	704	*51; i. 58	Glastonbury .. (Abbot Hemgils)	Privileges	MS. Ashmole, (8) 790, f. 60 b MS. Wood, I. 67	109	109
IX.	[702 for] 705	*49; i. 56 vi. 225	Glastonbury .. (Abbot Beorhtwald)	On either side of the river Doulting xx cassates	MS. Wood, I. 178 b, 171 Longleat	112	165
X.	705	0 0	Glastonbury .. (Abbot Beruold)	Nr the Tân xx At Poholt xx On either of the Doulting xx West of Cross- combe Valley xx cassates	Taunton Museum.	113	166
XI.	725	*73; i. 85	Glastonbury ..	Brent x Sow y Polton xx Doulting xx Blendenei cassates and PRIVILEGES. i	MS. Ashmole, 790, f. 63 Wood, I. 66 b MS. Reg. 13 d. ii. f. 7 b (10) Cott. Vesp. d. xxii. f. 69 (11)	142	247
XII.	725	*74; i. 89 vi. 226	Glastonbury ..	Sow y manentes	MS. Wood, 191 Longleat	143	210

- (1). K.C.D. Kemble, Codex.  
 (2). *Cart. Sax.* De Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonium* (in course  
 of publication.)  
 (3). MS. Cott. Claud. c. ix. An Abingdon cart., 13th cent.  
 (4). *Ib.* b. vi. An Abingdon cartulary; to end of 12th cent.  
 (5). Cod. Winton. Vellum cart. of Winchester, *Add. MSS.* 15,350.  
 (6). MS. Lausd., 417. Vellum cartulary of Malmesbury.  
 (7). MS. Wood, I. Cartulary of Glastonbury in the Bodleian.  
 (8). MS. Ashmole. Contains charters of Glastonbury.  
 (9). Longleat. Cartulary of Glastonbury at Longleat.  
 (10). MS. Reg., 13 d. MS. of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum*.  
 (11). Cott. Vesp. d. xxii. Vellum MS. of Malmesbury, *De*  
*Antiq. Glastonia.*

## APPENDIX III.

*List of reputed Charters to Glastonbury, down to, and including the reign of Æthelheard; A.D. 725-740.*

A.D.	K.C.D.	DONOR.	DONEE.	LOCALITY.	SOURCE.	CAR. SAX. No. PAGE.
670	*vii; i. 10	Cenwalh	Abbot Beorhtwald	Ferramere, i cassatus.	Wood, I. 150 ..	25 45
[680 for] 677	xix; i. 24	Bishop Hedde	Abbot Hengisl	Lantocal, iii cassati; Ferremere, ii manentes.	Wood, I. 149 b ..	47 74
681	*xx; i. 25 vi. 225	Baldred	Abbot Hamgils	Pengerd, xii (or vi) manentes.	Charter at Longleat .. (Ordnance Survey, A.S. MSS., Part II.) Wood, I. 183	61 96
682	0 0	Centwine	Abbot Hamegils	West Monkton, xx mansiones S. of ther. Tan, iii cassati.	Register of W. Monkton at Longleat. (Som. Proc. for 1882, viii. 89.)	62 97
[663 for] 693	*LXXI; i. 83	Ine	Abbot Hengisl	Brente, x cassati.	Wood, I. 201 .. Cartulary of G. at Longleat	121 177
704	*LI; i. 58	Ine	Abbot Hengisl	Privileges ..	Wood, I. 67 .. Ashmole, 790, 60 b Add. MSS., 22,934, f. 13 (Gale, iii. 309) Cott. Vesp., D. xxii. 62	109 159



[702 for] 706	*XLIX; i. 56 vi. 225	Ine	Abbot Beorhtwald	On either side the r. Dulting, xx cassati.	Wood, I. 178 b, 171 Cartulary at Longleat.	112	165
[705 for] 706	0 0	Ine	Abbot Berwald	Nr. the r. Tan, xx cassati; Pouelt, xx manentes; On either side r. Dulting, xx cassati. W. of the Corregescumb valley, v cassati.	Taunton Museum (Ordnance Survey, A.S. MSS., Part II.)	113	160
725	*LXXIV; i. 89 vi. 226	Ine	The community in Glasingburi	Souuig, xii manentes.	Wood, I. 191 Cartulary at Longleat.	143	210
725	*LXXXIII; i. 85	Ine	The Church in Glasteie	Brente, x hides; Souuig, xii hides; Pultun, xx hides; Dulting, xx hides; Blendeneie, i hide; and PRIVILEGES.	Wood, I. 66 b Ashmole, 790, 63 <i>Gesta Regum</i> , p. 51 <i>MS. Reg.</i> , 13 d. ii. 10 b <i>Add. MSS.</i> , 22, 934 ( <i>Gale</i> iii. 309) Cott. Vesp., d. xxii. 69 Thorpe, <i>Dipl.</i> , p. 17	142	207
729	*LXXVI; i. 91	Æthelheard	Abbot Cengis	Pouholt, lx manencia.	Wood, I. 152	147	213

## APPENDIX IV.

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WILLIAM OF MALMSBURY.\*

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A.D. 709.

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It was at a village in Somersetshire, called Dulting, that he (Aldhelm) laid aside the garment of the flesh,—a place which he had already bestowed upon the monks of Glastonbury,—reserving to himself the usufruct for his life. The building that witnessed his departure was a wooden church; into which, when breathing his last, he had directed that he should be carried, in order that he might expire more easily. So at least the inhabitants to this day, after successive generations, affirm. To this church, when it had been rebuilt in stone by a certain monk of Glastonbury, and was being re-consecrated, there came a woman, blind in both eyes, mingling with the assembled crowd. Inspired by ardent faith, she broke through the ranks of the multitude, loudly demanding to be led to the altar—in the unhesitating belief that the Saint whose church was being consecrated, having been wont throughout his life regularly to bestow alms on widows, would cure a widow of her blindness. The earnestness of her faith brought down aid from heaven—a clear light filled the sightless eyeballs. A miracle performed in presence of the people could not fail to become famous; especially as the woman herself, and the fact of her infirmity, were widely known in the neighbourhood. It is certain that in the same church is a stone on which the Saint was sitting when he died, by the washings of which many sick persons are known to have been restored to health.

The blessed (*beatus*) Ecgwin, bishop of Worcester, was informed by a radiant vision from heaven of the death of his brother bishop, and was commanded to repair to the place. Sped on his way by the instigations of sorrow and love, he soon arrived at Dulting, and having offered prayers for the repose of the soul of Aldhelm, directed his body to be removed to Malmsbury. Through the assurance of his (Ecgwin's) faith, the tears of the mourners were dried, and he himself expedited the work by taking part in it with his own hands. The blessed remains were accordingly borne forth, accompanied by a great crowd of leaders and followers—he who was nearest to the body esteeming himself the most fortunate. To a vast number of those who accompanied the bier, a sight of it, even if they could not touch it, was a consolation; for their grief was assuaged by the form and appearance of the dead body, and their eyes were gratified by observing that the graces of the figure were still preserved, and were permanent.

The funeral procession was remarkable for this—that in consequence of the abundance of miracles that were wrought on the way—stone crosses were erected at intervals of seven miles, to which many persons afflicted with incurable disorders, approaching with faith, obtained through the vehemence of their supplications, a speedy cure. Thus the evidence of their virtues subsists to this day. Nor should what I say surpass my readers' belief, considering that there were almost as many witnesses of the miracles as there were inhabitants. As the most trustworthy evidence, I cite the blessed Egwin himself, who in a certain writing of his, after mentioning other matters, says:—"Two years afterwards, the pious bishop Aldhelm departed to the Lord. I, being informed of the fact by revelation, having assembled my brethren and servants, informed them of the death of the venerable father; and proceeding with haste, arrived at the spot where his holy body lay, situated nearly fifty miles beyond the monastery of Malmsbury. Thence I conducted it to its burial, and entombed it with honour—directing that at every place where the sacred corpse had rested on its way, there should be erected figures of the holy cross." The crosses are all in existence, and not one of them shews any sign of age. They are called "*biscepstane*," that is, Bishop's stones—and one of them is to be seen at this moment in the monks' cloister (at Malmsbury). This reminds me that I should not omit to relate the story which is told respecting "*Biscepes true*" (Bishop's trow or tree). This is a village in a valley, whither Aldhelm's zeal for preaching is said to have conducted him. It happened that whilst he was scattering the seed of doctrine amongst the people, the ashen staff which he used in walking was stuck into the ground. Immediately, by Divine power, it increased to a marvellous size, became vitalized by juices and clothed with bark, and put forth a covering of leaves and a comely growth of branches. The bishop, who was intent on his discourse, having been apprised by the shouts of the people of what had taken place, adored the miracle, and departed, leaving the gift of God in their keeping. It is said that from this parent stem many ash trees have sprung—so that, as I have said, the village is commonly called "*Bishop's Trees*." The above I do not vouch for as a fact, but have related it lest I should be charged with having omitted anything. The rest I can establish either by writings, or by things preserved in ancient repositories, nor have I, as God is my witness, added anything of my own, unless a word has escaped me from a desire to give a more ornamental polish to my style. The fame of Aldhelm needs not falsehood to support it. Many as are the things related of him that are of doubtful authenticity, there are as many which are never called in question. By innumerable signs of his that are still recorded, the sanctity of his life in the past is made manifest to the men of the present day.

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