

**Was summer** when sent the emperor, by the counsel of all his people learned and lewd in his kingdom, after Ellen of Shrewsbury, that she should immediately come to him. And she so did.

Then said the emperor, to her: “Beloved Ellen, I have sent after thee for the good of my soul; and I will plainly tell thee for why.”

Then said the emperor, what a good woman she was, and very wise, that for twenty years she had come from beyond the mountain and given water to northern heroes. all loved her for she assisted the mighty seed of mars, the large and innumerable army.

Then stood up the emperor before all his thanes, and said with a loud voice: “I will that you all confirm my words.

This is the gift: live life on these lands, and these waters, and meres, and fens, and weirs, and all the lands that thereabout lye, that are of my kingdom, freely, as Lady Ellen.

When the king said that, he was very glad; and bade men send through all the nation, after all his thanes; after the archbishop, and after bishops: and after his earls; and after all those that loved the East, and he fixed the day when men should hallow Lady Ellen. And when they were hallowing her, there was the emperor Brennan, and his empress Cailfhionn.

That was the 12th of july, as XLIX in the Great North-eastern War of Malagentia.

These are the witnesses that were there, and that subscribed it with their fingers and confirmed it with their tongues.

BRENNAN EMPEROR  
CAILFHIONN EMPRESS

<http://asc.jebbo.co.uk/e/e-L.html>

<http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/657/pg657.html>

**Wæs sumerlida** Ða Seonde se **imperator**, be al his fyrde, læred, lawed, on his kynesce, æfter **Ellen on Scrobbesbyrig** þet **hire** æuestlice scolde to him cūmon, hire swa dyde. (*added summer opening - scribe starting with W - and changed a minister to Ellen, pronoun to her*)

Ða cwæð se **imperator** to hire: ‘La leof **Ellen**, ic haue geseond æfter þe for mine saule þurfe, ic hit wile þe wæl secgon forhwī.’ (*changed names king / saxulf, added la leof/ loved/beloved*)

Ða cwæð se imperator God wimman scæ wæ, swiðe wis, þæt twenti gear hire hafde com of beionde muntan and giuen to guman norðerne wæter. al folc hire luuede scæ heom werig wiggas sæd, manig mann mid heom, to fultume. (*this will be a mess.*)

þa stod seo imperator up toforen ealle his ðæгна, cwæð luddor stefne: “ic wille þet ge ealle getiðe mine worde.” (*two sections bridged but unchanged*)

Ðas is se gife: **Lif læden on** þas landes, þas wateres, meres, fennes, weres, ealle þa landes þa þærabuton liggeð ða of mine kynesce sindon freolice, **Hlaefdige Ellen**. (*added “life lived” and “lady ellen” - it was to monks.*)

Ða **imperator** cwaed, þa wærd he swiðe glæd; heot seonden geond al his þeode æfter alle his þægne, æfter ærcebiſcop, æfter biſcopes, æfter his eorles, æfter alle þa þe þa **Est** luuedon, þet hi seotte þa dæi hwonne man scolde **Ellen gehalegon**. Ða man halgode **heo**, þa wæs seo **imperator Brennan, his imperatrix Cailfhionn**. (*God to East, king to ipmerator, etc*) (*Changed gender and name “minister” to “ellen” and changed gender of pronoun.*)

þat was xii innon Iulies monðe, anno sociatis xlix. on geweald norðeeastrne on Malagentia. (*made from fragments*)

Ðas sindon þa witnes þe þær wæron, þa þet gewriten mid here fingre, ietten mid here tunge. (*removed reference to God, otherwise intact*)

BRENNAN IMPERATOR  
CAILFHIONN IMPERATRIX

æfter þan syððan **innon Iulies monðe**  
hider into lande com.

And after this, in the **month of July**, he  
returned to this land

þat was xii innon Iulies monðe, anno  
sociatis xlix.

That was the 12th day before the kalendae of april  
þat was xii kalendæ Aprilis

July 12, A.S. XLIX

imperator = emperor  
te emperice The Empress

**þæt hire hafde giuen / that she had given**

Here Edmund king, of Angles  
lord, protector of friends, author  
and framer of direful deeds

Brennan imperator, Engla þeoden,  
mecga mundbora, Myrce geeode,  
dyre dædfruma, swa Dor sceadeþ,

**manig mann mid heom / large and  
innumerable army**

sendon **east to** Denmearcan æfter  
sciphere heom to fultume.

and sent **eastward to** Denmark after a  
fleet to assist them.

se on þæs cynges hyrede Willelmes wæs

so on the kings court of willehlems was

the kings queen with all her strengthe  
þe kinges cuen mid al hire strengthe

but the archbishop and the wise men went between  
them, and made this settlement: That the king should  
be lord and king while he lived, and after his day Henry  
should be king: that Henry should take him for a father;  
and he him for a son: that peace and union should be  
betwixt them, and in all England. This and the other  
provisions that they made, swore the king and the earl  
to observe; and all the bishops, and the earls, and the  
rich men.

oc ferden þe ærcebiscop 7 te wise men betwux heom.  
7 made ðæt sahte ðæt te king sculde ben lauerd 7  
king wile he liuede. 7 æfter his dæi ware Henri king. 7  
he helde him for fader 7 he him for sune. 7 sib 7 sæhte  
sculde ben betwyx heom. 7 on al Engleland. Þis 7 te  
othre foruuardes þet hi makeden. suoren to halden þe  
king 7 te eorl 7 te biscop 7 te eorles 7 rice men alle. Ða  
was þe eorl underfangen æt Wincestre 7 æt Lundene  
mid micel wurtscipe. 7 alle diden him manred. 7 suoren  
þe pais to halden. 7 hit ward sone suythe god pais. sua  
ðæt neure was here. Ða was þe king strengere þanne  
he æuert her was. 7 te eorl ferde ouer sæ. 7 al folc him  
luuede for he dide god iustise 7 made pais.

The king loved it much, for the love of his brother Peada, and for the love of his wed-brother Oswy, and for the love of Saxulf the abbot. He said, therefore, that he would dignify and honour it by the counsel of his brothers, Ethelred and Merwal; and by the counsel of his sisters, Kyneburga and Kyneswitha; and by the counsel of the archbishop, who was called Deus-dedit; and by the counsel of all his peers, learned and lewd, that in his kingdom were. And he so did.

Then sent the king after the abbot, that he should immediately come to him. And he so did.

Then said the king to the abbot: "Beloved Saxulf, I have sent after thee for the good of my soul; and I will plainly tell thee for why. My brother Peada and my beloved friend Oswy began a minster, for the love of Christ and St. Peter: but my brother, as Christ willed, is departed from this life; I will therefore intreat thee, beloved friend, that they earnestly proceed on their work; and I will find thee thereto gold and silver, land and possessions, and all that thereto behoveth."

Then went the abbot home, and began to work.

So he sped, as Christ permitted him; so that in a few years was that minster ready.

Then, when the king heard say that, he was very glad; and bade men send through all the nation, after all his thanes; after the archbishop, and after bishops: and after his earls; and after all those that loved God; that they should come to him.

And he fixed the day when men should hallow the minster. And when they were hallowing the minster, there was the king, Wulfere, and his brother Ethelred, and his sisters, Kyneburga and Kyneswitha.

And the minster was hallowed by Archbishop Deusdedit of Canterbury; and the Bishop of Rochester, Ithamar; and the Bishop of London, who was called Wina; and the Bishop of the Mercians, whose name was Jeruman; and Bishop Tuda.

And there was Wilfrid, priest, that after was bishop; and there were all his thanes that were in his kingdom.

When the minster was hallowed, in the name of St. Peter, and St. Paul, and St. Andrew, then stood up the king before all his thanes, and said with a loud voice:

"Thanks be to the high almighty God for this worship that here is done; and I will this day glorify Christ and St. Peter, and I will that you all confirm my words.

—I Wulfere give to-day to St. Peter, and the Abbot Saxulf, and the monks of the minster, these lands, and these waters, and meres, and fens, and weirs, and all the lands that thereabout lye, that are of my kingdom, freely, so that no man have there any ingress, but the abbot and the monks.

This is the gift. From Medhamsted to Northborough; and so to the place that is called Foleys; and so all the fen, right to Ashdike; and from Ashdike to the place called Fethermouth; and so in a right line ten miles long to Ugdike; and so to Ragwell; and from Ragwell five miles to the main river that goeth to Elm and to Wisbeach; and so about three miles to Trokenholt; and from Trokenholt right through all the fen to Derworth; that is twenty miles long; and so to Great Cross; and from Great Cross through a clear water called Bradney; and thence six miles to Paxlade; and so forth through all the meres and fens that lye toward Huntingdon-port; and the meres and lakes Shelfermere and Witlesey

Pa luuede se kining hit swiðe for his brōðer luuen Peada, for his wed-brōðeres luuen Oswi , for Saxulfes luuen þes abbodes; cweð þa þet he wolde hit wurðminten , arwurðen be his brōðre ræd Æðelred , Merwala , be his swustre red Kyneburges , Kyneswiðes be se ærcebiscopes ræd se wæs gehaten Deusdedit , be al his gewiten ræd, læred , lawed, þe on his kynerice wæron, , he swa dide.

Ða seonde se kyning æfter þone abbode þet he æuestlice scolde to him cumon, he swa dyde.

Ða cwæð se kyning to þan abbode: 'La leof Sæxulf, ic haue geseond æfter þe for mine saule þurfe, , ic hit wile þe wæl secgon forhwī. Min brōðor Peada , min leoue freond Oswi ongunnen an mynstre Criste to loue , Sancte Petre, oc min brōðer is faren of þisse liue swa swa Crist wolde, oc ic wile ðe gebidden, la leoue freond, þet hii wirce æuostlice on þere werce, ic þe wile finden þærto gold, siluer, land, ahte, al þet þær to behofeð.'

Ða feorde se abbot ham , ongan to wircene.

Swa he spedde swa him Crist huðe, swa þet in feuna geara wæs þet mynstre gare.

Ða þa kyning heorda þæt geseogon, þa wærð he swiðe glæd; heot seonden geond al his þeode æfter alle his þægne, æfter ærcebiscop , æfter biscopes, æfter his eorles, æfter alle þa þe Gode luuedon, þet hi scoldon to him cumene; seotte þa dæi hwonne man scolde þet mynstre gehalegon.

Ða man halgode seo mynstre, þa wæs seo kyning Wulfere þær , his brōðer æðelred , his swustre Kyneburg , Kynesuith; ,

seo mynstre halgode seo ærcebiscop Deusdedit of Cantwarbyrig , seo biscop of Rofecæstre Ithamar , seo biscop of Lundone þe wæs Wina gehaten , seo Myrcene biscop Ieruman wæs gehaten , Tuda biscop,

þær wæs Wilfrid preost þe siððon wæs biscop, , þær wæron ælle his ðegnas þe wæron on his kynerice.

Ða seo mynstre wæs gehalgod on Sancte Petres nama , Sancte Paules , Sancte Andreas, þa stod seo kyning up toforen ealle his ðægna , cwæð luddor stefne:

‘Dancod wurð hit þon hæge ælmihti God þis wurðscipe þet her is gedon, , ic wile wurðigen þis dæi Crist , Sancte Peter, , ic wille þet ge ealle getiðe mine worde.

Ic Wulfere gife to dæi Sancte Petre , þone abbode Saxulf , þa munecas of þe mynstre þas landes , þas wateres , meres , fennes , weres , ealle þa landes þa þærabuton liggeð ða of mine kynerice sindon freolice, swa ðet nan man na haue þær nan onsting buton seo abbot , se munecas.

Ðas is se gife: fram Medeshamstede to Norðburh, , to ðet stede þet man cleopeð Folies, , swa æl se feon riht to Esendic, , fra Esendic to þet steode þe man cleopeð Feðermuðe, , swa þet rihte weie .x. mile lang to Cuggedic, , swa to Raggewilh, , fra Raggewilh .v. mile to þe rihte æ þe gað to Ælm , to Wisebece, , swa abutan .iii. mile to Prokonholt, , fra Prokonholt riht þurh al ðe fen to Dereuorde þet is .xx. mile lang, , swa to Grætecros, , fra Grætecros þurh an scyrwæter Bradanæ hatte, , þeonon .vi. mile to Paccelade, , swa forð þurh ælle þa meres , feonnes þa liggen toward Huntendune porte, , þas meres , laces Scæl-fremere , Witlesmere, ,

mere, and all the others that thereabout lye; with land and with houses that are on the east side of Shelfermere; thence all the fens to Medhamsted; from Medhamsted all to Welmsford; from Welmsford to Clive; thence to Easton; from Easton to Stamford; from Stamford as the water runneth to the aforesaid Northborough." — These are the lands and the fens that the king gave unto St. Peter's minster.—

Then quoth the king: "It is little—this gift— but I will that they hold it so royally and so freely, that there be taken there from neither gild nor gable, but for the monks alone. Thus I will free this minster; that it be not subject except to Rome alone; and hither I will that we seek St. Peter, all that to Rome cannot go."

During these words the abbot desired that he would gant him his request. And the king granted it. "I have here (said he) some good monks that would lead their life in retirement, if they wist where. Now here is an island, that is called Ankerig; and I will request, that we may there build a minster to the honour of St. Mary; **that they may dwell there who will lead their lives in peace and tranquillity.**"

Then answered the king, **and quoth thus: "Beloved Saxulf, not** that only which thou desirest, but all things that I know thou desirest in our Lord's behalf, so I approve, and grant. And I bid thee, brother Ethelred, and my sisters, Kyneburga and Kyneswitha, for the release of your souls, that you be witnesses, and that you subscribe it with your fingers. And I pray all that come after me, be they my sons, be they my brethren, or kings that come after me, that our gift may stand; as they would be partakers of the life everlasting, and as they would avoid everlasting punishment. Whoso lesseneth our gift, or the gift of other good men, may the heavenly porter lessen him in the kingdom of heaven; and whoso advanceth it, may the heavenly porter advance him in the kingdom of heaven."

**These are the witnesses that were there, and that subscribed it with their fingers on the cross of Christ, and confirmed it with their tongues.** That was, first the king, Wulfere, who confirmed it first with his word, and afterwards wrote with his finger on the cross of Christ, saying thus: "I Wulfere, king, in the presence of kings, and of earls, and of captains, and of thanes, the witnesses of my gift, before the Archbishop Deus-dedit, I confirm it with the cross of Christ."

(+)—"And I Oswy, king of the Northumbrians, the friend of this minster, and o[oe] the Abbot Saxulf, commend it with the cross of Christ." (+)—"And I Sighere, king, ratify it with the cross of Christ." (+)—"And I Sibbi, king, subscribe it with the cross of Christ." (+)—"And I Ethelred, the king's brother, granted the same with the cross of Christ." (+)—"And we, the king's sisters, Kyneburga and Kyneswitha, approve it."—"And I Archbishop of Canterbury, Deus-dedit, ratify it."—Then confirmed it all the others that were there with the cross of Christ (+): namely, Ithamar, Bishop of Rochester; Wina, Bishop of London; Jeruman, Bishop of the Mercians; and Tuda, bishop; and Wilfrid, priest, who was afterwards bishop; and Eoppa, priest, whom the king, Wulfere, sent to preach christianity in the Isle of Wight; and Saxulf, abbot; and Immine, alderman, and Edbert, alderman, and Herefrith, alderman, and Wilbert, alderman, and Abo, alderman; Ethelbald, Brord, Wilbert, Elmund, Frethegis. These, and many others that were there, the king's most loyal subjects, confirmed it all. This charter was written after our Lord's Nativity 664—the seventh year of King Wulfere—the ninth year of Archbishop Deus-dedit. Then they laid God's curse, and the curse of all saints, and all christian folks, on whosoever undid anything that there was done. "So be it," saith all. "Amen."—When this thing was done, then sent the king to Rome to the Pope Vitalianus that then was, and desired, that he would ratify with his writ and with his blessing, all this aforesaid thing. And the pope then sent his writ, thus saying: "I Vitalianus, pope, grant thee, King Wulfere, and Deus-dedit, archbishop, and Abbot Saxulf, all the things that you

ælle þa opre þa þarabutan liggan mid land , mid huses þa sindon on æsthalfe Scælfremere, , þeonen ælle þa feonnon to Medeshamstede, , fra Medeshamstede al to Welmesforde, , fra Welmesforde to Cliue, and þeonen to Æstune, , fra Æstune to Stanford, , fra Stanford swa þæt wæter renneð to seo forensprecone Norðburh.' Ðis sindon þa landes , ða feonnes þe seo kyning gef into Sancte Petres mynstre.

Ða cwæð seo kyning: 'Hit is litel þeos gife, ac ic wille þæt hi hit hælden swa kynelice , swa freolice þæt þær ne be numen of na geld na gaule buton to þa munecan ane. Ðus ic wille freon þis mynstre þæt hit ne be underþed buton Rome ane, , hider ic wille þæt we secan Sancte Petre, ealle þa þa to Rome na magen faren.'

Betwix þas worde þa geornde seo abbode þæt he scolde him tybrian þæt he æt him geornde, , seo kining hit him tydde: 'Ic haue here godefrihte muneces þa wolden drohtien here lif on ankersetle gif hi wisten hwere, oc her is an igland þæt man cleopeð Ancarig, , wile þes geornen þæt we moten þær wircen an mynstre Sancte Marie to loue, **þæt hi moten þær wunen þa ða here lif wilen læden mid sibbe , mid reste.**'

Ða andswerode seo kyning , **þus cwæð: 'Saxulf la leof,** ne þæt an þæt ðu geornest oc ealle þa þing þæt ic wat þæt ðu geornest on ure Drihtnes halfe, swa ic lufe , tyðe. And ic bidde þe broðer Æðelred , mine swustre Cyneburh , Cynesuiith, for iure sawle alesednesse, þæt ge beon witesse , þæt geo hit write mid iure fingre. And ic bidde ealle þa ða æfter me cumen, beon hi mine sunes, beon hi mine breðre, ouþer kyningas þa æfter me cumen, þæt ure gyfe mote standen, swa swa hi willen beon delni-mende on þa ece lif , swa swa hi wilen ætbeorstan þæt ece wite. Swa hwa swa ure gife ouþer oðre gode[n]e manne gyfe wansiap, wansie him seo heofenlice iateward on heofonrice, , swa hwa swa hit eceð, ece him seo heofenlice iateward on heofonrice.'

**Ðas sindon þa wites þe þær wæron , þa þæt gewriten mid here fingre on Cristes mele , ietten mid here tunge.**

Ðet wæs first seo kyning Wulfere þe þæt feostnode first mid his worde , siððon mid his fingre gewrat on Cristes mel , þus cwæð: 'Ic Wulfere kyning mid þas kyningas , mid eorles , mid heorotogas , mid þægnas þas gewitnesse mines gifes, toforan þone ærceþiscop Deusdedit ic hit festnia mid Cristes mel.' 'And ic Oswi Norþhimbre kyning þeos mynstres freond , þes abbotes Saxulf hit loue mid Cristes mel.' 'And ic Sighere kyning hit tyðe mid Crystes mel.' 'And ic Sibbi kyning hit write mid Cristes mel.' 'And ic Æðelred þes kyningas broðer þæt ilce tyde mid Cristes mel.' 'And we þes kyningas swustre Cyneburh , Cynesuiith we hit louien.' 'And ic Kantwarabyrig ærceþiscop Deusdedit hit tyðe.' Siððan þa getton hit ælle þa oðre þe þær wæron mid Cristes mel. Ðet wæron be nam: Ithamar biscop of Rofecestre and Wine biscop of Lundene , Ieruman se wæs Myrcene biscop , Tuda biscop , Wilfrid preost seo wæs siððon biscop , Eoppa preost þe seo kyning Wulhfere seonde to bodian Cristendome on Wiht , Saxulf abbot , Immine ealdorman , Eadberht ealdorman , Herefrid ældorman , Wilberht ældorman , Abon ældorman, Æðelbold, Brordan, Wilberht, Ælhmund, Freðegis; þas , feola opre þa wæron þær kyninges þeonestmen hit geotton ealle. Ðes writ wæs gewriton æfter ure Drihtnes acennednesse .dclxi. þes kyningas Wulhferes seoueðende gear, þes ærceþiscopes Deusdedit .ix. gear. Leidon þa Godes curs , ealre halgane curs , al Cristene folces þe ani þing undyde þæt þær wæs gedon. 'Swa beo hit,' seiþ alle, 'Amen.' Pa þis þing wæs gedon, þa seonde seo kyning to Rome to seo papa Uitalianus þe þa was, , geornde þæt he scolde tyðian mid his writ , mid his bletsinge eal þis forsprecene þing, , seo papa seonde þa his writ þus cwæðend: 'Ic Uitalianus papa geate þe Wulhfere cyning , Deusdedit ærceþiscop , Saxulf abbot ealle þe þing þe ge geornon, , ic forbede þæt ne kyning ne nan man ne haue nan onsting buton þon abod ane, ne he ne hersumie nan man buton þone papa on Rome , se ærceþiscop on Cantwarbyrig. Gif hwa þis tobrekep æni þing, Sancte Petre mid his sweord him adlyge. Gif hwa hit hælt,

desire. And I forbid, that any king, or any man, have any ingress, but the abbot alone; nor shall he be Subject to any man, except the Pope of Rome and the Archbishop of Canterbury. If any one breaketh anything of this, St. Peter with his sword destroy him. Whosoever holdeth it, St. Peter with heaven's key undo him the kingdom of heaven." —

Thus was the minster of Medhamsted begun, that was afterwards called Peter-borough.

Afterwards came another archbishop to Canterbury, who was called Theodorus; a very good man and wise; and held his synod with his bishops and with his clerk. There was Wilfrid, bishop of the Mercians, deprived of his bishopric; and Saxulf, abbot, was there chosen bishop; and Cuthbald, monk of the same minster, was chosen abbot. This synod was holden after our Lord's Nativity six hundred and seventy-three winters.

Sancte Petre mid heofne keie undo him heofenrice.'

Ðus wæs seo mynstre Medeshamstede agunnen þet man siððon cleopede Burh.

Siððon com an oþre ærcebiscop to Cantwarbyrig seo wæs gehaten Theodorus, swiðe god man , wis , , heold his sinop mid his biscopes , mid þe lerede folc. Ða wæs Winfrid Myrcene biscop don of his biscoprice , , Saxulf abbot was þær gecoren to biscop , , Cuðbald munec of þe selue mynstre wæs coren to abbot. Ðis sinað was gehalden æfter ure Drihtnes acennednesse seox hundred wintra , .iii. , hundseofenti wintra.