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## A FRAGMENTARY LIFE OF ST. MILDRED AND OTHER KENTISH ROYAL SAINTS

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ALTHOUGH long known to philologists,<sup>1</sup> the fragments which constitute the so-called *Lives of the Kentish Royal Saints* are worth drawing to wider attention. For while little of the information it offers is unavailable elsewhere, the form in which it is presented probably represents the genuine Canterbury tradition in a relatively pristine state, reflecting a lively interest at the very end of the Anglo-Saxon period in the Golden Age of Kent and especially its native hagiography. Although in part, at least, in the form we have it, fashioned into a homily for the festival of St. Mildred, the framework of the piece is that of a straightforward memorial of all the Kentish royal saints, parallel with and in places verbally identical with the odd compilation we call *The Resting Places of the Saints*.<sup>2</sup>

The royal patronage of monasticism in what was acknowledged to be the cradle of English Christianity must have been of particular interest to the age of the Benedictine Revival. But perhaps the greatest attraction of this piece always lay in its account of the dramatic circumstances which led up to the endowment of Minster-in-Thanel. The story was repeated frequently by twelfth-century Latin historians.<sup>3</sup> But it must have been of particular interest in those places that could boast relics of the saints involved,<sup>4</sup> and not unnaturally received greatest attention from scholars at Canterbury. Of these, perhaps the most significant was Goscelin, a Flemish monk from St. Bertins who had come to England in the train of Bishop Herman shortly before the Conquest. He was no doubt introduced to the subject during brief sojourns at Ely and at Ramsey, both of which claimed relics of certain of these royal saints;<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. T. O. Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England*, London, 1864-6, iii, 401; F. Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands*, Hannover, 1889, *passim*; M. Förster, 'Die altenglischen Beigaben des Lambeth-Psalters', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, cxxxii (1914), 332; N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*, Oxford, 1957, 173, 343.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. F. Liebermann, *op. cit.*, and W. de G. Birch, *Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, London, 1892, 83-94.

<sup>3</sup> Briefly by, for example, Florence of Worcester (*Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. B. Thorpe, London, 1848-9, i, 259) and at length by Simeon of Durham (*Opera Omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, London, 1882-5, ii, 4f).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis*, ed. W. D. Macray, London, 1886, 55, 191.

<sup>5</sup> Seaxburh, Eormenhild, Audrey and Wihthurbh at Ely, and the two æthelings, Æthelred and Æthelberht, at Ramsey (transferred from Wakering, Essex, where they were first buried, in 991).

and, after settling at St. Augustine's some time in the late 1080s or early 1090s, he took up the subject of early Kentish hagiography with enthusiasm, writing separate Lives of at least nine of those mentioned in the text, including several tracts on St. Mildred.<sup>6</sup> At about the same time, a Canterbury monk—not impossibly Goscelin himself—inserted brief details of the martyrdom of the æthelings into the margin of an old copy of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,<sup>7</sup> while another felt it appropriate to refer to the legend when forging a charter purporting to confirm St. Augustine's in possession of all Thanet, and no doubt thinking, mistakenly, to add verisimilitude to his invention.<sup>8</sup>

Thereafter, the legend was drawn upon repeatedly by such Kentish chroniclers as Gervase of Canterbury, Thomas Sprott, William Thorne and, some time about 1412, Thomas Elmham,<sup>9</sup> whose graphic version was supplied in the sole-surviving manuscript (Trinity Hall, Cambridge, MS. 1) with a map of Thanet (Pl. I) illustrating the course run by the hind, the subsequent boundaries of the minster (*Domnevae meta* and *meta Sanctae Mildredae*) and the position of Thunor's demise, curiously transformed from a mound into a pit (*Thunores puteus*), which the late O. G. S. Crawford tentatively identified with a crop-mark site about a mile north-east of Milton.<sup>10</sup>

All that can be reconstituted of the original work consists of three fragments from two eleventh-century manuscripts. The first and longest part is found in the 38-leaf fragment of a mid-eleventh-century homiliary or collection of saints' lives, now bound up with the Winchester Troper;<sup>11</sup> it follows Ælfric's Lives of St. Martin and St. Thomas,<sup>12</sup> and is revamped as the opening of a Life of St. Mildred: British Museum MS. Cotton Caligula AXIV, ff. 121v–4v. Linguistic evidence suggests that this may have been compiled at Canterbury or some other centre in the south-east; but little is known of the subsequent history of the

<sup>6</sup> Most of which are still unedited; there is a convenient epitome of Goscelin's Life of St. Mildred printed by T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 1862–71, i, 376 f.

<sup>7</sup> Eds. R. Flower and H. Smith, *The Parker Chronicle and Laws*, London, 1941, f. 7b.

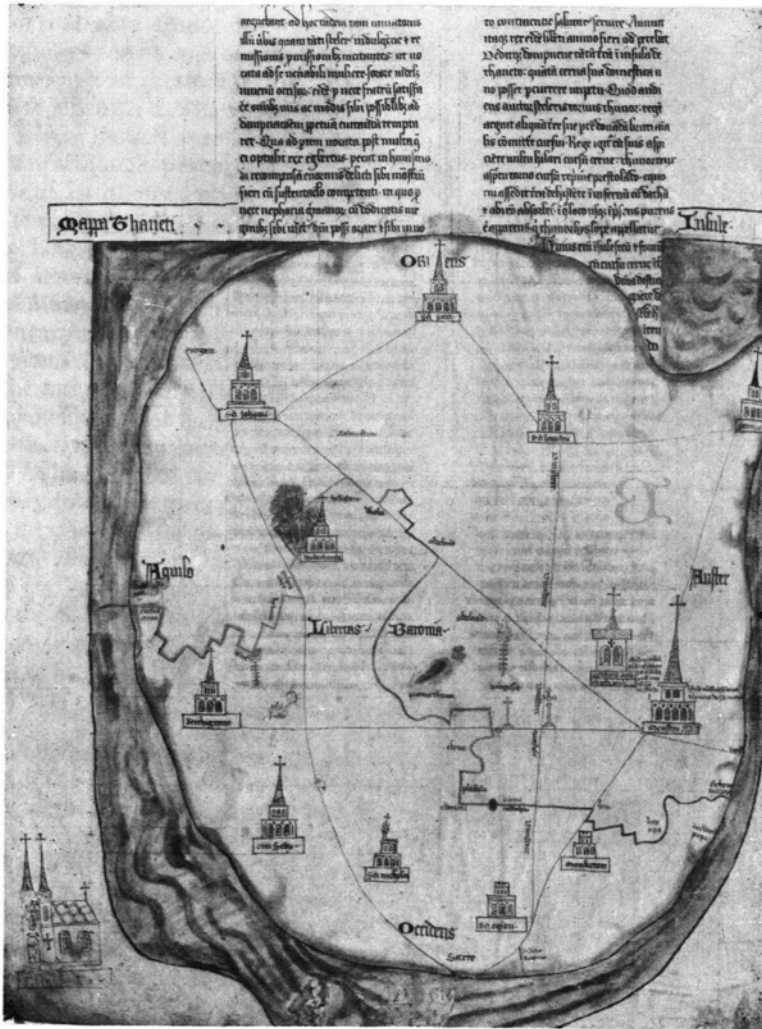
<sup>8</sup> Ed. J. M. Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, London, 1839–48, iv, 236–8. For this and related forgeries, see W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the eighth Century*, Oxford, 1946, 182–4 *et passim*, and F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, Manchester, 1952, 191–7.

<sup>9</sup> Gervase, *Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, London, 1879–84, ii, 28–30; Thomas Sprott (see Hardy, *op. cit.*, iii, 125, 208); William Thorne, 'Chronica', ed. R. Twysden, *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Decem*, London, 1652, 1906 f.; Thomas Elmham, *Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis*, ed. C. Hardwick, London, 1858, 192, 207 f.

<sup>10</sup> 'Thunor's Pit', *Antiquity*, vii (1933), 92–4, pls. vii–viii. Goscelin reads *Thundreshlean* and Simeon *Thundreshleap*. The vernacular *wyn* graph is easily misunderstood for a *p*.

<sup>11</sup> Ed. W. H. Frere, *The Winchester Troper*, London, 1894.

<sup>12</sup> *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, London, 1881–1900, ii, 218, 398.



Trinity Hall, Cambridge, MS. 1, f. 28v  
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manuscript, although it had belonged to Thomas Allen and was used by the antiquary Brian Twyne before coming into the Cotton library. Later extracts from what appears to be the same work may be recognised on two, originally unadjacent, leaves from a second manuscript in a similar but somewhat later hand, now Lambeth Palace MS. 427, ff. 210–211. Since the fifteenth century at least,<sup>13</sup> these have been bound into the end of an early eleventh-century psalter which, although probably written at Canterbury,<sup>14</sup> bears the later *ex libris* of Lanthony Priory, Gloucester.

The *Lives of the Kentish Royal Saints* was probably compiled some time between 974, when the remains of Wihtburh were transferred from Dereham to Ely,<sup>15</sup> and 1030, when Mildred's body was brought from Minster to Canterbury.<sup>16</sup> (The author may have been more than a century out-of-date in his information respecting the remains of the Mercian saint Werburh, but regardless of any subsequent dispute which might have arisen concerning actual possession of her relics,<sup>17</sup> it is scarcely likely that he would have no information in respect of Mildred, who was, after Augustine, the most revered of local saints.)

The language of the Lambeth Palace fragments is a regular form of literary late West Saxon. But that of the British Museum MS. is much less regular, and forms like *wergeld*, *get* and *Norðhembrena* by *wergild*, *gyt* and *Norðhymbra*, together with frequent use of the pronominal form *hio*, suggest that this might well have had the Kentish provenance its subject matter would lead one to expect. Within the text the usual contractions have been expanded without comment.

### 13TH JULY. THE BIRTH OF ST. MILDRED, VIRGIN

St. Augustine [brought] baptism in the name of the Lord to Æthelberht, king of the men of Kent, and to all his nation. Next Eadbald, son of Æthelberht and of his queen Bertha, was king. And their daughter Æthelburh (otherwise called Tate) was given as queen to Edwin, king of the Northumbrians. And St. Paulinus went with her, and baptised Edwin the king and all his nation. And after his [Edwin's] death she returned to Canterbury and her brother the king; and the bishop Paulinus again came with her. And she brought her most valuable treasures to the church at Canterbury for prayers on behalf of herself and the soul of the king who begot her; one can still see them there. And then, by God's will, Paulinus received the bishopric of Rochester, and there ended his life and attained to the kingdom of God.

<sup>13</sup> Ker, *op. cit.*, 343.

<sup>14</sup> Ed. U. Lindelöf, *Der Lambeth-Psalter*, Helsingfors, 1909–14.

<sup>15</sup> *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake, London, 1962, 120–3.

<sup>16</sup> Kemble, *op. cit.*, vi, 189–90; Harmer, *op. cit.*, 198.

<sup>17</sup> See generally the authorities cited by Harmer, *op. cit.*, 191–4, 455–6.

Then Eormenred and Eorcenbyrht were king;<sup>18</sup> and [with] St. Eanswith they were all the children of Eadbald and of his queen Emma, who was the daughter of the king of the Franks.<sup>19</sup> And St. Eanswith lies at Folkestone, in the minster<sup>20</sup> she herself founded. Now, Eormenburh (otherwise called Lady<sup>21</sup> Eve), and Eormengyth, and Æthelred and Æthelberht were the children of Eormenred and of his queen Oslaf. Then Lady Eve was given to the land of the Mercians as a queen for Penda's son Merewald. And there they begot St. Mildburh and St. Mildred and the holy infant St. Merefín. And then after that, for the love of God and this world, they separated and gave their children and their worldly possessions to God. And their eldest daughter, St. Mildburh, lies at Wenlock,<sup>22</sup> where her [miraculous] powers were often demonstrated, and still are. St. Mildred lies in the island of Thanet; and there her powers were often demonstrated, and still are. St. Mildgyth lies in Northumbria,<sup>23</sup> where her powers were often demonstrated, and still are. And the holy infant St. Merefín was taken to God in childhood.

Now, the holy princes Æthelred and Æthelberht were entrusted to King Egberht for fostering and education because they were bereft of parents and the king was their father's relative, the son of Eorcenberht and his queen Seaxburh. From early childhood they were, by the will of God, very prudent and righteous. Then that displeased one of the king's companions who was called Thunor, and was the most valued attendant on his children. Then he [Thunor] feared that if they lived for long, they would become dearer to the king than he. So he began to hate them secretly, and to accuse them before the king, and said that if they lived they would deprive both him and his children of the kingdom. Then he began to beg that he might slay the princes secretly, but the king would not allow it because they were dear to him, and related.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>18</sup> The practice of joint rule is well-attested at this period (cf. M. J. Swanton, *Beowulf and the Burden of Kingship*, The Hague, forthcoming), although Eormenred's kingship is only otherwise known from the genealogies of Florence of Worcester.

<sup>19</sup> The Austrasian king Theudeberht; Emma's own mother-in-law was the daughter of Chariberht of Paris.

<sup>20</sup> For the use of this term see generally M. Deanesly, 'Early English and Gallic Minsters', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th S., xxiii (1941), 25-69.

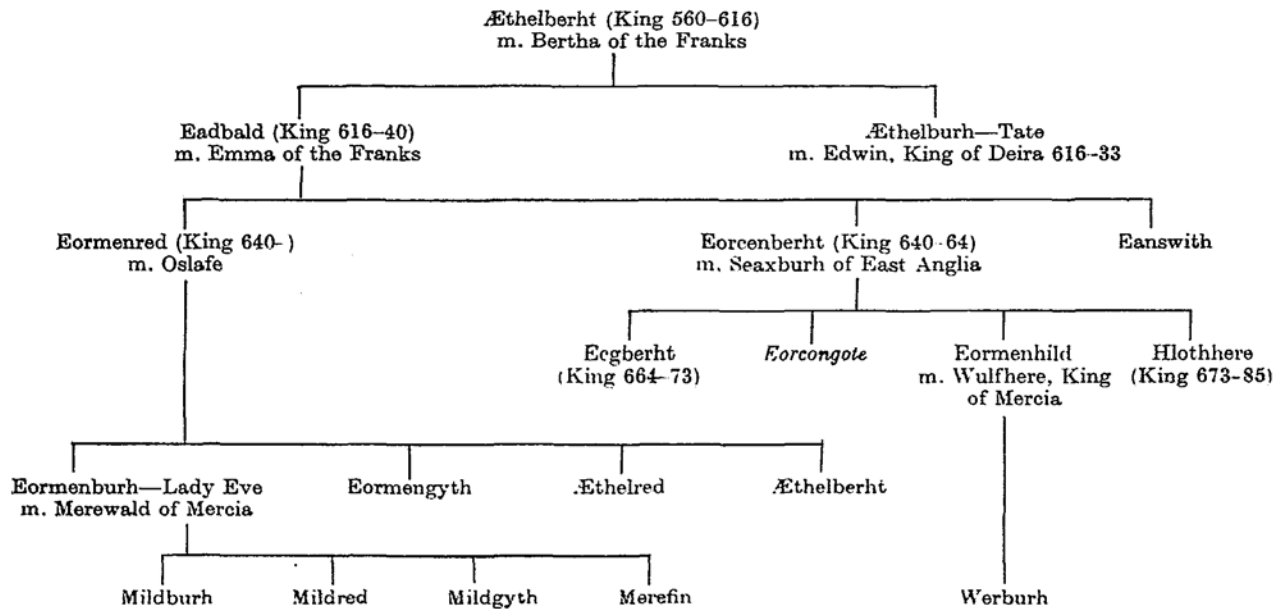
<sup>21</sup> MS. Domne, the title given by the Benedictine order to the heads of monastic communities (*Patrologia Latina*, lxvi, 872), mistakenly supposed by later writers to form part of her name.

<sup>22</sup> Much Wenlock Priory in Shropshire, founded for Mildburh by her father Merewald.

<sup>23</sup> The precise location is unmentioned even by the compiler of *The Resting Places*.

<sup>24</sup> An alternative tradition, represented by Florence, Simeon, Thorne and the forged charter, suggests that the murder was carried out with Egberht's connivance. And although the author of this tract attempts to rehabilitate the king, traces of the alternative tradition survive, in that later Egberht is said to fear that he has angered God in this respect.

TABLE I  
 GENEALOGY OF THE KENTISH ROYAL HOUSE  
 Names printed in *italics* are not mentioned in the text



And yet Thunor over and again begged him that he would grant him leave to deal with the princes as he wanted. And he then presently did just as he previously longed, and promptly martyred them inside the king's palace<sup>25</sup> by night, as secretly as he could. And he imagined that they would never be discovered; but they were made known there by the power of God, inasmuch as a beam of light rose up towards heaven, up through the roof of the hall. And then when the king himself was going out about first cock-crow, he witnessed the miracle himself. Whereupon he became frightened and afraid, and ordered them to fetch Thunor quickly, and demanded of him what he had done with his young kinsmen whom he had stolen away. He answered him and said that he knew himself, but would not tell him unless he was obliged. Then the king said that he must tell about it on account of his friendship. He answered him and said that he had buried them under his throne in his hall. And then the king became very troubled because of the miracle of God and because of the sight which he had seen there, and in that he promptly realized that he had angered God more than was necessary. And then in the morning he ordered his witan and his thegns to be brought to him very quickly so that they might advise him what they thought best and what was to be done about it.

And then he and they decided, with the help of the archbishop, Deusdedit,<sup>26</sup> that they should order their sister who had been given to the land of Mercia, to be fetched in order that she might choose compensation for her brothers in such things as most pleased her and her closest friends. And, with God's assistance, she so arranged it that she chose that compensation in the island which is called Thanet: that is, the eighty hides of land she received there from the king. And thus it happened that when the king and Lady Eve first chose the land and came across the river,<sup>27</sup> then the king asked her what piece of the territory she wished to take as compensation for her brothers. She answered him and said that she desired no more of his [territory] than her hind (which always ran before her when she was out riding) would run around. She said that it was granted to her that she should take as much of his [territory] as the hind indicated to her. Then the king answered her and said that he would welcome that with pleasure. And then the hind so acted that it leaped in front of them, and they followed after it, until they came to the place which is now called

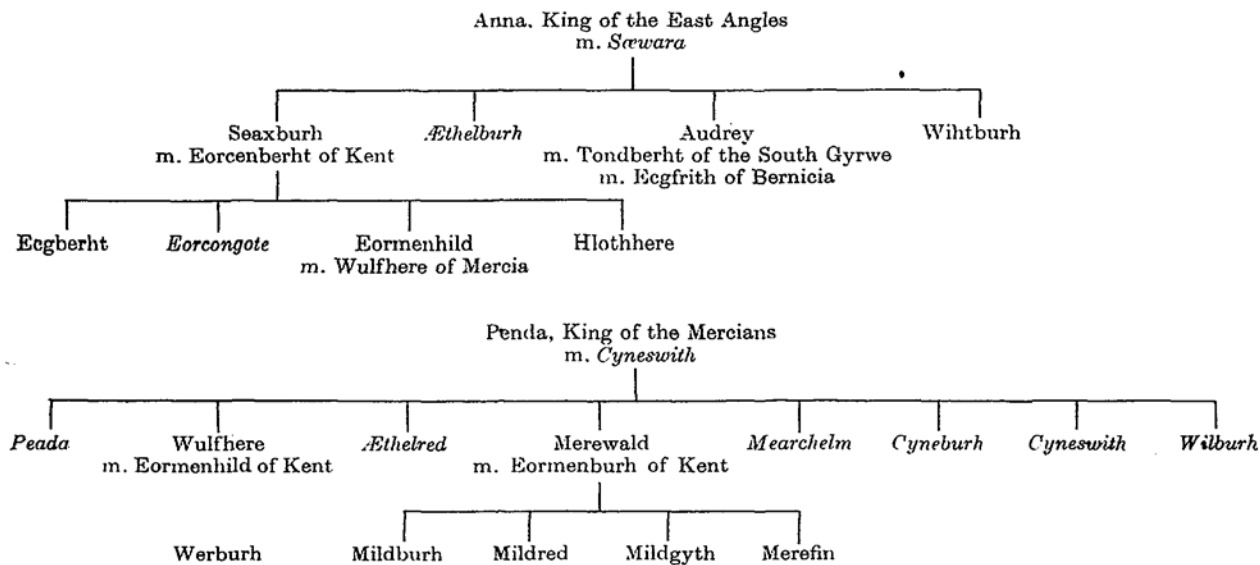
<sup>25</sup> At Eastry, according to *The Resting Places of the Saints* and other authorities.

<sup>26</sup> So also Simeon of Durham; but Goscelin and Gervase are correct in saying that this was in fact Deusdedit's successor Theodore, inasmuch as, according to Bede, both Eorcenberht and Deusdedit died on the same day, 14th July, 664 (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, iv, 1). Unless, of course, Ecgberht was ruling jointly with his father at this time.

<sup>27</sup> Presumably the Wantsum.



TABLE II  
 GENEALOGIES OF THE EAST ANGLIAN AND MERCIAN ROYAL HOUSES  
 Names printed in *italics* are not mentioned in the text



Thunor's Mount.<sup>28</sup> And then Thunor bowed to the king, and he said to him: 'Beloved, how long are you going to pay attention to this dumb animal, which is going to run round this entire land? Do you want to give it all to the woman?' And then immediately after these words the earth opened up . . .

[Eormenburh founds a minster on the estate she receives, and becomes its first abbess. She sends her daughter Mildred abroad—to Chelles according to Goscelin, who adds a romantic farrago of her ill-treatment there. Mildred returns to Kent and is received by her mother at Minster-in-Thanel.]

'Be for ever blessed and sanctified in eternity, and before the throne of God be numbered and reckoned with the choirs of virgins.'<sup>29</sup> When her mother had thus received her with this blessing, she stretched herself out before the holy altar with extended limbs, and with a flood of tears prayed to the Lord. When she had finished her prayer she stood up and bowed before her mother's knees. And then she greeted her and the whole congregation together, with the kiss of peace. And in the manner of the Rule, they brought her water for the hands. Then all sitting together, the abbess their mother began to sing to them from the Psalms of David, and spoke thus: 'We have meditated on thy mercy, O God, in the midst of thy temple',<sup>30</sup> just as the holy widow Anna and Simeon the elder sang and made music when they embraced that great and illustrious child and carried him into the temple and sacrificed.<sup>31</sup> Then she sang a second verse: 'Strengthen, O God, that which thou hast wrought for us in thy holy temple, which is in Jerusalem.'<sup>32</sup> She sang a third: 'Save us, O Lord our God, and gather us from among the nations, that we may give thanks to thy holy name and glory in thy praise.'<sup>33</sup> With such, and many other holy words she earnestly instructed her beloved child and drew her to God. It was easy for her to do, too, forasmuch as her mind was entirely filled with the spirit of God. She

<sup>28</sup> Unidentified; but see the reference cited in n. 10. Probably the present-day form of the name would be like Thunersleigh (Hants), cf. E. A. Philippon, *Germanisches Heidentum bei den Angelsachsen*, Leipzig, 1929, 137.

<sup>29</sup> This sequence does not represent, as the subsequent ambiguity of pronouns might suggest, the admission of Mildred as a nun. It is the abbess Seaxburh who prostrates herself before the altar; this, like the bringing of water, the kiss of peace and the recital of the first of the Psalms cited, is simply part of the formal reception of a guest required by the Benedictine Rule (*Patrologia Latina*, lxxvi, 749 f.). Mildred was later admitted as a nun by the archbishop—Deusededit according to Simeon, Theodore according to Thorne and *The Resting Places*. For the form of admission of nuns see generally: *The Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of York, A.D. 732-766*, ed. W. Greenwell, Durham, 1853, 106 ff., and *Three Middle English Versions of the Rule of St. Benet*, ed. E. A. Kock, London, 1902, 141 ff.

<sup>30</sup> *Psalm XLVIII*, 9.

<sup>31</sup> *Luke*, ii, 25 f.

<sup>32</sup> *Psalm LXVIII*, 28-9.

<sup>33</sup> *Psalm CVI*, 47.

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was not, as nobly-born people now are, filled with arrogance, nor with worldly pride, nor with malice, nor with insulting words; she was not quarrelsome nor contentious; she was not treacherous to any of those who trusted her. She was the benefactor of widows and orphans and the comforter of all the wretched and afflicted, and in all respects humble and gentle. She was very mindful that we all came from two people, and were created and made out of the clay of the earth and must return to that again. She remembered . . .

[Mildred is admitted as a nun and eventually succeeds her mother as abbess. There apparently followed some account of her life and miraculous powers as a saint.]

. . . were demonstrated there, and still are. And then St. Eadburh<sup>34</sup> took over the minster after St. Mildred, and she built the church in which her body now lies.

Now, St. Seaxburh and St. Audrey and St. Wihtburh—they were the daughters of Anna, king of the East Anglians.<sup>35</sup> Then St. Audrey was given to two men: Tondberht, ealdorman of the South Gyrwe, and Eogferth, king of the Northumbrians, as queen. And nevertheless she kept her virginity to the end of her life. And she chose her place of burial at Ely, and her powers are often demonstrated there. Then St. Eormenhild, the daughter of Eorcenberht and Seaxburh, was given as queen to Wulfhere, son of the Mercian king Penda. And in their days the Mercian nation received baptism. And there they begot the holy virgin St. Werburh; and she lies in the minster which is called Handbury.<sup>36</sup> Now St. Eormenhild lies at Ely with her mother and with her aunt St. Audrey; and their powers are often demonstrated there.

And St. Seaxburh and St. Eormenhild received the holy veil in the minster which is called Milton in Kent. And the island of Sheppey belongs to Milton; and it is three miles broad and seven miles long. Then for delight and for honour, it pleased the holy woman Seaxburh to found and build a minster for herself there, so that men of old said that the sound of creaking cart and complaining harrow never stopped for thirty years. Then, when the minster was built, an angel of God came to her in a vision at night and announced to her that before many years a heathen people should conquer this nation. She had then

<sup>34</sup> The daughter of Centwine, king of Wessex (876–85), and well-known as friend and correspondent of Boniface.

<sup>35</sup> The author's purpose is primarily the memorial of local saints. Unlike the compiler of *The Resting Places*, he ignores both Æthelburh, a fourth daughter of King Anna, and her niece Eorcongote, the daughter of Eorconberht, both of whom were well-known to Bede as, respectively, abbess and nun at the Frankish monastery of Farmoutiers En Brie (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, iii, 8).

<sup>36</sup> Her own foundation in Staffordshire. In fact, as the author of *The Resting Places* knew, her remains had been removed to Chester in the later ninth century.

held the kingdom on behalf of her son Hlothhere for thirty years.<sup>37</sup> And she then bought his share of the territory from him and enfranchised it to the minster for as long as Christianity should be maintained in England. And she obtained a blessing from Rome for those who, in God's service, the estate . . .

## I

f.121v

## III IDUS IULII, NATALE SANCTAE MILDRYDAE VIRGINIS

On Drihtnes naman Sanctus Augustinus gefulwihte Æpelbryht Cantwara cyning and ealle his ðeode. Þonne wæs Eadbald cyning, Æpelbryhtes sunu and Byrhtan his cwene. And Æpelburh heora dohtor, oðre naman Tate, forgifan Eadwine Norðhymbra cyninge to cwene; and Sanctus Paulinus mid hire for, and gefullode ðone cyning

f.122r Eadwine | and ealle his ðeode. And æfter his life hio eft Cantwarabyrig gesohte and hire [MS. his] broðor Eadbald pæne cyning; and Paulinus se bisceop eft mid hire com. And hio hyre þa betstan madmas to Cantwaran cyricean brohte hire to gebedrædene, and pæs cyninges sawle þe hi begæt; ða man gyt pær inne sceawian mæg. And he ða Paulinus onfeng þa bisceoprice æt Hrofeceastre on Godes willan, and ðær his lif geendode, and Godes rice begeat.

Ðonne wæs Eormenred cyning, and Eorcenbyrht cyning—and Sancte Eanswyð—hi wæron ealle Eadbaldes bearn and Imman his cwene, hio wæs Franena cynges dohtor. And Sancte Eanswið resteð on Folcanstana pæm mynstre þæt hio sylf gestaðelode. Þonne wæs Eormenburh, and oðre naman Domne Eafe, and Eormengyð, and Æðelred, and Æðelbriht wæron Eormenredes bearn and Oslafe his cwene. Ðonne wæs Domne Eafe forgyfon to Myrcna landa Merwalde

f.122v Pandan | sunu cynges to cwene. And hi pær begeatan Sancte Mildburge, and Sancte Mildryðe, and Sancte Mildgyðe, and Sancte Merefin þæt halige cild. And hi þa æfter ðan for Godes lufan and for þisse worolde him todældon, and hiora bearn and hiora woruldæhta Gode forgeafan. And hiora yldeste dohtor, [and] Sancte Mildburh, resteð æt Wynlucan, pæm mynstre on Mercna lande pær wæron hire mihta oft gecyðede, and gyt synd. Sancte Mildryðe resteð binnan Teneð on ðæm iglande; and ðær wæron oft hyre mihta gecyðede and get synd. Sancte Mildgyðe resteð on Norðhembran, pær wæron hire mihta oft gecyðede and get

<sup>37</sup> An obvious exaggeration. But in early vernacular literature the periods of thirty and fifty years are used conventionally to indicate simply 'a long time'. Compare the thirty years it is said to have taken to build the church at Minster-in-Sheppey.

syndon. Þonne wæs Sancte Merefin þæt halige cild on iogoðhade to Gode gelæd.

Þonne wæron Æðelred and Æðelbryht þa halgan æpelingas befæste Egebrihte cyng to fostre and to lare, forþan hi wæron æt hiora yldran befeallenne, and wæs he se cyning | heora fæderan, sunu Eorcenbrihtes f.123<sup>r</sup> and Sexburh his cwene. Þa wæron hi sona in geogoðe swyðe gesceadwise and rihtwise, swa hit Godes willa wæs. Ða ofðuhte þæt anum þæs cyninges geferan, se wæs Ðunor haten, and wæs him se leofestan ðegen to his bearnum. Ða ondrædde he him gif hi leng lifedon þæt hi wurdon þam cyngre leofran ðonne he. Ongan hi þa hatian dearnunga and wregean to þam cyninge and cwæð þæt gif hi libban moston þæt hi ægðer ge hine ge his bearn þæs cynerices benæmde. Ongan hine ða biddan þæt he moste þa æpelingas dearnunga acwellan, ac se cyning him lyfan nolde forðam þe hi him leofa wæron and gesibbe. And þa git se Ðunor hine oft and gelome bæd þæt he him leafe sealde þæt he most don embe ða æpelingas swa he wolde. And he ða sona swa dyde swa he ær gyrnende wæs, and he hi on niht | sona gemartirode innan f.123<sup>v</sup> ðæs cyninges heahsetle, swa he dyrnlicost mihte. And he geðoht hæfde þæt hi þær næfre uppe ne wurdan; ac ðurh Godes mihte hi þanon gecyðde wurdon, emne swa ðæs leohtes leoma stod up þurh þære healle hrof up to heofonum. And he ða se cyning sylf embe forman hancrod ut gangende wæs, and he þa him sylf geseonde wæs þæt wundor. Þa wearð he afyrht and afæred, and het hi hrædlice þæne Ðunor to feccean and hine ahsode hwær he his mægcildum cumen hæfde ðe he him forstolen hæfde. He him andsworode and cwæð þæt he sylf wiste and he him secgan nolde buton he nyde sceolde. He ða se cyning cwæð þæt he be his freondscipe hit secgan sceolde. He him andsworode and cwæð þæt he hi innan his healle under his heahsetle bebyrged hæfde. And he þa se cyning swyðe unrot geworden wæs, for þæs Godes wundre and for þære ge | sihþe ðe he ðær gesewen hæfde; and he þa be ðam gearo wiste f.124<sup>r</sup> þæt he God abolgen hæfde swyþor þonne his ðearfe wære. And þa on morgen swyðe hrædlice him to feccean het his witan and his þegnas þæt hi him geræddon hwæt him be ðam selost ðuhte, oððe to don wære.

And he þa and hi geræddon mid ðæs ærcebisceopes fultume, Deusdedit, þæt man heora swustor on Mercna lande þe hio to forgifen wæs gefeccean het, to ðam þæt hio hyre broðra werigild gecure on swylcum þingum swylce hyre, and hire nyhstan freondum, selost licode. And hio ða swa dyde þæt hio þæt werigeld geceas þurh Godes fultum on ðam iglande þe Teneð is nemmed: þæt is þonne hundeahtatig hida landes þe hio ðær æt þæm cyninge onfeong. And hit ða swa gelamp þa se cyning and hio Domne Eafe ærest þæt land geceas, and hi ofer þa ea comon, þa cwæð se cyning | to hire hwylcne dæl þæs landes hio onfon f.124<sup>v</sup> wolde hyre broðrum to werigilde. Hio him andsworode and cwæð þæt hio his na maran ne gyrnde þonne hire hind utan ymbe yrnan wolde,

þe hire ealne weg beforan arn ðonne hio on rade wæs. Cwæð þæt hire þæt getyðed wære þæt hio swa myceles his onfon sceolde swa seo hind hire gewisede. He ða se cyning hire geandsworode and cwæð þæt he þæt lustlice fægrian wolde. And hio ða hind swa dyde þæt hio him beforan hleapende wæs, and hi hyre æfter filigende wæron, oðþæt hi comon to ðære stowe þe is nu gecwedon þunores Hlæwe. And he ða se þunor to ðam cyninge aleat, and he him to cwæð: 'Leof, hu lange wylt ðu hlystan þyssum dumban nytene, þe hit eal wyle þis land utan beyrnan? Wylt ðu hit eal ðære cwenon syllan? And ða sona æfter þyssum wordum se eorðe tohlad . . .

## II

- f.210<sup>r</sup> *'Benedicta et beata sis semper in aeternum, et in thronum Dei connumerata et computata sis cum choris virginum.'* Ða hyre modor hi mid þyssere bletsunge hyre ðus onfangen hæfde, heo hy aþenedum limum ætforan þam halgan wefode astrehte, and hy mid teara agotennysse to Drihtne gebæd. Ða heo hyre gebed geendod hæfde, heo up astod and to hyre modor cneowum onbeah. And heo hy ða mid sibbe cosse gegrette, and ealle ða geferrædene samod. And hy hire wæter to handa bæron, æfter regollicre wisan. Him ða eallum ætgæderum sittendum, ongan seo abbodysa hyre modor of ðam Daviticum Sealmum gyddian, and þus cweðan: *'Suscepimus Deus misericordiam tuam in medio templi tui'*, swa swa Anna seo halige wuduwa and Simeon se ealda sungon and dryndon ða hy þæt mycele and þæt formære bearn mid heora earmum beclypton, and in to ðam temple bæron and offrodon. Heo sang þa oðer fers: | *'Confirma hoc Deus quod operatus es in nobis a templo sancto tuo quod est in Hierusalem.* Heo sang þæt ðridde: *Salvos nos fac Domine Deus noster et congrega nos de nationibus ut confiteamur nomini sancto tuo, et gloriemur in laude tua.* Ðylicum and fela oðrum godeundlicum wordum heo hyre leofe bearn georne lærde, and to Gode tihte. Wæs hit hyre eac eaðdæde, swa lange swa hyre ingehyd wæs eal mid Godes gaste afylled. Næs heo swa nu æðelborene men synt, mid ofermettum afylled, ne mid woruldprydum, ne mid nyðum, ne mid æfeste, ne mid teonwordum; næs heo sacful, ne gefitgeorn; næs heo swicol nanum þæra þe hyre to ðohte. Heo wæs wuduwena and steopcilda arigend, and ealra earmra and geswincendra frefiend, and on eallum þingum eaðmod and stille. Wæs heo swyðe gemundi þæt we ealle of twam mannun comon, and of eorðan lame gesceapene and gewrohte wæron, and to þam eft gewurðan sceolan. Gemunde . . .

. . . ðær cuðe wæron, and gyta syndon. And Sancta Eadburh þa to ðam f.211<sup>r</sup> mynstre feng æfter Sancte Myldrype, and heo ða cyricean arærde ðe hyre lichama nu inne resteð.

Donne wæs Sancte Seaxburh and Sancta Æpeldryð and Sancta Wihtburh; hy wæron Annan dohtra East Engla cynges. Donne wæs Sancta Æpeldryð forgyfen twam werum: Tondbryhte, Suð Gyrwena ealdormæn, and Ecgferðe, Norðhymbrena cynige, to cwene. And heo ðeah hwæpere hyre mægðhad geheold oð hyre lifes ende. And heo ða hyre licreste geceas on Elig byrig, and ðær hyre mihta oft cuðe syndon. Donne wæs Sancte Eormenhild, Ercenbrihtes dohtor and Seaxburge, forgyfen Wulfhere, Pendan sunu Myrcena cinges, to cwene. And on hyra dagum Myrcena ðeod onfeng fulluht. And ðær hi begeaton Sancte Wærburge ða halige fæmnan; and heo resteþ on ðam mynstre þe is gecweden Heanburh. Donne resteð Sancte Eormenhild on Elig byrig mid hyre meder and mid hyre modrian Sancte Æpel | dryða; and f.211<sup>v</sup> heora mihta ðær oft cuðe syndon.

And Sancta Seaxburh and Sancta Eormenhild onfengon halig rifte on ðam mynstre þe is gecweden Middeltune on Kentlande. And þæt igland on Scæpyge hyrð into Middeltune; and hit is ðreora mila brad and seofan mila lang. Ða gelicode ðære halgan cwene Seaxburge þæt heo ðær binnan for myrhðe and for mærdæ, hyre ðær mynster getimbrode and gestaðelode, swa geo men cwædon þæt ðrittegum gearum ne gestilde næfre stefen cearciendes wænes ne ceoriendes wales. Ða þæt mynster getimbrod wæs, ða com hyre to Godes engel on nihtlice gesihðe, and hire bodode þæt ær feala gearum hæðene leod sceolde ðas þeode gewinnan. Hæfde heo þa gehealdan þæt cynerice þrittig wintra, hyre suna Hloðhere to handa. And heo ða æt him gebohte his dæl ðæs eardes to freodome in to ðam mynstre ða hwile ðe Cristendom wære on Englalande gehealden. And þa geblætsunge heo þær to on Rome begeat, þam ðe þa are to Godes þeowdome . . .

