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A new charter of King Edgar

NICHOLAS BROOKS, MARGARET GELLING and
DOUGLAS JOHNSON

The document printed below, an early- or mid-seventeenth-century copy of a hitherto unrecorded charter of 963 by which King Edgar granted 5 hides at Ballidon in Derbyshire to a certain Æthelferth (see pl. XIV), came to light early in 1983 among some manuscripts on temporary deposit at the Staffordshire Record Office. It is published by kind permission of the depositor. The account of the provenance of the charter and of the history of the estate, which follows, is the work of one author (D.A.J.), whilst another (N.P.B.) is responsible for the edition and the topographical analysis, and the third (M.G.) has contributed the discussion of the place-name forms.¹

The document seems to be a competent transcript, on a single sheet of parchment, of an original charter. The handwriting, which may be that of an amanuensis, has not so far been identified.² The provenance of the document makes it almost certain that it was at one time in the possession of the Staffordshire antiquary John Huntbach (1639–1705) of Seawall in Bushbury and later of Featherstone in Wolverhampton. Huntbach was a nephew of Sir William Dugdale, who was his mentor in antiquarian studies,³ and like Dugdale he came of a well-established gentry family. He had no known links with Ballidon, or indeed with Derbyshire, and he seems to have had no particular interest in Anglo-Saxon antiquities. The subjects of his researches were instead those dear to gentlemen antiquaries: the history of his own county (especially southern and south-western Staffordshire, which lay near to his home) and the pedigrees of its leading families. The Ballidon charter would probably have interested him only as a curiosity, and the copy may indeed have been given to him as such. If so, the donor may have been Dugdale or one of the other midland antiquaries whom Huntbach

¹ The authors are grateful for much generous help received from Mr D. V. Fowkes, Mr M. W. Greenslade, Mr F. B. Stitt and Mr D. G. Vaisey on the problems of the manuscript's provenance, from Mr R. N. Smart on palaeographical matters, from Mr R. P. H. Green, Dr M. Herren and Dr M. Lapidge on the traces of verse in the poem, from Dr S. D. Keynes on diplomatic and from Mr P. Kitson on matters onomastic and topographical.

² It is not that of Dodsworth, of Spelman, or of any of the antiquaries mentioned below.

³ For Huntbach, see M. W. Greenslade, *The Staffordshire Historians*, Staffordshire Record Soc., Collections for a Hist. of Staffordshire, 4th ser. 11 (1982), 69–72.

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knew – perhaps his friend Walter Chetwynd (1633–93), squire of Ingestre, Staffordshire, and author of an unfinished ‘Short Survey’ of Staffordshire, or the lawyer and author Sir Simon Degge (1613–1703), who collected material for the history of both Staffordshire and Derbyshire.⁴

Since it is not clear how Huntbach acquired the document, the story of the descent and ultimate fate of the single-sheet charter from which it was apparently copied remains a mystery. Edgar granted the estate to a layman. Ballidon was in lay hands in 1066 and 1086,⁵ and remained in lay hands thereafter. By the late twelfth century it was held by the Harthill family, perhaps descended from the Colle who held Harthill, Derbyshire, in 1086 of Ralph fitzHubert of Crich, lord of Ballidon. In the late fourteenth century it passed by marriage from the Harthills to the Cokaynes; they held it until the early years of the seventeenth century, when Sir Edward Cokayne sold the manor.⁶ If it could be assumed that Edgar’s charter came into the hands of the Harthills or the Cokaynes, an apparently plausible link with Huntbach could be suggested: the charter might have been among the ‘old evidences’ belonging to Sir Aston Cokayne, grandson of Sir Edward, which seem to have been borrowed in 1651 by Sir Francis Nethersole and sent to Dugdale.⁷ The assumption is, however, inherently unlikely. No surviving Anglo-Saxon royal diploma is known to have been preserved in lay hands continuously from the time of its writing. Moreover, if the charter had come to Dugdale (and there is no evidence that he knew of it), it was probably not from Sir Aston Cokayne’s muniments; for the ‘old writings’ of Ballidon are known to have descended with the manor on Sir Edward’s sale.⁸ The ‘evidences’ which interested Dugdale in 1651 were probably those of Sir Aston’s manor of Pooley, in Polesworth, which lay in Dugdale’s own county of Warwickshire.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 37–48 and 72–7.

⁵ Domesday Book, vol. 1, fol. 277; see *Victoria County History of Derbyshire* 1, ed. W. Page (London, 1905), 350.

⁶ *Ibid.*; R. Hodges, M. Poulter and M. Wildgoose, ‘The Medieval Grange at Roystone Grange’, *Derbyshire Archaeol. Jnl* 102 (1982), 88–100, at 90–1; and A. E. Cockayne, *Cockayne Memoranda* (privately ptd, Congleton, 1873), pp. 162–3, citing London, British Library, Add. 6675, p. 193.

⁷ *The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale*, ed. W. Hamper (London, 1827), pp. 256–7. For Sir Aston and his relationship to Sir Edward, see the entries in the *Dictionary of National Biography* for Sir Aston and Thomas Cokayne. If the Cokaynes owned the charter, an alternative route to Huntbach can be suggested. The Staffordshire antiquary Sampson Erdeswick (*ob.* 1603) was related to the Cokaynes (see E. A. Sadler, ‘The Ancient Family of Cockayne and their Monuments in Ashbourne Church’, *Derbyshire Archaeol. Jnl* 55 (1934), 18–19), and most of his collections came into Chetwynd’s possession (Greenslade, *Staffordshire Historians*, p. 38). There is no trace of the Ballidon charter in Chetwynd’s antiquarian manuscripts, now part of Staffordshire Record Office, D.649.

⁸ A. E. Cockayne, ‘Some Notes on the Cokayne Family’, *Derbyshire Archaeol. Jnl* 3 (1881), 130. The author of the article is the A. E. ‘Cockayne’ of n. 6 above.

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It is therefore more probable that the charter survived in the archives of a religious house. Two had links with Ballidon, but both were twelfth-century foundations. The Cistercian abbey of Garendon, Leicestershire, was granted land at Ballidon by the Harthills in the early thirteenth century and later established a grange there.⁹ In 1205 the Augustinian priory of Dunstable, Bedfordshire, acquired the tithes of Ballidon from Geoffrey le Cauceis; a few years later Adam of Harthill granted Dunstable a messuage in Ballidon in lieu of his demesne tithes.¹⁰ None of the surviving cartularies of Garendon and Dunstable mentions Edgar's charter, and it was not among the Dunstable muniments in the early thirteenth century.¹¹

The Staffordshire abbey of Burton is the only religious house which is known to have preserved the texts of pre-Conquest charters concerning Derbyshire estates in its archives; it is also the only house which was holding land in Derbyshire in 1066.¹² Although Burton had no interests in Ballidon, then or later, it had been extensively endowed with property in the county by its founder, the prominent Mercian thegn Wulfric Spot (who died in or shortly after 1002).¹³ At the Conquest Ballidon was held by Leofric and Leofnoth, who were probably brothers and whose other estates in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire included lands which had once belonged to Wulfric. How they had acquired Ballidon is not known; there is no evidence that it had ever been held by Wulfric, and their relationship to him (if any) is unknown.¹⁴ But it is possible that they or their predecessors at Ballidon might have used Burton Abbey as a suitable local repository for a royal charter. More than one member of Wulfric's family seems to have deposited charters there.¹⁵ Such charters were not necessarily of interest to the abbey itself. About half the surviving Burton archive of pre-Conquest charters concerns estates which did not belong to Wulfric and have no known connection with Burton Abbey; one such charter records the grant of 10 hides at Parwich, Derbyshire – the parish immediately to the west of Ballidon – to a certain Ælfhelm, possibly Wulfric's brother.¹⁶ The Ballidon charter might thus have survived in the abbey's archives, and have passed with them at the Dissolution to Sir William

⁹ Hodges *et al.*, 'Roystone Grange', pp. 89–90.

¹⁰ G. H. Fowler, *A Digest of the Charters Preserved in the Cartulary of the Priory of Dunstable*, Bedfordshire Hist. Record Soc. 10 (1926), nos. 238–9.

¹¹ G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain* (London, 1958), nos. 320–2 and 431–2, and London, British Library, Harley 1885, 4–6v, esp. 6. In the early seventeenth century the Harthills' charters to Garendon could not be found (Hodges *et al.*, 'Roystone Grange', p. 89).

¹² *VCH Derbyshire* 1, ed. Page, 298–9 and 327–55.

¹³ *Charters of Burton Abbey*, ed. P. H. Sawyer (Oxford, 1979), pp. xxxix–xl and xlii–xliii.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. xliii, and *VCH Derbyshire* 1, ed. Page, 305–6 and 350.

¹⁵ *Burton Charters*, ed. Sawyer, p. xlvi.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. xliii and no. 21.

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Paget, who built up a great estate in Staffordshire.¹⁷ But it would have been of no interest to the Pagets as a title-deed, and therefore might easily have strayed from their muniments. One at least of the abbey's single-sheet pre-Conquest charters, now lost, fell into the hands of the antiquary William Burton (1575–1645) of Fauld, near Tutbury, Staffordshire; he printed it in 1622 and gave the original to the eminent lawyer Sir Edward Coke.¹⁸ Some of Burton's notes and papers passed after his death to Huntbach's friend, Walter Chetwynd.¹⁹ They may have included the Ballidon charter.

There is, however, one major objection to such a theory. The Ballidon charter is not mentioned in any surviving Burton Abbey cartulary;²⁰ above all it is not included in the thirteenth-century cartulary which forms part of the Burton miscellany, now Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 390. Every extant single-sheet pre-Conquest charter from the Burton Abbey archive was copied into Peniarth 390.²¹ If the Ballidon charter was also at Burton, why then was it not also included in the cartulary? The only explanation that might be offered – that it had been mislaid at the time the cartulary was compiled – carries us even further into the realms of speculation and special pleading. Whilst, therefore, the probability must be that the Ballidon diploma was a Burton charter, proof is entirely lacking.

EDITION²²

King Edgar grants 5 hides at Ballidon, Derbyshire, to Æthelferth. AD 963

B. Stafford, Staffordshire Record Office, temporary deposit 1406: single-sheet copy,

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. xiv.

¹⁸ W. Burton, *The Description of Leicestershire* (London, 1622), pp. 209–10, and *Burton Charters*, ed. Sawyer, no. 12.

¹⁹ Greenslade, *Staffordshire Historians*, p. 38. See also the entry for William Burton in *DNB*.

²⁰ For the Burton cartularies containing pre-Conquest charters, see *Burton Charters*, ed. Sawyer, pp. xiv–xv.

²¹ *Burton Charters*, ed. Sawyer, nos. 14, 17, 23, 26, 27, 28/9 and 32. A medieval scribe numbered each of these charters on their dorse in chronological sequence, corresponding to the order in which they are entered into Peniarth 390 (*ibid.* p. xiv). Thus *ibid.* no. 17 of 956 is endorsed 'XVII' and no. 23 of 968 is endorsed 'XXIII'. Since Peniarth 390 has five charters of intermediate date (i.e. between 956 and 968), it would seem that the original of the Ballidon charter was not available in the archives for numbering in this series. It is, however, possible that the numbering was contemporaneous with, or preparatory to, the compilation of the cartulary.

²² The editorial conventions of the British Academy and Royal Historical Society's edition of *Anglo-Saxon Charters* have normally been followed. Standard abbreviations have been expanded silently; the capitalization has been modernized; the punctuation of the manuscript has been emended by the elimination of commas (inappropriate to a tenth-century exemplar) and the provision, where the sense requires, of a few additional *punctus*; the spelling follows that of the manuscript, though obvious scribal errors are corrected in the text (and the reading of the manuscript recorded in the apparatus).

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parchment, s. xvii, 205 × 323 mm. Text in 13 lines, king's attestation in another, followed by the rest of the witnesses in three columns of 9, 9 and 8 lines. Old English names and bounds written in a larger and less cursive script. Manuscript slightly eaten by mice along part of the right-hand and bottom edges.

Printed from B

+ ALTITONANS dominus qui ex nihilo cuncta creavit cælum stellis composuit^d et sidere^b claro . terram herbis vestivit et arbore^c multa . cuius ego Eadgar anax^d afflatus amore per consensum presulum procerumque meorum . necnon^e et aliorum nobilium militum dono et liberali animo concedo Æþelferde aliquam partem telluris pro suo placabili pretio . hoc est .xx. mancuis^f puri auri . hoc est .v. mansos in pago Pecset . in loco qui a ruricolis Beligden nuncupatur . ut habeat atque possideat cum omnibus rebus ad illam terram rite pertinentibus . pratis . aquis . nemoribus atque campis . et post suum de hac vita discessum tali heredi qualicumque voluerit iure hereditario [. . .]^g perfruendi possideat . Est autem hæc terra circumscripta istis terminis . ærest^b of pioperpic broce in ðone miçlan dic . of ðam dice in frigedene^e . of frigedene in cyngstræte^j . ða^k ondlongⁱ cyngstræte^m in beligden . of beligdene in pioperpic^c broce . Si quis autem arrogans aut fastu superbix tumidus causa extollentix vel cupiditatis hanc meam donationem frangere temptaverit . sciat se sequestratum fore a societate christianorum et a liminibus sanctæ ecclesix esse privatum nisi antea cum satisfactione pleniter emendaverit . Acta est autem hæc mea donatio anno dominicæ incarnationis . dcccclxiii . indictione vero vi^a . anno septimo regni mei . Hii testes aderant qui hoc consenserunt et subscripserunt et cum vexillo sanctæ crucis firmaverunt .

+ Ego Eadgar rex Anglorum necnon et totius Britannix consensi et scribere iussi et cum vexillo sanctæ crucis firmavi .

+ Ego Dunstan archipresul consensi et subscripsi
+ Ego Oscytel^o archiepiscopus consensi et subscripsi
+ Ego Cynsige episcopus consensi et subscripsi
+ Ego Osulf^p episcopus consensi et subscripsi
+ Ego Byrhtelm^q episcopus consensi et subscripsi
+ Ego Elfpold episcopus consensi et subscripsi
+ Ego Eadelm^r episcopus consensi et subscripsi
+ Ego Ælfstan^r episcopus consensi et subscripsi
+ Ego Pulfric episcopus consensi et subscripsi

+ Ego Ælfher^s dux consensi et subscripsi
+ Ego Ælfheh^s dux consensi et subscripsi
+ Ego Æpestan dux consensi et subscripsi
+ Ego Æpelmund^r dux consensi et subscripsi
+ Ego Æpelpine^m dux consensi et subscripsi
+ Ego []^x dux consensi et subscripsi
+ Ego Gunner^y dux consensi et subscripsi
+ Ego Myrdah dux consensi et subscripsi
+ Ego Oslac dominus consensi et subscripsi

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- + Ego Ælfpine^z minister consensi et subscripsi
- + Ego Osulf minister consensi et subscripsi
- + Ego Ospeard minister consensi et subscripsi
- + Ego Æpelsege^{aa} minister consensi et subscripsi
- + Ego Æpelm minister consensi et subs[cripsi]^{bb}
- + Ego Pulgar minister consensi et sub[scripsi]^{bb}
- + Ego Ælfric minister consensi et su[bscripsi]^{bb}
- + Ego Eadric minister consensi et s[ubscripsi]^{bb}

^a MS *composit* ^b MS *sidera* ^c MS *arbora* ^d MS *anax*

^e MS *Necnon* ^f MS *manensis* ^g *Several words appear to be omitted here, such as: derelinquat . et quamdiu vivat libertatem*

^h MS *æreft* ⁱ MS *frigedeme* ^j MS *eyngleterre or eyngseterre*

^k MS *ðe* ^l MS *ondlonge* ^m MS *eyngstræte* ⁿ MS *pioperpic*

^o MS *Osytel* ^p MS *Osulph* ^q MS *byrtibelm* ^r MS *eadelme*

^s MS *ælfstane* ^t MS *ælsher* (? *an error for Ælfhere*)

^u *Probably a 'Mercian' form for Ælfheah* ^v MS *æpelmond* ^w MS *æpelþnie*

^x *Blank space in MS* ^y MS *gunnor* ^z MS *ælsþnie*

^{aa} *Possibly a 'Mercian' form for Æpelsige* ^{bb} *Reading supplied where MS is eaten*

As may be seen from pl. XIV, the seventeenth-century copyist made no attempt to imitate tenth-century letter-forms. Instead he used the standard 'set', or 'engrossing', secretary script of his own day for the Latin text, and a larger, even less cursive, version of it for the English names and boundaries. None the less he does seem to have reproduced some of the features of his exemplar; hence the use of parchment of a size and shape typical of Anglo-Saxon royal diplomas; hence the use of a display script for the opening word of the proem; hence perhaps also the emphasis on the cross at the beginning and on that before the king's attestation by enclosing one in a shield-shaped box, and the other in a square one;²³ hence too the lay-out of the witnesses, with one column of bishops, another of *duces* and a third of *ministri*. The copyist seems to have had little difficulty in transcribing the Latin, though he was probably responsible for the omission of five or six words in the important clause giving the recipient the power to enjoy the estate in his lifetime and to bequeath it as he wished thereafter; but otherwise he just made a few careless slips at the beginning (*composit* for *composuit*, *sidera* for *sidere*, *arbora* for *arbore*), and had problems only with unfamiliar words – *anax*, a rare word deriving from Greek *ἄναξ*, 'lord', hence 'king', which is used by at least one other tenth-century Anglo-Latin writer,²⁴ and

²³ There appear to be no comparably enclosed crosses in the extant single-sheet Anglo-Saxon diplomas.

²⁴ As Dr Michael Lapidge has pointed out to us, Æthelweard uses *anax* three times of King Edgar, in his version of the poem on the king's coronation at Bath in 973; see *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, ed. A. Campbell (London, 1962), pp. 55–6.

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mancusis, 'mancuses'. He was far less successful in transcribing the Old English, both the personal names and the boundary clause. Though he wrote these parts in an enlarged and more careful script, his ignorance both of the language and of Anglo-Saxon minuscule script led him to see no distinction between *p* and *p* and to confuse both with *p*, to confuse *ð* and *d*, *s* and *l*, and *s* and *f*. Fortunately the boundary clause is not only brief, but also repeats most of the boundary marks; the copyist's second attempts at a word are sometimes a marked improvement upon his first. Thus it would have been difficult to determine what English name might lie behind *in eyngleterre*, had not the ensuing *ondlonge eyngstrate* betrayed that it must be *cyngstrat(e)*. By such means it is possible to reconstruct with some confidence the text that the seventeenth-century copyist had before him.

There would seem to be no room for doubt that the Ballidon charter which he copied was an authentic diploma of Edgar. Not only is it difficult to see in whose interest the forgery of a grant to an unidentified layman could possibly be, but the diploma passes every test of its authority that we can devise for a late copy. The witnesses fit the year 963 and no other; yet the same combination of names is not found in any other extant diploma. The diplomatic is quite different from the standard formulation of Edgar's charters at this time, but links instead with a very small group of the king's diplomas which have specifically Mercian connections.

The witness-list is one of the fullest sets of names that we have for the year 963. The nine bishops can most easily be checked; all fit the year 963.²⁵ Indeed 963 was the last year in which Bishop Cynesige of Lichfield witnessed charters,²⁶ and the first in which Bishop Eadhelm of Selsey appears.²⁷ The presence of just one Bishop Byrthelm (presumably of Wells) suggests that this well-attended assembly took place between the death of Byrthelm of Winchester and the consecration of his successor, Æthelwold, on 29 November 963.²⁸ Of the ealdormen present, Ælf here of Mercia, his brother

²⁵ Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury (959–88); Oscytel, archbishop of York (956–71); Cynesige, bishop of Lichfield (949–63); Osulf, bishop of Ramsbury (950–70); Byrthelm, bishop of Wells (956–8 and 959–73); Ælfwold, probably the bishop of Crediton (953–72) rather than of Sherborne (c. 964–78); Eadhelm, bishop of Selsey (963–80); Ælfstan, probably the bishop of Rochester (c. 961–95) rather than of London (964–96); and Wulfric, ? bishop of Dorchester (c. 958–70).

²⁶ He attests *Cartularium Saxonicum*, ed. W. de G. Birch, 3 vols. (London, 1885–93) (hereafter cited as BCS), nos. 1112, 1119 and 1121, which are nos. 712, 723 and 713 respectively in P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography*, R. Hist. Soc. Guides and Handbooks 8 (London, 1968) (hereafter cited as S); his successor, Wynsige, already attests in 964 (BCS 1134 (S 726)).

²⁷ Eadhelm attests BCS 1101 (S 717), 1112 (S 712) and 1125 (S 714).

²⁸ For Æthelwold's consecration, see *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* 963 A, E (*Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. Charles Plummer (Oxford, 1892–9) 1, 114–15). For the complex

Ælfheah of Hampshire, Æthelwine of East Anglia and Æthelstan (sometimes known as *rota*, 'the Red', who probably had authority in some part of Mercia) were all regularly in attendance at Edgar's court.²⁹ Æthelmund, who had been appointed ealdorman – apparently also in some part of Mercia – as early as 940, was by 963 only occasionally at court.³⁰ The missing sixth ealdorman – perhaps the seventeenth-century copyist found his exemplar illegible here, or perhaps the exemplar itself had a gap or an unfilled erasure – is likely to have been either Ealdorman Edmund or, more probably, Ealdorman Byrhtnoth of Essex. The last three witnesses in the column of *duces* (Gunner, Myrdah and Oslac), however, are all men who were very rare visitors to Edgar's court; all seem to have been subordinate earls in some part of northern England. Gunner *dux* had appeared fleetingly as a witness of two charters of 958, but otherwise does not appear until 963 when he witnessed a grant of lands in Yorkshire and was himself the recipient of an estate at North Newbald in the same shire.³¹ Myrdah *dux* witnesses only one other royal diploma, a grant to the see of York in 958; his name is an English spelling of Old Irish Muiredach (cf. modern Scots Murdoch), and it is possible that he was an earl among the Hiberno-Norse (or perhaps Scotto-Norse) settlers of north-western England.³² Oslac, uniquely styled *dominus*, is presumably the man who was to be appointed earl of southern Northumbria when the earldom was divided in 966;³³ but it is difficult to be certain whether *dominus* is intended as an equivalent for some such term as *hold* or high-reeve, or whether it is simply a scribal error for *dux*; for Oslac certainly already attests one charter of 963 and three of 965 as *dux*.³⁴ The thegns (*ministri*) are less easy to identify and locate. But Ælfwine and Æthelsige are revealed in the charters as

careers of the two bishops named Byrthelm in the years 956–63, see N. P. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury* (Leicester, 1984), pp. 238–9.

²⁹ Their careers and family connections can now be conveniently studied in C. Hart, 'Athelstan "Half King" and his Family', *ASE* 2 (1973), 115–44, and A. Williams, 'Principes Merciorum Gentis: the Family, Career and Connections of Ælfhere, Ealdorman of Mercia', *ASE* 10 (1982), 143–72.

³⁰ In 963 he attests only BCS 1119 (S 723) and 1112 (S 713); for his career, see C. R. Hart, *Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands* (Leicester, 1975), pp. 287–8.

³¹ BCS 1043 (S 674), 1044 (S 679), 1121 (S 712) and 1113 (S 716); he may be the same man as the unranked Gunner in BCS 882 (S 550) of 949 and the thegn of BCS 937 (S 633) of 956; and he was probably the father of the Thored who ravaged Westmorland in 966. See D. Whitelock, 'The Dealings of the Kings of England with Northumbria in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies . . . presented to B. Dickins*, ed. P. Clemoes (London, 1959), pp. 70–88, at 78.

³² Myrdah's other attestation is in BCS 1044 (S 679); for Norsemen from western Scotland rather than from Ireland, see A. P. Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin* 1 (Dublin, 1975), 78–89.

³³ Whitelock, 'Dealings', pp. 77–8.

³⁴ BCS 1113 (S 716), 1169 (S 734), 1171 (S 732) and 1172 (S 733).

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the two most consistent of Edgar's attendants; they are known to have held office in the king's household as *discifer* and *camerarius* (steward and chamberlain), and they seem to have been the sons of Ealdorman Ælfhere and Æthelstan 'Half-King' respectively.³⁵ By contrast, Oswulf and Osweard (who are known to have been brothers), and Æthelm and Ælfric, appear only intermittently in the charters,³⁶ whilst Wulfgar and Eadric do not appear in any other charter of 963 – though the first had appeared in 962 and Eadric in 961.³⁷ It is therefore clear that the witness-list of the Ballidon charter has no anachronistic names, and that it is a record of an important meeting of the king's *witan* with a particularly strong Mercian and northern element.

The formulation of the charter, however, is highly unusual and utterly distinct from the standardized phrases of the majority of Edgar's charters of the years 960–3.³⁸ Its *proem*, royal style (*anax*) and much of its anathema are indeed unique; but it shares other features – notably the dating clause, the attestation formulas and elements of the *dispositio* – with a small group of three charters: BCS 1119 (S 723), a grant of land in Shropshire to a thegn Wulfric in 963; and BCS 1040 (S 677) and BCS 1041 (S 667), two charters of Edgar issued in 958 when he was king in Mercia but not yet in Wessex. One of these (BCS 1040) survives on a single sheet of parchment written in a contemporary hand; it provides an instructive parallel to the Ballidon charter.³⁹

Both the Ballidon charter and BCS 1040 commence with a cross rather than with a decorative chrismon; in both charters the witnesses are arranged in three columns (bishops, ealdormen and thegns), and all attest with the old-fashioned formula '+Ego... consensi et subscripsi'. The Ballidon charter shares with BCS 1040 and 1119 a very unusual feature – the recipient's name is in the English dative case (*Æthelferde*, *Ealbstane*, *Wulfrice*), rather than undeclined. It also shares with BCS 1040 the reckoning of the payment for the estate in mancuses of pure gold. Ballidon is said to be 'in pago Pecset' (that is, in the district of the *Pecsæte*, the 'Peak-dwellers'), whilst BCS 1040 is a grant of

³⁵ For Ælfwine, see Hart, *Early Charters of Northern England*, pp. 277–8; for Æthelsige, see Hart, 'Athelstan "Half King"', pp. 132–3.

³⁶ Oswulf and Osweard appear in 963 only in BCS 1121 (S 713) and 1123 (S 722); they are stated to be brothers in a charter of 959 (H. P. R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of Wessex* (Leicester, 1964), no. 483 (S 652)); Æthelm only witnesses BCS 1119 (S 723) in 963, and Ælfric BCS 1120 (S 719), 1124 (S 708) and 1125 (S 714).

³⁷ BCS 1093 (S 705) and 1076 (S 695); for possible reconstructions of their careers, see Hart, *Early Charters of Northern England*, pp. 318 and 366.

³⁸ For the standard diplomatic at this time, see S. D. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready' 978–1016* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 70–4.

³⁹ Wells, Dean and Chapter, Cathedral Charter 1: W. B. Sanders, *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, Ordnance Survey (Southampton, 1878–84) 11, Wells. BCS 1040 is translated in *English Historical Documents c. 500–1042*, ed. D. Whitelock, 2nd ed. (London, 1979), no. 109. See also Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 69 and n. 137.

an estate 'in pago Magesætna' and BCS 1119 'in provincia Procensetna'. No other tenth-century diplomas use these old Mercian tribal districts. (Indeed, were it not for the new charter we might have supposed that the *Pecsæte*, otherwise known only from the Tribal Hidage, had passed from history in the seventh or eighth century.)⁴⁰ All four charters (Ballidon and BCS 1040, 1041 and 1119) share a virtually identical clause to introduce the English boundaries, and Ballidon (like BCS 1119) uses the Mercian (or rather Anglian) form *ondlong* where a West Saxon would normally have written *andlang*. All four charters also use essentially the same formulas for the dating clause and for the highly distinctive clause introducing the witnesses. It is instructive too that both the Ballidon charter and BCS 1119 are dated in the 'seventh' year of Edgar's reign; that is, they reckon his reign from his accession in Mercia in 957 rather than in Wessex in 959.

It would therefore seem that Edgar had the Ballidon charter drawn up by a writer whom he had used when he was king of Mercia alone, and that this writer's practice was consistently distinct from that of the scribe (or scribes) who had written most of his more recent diplomas and indeed from the traditions of the writers who had served the West Saxon and English kings for a generation. The Ballidon charter's links with diplomas issued in Edgar's name as king of Mercia from 957 to 959, its use of the Mercian administrative districts and of Mercian rather than West Saxon dialect in the boundary clause (and perhaps in the witness-list as well⁴¹) suggests instead that the writer was a Mercian. Probably BCS 1119 was drafted by the same man at the same time, but we can only guess why the king's regular writer was not used.

One other feature of the drafting of the Ballidon charter deserves comment. The proem and the opening of the *dispositio* are full of poetic cadences. Thus 'Altitonans dominus' could well be the opening two and a half feet of a hexameter, while 'cuncta creavit' is a well-known line ending.⁴² Similarly

⁴⁰ For the Tribal Hidage, see BCS 297; and for its date and manuscript transmission, see W. Davies and H. Vierck, 'The Contexts of Tribal Hidage: Social Aggregates and Settlement Patterns', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 8 (1974), 223-41 and 288-92. Bakewell is said to be 'on Peac lond' in *ASC* 924 A (= 920) (*Two Chronicles*, ed. Plummer 1, 104). It remains uncertain whether the Mercian tribal districts (*Pecsæte*, *Wrocensæte* and *Magesæte*) were archaic by 963 and had already been replaced by the shire system. As late as 1016 we hear of the flight of Ealdorman Eadric with the *Magesæte* in *ASC* 1016 (*Two Chronicles*, ed. Plummer 1, 152-3). See, further, F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1971), pp. 336-7.

⁴¹ See above, textual notes *n* and *aa*.

⁴² Michael Lapidge has drawn our attention to the occurrence of this familiar phrase first in Lucretius, *De Natura Rerum* II.1147, then in Christian poets such as (pseudo-)Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen* xxxii.217, and Prosper, *Epigrammata* LV.1, and in Aldhelm, *Carmen de Virginitate* 35, and *Enigmata* xci.1 etc. He also points out that hexameter cadences are found in the same draftsman's BCS 1041 (S 667), such as the hackneyed 'spes unica mundi', first found in Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale* 1.60.

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'sidere claro', 'arbore multa', 'afflatus amore' and 'procerumque meorum' could all serve as the ends of hexameters. At the very least, therefore, it is clear that the drafter was repeatedly ornamenting his prose with the resonances of hexameters. That he was attempting rather more than that might be suggested by his preference for the poetic singular *arbore multa*, 'with many a tree', which would balance 'sidere claro', rather than the plural 'arboribus multis', which would have been natural in unadorned prose ('He clothed the land with plants and with *many trees*'); it might also be suggested by the fact that the manuscript has an otherwise inexplicable capital N as the initial letter of *necnon*, which marks the point where the poetic cadences cease. The problems in such an interpretation became clear, however, if we print the opening of the charter as verse:

Altitonans dominus qui ex nihilo cuncta creavit	1
caelum stellis composuit et sidere claro .	2
terram herbis vestivit et arbore multa;	3
cuius ego Eadgar anax afflatus amore	4
per consensum presulum procerumque meorum . . .	5

As they stand these are not hexameters, since every line has false quantities and several lack an adequate caesura.⁴³ None the less, lines 1, 2 and perhaps 5 might seem to be attempted hexameters. Lines 3 and 4 are a mess as they stand; both lack a foot – unless we suppose not only that elision is not practised (although it is necessary in line 1) but also that several short syllables have been scanned as long. It would indeed be possible to 'improve' these lines somewhat by emendation:

terram herbis vestivit et *induit* arbore multa;
cuius ego Eadgar anax afflatus amore *benigno* . . .⁴⁴

But we are here on a slippery slope, made the more hazardous by our ignorance of the draftsman's intentions: there is room for doubt whether what we have is simply richly ornamented prose, or very rough or unfinished verse. That it should be read as ornamented prose is suggested by the apparent use of the rhythms of the medieval accentual *cursus* in its *clausulae* (that is, the sequences of syllables which conclude individual sentences and clauses).⁴⁵

⁴³ In line 1 *nihilo* is an anapaest, but needs to be a dactyl or a spondee (? read as *nilo*); in line 2 there is no caesura and the *-it* of *composuit* needs to be long but is short; line 3 lacks a foot; line 4 lacks both a foot and a caesura; and in line 5 there is again no caesura, and the first *u* of *presulum* has to be long, whereas it is short.

⁴⁴ We owe this suggestion and much of our understanding of the complexities of this passage to the kindness of Dr Michael Herren.

⁴⁵ The fundamental works on the *cursus* are now G. Lindholm, *Studien zum mittellateinischen Prosarhythmus* (Stockholm, 1963), for the period to c. 850 AD, and T. Janson, *Prose Rhythm in Medieval Latin from the 9th to the 13th Century*, *Studia Latina Stockholmiensia* 20 (Stockholm,

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Thus after a suitably sonorous opening (*Àltitónans*) we find, as in much tenth-century rhythmic prose, a clear preference for the *cursus planus* and the *planus* variant ('cúncta creávit', 'sídere cláro', 'hérbis vestívit', 'árборе múlta', 'afflátus amóre', 'procerúmque meórum') with just a single example of the *cursus tardus* ('stéllis compósuit'). In so short a passage with only a single sentence ending, it is not possible to apply the standard tests to establish that these rhythms are not accidental;⁴⁶ but we may be encouraged to suppose them deliberate when we find a closely similar pattern of rhythmic *clausulae* in the arenga of one, but only one, of the three charters whose diplomatic has been shown to have links with the Ballidon charter. Thus the proem of BCS 1041 is replete with the *planus* and *planus* variant ('cónditor órbis', 'lustrándo percúrrit', 'spléndore cómit', 'concédens donávit', 'repándi precépit') and has otherwise just a single *velox* ('evangélicum paradígma'). The use of rhythmic prose has not hitherto been detected in an Anglo-Saxon royal diploma; but it may prove to be an important diagnostic tool in Anglo-Saxon diplomatic, and should be recorded by charter students wherever it is found or suspected.

The Æthelferd or Æthelferth who is the recipient of the Ballidon charter is not given any rank and therefore cannot be identified with certainty. None the less, a man receiving 5 hides of land is likely to have been (or thereby to have become) a thegn; so it is possible that Æthelferth was the thegn of that name who witnesses, in a lowly position, an authentic diploma of Edgar of the year 960, and who would seem to have been a very occasional and junior visitor to the king's court.⁴⁷

Despite the difficulties which the seventeenth-century scribe had in transcribing Old English, his copy of the Ballidon charter has preserved important forms of the Derbyshire place-names Ballidon, Friden and Parwich, and of the folk-name *Peccate*, which add to the materials available to Kenneth Cameron in his *Place-Names of Derbyshire*. The sources for the

1975). A major study of the use of rhythmic prose in Anglo-Latin is urgently needed; but see the pioneering work of M. Winterbottom, 'Aldhelm's Prose Style and its Origins', *ASE* 6 (1977), 39–76, esp. 71–3, and P. Chaplais, 'The Letter of Bishop Wealdhere of London to Archbishop Brihtwold of Canterbury: the Earliest "Letter Close" Extant in the West', *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. M. B. Parkes and A. G. Watson (Oxford, 1978), pp. 3–23, esp. 18–19. We are indebted to Dr Chaplais for drawing our attention to the possible use of the *cursus* in this charter.

⁴⁶ In order to achieve a consistent basis for comparison between authors, Janson's tests are limited to the ends of sentences (*Prose Rhythm*, pp. 14–21).

⁴⁷ BCS 1055 (S 687: London, British Library, Cotton Augustus ii. 40; E. A. Bond, *Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum* (London, 1873–8) III, 22), where he attests last of 25 *ministri*. He also attests the spurious BCS 1046 and 1047 (S 658 and 673); he is 17th out of 19 thegns in BCS 1176 (S 738) and 14th out of 20 in BCS 1189 (S 737), both of 966; he is 14th out of 20 in BCS 1221 (S 758) and 1225 (S 760), 13th out of 19 in both BCS 1222 (S 757) and 1224 (S 759), and last of 14 in BCS 1226 (S 769) – all of the year 968.

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Middle English spellings of these names quoted below may be ascertained there.⁴⁸ Ballidon and Parwich had previously been discussed by Eilert Ekwall.⁴⁹

The charter form *Beligden* validates the etymology given by Ekwall and Cameron for Ballidon. The name is a compound of *denu*, 'valley', with *belg*, modern belly, which in Old English meant 'bag'. Forms of this word differ according to dialect and date. The form evidenced in *Beligden* is on record: the part of the Rushworth Gospels which is a Mercian text has *beligas*, 'wine-skins'. In the place-name, *belig* may refer to the rounded embrasure in which the village lies, which is cut into the side of a longer valley. The use of a noun rather than an adjective as the qualifying term may indicate that it is not the overall shape of the longer valley that is being described. The Domesday Book spelling, *Belidene*, faithfully represents the charter form. Most subsequent spellings have *Bal-*, and the *-a-* of these could reasonably be ascribed to the common Anglo-Norman confusion of *-a-* and *-e-*.

piowerwic broce is probably to be translated 'Parwich brook'. When confronted by the phonological problems raised by this form, one is tempted to dissociate the name in the charter bounds from Parwich by postulating a different distribution of the letters *p*, *þ*, and *ƿ* in the original. The name copied could be assumed to have been **Wiowerwic* or **Wioperwic* instead of *Piowerwic*. A hypothetical **Wioperwic* could be associated with the lost place called Weatherwick, recorded in Wirksworth parish from 1276 to c. 1750. But 'Parwich brook' is the sensible rendering in relation to the probable location of the boundary, and *Piowerwic*, however obscure, is probably the genuine Old English form of Parwich. There is little point in trying all the possible combinations of *p*, *w* and *th* in order to avoid this conclusion.

Parwich has hitherto been considered a compound of the settlement term *wic* with a pre-English river-name (British **Pebro-*, Primitive Welsh **Pēbr*, Welsh *Peŵr*) meaning 'the bright one', which has become Peover, Cheshire, the first part of Perry, Shropshire, and Peffer, the name of several streams in Scotland.⁵⁰ There is another charter spelling for Parwich, *Peuerwich* in BCS 1175 (S 739),⁵¹ but this charter is not certainly authentic and is only preserved in the mid-thirteenth-century cartulary, Peniarth 390; the *-wich* of the place-name certainly reveals post-Conquest influence. The form in the new charter takes precedence over this. From 1086 onwards Parwich is well recorded, the

⁴⁸ K. Cameron, *The Place-Names of Derbyshire*, 3 vols., EPNS 27-9 (Cambridge, 1959) 1, 1-2, and 11, 343, 369 and 403-4.

⁴⁹ *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 23 and 341; 4th ed. (Oxford, 1960), pp. 24 and 358.

⁵⁰ W. F. H. Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names* (London, 1976), p. 164.

⁵¹ *Burton Charters*, ed. Sawyer, no. 21.

first element appearing as *Pever-*, *Peure-*, *Pewer-*, *Peure-*, until the fourteenth century, when the shortened forms with *Per-* and *Pere-* start to appear. Forms with *Par-* are first noted in 1382.

The new spelling *piowerwic* renders derivation from a river-name **Peþr* difficult to maintain. It is never possible to be certain whether intervocalic *-v-* and *-u-* in Middle English spellings represent the consonant *-v-* (from earlier *-f-*) or the vowel *-u-*. In the light of the new spelling, the two Middle English forms for Parwich which have *-w-* in the first element (*Pewerwike* 1281, *Pewerwyȝ* 1284) look especially significant. It now seems likely that Parwich never contained an *-f-*. The Old English sound may have been the semi-vowel *-w-*, which was vocalized to *-u-* in most of the Middle English forms.

Neither the *-w-* nor the *-io-* of *piower-* is to be expected in an Old English form derived from *Peþr*. Primitive Welsh *e* is regularly represented by OE *e*. If the *-f-* which is normal in English names from *Peþr* (and from the analogous river-name *Duþr*, modern Dover) had suffered interchange with *-w-*, a diphthong *io/eo* might be ascribed to the effect of this following *-w-*. But as there is no trace of interchange between *-f-* and *-w-* in names which certainly derive from *Peþr* and *Duþr* there is no warrant for assuming such a development in the present name. (Nor, incidentally, is there any sign of substitution of *-w-* for *-f-* in the pre-Conquest spellings for names such as Pevensey and Beverley, where *-f-* occurs in Old English words or personal names. The development of Pewsey, Wilts. from OE *Pefesige*, *Pevesige* is probably due to Middle English vocalization of *-v-*.) The modern *-eo-* spelling of Peover, Cheshire, is not an indication that the name contained a diphthong.

It would perhaps be better to abandon the derivation of Parwich from the primitive Welsh river-name *Peþr*, and to seek an Old English origin for *piower-*; but there is at present no suggestion available which seems worth offering. The etymology of Parwich should be regarded as an open question.

The name *frigedene* is represented on the modern map by Friden, and the charter spelling triumphantly validates Professor Cameron's suggestion that this is 'valley of the goddess Frīg'. Middle English and early modern references (*Stanisfridenmuth* early thirteenth-century, *Frydendale-Mouth* 1533, *Frydon Mouthe* 1599), by mentioning the 'mouth' of the valley and equating *denu* with ME *dale*, indicate that the topographical feature is a well-marked one. The name is a welcome addition to the corpus of English place-names which make reference to heathen deities. It has long been recognized that Woden and Thunor occur, but possible references to the goddess Frig have not been regarded as unequivocal. Ekwall, who listed a number of possible occurrences of her name in 1935,⁵² gives the correct nominative as *Frēo*, *Frīge*

⁵² E. Ekwall, 'Some Notes on English Place-Names Containing Names of Heathen Deities', *Englische Studien* 70 (1935), 56-9.

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being the genitive. He did not know of this Derbyshire name, and Professor Cameron did not claim it as a proven example because of the limited documentation available in 1959. Whatever conclusions may be reached about the other place-names put forward by Ekwall as containing possible references to the goddess, there is now no reason for rejecting Friden. Recent studies have considerably reduced the number of authentic 'pagan' place-names, and a paper published in 1983 has deleted Thurstable, Essex, from the canon,⁵³ so it is very pleasing to have gained a 'valley of the goddess Frēo' from this charter. Friden is a bare 6 miles west of Wensley, the other Derbyshire name of this type.

The remaining place-name in the charter which requires comment is the district-name *Pecset*. This is formed in a manner specially characteristic of the West Midlands by the addition of the plural suffix *-sāte*, 'dwellers', to the name of a prominent feature of the landscape. The genitive of *-sāte* was *-sāt(e)na* and a new nominative, *-sātan*, was formed from this. Group-names often appear in the genitive in Old English texts (as in *Myrcna landes . . . W[r]ocen setna . . . Westerna . . . Pecsætna* in the Tribal Hidage)⁵⁴ and are frequently cited with *-n* in modern historical writing; but *-sāte*, which may be presumed to lie behind *Pecset* in this document, is the primary form of the nominative. The omission of the final *-e* in *Pecset* is paralleled in the form *Beligden*, which lacks the *-e* almost universally found in Old English spellings of names containing *denu*. Mr P. Kitson remarks that if the manuscript readings here reproduce the charter of 963 accurately, they are evidence for the sporadic loss in place-names in late Old English of unaccented elements whose morphological function was no longer appreciated, a phenomenon not usually reflected in spellings until a much later date.

It remains to identify the Ballidon estate of 963 on the ground and on the map (fig. 12). The estate, being assessed at 5 hides, was evidently substantial. Moreover, the boundary-clause is extremely brief; it can therefore only record the cardinal points of the boundary, not follow every bend and natural feature in detail. In such circumstances it is reasonable to start by looking at the parish boundaries of the area as they can first be detected in the mid-nineteenth century, since the bounds preserved in Anglo-Saxon diplomas often prove to coincide wholly or in part with those of ecclesiastical parishes. Ballidon, however, was not an ancient parish, but a chapelry of the huge medieval parish of Bradbourne. From 1866 the former chapelry of Ballidon was

⁵³ L. J. Bronnenkant, 'Thurstable Revisited', *Jnl of the EPNS* 15 (1982-3), 9-19. The most recent general survey of pagan references in English place-names is M. Gelling, 'Further Thoughts on Pagan Place-Names', *Otium et Negotium: Studies in Onomatology and Library Science Presented to Olof von Feilitzen*, ed. F. Sandgren (Stockholm, 1973), pp. 109-28.

⁵⁴ BCS 297.

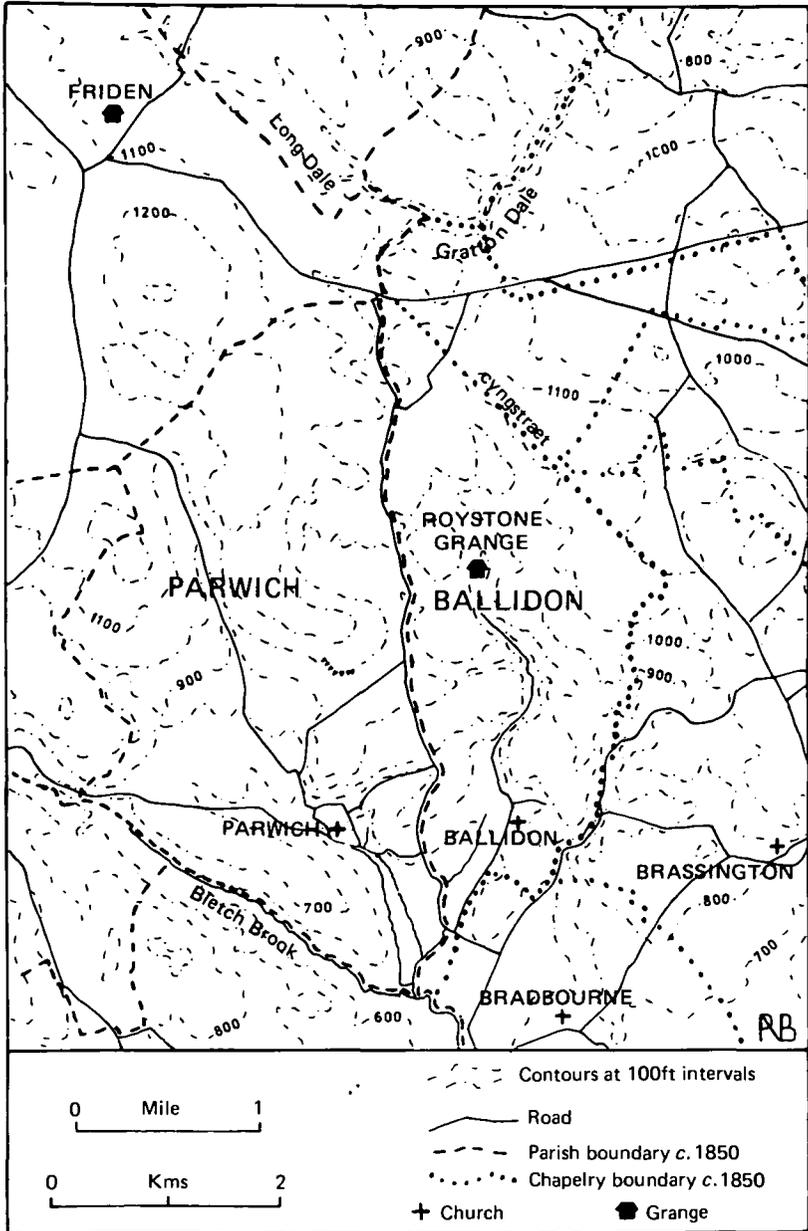


FIG. 12 Ballidon and its environs

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recognized as a separate (civil) parish in its own right.⁵⁵ Although continuity between the civil parish of 1866 and the medieval chapelry of Ballidon is probable, the relationship of the chapelry to early medieval estates had hitherto been entirely unknown. It is therefore of interest that the parish of 1866 seems to have shared several, and perhaps all, of its boundaries with those of *Beligden* in 963. Pre-Conquest charter bounds most commonly start in the south-western or south-eastern corner of an estate and proceed in a clockwise direction; it can scarcely be a coincidence, therefore, that the southern tip of the civil parish is defined by the stream that flows from Parwich, whilst the charter boundary starts from *piowerwic broce*, 'Parwich brook'. Moreover, the north-western limit of the civil parish follows the course of the Roman road from Buxton (*Aquae Arnemetiae*) to Little Chester (*Derventio*), near Derby,⁵⁶ and this road must surely be the *cyngstræt* of the charter, for *stræt* is the normal Old English term for a Roman road. Since we have seen that the charter's *frigedene* and *beligden* have given rise to the modern names Friden and Ballidon, the general course taken by the survey is clear, though the details must remain uncertain:

1 *First from Parwich brook*

The stream that flows through Parwich forms the boundary of the civil parish of Ballidon from SK 195529 to SK 195531.

2 *to the big dyke (or ditch)*

In the high limestone terrain of the Peak, much of it over 1000 feet and with excellent drainage, substantial ditches are not needed and linear earthworks are very rare. Property boundaries are formed by stone walls, constructed by different techniques at various times between the Roman Iron Age and the seventeenth century or the eighteenth.⁵⁷ Since the charter does not state that the boundary goes *along* the big dyke (in contrast to its reference to *cyngstræt*), it may be that *miclan dic* was a linear feature which crossed or abutted the Ballidon boundary. Field-work undertaken by Dr R. Hodges and Mr M. Wildgoose has revealed traces of an earthwork bank of Roman or pre-Roman date, now very largely ploughed out, to the north of Parwich (fig. 12). If (as is possible) this once extended up to or beyond the Parwich/Ballidon boundary, then it is likely to have been the *miclan dic*. An alternative suggestion, which we owe to Mr Kitson, is that the road which forms the Parwich/Ballidon boundary (Highway Lane, Backhill Lane and Parwich Lane) may preserve the line of the *miclan dic*. Recent field-work along this route has not, however, revealed any sign of an early boundary bank and ditch, nor has the

⁵⁵ For the ancient parishes, see J. C. Cox, *Derbyshire Churches* III (Chesterfield, 1877), pp. 427-45. The parish boundaries established in the tithe maps of the 1840s and 1850s are conveniently plotted on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey 1-inch-to-the-mile maps in the *Index to the Tithe Survey*, Ordnance Survey (London, 1878). The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1866 stipulated that chapelries and other units in which separate Poor Law rates had been levied should be called parishes thereafter. From that time OS maps record Ballidon as a separate parish. Margaret Poulter and Miss J. Sinar have kindly provided expert guidance on parochial development.

⁵⁶ I. V. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain*, 3rd ed. (London, 1973), no. 71a.

⁵⁷ Hodges *et al.*, 'Roystone Grange', pp. 96-9.

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systematic study of the field and property divisions of the medieval Roystone Grange, whose eastern boundary runs along part of this road.⁵⁸

3 *from the dyke to Friden*

Friden is today the name of a small hamlet, a brickworks and a large house (Friden Grange, formerly Friden House) at SK 172607, the focus of an estate. The house and settlement lay some 3000 yards (2700 m) north-west of the northern tip of the civil parish of Ballidon. The head of a narrow dry valley, known at least since 1744 as Long Dale,⁵⁹ passes within 500 yards of the modern settlement of Friden. This valley, which stretches from SK 173615 to the point where it joins Gratton Dale at SK 196599, is the only candidate for the original 'valley of the goddess Frēo'. Indeed, Mr Kitson (who first made the identification) believes that the name **Frigedenu* may have applied to the whole complex of Gratton Dale as well as Long Dale. The head of Gratton Dale stretches up to the vicinity of Pikehall (SK 192592), the northern tip of the civil parish of Ballidon. On this interpretation, the *frigedene* of the charter may be here defining the northern end of the modern parish. Even if the name *frigedene* already by 963 applied to the site of the modern settlement of Friden, it is possible that the charter was referring to the boundary of an estate centred on Friden rather than to the settlement itself. It is therefore by no means certain whether the estate of the charter extended any further north than the present parish.

4 *from Friden to kingstreet*

The parish boundary joins the Roman road at SK 193591. (Beyond Ballidon parish to the north, this road has marked the boundaries of a series of ancient parishes almost as far as Buxton itself.)

5 *then along kingstreet to Ballidon*

The parish boundary follows the course of the Roman road in a south-easterly direction to the point (SK 217567) where the road changed its alignment in order to begin a descent over difficult terrain. The 'to Ballidon' of the charter is too imprecise for certainty as to whether the estate of 963 stretched as far south as the boundary of the modern parish, or whether it left the Roman road at a more northerly point and extended down the principal valley into the centre of the hamlet of Ballidon itself.

6 *from Ballidon to Parwich Brook*

Back to the starting-point.

As defined in the new charter, the estate of Ballidon in 963 seems to have had much the same boundaries and to have been about as large as the civil parish of 1866. Further work in the field, from the air or in local archives may establish the identification of *miclan dic* more certainly and therefore fix the line of the western boundary. It is important to bear in mind, however, that the 5-hide estate of 963 may have been larger than the 4 carucates held by Leofric and Leofnoth in 1066;⁶⁰ it may have been the Domesday estate, rather than

⁵⁸ R. Hodges and M. Wildgoose, 'Roman or Native in the White Peak: the Roystone Grange Project and its Regional Implications', *Derbyshire Archaeol. Jnl* 101 (1981), 42-57. We are most grateful to Dr Hodges for organizing further field-work in the search for *miclan dic*, to supplement the preliminary investigation of the line of the parish boundary carried out by one of the authors (N.P.B.).

⁵⁹ Cameron, *Place-Names of Derbyshire* 11, 395.

⁶⁰ *VCH Derbyshire* 1, ed. Page, 350, incorrectly attributes 3 carucates to the Domesday estate

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that of 963, whose boundaries were fossilized in those of the medieval chapelry and of the later civil parish.

Despite such uncertainties, this newly discovered charter throws light on a dark corner of the Peak District and its nomenclature in the tenth century. It records a large assembly of the king's *witan* with a strong northern and midland representation; and it confirms the existence of a Mercian tradition of charter writing in Edgar's reign that is quite distinct from that of the king's regular writers. The discovery of a new Anglo-Saxon charter is a very rare event. Staffordshire, where the Ballidon charter was found and where five single-sheet diplomas of the tenth century and the eleventh came to light in 1941,⁶¹ has a unique record in modern times. But, whilst the likelihood that further originals will be found is perhaps remote, the discovery of the Ballidon charter serves as a welcome pointer to the treasures that may still await identification amongst the papers of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century antiquaries.

of *Belidene*. Dr R. F. Hunnisett and Margaret Condon of the Public Record Office have kindly confirmed that the reading of the manuscript (277r) is *iiij car'* (as printed in 1783).

⁶¹ *Burton Charters*, ed. Sawyer, nos. 17, 23, 26, 27 and 32. These texts had, however, been known previously from the versions in the Burton cartulary, Peniarth 390.